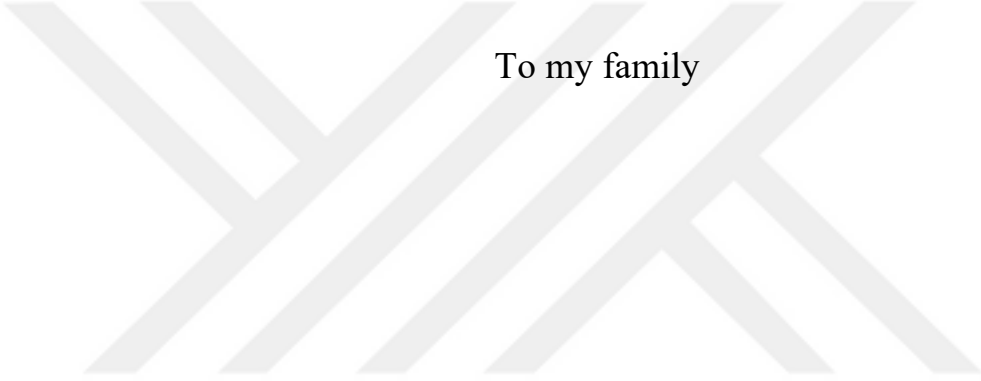




To my family

THE ANALYSIS OF TURKEY AS A NON-WESTERN AND
EMERGING HUMANITARIAN ACTOR

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

EFSER RANA COŞKUN TÜRKMEN

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Department of
International Relations
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara
June 2020

ABSTRACT

THE ANALYSIS OF TURKEY AS A NON-WESTERN AND EMERGING HUMANITARIAN ACTOR

Coşkun Türkmen, Efser Rana

Ph.D., Department of International Relations

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Berk Esen

June 2020

This dissertation explores Turkey as a non-Western and emerging humanitarian actor with respect to its humanitarian policies, goals, actors, and practices. In the literature of International Relations (IR), although there are various scholarly works that analyse Turkey's humanitarianism, they have not been competent enough to explain how and in what terms Turkey is a different humanitarian actor compared to other humanitarian donors. This dissertation includes a comprehensive research on actors, practices and strategic goals of emerging donors to assess Turkey's operationalisation of its humanitarianism. While the majority of existing scholarly contributions on today's 'emerging donors' investigate China, Brazil and India, this research focuses on Turkey that has engaged with the international development field through using insights from IR, development studies particularly humanitarianism and development aid, and Turkish foreign policy. Existing scholarly works remain limited to explore Turkey's humanitarianism in detail from a different angle to develop new conceptual understandings. The dissertation analyses Somalia as the single case study to understand Turkey's growing activism in the country. To this end, this dissertation asks three major research questions: 1) How does Turkey operationalise its humanitarianism and what does it seek to achieve? 2) How has Turkey become an important humanitarian actor in the

world despite its middle-income country status? 3) Why and in what terms does Turkey emerge as a significant actor amongst emerging donors in humanitarianism? In doing so, this dissertation unravels operationalisation of Turkey's humanitarianism with regard to activities, humanitarian emotions, civilizational geopolitics, Turkey's geopolitical aid, and its liminal identity.

Keywords: Emerging Donors, Humanitarianism, Turkish Foreign Policy, Somalia, Turkey



ÖZET

TÜRKİYE’NİN BATI-DIŞI VE YÜKSELEN İNSANİ AKTÖR OLARAK ANALİZİ

Coşkun Türkmen, Efser Rana

Doktora, Uluslararası İlişkiler

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Berk Esen

Haziran, 2020

Bu çalışma Türkiye’yi, insani politikaları, amaçları, aktörleri ve faaliyetleri kapsamında, Batı-dışı ve yükselen insani aktör olarak incelemektedir. Uluslararası İlişkiler (UI) literatüründe, Türkiye’nin insaniyetçiliğini ele alan çeşitli çalışmalar olsa da, bu çalışmalar Türkiye’nin diğer insani aktörlerden nasıl ve hangi açılardan farklı bir aktör olduğunu açıklamada yetersizdir. Türkiye’nin insaniyetçiliğini yürütmesini incelemek için, bu çalışma, yükselen donörlerin aktörleri, eylemleri ve stratejik amaçları üzerine yapılan kapsamlı bir araştırma içermektedir. ‘Yükselen donörler’ literatüründe var olan çalışmaların çoğu Çin, Brezilya ve Hindistan üzerinedir. Fakat bu çalışma, Uluslararası İlişkiler, Kalkınma Çalışmaları özellikle insani ve kalkınma yardımları konularını ve Türk dış politikası literatürlerini bir araya getirerek, uluslararası kalkınma alanı ile etkileşimde olan Türkiye’ye odaklanır. Var olan akademik çalışmalar, Türkiye’nin insaniyetçiliğini detaylı ve farklı bir bakış açısıyla ele alıp yeni kavramsal anlayışlar getirmede sınırlıdır. Bu çalışma, Türkiye’nin Somali’de artan aktifliğini incelemek için, Somali’yi ana vaka çalışması olarak analiz etmektedir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, bu çalışma üç ana soru

sormaktadır: 1) Türkiye insaniyetçilik politikalarını nasıl yürütmektedir ve ne başarmayı amaçlamaktadır? 2) Bir orta gelirli ülke olmasına rağmen Türkiye dünyada nasıl önemli bir insani aktör haline geldi? 3) Türkiye diğer yükselen donörler arasında neden ve hangi açılardan önemli bir aktör olarak ortaya çıktı?. Böylece, bu çalışma Türkiye'nin insaniyetçiliğini nasıl yürüttüğünü, eylemleri, insani duygular, medeniyetsel jeopolitik, Türkiye'nin jeopolitik yardımları ve liminal kimlik çerçevesinde ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: İnsaniyetçilik, Somali, Yükselen Donörler, Türk Dış Politikası, Türkiye

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Berk Esen, who has supported me from the beginning of my PhD journey. During my entire PhD studies, his help and guidance for my dissertation are invaluable. I would like to extend my grateful thanks to the members of the dissertation committee, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tore Fougner, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pınar Bedirhanoğlu, Assist. Prof. Dr. Selver Şahin and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Başak Kale, for their constructive comments and helpful suggestions for my thesis.

During the academic term of Trinity in 2019, I greatly benefitted from my visit and research at University of Oxford Department of International Development, Queen of Elizabeth House. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Dr. Emre Eren Korkmaz, Prof. Dr. Dawn Chatty, and Dr. Jeff Crisp for their helpful and encouraging comments for my research.

Above all, I am deeply grateful to my better half Yunus Emre Türkmen for his patience, academic and personal support. Without his endless love, patience, and encouragements, this degree could not be finalized. I admire his passion about science which impressed me since we met. This was one of my main motivations to continue my doctoral studies. My family has not stopped believing in me. I would like to whole-heartedly thank my family – my parents Nuray & Yavuz Coşkun, my brother Enes Coşkun and Fatma Yılmaz Coşkun who has become a sister of me – for emotionally supporting and making me courageous

during though years of my doctoral studies. My source of joy and happiness during these years – my beloved niece and nephew İdil and Yavuz Tuna Coşkun – I owe you biggest thanks. Without my family, their endless and precious support, my doctoral studies could not have been achieved.

Pursuing a PhD degree is not easy especially without the support of my friends during these years. I would like to thank my friends at Bilkent, Çağla Lüleci Sula & Erkam Sula, Nurten & Başar Baysal, Özge & Buğra Sarı, Uluç Karakaş, Mustafa Aldı, Minenur Küçük, Erdem Ceydilek, Neslihan Dikmen Alsancak, Evgeniia Shahin and Nüve Yazgan. Their friendship and support helped me a lot during my PhD. My special thanks go to my dearest friends, İdil Görgen, Esra Maden Ağaçcıoğlu, Çağsenin Ar, Bengisu Kılıç Gökberk, Aslıgül Yurt Erkeksoy and Franziska Schuhmann for uplifting and encouraging me during my doctoral studies.

I would like to thank Ece Engin, the secretary of the Department of International Relations, for her support, help and encouragement. Sincere thanks go to Yeliz Dingler who helped me to keep me mentally and physically healthy since the beginning of PhD.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	III
ÖZET	V
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	VII
TABLE OF CONTENTS	IX
LIST OF TABLES.....	XII
LIST OF FIGURES.....	XIII
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. The Background of the Topic	4
1.2. The Research Focus: Main Arguments and Research Questions	9
1.3. Methodology.....	17
1.4. The Main Contributions	23
1.5. The Structure of the Dissertation.....	24
CHAPTER 2: HUMANITARIAN GOVERNMENT, WESTERN AND NON- WESTERN HUMANITARIANISM.....	29
2.1. The Historical Background of Humanitarianism.....	33
2.1.1. Crimean War	33
2.1.2. The Battle of Solferino	34
2.1.3. World War II	35
2.1.4. The End of The Cold War	36
2.2. The Expansion of the International Humanitarian Order	39
2.3. Humanitarian Government	42

2.4. Western Humanitarianism: Actors, Practices, Principles and Goals.....	48
2.5. Non-Western Humanitarianism: Actors, Practices and Principles, and Goals..	55
2.6. Examples of Emerging Donor Countries	58
2.7. The Common Key Features of Emerging Donor Countries	65
2.7.1. Mercantilist	66
2.7.2. Neo-colonial	68
2.7.3. Political agenda	70
2.7.4. Anti-Western / anti-colonial Discourse	72
 CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND LIMINAL IDENTITY OF TURKEY’S HUMANITARIANISM	 76
3.1. The Background of ‘Turkey as a Humanitarian Actor’	78
3.2. Turkey’s Humanitarianism: The General Overview and The Historical Context	81
3.2.1. The General Overview: Humanitarianism as a Foreign Policy Instrument During the AKP Era.....	82
3.2.2. The Historical Context	88
3.3. Turkey: Liminality and Humanitarianism	96
3.4. Turkey’s Liminal Identity	101
3.4.1. The Divergence Between Discourses and Practices.....	102
3.4.2. Turkey’s Continuing Position in Traditional Humanitarian Government.....	108
3.4.3. Turkey’s Bilateral Relations with Recipient Countries.....	111
3.4.4. Mercantilist and Geopolitical Aid	113
3.4.5. Instrumentalization of Humanitarianism	115
3.4.6. Civilisational Agenda	117
3.4.7. The Ambivalent Content of Turkish Humanitarianism.....	119
 CHAPTER 4 : TURKEY’S MULTIFACETED HUMANITARIANISM	 122
4.1. Turkey as A Humanitarian Actor: Different Dynamics since 2002.....	125
4.2. Why is Humanitarianism a Foreign Policy Instrument?.....	129
4.3. Geopolitical aid: The Definition and The Insights From the Literature.....	130
4.4. Turkey’s Multifaceted Humanitarianism	132
4.4.1. Turkey’s Official Development Assistance (ODA) & ‘Turkey as a Development Partner’	133
4.4.2. Emergency and Humanitarian Aid & Turkey as a Humanitarian Actor	139
4.4.3. Trade and Investment & Turkey as A Trade Partner.....	142

4.5. Geopolitical Aid and Categories of Turkish Aid	145
4.6. The Foundations of Geopolitical Aid	146
4.7. The Geographical Scope.....	149
4.8. Types of Aid	155
4.8.1. Emergency Aid	156
4.8.2. Technocratic Aid	158
4.8.3. Cultural and Religious Aid.....	164
4.8.4. Infrastructure Aid	169
 CHAPTER 5 : THE ANALYSIS OF TURKEY’S ROLE IN SOMALIA	172
5.1. The Significance of Somalia.....	175
5.2. The Background of Relations Between Turkey and Africa.....	177
5.3. Turkey’s Rediscovery of Somalia Since 2002	180
5.4. Revalorisation of Somalia Under the AKP Through Particular Determinant Factors	185
5.5. Rhetoric	197
5.6. Decolonial rhetoric	201
5.7. Practice: Geopolitical Aid in Somalia	210
5.7.1. Emergency Aid	211
5.7.2. Technocratic Aid	217
5.7.3. Cultural and Religious Aid.....	222
5.7.4. Infrastructure Aid	228
5.8. Concluding Remarks.....	231
 CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	233
6.1. Executive Summary and Arguments	233
6.2. The Final Analysis of Turkey	237
6.3. Contributions of the Dissertation.....	240
6.4. Paths for Future Research	243
 REFERENCES	246
 APPENDIX	272
APPENDIX A: Interview Questions	272

List of Tables

1. Classification of recipients	151
---------------------------------------	-----



List of Figures

1. Turkish ODA flows 2002-2018.....	135
2. 20 donors providing the most humanitarian assistance as percentage of GNI.....	137
3. Top ten recipients of Gross ODA of Turkey in 2017	138
4. Donors (largest volumes) (2012-2017)	141
5. Turkey's Regional ODA Amounts	154
6. Map of Somalia	175
7. Turkey's economic and foreign policy development	189
8. Turkey-Somalia Trade Relationship.....	191
9. Amount of ODA from Turkey to Somalia	214

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“Let humanitarianism be humanitarianism.”

David Rieff (2002: 333)

For the last two decades, humanitarianism is in question due to the emergence of new actors and new forms of aid. Humanitarianism has been institutionalized at the international level, and thus become instrumentalized for economic, political and strategic interests in world politics by humanitarian actors which are donor states and other international actors (Barnett & Weiss, 2008; Donini, 2006). Humanitarianism including development assistance, humanitarian aid, official development assistance (ODA) and other types of foreign aid has undergone a major shift.

Humanitarianism consists of a wide range of activities. Therefore, in order to investigate various activities of Turkey in light of the Somalia case, this study will be based on discussions formed around the literature of humanitarianism. This dissertation investigates the role of emerging actors in the international humanitarian order since the beginning of the 2000s. The main focus of this work is Turkey's humanitarian agenda with a particular focus on its policies in Somalia. The main argument of this study is that Turkish government has reconciled its humanitarian agenda with its political, economic

and strategic interests to play an active role in new regions, as evidenced by its practices in Somalia.

This study argues that in order to expand the zone of influence, similar to Western countries, Turkey follows a geopolitical agenda aligned with its interests. As a result, humanitarianism has been an instrument of foreign policy to serve for donor countries' interests particularly geopolitical and commercial goals. This dissertation includes a general analysis of the actors, practices and strategic goals of emerging donors to assess Turkey's operationalization of its humanitarianism. My primary research question is "How does Turkey operationalize its humanitarianism and what goals does it seek to achieve?". My empirical research focuses on a detailed case study of the Turkish government's humanitarian policies in Somalia. As Harry Eckstein (1975: 79) argues that "case studies are a particularly useful means for arriving at a theoretical understanding of the subject matter of political study". This study aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of Turkey's humanitarian agenda and particularly with an analysis of the case study of Somalia. Turkey has increased its engagements in Somalia since 2011 to expand its zone of influence. According to OECD reports (2011-2018), since 2015, Somalia is the second largest recipient of Turkish ODA, humanitarian assistance and other types of aid in various sectors. To the best of my knowledge, this study will be the first comprehensive work that accounts for Turkey's humanitarian agenda in the literature of International Relations (IR).

While most existing scholarly contributions on today's 'rising powers' and 'emerging donors' investigate China, Brazil and India, this research focuses on Turkey that has engaged with the global development field through using insights from IR, Turkish foreign policy, and humanitarianism.

In particular, due to critiques towards humanitarianism because of its Western origins, Western countries-dominated main activities, instrumentality, principal elements, the world has witnessed the dramatic rise of new or emerging actors as new humanitarian actors. Moreover, new donors have become powerful in economy which have increased their humanitarian practices in various regions. This created a great opportunity for new and emerging actors to justify and intensify their actions in the name of humanitarianism. These actors are mainly Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa namely BRICS, Mexico, and Turkey. Although these actors are relatively new in the field, their humanitarian policies began earlier.

There is a puzzle about emerging donor countries. The puzzle is that these actors do not totally differ from Western donor countries contrary to their assertions to be outside of the traditional structure. Rather, emerging actors bear resemblances to Western donors, in other words; traditional actors with respect to their practices and goals. Thus, both Western and emerging donors are seeking for visibility, the pursuit of power and geopolitical influence through humanitarian aid, development assistance and heavy investments in different sectors of recipient countries. These activities can be described as instruments of soft power, public diplomacy, and trade partnerships in providing aid.

Hence, humanitarianism is a political tool not only for traditional donors but also for new emerging actors. In particular, this dissertation asks three main questions. First, how does Turkey operationalize its humanitarianism and what goals does it seek to achieve? Second, how has Turkey become an important humanitarian actor despite its middle-income country status particularly in Somalia? Third, why and in what terms does Turkey emerge as a significant actor amongst emerging donors in humanitarianism? In order to answer these questions, this study draws on the research of Turkey's humanitarian policies under the Justice and Development Party (AKP) rule since 2002 and particularly humanitarian engagements in Somalia that is implemented by a civilisational agenda.

1.1.The Background of the Topic

Over a decade, critiques around aid, development and assistance which are considered as traditional activities of Western actors, have been taking place amongst scholars across the world (Mawdsley, 2014; Barnett & Weiss, 2008; Donini, 2006). Since the end of the 1990s, humanitarian actions of Western countries are formed around liberal norms such as human rights, liberal economy, human protection, economic growth, democracy promotion, human security. These norms have been the grounds of Western humanitarianism including diverse humanitarian actions such as aid, peacebuilding and development assistance (Richmond, 2011). The problematic aspect of Western practices are failures to eradicate poverty, corruption, and “symptoms” of fragility that stem from neoliberal “social engineering” projects that reflect interests of Western states rather than the welfare of recipient countries (Sahin & Shahin, 2020; Duffield, 2001, 2007; Pugh, 2005; Barbara 2008).

These discussions increased the search for an alternative. In this regard, similar to growing binaries such as ‘self/other’, ‘West/non-West’ and ‘West/the Rest’, the growing non-Westernism, namely the rise of emerging donors, has been defined merely a positive concept that is the opposite and alternative of ‘Westernism’. As Hobson and Sajed (2017: 548) argue that many scholars want to reveal “the unequal relationships between the West and non-West to highlight the power asymmetries and on-going dominations by Western structures”. However, Hobson and Sajed (2017: 548) criticize those scholars because their work usually leads “to construct complementary binary conceptions of non-Western and Western agency”. This also hinders researchers to make a conceptualization of non-Westernism in humanitarianism. The literature of humanitarianism has its own blind spots. These blind spots are related to the recognition of the non-Western humanitarian actors as utterly positive and different players that can challenge Western humanitarian actors that are described as negative ones within humanitarian government. This is problematic because this understanding idealizes and romanticizes to be a ‘non-Western’ actor within humanitarian government. However, still there is no blueprint of the trajectories of non-Western humanitarianism.

The current discussions about non-Western and emerging donors are on their approaches, aid policies, development programs, wishing to create a global identity that contests traditional actors. Many scholars demonstrate how new humanitarian actors aim to traverse North-South hierarchies and challenge the dominant liberal discourse of the OECD-DAC by questioning practices by traditional actors (Mawdsley, 2012; 2015;

Kragelund, 2011; Chin and Quadir, 2012; Zimmerman and Smith, 2011; Bergamaschi et. al, 2017; Thiessen and Özerdem; 2019). However, these goals of new actors are in tandem with gaining status, stature, and visibility entangled with their foreign policy, diplomatic, and economic considerations. It should be noted that emerging donors should not be taken for granted as positive actors that do not have self-interests. In this regard, I explain common features of emerging donors in Chapter 2 which are as follows: 1) Mercantilist 2) Neo-colonial 3) Political agenda (political interests) 4) Anti-Western / anti-colonial discourse. Despite anti-colonial discourses, emerging donors continue to follow their political interests that are aligned with their mercantilist agenda to increase new market-places for their exports. Hence, these emerging donors have perhaps become neo-colonial actors as their practices comply to conventional actors. These agendas do not match with their anti-colonial discourses to challenge Western actors and the traditional humanitarianism which is dominated by Western states. Therefore, it is significant to look at new approaches of emerging actors whether they are convergent or divergent to the traditional agenda of humanitarianism which they have challenged. The traditional agenda aims to provide comprehensive development programs which consist of humanitarian aid, Official Development Assistance (ODA), and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted by the United Nations (UN) in 2000. Consequently, emerging donors operate with these traditional practices which end up imitating Western humanitarianism which has colonial imperatives such as the pursuit of economic and political dominance to expand the sphere of influence of a donor country in providing aid. As a result, the rise of emerging non-Western donors can be considered as the recreation of Western dominance in recipient countries in a different form.

In line with the growing arguments on liberal peace, humanitarian governance is discussed through liberal elements are considered as “matters of moral progress” (Barnett, 2013: 381), these perspectives have increased the instrumentality aspect of humanitarianism through reinforcing the roles of international actors. Therefore, in light of critiques against liberal norms and elements in humanitarianism, Chapter 2 addresses criticisms against Western humanitarianism which is shaped by liberal elements. These critiques also stimulated the search for an alternative approach which paved the way for the emergence of non-Western actors. It should be noted that the expansion of the humanitarian order and diversification of actors may jeopardize morality in humanitarian actions.

This study may speak to realist school of IR does not closely engage with discussions on humanitarian government and other development activities. Although “realism and humanitarianism may seem strange bedfellows” in the words of Jack Snyder (2011: 30), main actors can behave according to their national interests (Waltz 1979; Morgenthau, 1951). In this study, Turkey is analysed as the main research focus that also analyses its state identity and state behaviour in humanitarianism. Considering the close linkage between strategies in humanitarianism including economic, military, political and different types of aid, a realist approach may have contributions to humanitarianism. In particular, political motivations in humanitarian actions can be effectively explained by realist approach as Snyder (2011: 39) argues.

With respect to discussion of non-Western in IR, critical theories are more focused on the role of the West and their domination in IR. They aim to bring non-Western agency back in while simultaneously recognizing that such agency is usually subjected to structural constraints (Hobson & Sajed, 2017). The problem of conceptualizing non-Western leads most of Critical IR scholars to “construct two complementary, entwined binary conceptions of non-Western and Western agency” (Hobson and Sajed, 2017: 548). In this respect, there are significant scholarly contributions in the literature about Eurocentrism: Bilgin (2008); Krishna (1993, 2014); Ling (2002, 2014); Inayatullah and Blaney (2004); Grovogui (1996, 2006); Barkawi and Laffey (2006); Gruffyd Jones (2006); Muppidi (2012, 2016); Shilliam (2015); Tickner (2003; 2008). Their main goal is to demonstrate the need to open up spaces for non-Western perspectives and voices. In this research, considering the significant need to define and conceptualize non-Western humanitarian actors, there are two key limitations in approaches of Critical IR theory. The first one is to define non-Western actors through “structural confines of Western power” as Hobson and Sajed (2017: 550). To put differently, this is not going beyond Eurocentrism. Acknowledging this limitation, this dissertation explores the reflections of Western powers and their dominance in humanitarian government which have also influenced practices of emerging donors. However, the important point to reveal is that “there can be no West outside the non-West” (Hobson & Sajed, 2017). The second limitation is to romanticize and idealize the non-West against the West. This derives from portraying the non-West as a “silent victim” (Hobson & Sajed, 2017) or powerless, weak actors in Critical IR works. This dissertation speaks to discussions from Critical IR on Eurocentrism along with decolonial insights to analyse Turkey’s rhetoric in its

humanitarian agenda. However, accepting limitations of this literature, in this study I refrain from romanticizing and idealizing Turkey as a non-Western emerging humanitarian actor.

1.2.The Research Focus: Main Arguments and Research Questions

Turkey's engagement in Africa particularly in Somalia can be understood from the perspective of anti-colonial difference from the West that has roots back to Ottoman era. As opposed to colonial Western powers, Turkey has represented its non-colonial past and different image in African region. There can be two different sets of arguments. The first set of arguments is related to historical relations between Western donors and African countries in terms of historical parallels between Western countries' aid policies and their imperial pasts in these countries (Brown, 2013). The second set of arguments focuses on the language and practices of current liberal development policies (Hewitt & Duffield, 2009), Western liberal notions including colonial imperatives (Chandler, 2010) and Western donors' strategic use of aid (Sahin & Shahin, 2020).

This dissertation focuses on the second set of arguments to explain the dominance of Western colonial practices in terms of liberal sets of practices and continuities of these practices in emerging humanitarian actors. The relation between aid policies and colonial relations can be explained by Brown's quote below:

This in turn has been presented as one example, repeated in the aid relationship, of interactions between self-consciously 'liberal' Western states and societies deemed in some sense(s) to be 'illiberal'. A number of contributions to the aid literature have all focused on the socially transformative impact on Africa of both aid donors and their colonial forebears (Brown, 2013: 265).

There are various scholarly works on colonial imperatives in aid relations (Hewitt & Duffield, 2009; Williams & Young, 1994; Brown, 2006). Colonialism's maintenance is inseparable from liberal and developmental forms of justification of actions and restructuring recipient countries (Hewitt & Duffield, 2009: 10). Furthermore, colonialism and development are different but, at the same time, they both share a liberal problematic about security, economy, and politics as Hewitt and Duffield (2009: 10) argue.

Due to critiques towards Western donor countries' liberal practices and colonial images, non-Western emerging actors are understood as anticolonial or decolonial. Furthermore, these newcomers are considered as alternative actors in humanitarianism (Amar, 2012; Mawdsley, 2012; Binder & Meier, 2011). As opposed to these understandings, this dissertation aims to offer a critique to argue that emerging actors are not completely anticolonial or decolonial in their practices. In order to achieve this task, this study focuses on Turkey's humanitarian policies with specific implications from the single case study on Turkey's role in Somalia. Despite changes in discourses of emerging actors including Turkey such as emphasizes of empowerment of the local (Richmond, 2011) and partnership (Bergamaschi et. al. 2017), it is still, nonetheless, a relation of external tutelage (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Hewitt & Duffield, 2009). Therefore, in humanitarianism, "if there is a connection between development and liberal colonialism, it exists in relation to power, in particular, to a paternalistic and educative design of power that underpins relations of trusteeship" (Duffield & Hewitt, 2009: 12). With regard to non-Western and emerging actors, the problematic issue is to romanticize and idealize their practices through taking them as utterly anti-colonial or decolonial.

However, not only local recipient countries but also donor countries are romanticized as Richmond (2011:116) contends. This study attempts to unpack the idealization of a non-Western and emerging humanitarian actor which is Turkey to demonstrate continuities of liberal and colonial practices with a specific focus on Somalia. As a result, this study hypothesizes that Turkey as a quasi-colonial actor in light of discussions about sharing grounds of development and Western colonial liberalism and Turkey's practices. As Duffield (Tschrhart, 2011) underscores that: "Liberal regimes of development, of which foreign aid is part, have always (at least since the nineteenth century) experienced the country or person to be developed or improved as somehow lacking in something." In today's world, a strong neoliberal ethic still underpins Western foreign aid as Duffield (Tschrhart, 2011) argues. However, this discussion can be applied to non-Western actors as well. In spite of decolonial language of Turkey, in its humanitarian agenda, there are similarities between Turkey's practices and Western powers' actions in recipient countries. In this respect, the common point of their activities relies upon the following point: "development seeks to make people whole and safe by integrating them into local and international markets, ideally as small-scale entrepreneurs responsible for their own self-reproduction" as Duffield states (Tschrhart, 2011). Therefore, accounting foreign aid simply as good-in-itself can lead to miss its real importance which are geopolitical and foreign policy interests that are harnessed with political and economic goals in a similar vein with Duffield's point (Tschrhart, 2011). As a result, development, foreign aid and thus humanitarianism have turned a strategic tool. Because, "social transformation at a distance" (Williams & Young, 2009: 108) or conducting partnerships with recipient countries on the ground as non-Western donors do, paves the way for persistent 'liberal

project' that unites present day aid efforts, directed as they are at creating liberal states and societies, and the more liberal and emancipatory aspects of colonial rule (Williams & Young 2009: 108; Brown, 2013: 265).

Due to critiques towards Western humanitarianism, emerging actors have used the opportunity to present themselves as alternative actors or saviours of colonial humanitarianism which is dominated by Western actors. However, through using the label of "alternative", emerging donors created a new way of humanitarianism which has made humanitarianism a political tool to serve for their national interests. Therefore, the contradictions between Turkey's decolonial discourses and similar practices to Western donors are investigated in light of the Somalia case.

Acknowledging the term 'Western' or 'traditional' is problematic focusing on geography, this still designates the dominance of Western norms and countries in conventional international institutions and global decisions. In this dissertation, I use 'Western' to define actors which are traditional donor countries that are members of Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and main development organizations particularly the United Nations (including its branches) and the World Bank. Moreover, I utilize 'non-Western' to describe emerging actors that are Turkey, BRICS, and other non-DAC humanitarian actors in order to demonstrate convergences and divergences in terms of their activities and aims going beyond their geographies. Furthermore, the literature of humanitarianism

and development continue to use these problematic binary terms (Western and non-Western) considering the need of different interpretations of these terms.

In this dissertation, first, I argue that Turkey, as the largest donor according Global Humanitarian Assistance Reports, mixes its humanitarianism with its foreign policy goals, economic and political interests despite its antagonistic stance to the West.

However, these claims only remain as high ambitions to position itself in the international order because Turkey's practices are replicas of Western practices. The only major difference is the significance of civilizational agenda that prioritizes countries which have religious, cultural, and historical affinities. Unlike previous governments, civilizational agenda is more heavily relied upon religion and Ottoman romanticism in the AKP era.

Turkey is a middle-income country that is an emerging economy being similar to other emerging donors. Second, I contend that in contrast to other emerging donors, the different issue for Turkey is its claim to operate humanitarianism different compared to traditional donors and its claim to promote an alternative vision of development.

According to the close readings of scholarly works on emerging actors, these claims are very visible and strong in Turkey. Therefore, Turkey is chosen as the main focus to explore its claims and whether they overlap with its practices. This research is one of the rare inquiries in the literature probing Turkey's aid to Somalia in a qualitative analysis that uncovers geopolitical, economic and political interests in the country.

The general starting point of the dissertation is to analyse Turkey as an emerging non-Western donor. To this end, I use the concept of “humanitarian government” to explain the diversification of actors and thus the inclusion of emerging donors that resulted in the expansion of the international humanitarian order. Humanitarian government is the key concept that consists of all kinds of humanitarian activities and different actors in order to investigate Turkey through looking at Western and ‘non-Western’ models of humanitarianism. This concept and other conceptual discussions are addressed in Chapter 2. In doing so, emerging donors are examined from a wider angle whether they have convergences or divergences with Western donors.

The core focus of this dissertation is Turkey’s humanitarian policies under the AKP rule with a particular focus on a case study of its activities in Somalia. Turkey is analysed as a non-DAC and ‘non-Western’ donor. However, most importantly this study hypothesizes that Turkey is a *quasi-colonial humanitarian actor* in terms of its features, actors, practices, and approaches. I define a *quasi-colonial actor* as an actor adopting decolonial discourses in critiques towards the international humanitarian system while remaining integrated to the conventional structure of the system, which is dominated by Western donors. In the context of Turkey, the definition of quasi-colonial is the divergence between its decolonial discourses and practices. Decolonial discourses do not match with its practices. Because, Turkey’s practices are colonial or reconstruct colonial liberal practices of traditional actors. I define decolonial rhetoric as the rejection of Eurocentric and Western-oriented norms and structures that aims to bring a new form of humanitarianism.

To answer how Turkey operates its humanitarianism as a *quasi-colonial* actor, this dissertation focuses on Turkey's role in Somalia which is the single case study. Turkey as a humanitarian actor is neither Western nor non-Western, thus situated in-between. This is also consistent with Turkey's liminal identity that refers to: "(...) a dual identity allowing Turkey to invoke different aspects of its identity in the West and the East in different ways that catered to both audiences and enabled the pursuit of different political and economic objectives" (Rumelili & Suleymanoglu-Kurum, 2017: 549).

This liminal identity of Turkey in foreign policy shaped its dual identity in humanitarian government. Turkey's hybrid identity can be shortly defined the divergence between its discourses and practices that makes Turkey a *quasi-colonial actor* in humanitarianism. Turkey, being suspicious and critical towards traditional actors at discourse level, remains integrated into conventional humanitarian government and Western structure of humanitarianism. Despite its competing perspectives against Western actors, Turkey seemingly gains visibility supporting its geopolitical goals and national interests, helping to strategically build an international identity. This duality derives from the construction of Turkish modern state identity "to change hierarchical, stigmatizing relationship between Turkey and Europe, and join the circle of the 'established' states", as Zarakol (2011: 156) underscores.

As a result, I argue that because of similarities between Turkey's practices and Western liberal activities and the possible dominance of Turkey over the Somalis in terms of political, social and economic needs, Turkey is recognized as a *quasi-colonial* humanitarian actor. In this dissertation, the timeline of Turkey's humanitarianism will be particularly years between 2002-2019. The AKP came to power in 2002 that has gradually increased humanitarian efforts of Turkey as an indispensable element of its foreign policy. In this timeline, 2012 is also recognized as a significant year for Turkey. It is the year when Turkey entered into the top six largest humanitarian donors in the world according to Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) Reports through increasing and expanding its activities in humanitarianism. According to Global Humanitarian Assistance Reports, Turkey has been the largest donor in the world in 2018 with 8.4 billion USD and in 2017 with 8.1 billion USD.

This study contends that Turkey covers its political, economic, and diplomatic goals altogether in providing aid. Therefore, in light of Turkey's interests, the shape and the pattern of its aid change in each region. In this regard, I develop the term *geopolitical aid* to investigate how Turkey operates its humanitarianism through a combination of political, economic and other strategic practices. I define *geopolitical aid* as revalorisation of particular geographies in terms of regional characteristics shaping the pattern and content of aid in order to expand the zone of influence of a donor country in order to assess Turkish foreign aid policy. These regional characteristics denote particular features of recipient countries that are historical, cultural, and religious motives. These motives can be encapsulated as political dynamics of civilizational geopolitics in Turkish

foreign aid policy (Bilgin, 2004). Chapter 4 mainly concentrates on “what are the different types of aid in Turkey’s multi-sector aid to expand its zone of influence?” My classification of Turkey’s different aid policies are as follows: emergency aid, technocratic aid, cultural and religious aid, infrastructure aid.

In light of these discussions, this dissertation argues that revalorisation of Somalia by the AKP involves specific determinant factors. These are religion (i.e. the importance of Islam), Somalia’s natural resources, Turkey’s economic interests and geopolitical rivalry in Somalia between Gulf countries and Turkey. This chapter aims to investigate determinant factors which demonstrate long-term goals of Turkey in Somalia besides humanitarian aid that started in 2011 after the Somalia famine. Even though Turkey has built its decolonial rhetoric in Somalia to expand its visibility and to increase its reputation against other actors involved in Somalia, Turkey’s practices are not completely decolonial despite its positive contributions in Somalia. Rather, its practices may reconstruct colonial and liberal developmental practices of Western actors that contain different goals such as the pursuit of geopolitical influence and mercantilist agenda in recipient countries.

1.3.Methodology

This study combines theoretical and analytical insights from different disciplines. This dissertation is based on the juxtaposition of literatures of IR, humanitarianism (including rising donors in development studies), and Turkish foreign policy. All in all, this study is a significant attempt to develop an interdisciplinary work on Turkey as an emerging

humanitarian actor. The significant contribution of this study is to synthesize various types of literatures in order to critically assess Turkey's humanitarianism.

This research is designed through a multi-method approach to carry out a qualitative analysis of Turkey's humanitarianism. This multi-method approach includes within-case study, process tracing, and interviews. In this study, I hypothesize that Turkey is quasi-colonial actor in humanitarian government. Turkey is the main research focus in this dissertation. In order to prove this hypothesis, in Chapter 2, I begin with analytical and conceptual discussions about humanitarian government and emergence of non-Western actors. The common key features of emerging actors including Turkey are addressed. These features are analysed as key elements that constitute the causal pathway with regard to why emerging donors bear resemblances to Western actors. This is one of the main discussions of the dissertation and the essence of hypothesizing Turkey as a quasi-colonial actor amongst emerging donors.

Congruent with the following question that is "Why does Turkey emerge as a significant actor?", process tracing method which is based on primary and secondary sources is employed in Chapter 3 and 4 to explain Turkey's liminal identity. According to George and Bennett (2005), process tracing is "the detailed examination of an aspect of historical episode to develop or test historical explanations that may be generalizable to other events". In this regard, in Chapter 3, the election of AKP in 2002 is addressed as the key historical turning point in Turkish foreign policy that shaped and changed its humanitarian agenda. Furthermore, the historical background of Turkey's

humanitarianism in the Cold War and post-Cold War era are assessed in order to trace and map out the historical trajectory of Turkey's humanitarian agenda including changes and new dynamics. In doing so, as George and Bennett (2005: 428) argue that process tracing seeks to uncover a causal mechanism posited by a theory. This method is used to understand the causal mechanisms that underlie the transformation of humanitarianism into a foreign policy instrument by the AKP since 2002. In this respect, I aim to answer what constitutes Turkey's liminal identity which also shapes it as a quasi-colonial actor. In Chapter 3, through process tracing, seven constitutive elements of liminal identity are addressed in detail. As Jeffrey Checkel (2008) posits, process tracing brings theory closer to what is going on in the real world.

In Chapter 4, to answer "Why does Turkey emerge as a significant actor?", I argue that Turkey constructed three identities through implementing three instruments which are ODA, emergency and humanitarian aid, trade and investment. In addition, four types of aid under geopolitical aid are explained and discussed with respect to their content, sets of actions and goals. In this chapter, through process tracing, I aim to produce a qualitative analysis that unwraps the causal linkages that construct causes and their outcomes with reference to Turkey's multifaceted humanitarianism. As George and Bennett (2005: 564) contend that process tracing method enables researcher "to identify the intervening causal process, the causal chain and causal mechanism". The consequence of the causal chain that construct different types of aid and multifaceted humanitarianism is the significant rise of Turkey as a notable actor in humanitarian government.

In Chapter 5, Somalia is selected as the single case study that is assessed through within-case analysis in order to exemplify and analyse theoretical and conceptual discussions in previous chapters. As Paterson (2010) defines that within-case analysis is a case study research that focuses on an in-depth exploration of a single case or stand-alone entity. Within-case analysis enables researchers to be thoroughly immersed in the data within a single case study which fosters the emergence of the case's unique patterns and features (Paterson, 2010). Case study analysis focuses on one or several cases that are expected to provide insights about theoretical and conceptual discussions as Gerring (2004: 645) contends. Because, case study approach is the detailed examination of an aspect of critical development which is significant to investigate the rising interest towards Somalia during the process of Turkey's humanitarianism (George & Bennett, 2005). Since 2002, Turkey's rediscovery of Somalia started which reached its peak in 2011 through humanitarian aid after the famine.

Through utilizing process tracing, Turkey's rediscovery of Somalia including its historical background which has roots back into 1990s is assessed in Chapter 5. In order to answer, why Turkey revalorizes Somalia in its humanitarian agenda is answered again using process tracing to provide causes which are particular determinant factors. These are religion (i.e. the importance of Islam), Somalia's natural resources, Turkey's economic interests and geopolitical rivalry in Somalia. the outcomes of these factors are the emergence of different types of aid that are conducted by Turkey in Somalia. Process tracing is one of the main methods that is used for within-case analysis as George and

Bennett (2005: 429) state. Because, according to George and Bennett (2005: 565), process tracing offers ‘the possibility of mapping out one or more potential causal paths that are consistent with the outcome and process tracing evidence in a single case’.

In this dissertation, in order to test that Turkey is a quasi-colonial actor, process tracing becomes an indispensable tool because it is an important method for theory development as George and Bennett (2005: 566) underscore. Congruent with the argument and conceptual innovations of the thesis and within-case analysis of Somalia, this work aims to provide a detailed qualitative analysis of Turkey as an emerging humanitarian actor in the discipline of IR.

In this dissertation, I also conducted the method of semi-structured interviews. Since there is a high security risk in Mogadishu, Somalia, it was impossible to conduct a field work in Mogadishu. Field works are efficient tools to collect information on the ground. In order to close the gap, I conducted interviews with Kani Torun who was the former ambassador of Turkey to Somalia, Abdinor Dahir who is a Somali analyst at TRT World, and Ahmed Omar Ibrahim who is the local representative of Save the Children in Mogadishu. The information I gathered from interviews are used in Chapter 5 in order to analyse Turkey’s humanitarian policies in Somalia. The complete list of questions is presented in Appendix.

The dissertation also relies on extensive review of primary and secondary sources. Primary resources which I use are datasets, annual reports and policy documents. I

utilized the datasets of Turkey's humanitarian aid and ODA released by OECD to collect information of numerical data and top recipients. These data are used in Chapter 4 and 5. I supplemented trade and investment data by Turkish Statistical Institute in order to provide information specifically amounts of exports and imports between Turkey and Somalia in Chapter 5. The annual reports which I reviewed were released by Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA). These reports allow me to access information about top largest donors in the world and their amounts of aid. In order to indicate where Turkey is located amongst top largest donors, these reports are cited in various sections in the dissertation. To collect specific information about ODA, humanitarian aid, and sectoral aid, I benefitted from policy documents released by TİKA (Annual Reports 2011-2019), Kızılay and Aid Coordination Unit Office of Prime Minister Federal Republic of Somalia (Reports of aid flows 2018-2019). I also used reports which were released by Ministry of Foreign Affairs to acquire information about Turkey-Somali relations including their active involvement in providing aid. The secondary sources employed in this study are journal articles and books published in IR, development studies, Turkish foreign policy, emerging donors in development studies, and decolonial understandings in IR.

In order to apply process tracing method to map put changes in discourse of political elites in Turkey, I evaluated speeches of political officials to uncover anticolonial and decolonial undertones of Turkish officials particularly of the AKP elites which challenge the idealization of the West. The analysis of discourses throughout the historical process of Turkish humanitarian policies is important to conduct a within-case analysis of Somalia. I benefitted from a selection of speeches by political elites such as Recep

Tayyip Erdoğan (as the prime minister and the president), Ahmet Davutoğlu (as the ministry of foreign affairs and the prime minister), Abdullah Gül (as the president). I accessed the collection of speeches from official websites of Turkish Presidency, AKP, and various ministries, policy documents, online newspapers, and news websites. In order to present the within-case analysis of the single case study of Somalia, I reviewed a collection of speeches of prominent figures of AKP and Somalia that had been published, in a form of qualitative interviews and in the archive of TIKa reports (20011-2018). Overall, this dissertation aims to offer a comprehensive qualitative analysis to answer how Turkey operates its humanitarianism as an emerging donor particularly in Somalia.

1.4.The Main Contributions

This dissertation will be the first study to argue that Turkey is situated in between Western and non-Western approaches in humanitarianism through integrating discussions on liminality. Although Turkey's liminal identity is discussed in scholarly works in IR with respect to foreign policy (Rumelili and Suleymanoglu-Kurum, 2017; Rumelili, 2013; Altunışık, 2014), the concept of liminality has never been employed to assess Turkey's humanitarian agenda and its increasing amounts of aid in various geographies.

Second, to define Turkey is a *quasi-colonial actor* will make this study as the first work to analyse Turkey's humanitarian policies under AKP from a critical lens. In this respect, this dissertation will unpack and analyse the unexplored features (interests, motivations, geopolitical dynamics, and civilizational geopolitics) and changes in historical trajectories of Turkey's humanitarian policies and Turkish foreign policy.

Third, this research brings a new concept of *geopolitical aid*. This conceptual innovation will enable researchers to analyse the goals and practices of donors (both Western and non-Western) that are aligned with various interests and civilizational geopolitics.

Fourth, through synthesizing concepts, theoretical discussions and paradigms from different disciplines, this dissertation contributes to diverse literatures that are as follows: IR, development studies (emerging donors), humanitarianism, rising powers and Turkish foreign policy.

Lastly, this research presents a fertile ground for future research on what is the ideal form of humanitarianism. In this regard, I aim to broaden the literature of humanitarianism and IR through introducing the term *decolonial humanitarianism*. Recently, there have been scholarly debates about revealing decolonial dimensions of humanitarianism and development (Rutazibwa, 2019; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). Here, the important question is “What should be the ideal form of humanitarianism?”. The answer could be decolonial humanitarianism that can be as an alternative vision of development that is a part of future research. Further discussions will be addressed in the conclusion chapter.

1.5.The Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is structured as follows. After this introduction, the first chapter sets out the dissertation’s analytical foundations and conceptual aspects. These conceptual notions will form the analytical bedrock for guiding the case study research of Turkey. The first

part of Chapter 2 assesses history of humanitarianism. Then, I address the expansion of the international humanitarian order and its evolution into humanitarian government. Based on discussions on humanitarian government, the next section investigates Western humanitarianism regarding its actors, practices, principles and goals. The following section explains non-Western humanitarianism in terms of its actors, principles, practices and goals. Although each emerging donor has a different agenda and sets of practices in providing aid, they have common features. I present the common features of emerging donor countries are as follows: 1) mercantilist, 2) neo-colonial, 3) political agenda, 4) anti-Western/anti-colonial discourse.

Chapter 3 assesses Turkey's humanitarianism in terms of its historical background and identity. This chapter reveals Turkey's liminal identity as a case between Western and non-Western humanitarianism. The first section introduces and discusses the literature on Turkey's humanitarianism and its liminal identity in foreign policy. The second section of the chapter suggests that there are seven elements that constitute Turkey as a quasi-colonial actor and thus its liminal identity in humanitarian government. These elements can be listed as follows:

- 1) Turkey's divergence between its discourses and practices
- 2) Turkey's continuing position in traditional humanitarian government
- 3) Turkey's bilateral relations with recipient countries
- 4) Mercantilist and geopolitical aid
- 5) Instrumentalization of humanitarianism
- 6) Civilisational agenda
- 7) The ambivalent content of Turkish humanitarianism

In light of these elements, this chapter presents a blueprint of how Turkey operates its humanitarianism. The following section of the chapter closely looks at history of humanitarianism of Turkey during the Cold War era and post-Cold War era. Overall, I argue that during the AKP era, humanitarianism has been instrumentalized since 2002.

In Chapter 4, I devote attention to Turkey's geopolitical aid. In this regard, the first section of the chapter discusses Turkey's multifaceted humanitarianism and different identities of Turkey in this realm. The multifaceted humanitarianism is structured as follows: 1) Turkey's Official Development Assistance (ODA) & Turkey as *a Development Actor*, 2) Emergency and Humanitarian Aid & Turkey as *a Humanitarian Actor*, 3) Trade and Investment & Turkey as *a trade partner*. This chapter uncovers civilizational geopolitics which is located at the heart of Turkey's humanitarian agenda which is more heavily relied upon religion and Ottoman romanticism in the AKP era. Afterwards, these discussions are explained by the concept of geopolitical aid in the context of Turkey. This chapter aims to provide a classification of recipients of Turkish aid to demonstrate the geographical scope of Turkey's recipients. To this end, I present three groups of countries which are as follows: a) geopolitical hinterlands (GHs), b) post-Soviet Zone (PSZ), and c) new geopolitical horizons (NGHs). GHs refer to the Balkans, MENA, and Sub-Saharan Africa) that are former territories of the Ottomans. The countries in South and Central Asia are defined as PSZ that consist of Turkic Republics. Latin America and Caribbean, and countries in the other Asia and Oceania are recognized as NGHs. The final section investigates four types which are emergency aid, technocratic aid, cultural and religious aid, and technocratic aid to unpack multi-sector aid of Turkey.

Chapter 5 focuses on Turkey's humanitarianism in Somalia which is the single case study of this study. This chapter aims to offer a within-case analysis in light of critical arguments with respect to political, economic, diplomatic and geopolitical interests of Turkey in Somalia. The main argument of this chapter is to reveal Turkey's contemporary policy towards Somalia, which is driven by geopolitical aid, political and economic goals. The first part of this chapter addresses the significance of Somalia in the Horn of Africa. The next part particularly delves into the details of the background of relations between Turkey and Africa. The following part discusses particular determinants of revalorisation of Somalia under the AKP that are religion (i.e. the importance of Islam), Somalia's natural resources, Turkey's economic interests and geopolitical rivalry in Somalia. In light of these discussions, first I focus on Turkey's decolonial rhetoric. Second, I analyse Turkey's geopolitical aid including four types of aid (i.e. emergency, technocratic, cultural and religious, infrastructure).

Chapter 6 assembles discussions of decolonial humanitarianism and concluding remarks about Turkey's humanitarian agenda in Somalia. This conclusion chapter draws on several problematic aspects of Turkey's operationalisation of its humanitarianism. Since Turkey follows a strategic agenda to expand its zone of influence aligned with its economic and geopolitical interests, Turkey reproduces colonial practices of Western donors that have liberal imperatives. As a result, this chapter concludes that Turkey as an emerging donor does not rewrite standard accounts of humanitarianism. Rather, it remains in the conventional structure of humanitarian government that perpetuates its

colonial understandings despite its decolonial rhetoric. This chapter ends the dissertation with a summary of main arguments and concluding insights on future possibilities of decolonial humanitarianism both in conceptual and empirical terms.



CHAPTER 2: HUMANITARIAN GOVERNMENT, WESTERN AND NON-WESTERN HUMANITARIANISM

Chapter 2 assesses analytical foundations and conceptual aspects of the dissertation. This chapter brings a detailed overview of humanitarianism, its different concepts and understandings. In light of these theoretical foundations, the following chapters of this study explore Turkey's operationalization of its humanitarianism. This chapter presents the blueprint of main ideas, arguments and concepts of the dissertation. The first section addresses the general background of the topic and arguments. The second section of the chapter deals with history of humanitarianism, how it expanded and evolved into humanitarian government. In the following part, I investigate humanitarian government that consists of various humanitarian actors particularly states, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and international organizations (IOs). Afterwards, Western and non-Western humanitarianism are analysed with regard to its main features including actors, practices, goals and principles. Overall, this chapter presents the details of emerging actors in humanitarian government. The reason why I focus on non-Western humanitarian actors is the lack of critical inquiry about the discussions of possible neo-colonial motives in non-Western humanitarianism. This lack of inquiry stems from the vagueness of present analysis on non-Westernism.

In the literature of IR, in some significant works of post-colonial studies, “IR from below” (Blaney & Inayatullah, 2008); bringing the non-West in studies of modernization (Barkawi & Laffey, 2006); the togetherness of Eurocentrism and Third World (Chakrabarty, 2000) are the main focuses. In humanitarianism, although there are studies on non-Westernism, they have similar inclination as post-colonial IR to consider emerging actors as idealized actors. In this regard, this chapter also aims to unravel unexplored features of emerging actors beyond being romanticized and idealized in the IR literature.

As a result of critiques towards humanitarianism with regard to its ‘Western’ origins, ‘Western-dominated’ main activities, instrumental character, principal norms, there has been a rise of new or emerging actors as new humanitarian actors in the last two decades. In addition, there is a rise of emerging powers which have gained political and economic power since the 2000s. This created a great opportunity for new and emerging actors to justify and intensify their actions in the name of humanitarianism. These actors are as follows: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS), Mexico, and Turkey. Although these actors are relatively new in humanitarian realm, their humanitarian and development assistance practices started earlier. For this reason, it would be much more suitable to use the term re-emerging actors. However, due to the recently growing interest in IR studies, these actors are often defined as ‘emerging’ because it is the first time that they have been perceived as competitors to Western actors. Why these actors are re-emerging is the important question. My answer is the dominance of “Western” liberal ideas, models, and Western countries’ interventions which lead these actors to explicitly

show their ambitions to be a visible actor (Six, 2009; Amar, 2012; Kothari, 2005). As opposed to Western countries, emerging actors operate bilaterally to provide aid and development assistance to recipient countries. In brief, these new actors assert themselves “outside of global aid tracking mechanisms and multilateral frameworks” (Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019. 7).

In the wake of increasing critiques towards Western humanitarianism, this has created the best opportunity for these newcomers to be involved in humanitarian actions as ‘alternatives’ or ‘saviours’ of colonial humanitarianism. However, emerging donors cannot be alternatives to traditional actors despite their assertions. Because, humanitarianism has become an effective foreign policy tool of new donors which have colonial traces. Emerging actors use ‘humanitarian’ label to pursue their imperialistic goals which goes parallel with their economic and political rise in the world.

Acknowledging the term ‘Western’ or ‘traditional’ is problematic focusing on geography, this still designates the dominance of Western norms and countries in conventional international institutions and global decisions. In this dissertation, ‘Western’ is used to describe traditional donors and main international development organizations. ‘Non-Western’ will be used for (re)emerging actors including non-DAC humanitarian actors in order to demonstrate convergences and divergences in terms of their activities, aims, and actors going beyond their geographies. In 1961, OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) or “Western donor system” in the words of Manning (2016: 277) was founded. Richard Manning served as DAC Chair from 2003 to January 2008. DAC has thirty member

countries¹ that are Western or so-called traditional and EU donors that have a long history in providing aid and assistance except Japan and South Korea that have distinctive aid practices and ideologies (Scheyvans, 2005; Potter, 2008; Tsopanakis, 2011).

The current discussions about emerging donors are on their approaches, aid policies, development programs, wishing to create a global identity that contests traditional actors. Many scholars (Mawdsley, 2012; Kragelund, 2012; Chin & Quadir, 2012; Zimmerman & Smith, 2011; Bergamaschi et. al., 2017; Thiessen & Özerdem; 2019) demonstrate how rising humanitarian actors aim to traverse North-South hierarchies and challenge the dominant liberal discourse of the OECD-DAC by questioning foundational terms used by traditional actors. However, these goals of new actors are to gain status, to seek stature, and visibility harnessed with their foreign policy, diplomatic, and economic considerations. For this reason, it is crucial to look at new approaches of emerging actors whether they are convergent or divergent to the traditional agenda of humanitarianism which they have challenged. The particular features of emerging donor countries are as follows: mercantilist, neo-colonial, linkage with political agenda, and anti-Western/anti-colonial discourse. The details of these features will be addressed under ‘non-western humanitarianism’ part.

¹ 30 members of DAC can be found in the link below:
<http://www.oecd.org/dac/development-assistance-committee/>

2.1. The Historical Background of Humanitarianism

This part focuses on the historical background of humanitarianism that is usually overlooked in many contemporary works as Barnett and Weiss criticize (2008: 29). Accounting humanitarianism and its instrumentality only with the end of the Cold War can hinder us to examine historical memory to compare different periods of humanitarianism in terms of its actors, practices and principles (Barnett & Weiss, 2008: 29). This section analyses four key turning points in the historical background of humanitarianism to demonstrate changes in actors, practices, administrative and ideological forms in time. These are Crimean War, Battle of Solferino, the World War II, and the end of the Cold War. However, the end of the Cold War still marks the most significant turning point when states were directly involved and affected decisions of NGOs and IOs to restructure countries politically, economically, and socially.

2.1.1. Crimean War

It is significant to look at the historical roots of humanitarianism through looking at the Crimean War between 1854 and 1856 due to two key reasons. The first one is the first enlargement of the Concert of Europe that goes beyond Europe through admitting Ottomans to the then-existing community of nations (Eberwein & Reinalda, 2016: 29). This was the onset of the rulemaking amongst belligerents during times of war which resulted in 1856 Paris Declaration and thus 1907 Hague Conference which includes the contemporary international humanitarian law (Eberwein & Reinalda, 2016: 29).

The second reason making the Crimean War crucial is the concern for the welfare of wounded during the Crimean War that became a new significant element (Eberwein & Reinalda, 2016: 29). Florence Nightingale, the key figure of humanitarian action, had an important role in reducing the death rate of wounded soldiers through providing medical supplies in Scutari camp of the Crimean War. This marked a critical change in providing humanitarian action toward wounded people on the battlefield. As Finnemore (1996: 79) contends, in the wake of this private initiative, the British attitude, taking care of wounded on the battlefield, became a state obligation of Britain.

2.1.2. The Battle of Solferino

The Battlefield of Solferino took place between French allied with Italian forces and Austrian forces on 24 June 1859 that resulted in the victory of French and Sardinian Kingdom against the Austrian army. During the war, the Swiss banker Henry Dunant was the key figure in the development of humanitarian action. He organized civilians to provide help to wounded soldiers on the battlefield. Based on his personal experiences, he proposed to establish regulations with regard to wars and administration of the wounded. The most important result of this battlefield was the foundation of Geneva Conventions that is the basis of international humanitarian law, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1863. These organizations were expected to be impartial, neutral and independent with a particular humanitarian mission to protect the lives and dignity of victims of war (Barnett, 2010: 181). The ICRC and the Red Cross dominated the field of humanitarian action during wartimes (Eberwein & Reinalda, 2016: 33; Chin & Quadir, 2012). The

Geneva Convention was the very first and fundamental step regarding institutionalization of humanitarian action (Eberwein & Reinalda, 2016: 30). Therefore, Henry Dunant was named as “the patriarch of modern humanitarianism” (Barnett, 2010: 181).

2.1.3. World War II

After the World War II, new actors started to emerge in the international humanitarian order. For example, in 1942 Oxfam was established as an international non-governmental organization which is a focal actor. Oxfam became active in diverse parts of Europe stressing the principle of aid based on needs (Barnett, 2010: 117-118). In a similar vein, CARE International was founded in 1945. Save the Children which was established in 1919 had a fundamental role in order to provide relief and humanitarian aid. In addition, the UN system had an active role in humanitarianism through its agencies. Its agencies are UN Peacekeeping, World Food Program, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, UNICEF, and the World Health Organization. In order to improve human welfare and reconstruction of post-conflicted zones, new international organizations (IOs) were established. The most important IOs and financial institutions are as follows Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). These organizations are in cooperation with NGOs (Eberwein & Reinalda, 2016: 34). IMF and IBRD were established at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944 which were focused on reconstruction after the Second World War. In short, the post-second World War era can be defined as the rise of NGOs, IOs and international financial institutions where states had secondary role.

Furthermore, in the post-World War II era, agendas of IGOs and NGOs have undergone a major shift. This derives from the Wilsonian belief that suggests it is possible to transform economic, political and cultural structures in order to produce stable peace and effective progress (Barnett, 2010: 181). This can be described as a major attempt to reduce and hence eliminate the root causes that can jeopardize societies. In parallel with Wilsonian idea, many NGOs including Save The Children and World Vision International expanded their activities into development, human welfare and other activities so as to assist marginalized populations, although they emerged in wartime for rescuing populations at risk and providing relief to them (Barnett, 2010: 181). This led to a transformation of practices that will consist of democracy promotion, good governance and economic growth that started with the end of the Cold War. This was also the time when neoliberal ideology created greater involvement of states besides NGOs and IOs in re-designing communities.

2.1.4. The End of The Cold War

The end of the Cold War marked a turning point in the evolution of the international humanitarian order. The first reason is that there were more actors; states, private, non-profit, local and international ones (Barnett, 2010: 3). The other reason is that there were more funding and financial resources for emergency relief, post-conflict recovery, democracy promotion, and prevention of health problems (Barnett, 2010: 3). During the Cold War, the international order was bipolar where two competing worldviews and practices in world politics. International administration of aid in this era was focused on

independent interests of human without any references from socialism or liberalism.

After the end of the Cold War, humanitarianism started to adopt a liberal language that is also linked with liberal peace (Doyle, 2005). In this respect, liberal democratic content with various political projects such as imposition of modern parliamentary, military structures to the recipient countries became an important aspect. This also coupled with the integration of Washington Consensus and neo-liberal post-Washington Consensus into humanitarian programmes. The further discussions about Washington Consensus will be assessed in proceeding sections of the chapter.

It is worth to note that following the end of the Cold War, while objectives of humanitarianism have reached its peak to become politicized, the organization of humanitarianism in general has become institutionalized (Barnett, 2010: 174). This politicized character of humanitarianism has roots back in the years of Cold War. There has been a major transformation from Henry Dunantist to Wilsonian actions in humanitarianism. While Dunantist view is based on the division between humanitarianism and politics, Wilsonian view relies upon the elimination of root causes in conflicts to transform economic, political and cultural structures. The formal humanitarian system has adopted “many of routine practices of modern welfare provision in Western states”, in the words of Hugo Slim who is also currently head of policy and humanitarian diplomacy at ICRC (Slim, 2006).

Most practices of humanitarianism aim to protect civilians and to alleviate sufferings excluding restructuring of political, economic and cultural orders. The goals of these

practices were shaped by principles of humanitarianism which are humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence. These principles were adopted and recognized by the UN as guiding principles for international humanitarian action conducted by the UN (United Nations, 1991; 2004). After the end of the Cold War, these principles of humanitarianism collapsed since its agenda started to include politics besides relief that resulted in the active involvement of individual states (Barnett, 2010: 174). Consequently, states started to have their own humanitarian agendas. The common goal of states has been to eliminate root causes of conflicts through providing relief, diplomatic efforts and military troops in peacebuilding operations. However, the potential risk for humanitarian agencies working with states has been to neglect the main principles which are particularly neutrality and independence (Barnett, 2010: 175). This was amplified in places like Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq where humanitarian principles were destroyed (Barnett, 2010: 175).

However, starting from the Cold War era, aid is viewed as a means of protecting its position in the global system such as the US provision of aid for ensuring that countries would not be sympathetic towards its communist rival USSR (Lundsgaarde, 2012: 190). The other example is the provision of aid by France to its former colonies in Africa to maintain its dominant role. This proves that humanitarianism was not only institutionalized but also politicized via colonial aspirations which started in Cold War years. The details of politicization of aid will also be addressed in Western humanitarianism section through further explanations.

Throughout the 1990s, humanitarianism turned into “a field with more donors, deliverers, and regulators of a growing sphere of action” (Barnett, 2010: 175). This environment created many problems in strategies and goals of agencies mushroomed in this era. In this sense, Rwanda intervention was an important case (Terry, 2002) that questioned the effectiveness and legitimacy of humanitarian actions where many aid agencies supported the primary actors of genocide in camps of Zaire (Barnett, 2010: 175-176). Consequently, the international humanitarian order has started to be institutionalized and politicized. Humanitarianism has evolved into an instrument which serves for national interests that have colonial undertones. The institutionalization of humanitarian system has been shaped by behaviours of states that are more actively involved into humanitarian actions, national and international bodies in the relief sector (Eberwein & Reinalda, 2016: 36). Therefore, in the contemporary agenda, states can easily use humanitarianism as an instrument to ensure their position and to increase their power.

2.2. The Expansion of the International Humanitarian Order

This section particularly deals with the expansion of international humanitarian order. The expansion of this order resulted in the emergence of humanitarian government which is assessed in the next section. Then, I set out details of Western and non-Western humanitarian actors with specific examples.

First of all, the international humanitarian order consists of a universe of organizations and states with a particular goal which is to reduce suffering and to assist vulnerable peoples in various regions (Barnett, 2010: 1). Main dominant states are the US, member

countries of the EU, and other OECD-DAC member countries. International organizations including non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which are as follows, Oxfam, CARE International, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and Doctors Without Borders.

Secondly, as discussed earlier, apart from NGOs, states are active players in creation of multitude of international organizations in order to provide assistance to needy people (Barnett, 2010: 1). As aforementioned, these states are Western countries that are DAC members except Korea and Japan. These states are obliged to follow standard definitions of principles of DAC. In this study, Western countries refer to OECD-DAC members which include European Union (EU) member countries, United States, Australia, Canada and the UK that have a long history in humanitarianism. Therefore, in the literature of IR and development studies, these countries are defined as ‘conventional’ or ‘traditional’. I will assess further details of these countries under the section on ‘Western humanitarianism’.

As indicated earlier, key international organizations (IOs) are the UN and specialized branches of the UN, UN Peacekeeping, World Food Program, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, UNICEF, and the World Health Organization. As Barnett (2010: 2) argues, although states do not get much credit, they have been highly central to this order. Within the last two decades, besides states, private sector has also been a visible actor in humanitarian actions (Barnett, 2010: 2). This proves the diversification of actors in humanitarianism. This diversification has actually instrumentalized humanitarian

activities to pursue economic gains and political visibility. Behind various activities of IOs and the private sector, Western states have the dominance to shape decisions as can be seen in OECD-DAC rules which will be discussed in following parts. Within the last decade, the majority of aid and humanitarian agencies have become more closely linked to Western states and committed to a politics of transformation that diffuses protecting values associated with the West (Barnett & Weiss, 2008: 7). This presents the biggest challenge for the international humanitarian order because the variety of activities have become the products of the West. Furthermore, mimicry of the West, their values and practices have become the common task for other agencies and emerging donors as well. As a result, the international humanitarian order has extended beyond humanitarianism that is generally defined as assistance in the context of disasters and conflicts, as well as relief and post-conflict recovery (Barnett, 2010: 2). The international order has become a new complex structure that consists of political, economic and diplomatic dimensions.

The end of the Cold War reveals the link between geopolitical and economic motives. This led to a change in norms and objectives amongst Western donors and OECD DAC members as Chin and Quadir (2012: 496) underscore. Development agendas of donor countries have expanded that now serves for their self-interests. Geopolitical goals, economic interests, initiatives to ensure donor state's legitimacy have become priorities in their agendas. This is also related to the expansion of the international humanitarian order that now includes various fields such as development, human rights, and public health (Barnett, 2010: 2) and eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) signed in September 2000 at the UN. Therefore, the new focus of Western donors oriented towards

poverty reduction, pro-poor growth on social development (Chin & Quadir, 2012).

Through the expansion of fields and actors conducting diverse actions, the international humanitarian order has expanded to ‘humanitarian government’ that will be explained in the following section.

2.3. Humanitarian Government

The notion of humanitarian government has gained prominence in humanitarianism and IR literatures. According to Didier Fassin who recently shaped key arguments, this notion is consistent with the mode of governing of “precarious lives” such as the lives of the asylum seekers, the unemployed, immigrants and victims of disasters and conflicts (Fassin, 2012: 4). As such, it is important to analyse humanitarian government as a set of specific procedures and actions to manage, regulate and support these precarious lives in disaster and post-conflict zones (Fassin, 2012: 1). Humanitarian government refers to: “[T]he administration of human collectivities in the name of higher moral principle that sees the preservation of life and the alleviation of suffering as the highest value of action” (Fassin, 2007: 151).

Humanitarian government has become a new arena for humanitarian actions including relief, development assistance and humanitarian aid. What distinguishes humanitarian government from the previous order is the self-conscious attempts by states and non-state actors in order to create various international mechanisms to reduce suffering and improving human welfare (Barnett, 2010: 2). In line with this objective, states and non-state actors have become key actors to create international human rights regime and

global campaign for improvisations of human welfare in conflict and post-conflict zones (Barnett, 2010: 2). Hence, humanitarian government is linked to problematic values of liberal peace that are democracy, liberal economic system and global market. The reason why these values are problematic is their colonial undertones. In brief, Barnett (2010:3) highlights that: “global governance became increasingly dedicated to humanitarian practices and humanitarian governance is global”. In particular, the rise of non-Western emerging donors proves global humanitarian government is not limited by Western actors and their ambitious agendas.

The point raised by Sabaratnam (2017: 34) in post-colonial IR marks a significant point which underlines “the paradox of liberalism”. This paradox can be described as deficiencies in critiques against the dominance of liberal elements in comprehensive humanitarian programmes. In this respect, Sabaratnam (2017: 34) posits that:

The critiques problematise interventions, liberal biopolitics, cultural inappropriateness, neoliberal economic policies and unaccountability, but on the other, they try to respond to these problems through some kind of middle ground, better practices or some kind of proper liberalism in the past.

In a similar vein, I define the continuation of instrumentality either in Western or non-Western agendas in humanitarian government as paradox of humanitarianism. Although, humanitarianism is criticized due to its Western strands, yet being anti-Western and non-Western cannot remedy humanitarian government. Specifically, being non-Western is utilized in filling spaces such as “local ownership, political partnership with aid recipient countries” as Sabaratnam argues (2017: 34). In this respect, I employ humanitarian government as an explanatory and analytical base in order to analyse Western and non-

Western humanitarian actors. The notion of humanitarian government is rarely used by various scholars in the literature. The pioneer is Didier Fassin. As mentioned above, Fassin (2007) defines it as “administration of human collectivities”. In the IR literature, the other work is by Mavelli (2017) who defines humanitarian government through a Foucauldian analysis as a biopolitical governmentality about inclusion/exclusion of refugees. His discussions are primarily based on biopolitics and politics of individual lives as Fassin argues. Miriam Ticktin (2011) describes humanitarian government politicization of refugees in migration that turn them into “means to papers”. Besides Mavelli (2017) and Ticktin (2011), the reason why I employ humanitarian government is to reveal the instrumentality of different types of aid and comprehensive assistance programs provided by Western and non-Western actors. Following the novel insights of Fassin, I define humanitarian government as an arena which politicizes aid and development assistance constructing a framework what constitutes needs of a recipient country. Thus, humanitarian government turns recipient countries into spaces of instrumentality and a display arena to conduct professionalized and moral assistance. In brief, my contention is that humanitarian government is a mechanism which administers international aid targeting recipient countries, whose goal is to cover instrumentality of their political and economic practices in these specific countries. As a result, in humanitarian government, beneficiary countries are instrumentalised in a similar and hierarchical way that legitimizes the current global politics.

Furthermore, humanitarian government can be defined as heterogenous in terms of various groups and geographies. It should be taken into account that humanitarianism

within this government takes place at the global level in different locations regarding actions and representations (Agier, 2010: 34). The apparatus of humanitarian practices in humanitarian government has a network-like characteristic which are shaped in diverse geographic locations predominantly in Africa, Middle East and Asia. Moreover, both Western and non-Western states utilize “humanitarianism” as a label to secure recognition and legitimization of their actions in the conflict and post-conflict contexts (Agier, 2010: 34).

Hence, humanitarian government can also be described as politics of individual life that is based upon contemporary deployment of logics of humanitarianism that underscores a “symbiotic relationship between care and control and the humanitarian world” that focuses on caring precarious lives (Mavelli, 2017: 7; Pallister-Wilkins, 2015: 59).

Humanitarianism is reshaped through humanitarian borders thus requires a government that is carried out with particular sets of rationalized activities by diverse agents in various contexts around the globe (Walters, 2011: 143). Once a humanitarian emergency is declared then it shapes ‘not only who is supposed to act but what is supposed to be done’ as Barnett (2013: 393) contends. Either in national contexts or international contexts, governments, IOs, NGOs, and civil society organizations have become active actors in the administration of precarious lives via instrumentalising humanitarianism.

Considering political and economic motives in humanitarian reasons, humanitarian government refers to “the introduction of moral sentiments into the political sphere” (Fassin, 2007: 152). The instrumental character of aid has become linked to the moral

aspects of recipient countries. To illustrate, UNHCR camps in Africa cannot be recognized in a moral framework that is formed around humanitarian principles by discourses of the UN, other humanitarian agencies and donor countries. Rather, these humanitarian actions take place in a micropower structures of political contexts (Agier, 2010: 38). As a result, the blurred spaces between political and moral realms have emerged. These blurred spaces are constructed through practices which are generally formed by apparatuses and technologies of states, supranational bodies and non-governmental organizations to control recipient states (Fassin, 2010: 269).

With respect to blurred spaces between political and moral sentiments, humanitarian government has two aspects, according to Fassin (2010: 269). The first aspect is the moral aspect that is usually associated with humanitarian reason. Here, Western and non-Western countries manipulate humanitarian practices for political goals through abusing emotions. The second one is the sentimental aspect that can be named as humanitarian emotion (Fassin, 2010: 270). Humanitarian emotions can be recognized as reflections of political and economic interests of donors. As a result, motivations of donors in humanitarian government have a complex nature due to diverse reflections of their political and economic interests. As mentioned earlier, I argue that humanitarian government turns into an arena where donor countries cover instrumentality of their particular interests through using morality in delivering aid to recipient countries.

Why moral sentiments have become highly influential in humanitarianism is a significant question to understand various contexts which involves various dynamics. It is not a

coincidence to link humanitarianism with politics because there is an undeniable increase in the instrumentalization of moral ideas and values to eliminate root causes of conflicts and disasters (Barnett, 2010). Since the end of the Cold War, new humanitarianism which follows actions to reconstruct political and economic orders, moral sentiments have become crucial and inseparable components. As a result, Western, non-Western donor countries, private sector agencies, NGOs, and civil society groups reinforce and legitimize their discourses and practices in conflicted zones (Fassin, 2012: 1).

I suggest that the deployment of humanitarian emotions in humanitarian government is a common task for Western and non-Western actors in humanitarian government. For Western donors, this stems from the demand of rights that is affected by the liberal peace (Fassin, 2012: 2). Western states, UN and NGOs wish to control moral frameworks which are linked with liberal ideologies of Western-oriented contexts. Western actors deploy the norms of liberal peace to promote democracy, human rights and economic growth in their humanitarian policies. Humanitarian emotions can be used as a tool to reinforce liberal peace activities.

Recently, new non-Western actors particularly Turkey and BRICs have become highly involved in humanitarianism to control and shape recipient countries in light of their economic and political interests. Although, emerging donors do not adopt norms of liberal peace, they instrumentalize humanitarian emotions in a different way. For example, as a non-Western and emerging actor, according to the reading of rhetoric by officials of Turkish political elites, Turkey actively integrates emotions that can be

demonstrated by Turkish word *mazlum* in its humanitarian agenda. In the context of development, “Mazlum” is defined as ‘needy people who are oppressed by Western colonial actors’ to justify and legitimize their action. This emotional approach is instrumentalized by Turkey and other donors to build “emotional construction of solidarity” to gain a humanitarian identity securing its position in the global system as Emma Hutchison (2014) proposes. In brief, humanitarian government represents a different form of “emotional space” that consists of various actors, emotions, ambiguous altruism intertwined with political and strategic interests (Coskun, 2019: 1204).

2.4. Western Humanitarianism: Actors, Practices, Principles and Goals

This section assesses Western humanitarianism in terms of its practices, actors, principles and goals. Formal humanitarian system is traced to the nineteenth century particularly the foundation of the ICRC in 1863 as indicated earlier (Davey, 2013). CARE, ICRC, UN and other NGOs that are headquartered in the United States and Europe including donors in the OECD- DAC (Sezgin & Dijkzeul, 2015: 1). Since these actors dominate practices, debates, coordination bodies, media attention, funding appeals and advocacy campaigns, the visible face of humanitarianism has been built by mainly Western humanitarians, as Sezgin and Dijkzeul argue (2015: 2). OECD-DAC countries play a significant role because of their contributions to the Official Development Assistance (ODA). In 2018, DAC governments contributed approximately 150 billion dollars in development assistance (OECD, 2019). This amount was roughly 147 billion dollars in 2017 (OECD, 2019). It is important to note that there is gradual increase in the amount of contributions of DAC countries since the 1950s despite fluctuations. Western countries dominate flows

of ODA until recently. However, in recent years, emerging donors have increased their contributions of ODA. This proves the Western dominance in global aid regime and humanitarian realm as well. Although the West does not actually operate humanitarian government, as indicated in the historical background (section 2.1.), it has a major controlling influence over it like economic and security governance (Barnett, 2013: 386) linked with colonial and imperial aspirations. In particular, Western humanitarianism cover its instrumentality through professionalism. Humanitarianism needs professionals and experts which can introduce greater effectiveness as Barnett (2013: 292) contends. Bureaucratic procedures as in OECD-DAC rules and other procedures to train an expert in IOs are parts of practices of professionalisation. The other central motivation is to impose modern political, security, and parliamentary structures in recipient countries. As such, professionalism causes an exclusionary mechanism where experts with a bureaucratic power are seen as most knowledgeable. This perhaps enable professionals to pursue other interests and gains through their power and status.

Aforementioned humanitarian actors including states, NGOs and other IOs have been recognized as indispensable and key agencies of Northern/ Western humanitarian movement, rooted in various traditions of charity and philanthropy in the civilizing impulses of the Enlightenment, as well as their subsequent manifestations in the expanses of what we now call the global south (Donini, 2004). This also echoes the idea of Barnett and Weiss (2008:7) contending that “although the idea of saving lives and relieving suffering is hardly a Western or Christian creation, modern humanitarianism’s origins are located in Western history and Christian thought”. This clearly explains why modern

humanitarianism is associated with Western humanitarianism because of its roots.

Therefore, the growing critique of humanitarianism threatens a number of agencies that have become closely linked to Western states that protects and diffuses values associated with the West (Barnett & Weiss, 2008: 7). However, Western actors have started to affect and distort principles of humanitarianism that are humanity, neutrality, impartiality and independence that are tied to Western history.

Traditional actors (i.e. members of the OECD-DAC) are all committed to the promotion of the post-Washington consensus (Bergamaschi et. al., 2017: 15). During the 1980s, it was witnessed that a new era emerged in the agenda of development economics. This was the period dominated by decisions adopted in Washington Consensus (WC). The primary concern of WC was to promote economic growth. This was also another primary feature of main policies of the World Bank and the IMF (i.e. Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs), privatization of public enterprises, liberalisation of trade. It can be stated that WC was mainly characterized by the principles of antagonism towards the state. After critiques and economic problems, WC evolved into post-Washington Consensus (PWC). This shift could also be perceived as the transformation of neo-liberal policies during WC to bringing state as an actor and widen the scope of development agenda. This expanded the development paradigm that includes poverty reduction, economic growth, education and health reforms, and more inclusive civil society. This shift was also the blueprint of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)- a set of various activities adopted by the UN in 2000 September. MDGs are main grounds of Western donors' practices. In 2005, Paris Declaration of Aid Effectiveness by the OECD DAC was signed to ensure key

principles that are: ownership, aid coordination, alignment and mutual accountability; followed by the Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Busan, South Korea in 2011. The member countries of OECD-DAC can be considered as rulers of the game who determine some main criteria of aid and development assistance. Surprisingly, India, China and Turkey that are non-DAC countries also signed Paris Declaration despite their critiques towards traditional DAC system. Hence, development was aligned with capacity building programs, diplomacy objectives in post-conflict zones, promotion of civil society, democracy and human rights, and the rule of law (Chin & Quadir, 2012; Carothers & Ottaway, 2000; Sardamov, 2005).

Activities of DAC actors diversify in various sectors such as education, health, economic growth that has expanded. According to Manning (2006), DAC aid will remain as the main source of concessional official finance for developing countries. The WC economic model reshaped humanitarianism. Trade, investment, economic liberalization and facilitating private sector have become important tasks in humanitarian practices. Starting from WC, the dominant ground of DAC activities relies upon economic development and welfare through applying concessional terms (Manning, 2006). However, concessional terms can be criticized since non-DAC donors apply low levels of concessional terms.

The significant point is that Western actors still adopt norms and standards of OECD-DAC and deliver aid through multilateral organizations committed to the PWC, MDGs, and the Paris Declaration. If we look at Western states, they have developed various aid trajectories in terms of its domestic politics, diplomatic sphere of influence history and

colonial past, and bureaucratic habits with aid agencies (Bergamaschi et. al., 2017: 15).

As raised by different scholars, even though Western humanitarians are committed to follow the multilateral system, they have different agendas including various motives.

These motives can be explained as follows: colonial past, democracy level (political conditions), trade considerations (i.e. economic motivations), and the international status such as superpower and middle-power (Alesina & Dollar, 2000).

The United States is the second largest donor according to Global Humanitarian Assistance 2019 Report with 6.6 billion dollars. The US has an international status within international system and humanitarian government that is superpower. Starting from the Cold War era, humanitarian aid and development assistance are regarded as a foreign policy instrument. In this regard, Lundsgaarde (2012: 189) highlights that aid has been shaped by the objective of serving diplomatic and strategic interests, with poverty alleviation representing a subsidiary goal. This derives from the international status of the US and its strategic and political involvement to countries to increase ‘democracy’ levels of countries. This was amplified when the US increased its aid to protect its position in the global system ensuring that countries would not be sympathetic against its communist rival USSR (Alesina & Dollar, 2000; Lundsgaarde, 2012: 190). Here, US had twofold goals in instrumentalization of aid. The first one is to maintain its global status as ‘superpower’ through diminishing the effects of the USSR. The second is to expand its political zone of influence that still continues in aid policies of the US.

France and the UK (5th largest donor with 2.19 billion dollars) target its former colonies that prioritize their colonial past in providing aid and assistance (Global Humanitarian Assistance, 2018). Similar to the US, humanitarianism has been instrumentalized in order to ensure and revive their political influence in their former colonies. This paved the way for the growing influence of Western/Northern actors within humanitarian government.

As Davey (2013: 11) points out:

The skills, material and money wielded by Northern organisations were called upon to supplement those of the newly established Southern governments, many of whom were struggling with inadequate resources and infrastructure after the rapid withdrawal of the colonial powers.

However, France remains as a regional hegemon having an influence only in the region on the African continent that is the backyard of France (Lundsgaarde, 2012: 190; Bergamaschi et. al. 2017: 15). Due to the limited zone of influence, France has never been amongst top five largest donors (GHA Reports, 2012-2019) except its separate contributions in the EU.

Nordic countries, Switzerland and Germany are significant contributors to the OECD-DAC Official Development Assistance (ODA). These countries mainly focus on poor countries and private interests in developing countries (Bergamaschi et. al., 2017: 15). Indeed, private interests are prevalent in other DAC actors as well. However, these countries emphasize the provision of aid as one of the main goals in contrast to the US and France. This also derives from to their desire to protect their middle-power status that can be evolved into ‘superpower’ through enjoying peaceful relations with recipient countries.

There are main development institutions of Western so-called DAC governments (i.e. US Agency for International Development (USAID); Department for International Development (DFID) of the UK; Interministerial Committee for International Cooperation and Development of France; Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation; the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), GIZ of Germany). The significant point is that these actors are either semi-independent or fully dependent to government. Therefore, these development agencies that are the responsible actors in DAC governments collaborate with other ministries, NGOs, and IOs.

In particular, in France or Switzerland, there is a pressure from the presidency or other ministries on these principal development agencies in contrast to a fragmented system of the US where each governmental body has its own responsibilities in terms of development (Lundsgaarde, 2012; 190). In spite of these domestic political dynamics affecting the behaviour of national development agencies, all DAC governments are obliged to follow standards of the OECD-DAC. One crucial standard is to follow definitions of ODA that excludes military aid and security interests. The other standard is that DAC members accepted to 0.7 % ODA/GNI that is ODA equals to 0.7 % of GNI except the US and Switzerland. The last standard is to conduct aid and humanitarian programs through multilateral channels rather than bilateral ones despite domestic political dynamics. These standards are consistent with a modern bureaucratic model of management and organization to shape and sharpen its fast-growing organizations (Slim, 2004).

2.5. Non-Western Humanitarianism: Actors, Practices and Principles, and Goals

From the beginning of the 2000s, humanitarianism has undergone a transformation in terms of actors, practices, and principles. There are new emerging and non-Western humanitarian actors which significantly contribute to ODA flows. I argue that there are two key factors behind the transformation of humanitarianism: the emergence of new actors and their new humanitarian approaches including their methods and practices. As Mawdsley (2012: 2) contends, the (Western-dominated) “international” development community, including bilateral agencies, multilateral organizations and even NGOs, foundations and other non-state actors, can no longer neglect the large number of (re)-emerging donors and development partners (Kragelund, 2008; Woods, 2008; Grimm et al. 2009; King, 2010; Lightfoot, 2008, Scott et. al. 2010; Mitchell, 2011; Kharas et. al. 2011; Kim & Lightfoot, 2011; Park, 2011; Amar, 2012; Chaturvedi et. al. 2012). By the same token, Ngaire Woods (2008: 1220) suggests:

In Africa and elsewhere, governments needing development assistance are skeptical of [Western] promises of more aid, wary of conditionalities associated with aid, and fatigued by the heavy bureaucratic and burdensome delivery systems used for delivery of aid. Small wonder that the emerging donors are being welcomed with open arms.

The scepticism of recipients led to the appraisal of emerging donors despite their activities that are imitative of Western imperial liberal practices. Within the last two decades, humanitarian contributions of non-Western actors that are non-members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) (i.e. non-DAC) have increased (Mawdsley, 2012; Chin & Quadir, 2012; Bergamaschi et. al., 2017; Kragelund, 2008, 2012; Zimmerman & Smith, 2011). These non-Western humanitarians can be accounted

as follows: Turkey, Brazil, China, India, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Russian Federation, Republic of Korea (Binder et al. 2010: 7).

The classification of Kragelund (2008) will be borrowed and introduced as the framework of non-DAC humanitarian actors. The classification is as follows:

- 1) EU and OECD members: Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and the Slovak Republic
- 2) OECD members, not members of the EU: Iceland, Korea, Mexico, and Turkey
- 3) EU members, not members of the OECD: Cyprus and Malta
- 4) Neither EU nor OECD members: Venezuela, Brazil, Cuba, Israel, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), China, India, Taiwan, Thailand, Russia, and South Africa.

This classification reveals that notable emerging actors in the literature, namely BRICS countries, are neither EU nor OECD members. Since this part mainly focuses on emerging donors that are BRICS and Turkey, the following sections will closely look at main features of these actors including the examples of non-Western humanitarianism. Turkey is OECD member country, giving reports to the OECD-DAC since the 1990s, pledged its compliance to the Paris Declaration of OECD (Cihangir-Tetik & Müftüler-Baç, 2018: 946). Besides Turkey, the other non-EU and reporting DAC countries are Iceland, Israel, and Liechtenstein. This strategy followed by Turkey and other countries can be a tactical movement to be flexible in providing ODA and humanitarian assistance. In the case of Turkey, this strategy stems from Turkey's reluctance and suspicions about the Western humanitarian system. This is also connected to ruling AKP elites to construct

donor identity as opposed to the West especially to the EU in the wake of the stalled accession negotiations (Langan, 2017; Cihangir-Tetik & Müftüler-Baç, 2018).

The patterns of humanitarian actions differ amongst non-Western humanitarian agencies as well. There is no homogenous agenda for these emerging actors. For example, while China is more concentrated on development cooperation rather than humanitarian aid, Turkey focuses on humanitarian aid, ODA and financial investments recognizing each of them as key category of humanitarianism since the AKP came to power. In short, divergences within non-Western humanitarians and their differences with Western actors play a key role to understand the dynamics within humanitarian government.

Non-Western humanitarian actors having their own terms of humanitarianism apart from Western humanitarians have increased their role within humanitarian government (Gordon & Donini, 2015). Non-Western humanitarians including states and aid agencies position themselves in humanitarian government in terms of their own conceptions and modalities of humanitarian actions. Their conceptions and modalities have more focused on South-South solidarity that respect the sovereignty of the recipient state in contrast to established understandings of existing donors and organizations (Davey, 2013).

Essentially, sovereignty is recognized as a crucial part of South-South cooperation in order to promote equal relationships between aid-providing countries and recipients in the name of “humanitarian partnership” (Binder & Meier, 2010: 1138). This concept can be critically questioned whether it is a ‘win-win’ type of relation or a neo-colonial form of development. This will be addressed in key common features of emerging donors. This

also reflects the major difference between Western and non-Western actors as well.

While Western or traditional actors describe humanitarian actions as set of activities “to save lives, alleviate suffering, and maintain and protect human dignity during and in the aftermath of emergencies” (OECD, 2009) non-Western humanitarians account ‘humanitarian’ as all forms of aid consisting of religious charity, development cooperation, capacity building activities and humanitarian assistance during and after disasters (Binder & Meier, 2011: 1137). In short, these activities consist of altruistic and antagonistic ones mixing national interests with global humanitarian government.

2.6. Examples of Emerging Donor Countries

Considering that there is no general setting and pattern of humanitarianism in non-Western states regarding their policies and strategies, their frameworks are primarily designated and planned by their governments. In order to assess Turkey as a non-Western humanitarian actor in detail regarding its confluences with and departures from other non-Western and Western humanitarians, the following part concentrates on non-Western patterns of humanitarianism in various examples, wrapping up with Turkey as the major case.

For non-Western humanitarians, the choice of government-to-government assistance stems from the strict focus on respecting the sovereignty of the affected states (Binder et al. 2010: 13). This clearly demonstrates that the central actors of humanitarian assistance in non-Western states are governments and governmental bodies such as specifically relevant ministries.

In the aftermath of Haiti earthquake in 2010, Brazil has become one of the biggest donors amongst non-Western countries. The response of Brazil for Haiti earthquake was the first time to disburse aid to a Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP), an instrument for humanitarian financing and development practices through the UN, NGOs and other actors (Binder et al. 2010: 11). As John de Sousa and Lea (2008) argue that this approach can be analysed with the government's strategy to bolster multilateralism with aspirations to position Brazil as a "global player of significance" in the UN Security Council. Toward that end, since 2006, an inter-ministerial working group under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (De Sousa & Lea, 2008). To put it differently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been the leading actor through managing and controlling humanitarian assistance. In order to emphasize the state sovereignty of the affected states in light of the South-South Cooperation, Brazil defines its engagement as 'humanitarian cooperation' rather than 'humanitarian assistance' (Kragelund, 2012; Binder & Meier, 2010: 1138). Brazilian government has concentrated on Latin American region and particular countries such as Mozambique, Timor-Leste and Guinea Bissau for development cooperation. Although Brazil is closely working with Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO) and World Food Programme in order to provide in-kind food and agriculture assistance, it has refused to sign the Accra Agenda of OECD on development and aid effectiveness that is seen as a "Northern endeavour" (De Sousa & Lea, 2008). This primarily derives from the scepticism of Brazil regarding applicability and effectiveness of humanitarian principles that can also be recognized as Western.

With respect to China's humanitarian aid, the key goal has been humanitarian aid directly to governments and economic investments in order to increase cooperation with affected states. China provides ODA and other official flows mainly to Cuba, Russia, African and Asian countries. (Aid Data, 2020). However, China appears as a neo-colonial actor aiming to challenge the hegemony of the US. One of the problems in Chinese aid is that historically a lack of domestic transparency having uncertainties about what can be considered to be aid (Lancaster, 2007; Tan-Mullins et. al., 2012). These uncertainties derive from regional China's strategic concerns such as seeking for primary goods and energy resources, geopolitical dimensions, and thus constructing neo-colonial motives in its aid delivery. Chinese government has been the chief actor in disbursing most of aid to governments, Chinese Red Cross as well as other Red Cross societies (Xinhua, 2010). Through growing multilateral and regional engagement, China has actively been involved in multilateral organizations such as ASEAN Regional Forums, International Search and Rescue Advisory Group as well (Binder and Conrad, 2009). In these engagements and humanitarian assistances, Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible for managing and negotiating humanitarian aid, whereas decisions regarding emergency relief have to be approved by the State Council (Harmer & Cotterell, 2005: 11). In addition, the Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of Defense and the Department for Policy Planning are involved in decision-making and implementation of humanitarian aid (Xinhua, 2010).

Another example of non-Western humanitarians, India has become one of the most important non-Western donors in humanitarian aid (Mawdsley, 2010; Chatuverdi et. al.,

2012). India focuses on infrastructure, food and health assistance particularly in neighbour Asian countries including Bhutan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh leaving the primary responsibility to the affected state in responding disasters (Mawdsley, 2012: 367; Binder et. al. 2010: 15). Similar to other emerging donors, the importance of technical training and capacity building is notable in India. Engaging with international institutions, Indian government has sought for regional leadership to build cooperation in infrastructure and development projects in affected states (Varadarajan, 2010: 63 cited in Binder et. al., 2010). The leading actor of humanitarian assistance is the Ministry of External Affairs through the coordination of embassies in affected countries. With regards to humanitarian principles, India primarily refers to impartiality in light of Buddha and Gandhi on the concept of ‘oneness of all human beings’ in UN General Assembly in 2007 (Binder et. al. 2010: 14). Despite referring impartiality, India has suspicions regarding cooperation with traditional donors due to the respect for sovereignty of the affected state. India and China have very different economic and political profiles, yet they share main interests such as the pursuit of geopolitical influence, energy security, and the promotion of economic growth as do, for that matter, the OECD countries as Mawdsley (2010: 374) contends. More significantly, these main interests are shared by Turkey, Brazil, Gulf countries, and other emerging donors as well.

Furthermore, the Republic of Korea has been one of the rising non-Western humanitarians which is the only non-Western state that was accepted to major multilateral humanitarian settings and their principles such as OCHA Donor Support Group, the Good Humanitarian Principles and DAC of the OECD (Kim & Gray, 2015;

Binder et. al., 2010: 16). Asian countries are the priority in South Korea's agenda. Yet, South Korea also provides assistance to other conflicted countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan, and Palestinian territories (Library of Congress, 2020). Under the management by the Humanitarian Aid Division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, South Korea has aimed to increase its humanitarian practices going beyond neighbour countries. Korean aid combined national drivers towards cultural soft power and developmental soft power in terms of the pursuit of geopolitical influence (Kim, 2019: 2053).

In a similar vein with aforementioned non-Western examples, Russia has been actively involved in humanitarian practices in order to engage with neighbouring countries mostly Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan (Binder et. al. 2010: 17). The main body is the Ministry of Civil Defense and Emergencies to the Russian Federation (EMERCOM) and the Agency for the Support and Coordination of Russian Participation in International Humanitarian Operations (EMERCOM, 2010). Russian representatives usually refer to the humanitarian principles in official documents and speeches (EMERCOM, 2010).

The other non-Western but OECD-DAC member country is Japan. In particular, humanitarian aid including development programs is implemented through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Japan (MFAOJ, 2016). The emergency assistance of Japan is divided into three categories: personnel contribution in disaster zones, in-kind contribution including provision of emergency relief goods, and financial contribution that is consistent with emergency grant aid (MFAOJ, 2016). The emergency assistance is held by the Japan disaster relief teams through the coordination of Japan International

Cooperation Agency (JICA) under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As the main focus is on humanitarian security in formal documents since the 1990s, Japan provides humanitarian assistance in terms of humanitarian principles; humanity, impartiality, neutrality and independence (MFAOJ, 2016) and OECD-DAC principles and standards.

United Arab Emirates (UAE) is one of the emerging donors as well. The majority of humanitarian aid went to Arab and Islamic countries to build “brotherly relationships” with those countries (Binder et. al., 2010). Different governmental agencies in the individual emirates can take the key responsibility (Binder et. al, 2010: 23). The UAE was the only non-Western and Islamic donor that became a part of the Western UNHCR Donor Support Group in 2009 (Binder et. al., 2010: 23). The aid of UAE, Turkey and other Gulf countries are Islamically motivated and designed to increase stature amongst Muslim countries that receive the majority of aid.

The final and core case to study in this work is Turkey as a non-Western humanitarian actor. According to the latest data, Turkish humanitarian assistance has reached to 8.1 billion dollars that makes Turkey as the top largest donor in 2017 (GHA, 2018). Turkey’s net ODA amounted to 5.6 billion dollars in 2016 (OECD, 2018). Similar to China, India and Brazil, the main responsibility including decision and policy-making belongs to several relevant ministries. The principal agency is Turkish Development and Coordination Agency (TİKA) that coordinates activities amongst ministries. The main types of humanitarian activities are in-kind and financial contributions, emergency and humanitarian aid, and ODA. These initiatives have to be approved through the Turkish

government (Binder et. al., 2010: 21). The key driving forces of Turkey is the importance of being a regional middle power and being a mediator in major conflicts and disputes in the Middle East, whilst maintaining its strong ties with the EU and NATO (International Crisis Group, 2010). Apart from ministries and TİKA, Turkish Red Crescent (Kızılay) plays a prominent role in Turkey's humanitarian actions. Kızılay started cooperation with Red Crescent Societies in Caucasus and Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) Red Crescent Societies (Regional Cooperation Program, 2010). With regard to humanitarian principles, in formal documents or speeches, there is not enough evidence that Turkey officially applies traditional humanitarian principles. According to the detailed reading of policy documents of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey appears accepting the importance of humanitarian principles:

Turkey exerts efforts to provide speedily humanitarian aid to those who need help within the bond of its possibilities and without discrimination of race, religion and gender. Furthermore, it always supports and contributes to the international efforts of humanitarian assistance (MFA, 2018).

This demonstrates that although Turkey does not officially apply humanitarian principles in its humanitarian actions, Turkish government stresses respecting traditional humanitarian principles. The policy documents of MFA show that Turkey has cooperated with international organisations such as United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and World Food Program (MFA, 2018). In this respect, on 1 July 2014, Turkey became a member of the OCHA Donor Support Group (ODSG). As a non-Western humanitarian actor, Turkey maintained interactions and cooperation with international actors despite its sceptical rhetoric against the West. Turkey is wishing to be a prominent player within humanitarian government, expanding its zone of

influence, pursuing its geopolitical and economic goals, thus gaining respect.

Although non-Western countries have different regime types, they share the common goal which is to expand their zone of influence. There is a central state body that is responsible for development assistance in non-Western countries. As mentioned earlier, Western countries have a state agency that holds the main responsibility in aid and development assistance. Unlike Western donors, non-Western actors do not act with other IOs. They have a unilateral agenda that is implemented through bilateral channels. Infrastructure, health, government and civil society, education, energy and humanitarian aid are most common sectors where emerging donors heavily contribute.

2.7. The Common Key Features of Emerging Donor Countries

The emerging donor countries including Turkey and BRICS are status-seeking, middle-income countries and emerging economies. There is no coherent model of aid and humanitarianism that is followed by emerging donor countries. Emerging donors differ in terms of operationalization of their aid policies and humanitarian agenda that generated new contestation within established donors over the purposes, modalities and geographic orientation of aid and, in particular, whether aid should be increasingly harnessed to commercial agendas (Rosser & Tubilewicz, 2016: 7). In spite of the differences at the operational level, emerging donors operate their humanitarian policies to challenge conventional donors. The rising activism of emerging actors are about “international insertion and recognition that is, the need and desire to be seen and treated as a model, success story, or, reliable partner by Western cohorts” (Bergamaschi et. al., 2017: 315).

The common key features of emerging donors are as follows:

- 1) Mercantilist
- 2) Neo-colonial
- 3) Political agenda
- 4) Anti-Western / anti-colonial discourse

In the following part, the details of each feature will be addressed.

2.7.1. Mercantilist

Mercantilism refers to increase the number of exports to boost the national economy that has roots back in 16th century. With respect to development, mercantilism is consistent with seeking for potential markets for primary goods, securing various resources and building new infrastructures to increase their production or commercial gains. Emerging donors adopt a commercial agenda that view aid as a useful way of assisting domestic business to “go international” and to expand exports and/or investments as Rosser and Tubilewicz (2016: 12) contend. Mercantilism has a twofold aspect: to boost national economy while being integrated in global humanitarian order. This can be described as the combination of internationalism with nationalism in terms of the interplay between economic interests and aid policies. In this respect, although realism and humanitarianism are seen as “strange bedfellows” as Snyder (2010: 29) contends, the pursuit of economic interests are linked to arguments of realist thinking. Ensuring economic interests is one of the key instruments to pursue power in the international order (Walt, 1998: 38). In particular, within the self-help system, even priorities in humanitarian policies may change. One of these priorities might be to increase economic capabilities of states as

Waltz (1979: 118). This can also be associated with proactive governmental support for overseas resource development which is a revised version the mercantilist national growth strategy, adjusted to economic imperatives of globalization (Kim & Gray, 2016: 652). In particular, development programs and aid policies of China and South Korea can be seen as examples of mercantilist approaches (Kim & Gray, 2016; Kim, 2019; Tan-Mullins et. al., 2010).

In the overall agenda, emerging donors including Turkey revived the importance mercantilist policies in their ODA and humanitarianism agenda. This is consistent with maximizing economic benefits while providing aid. In contrast to Western and OECD-DAC donors, emerging actors use bilateral channels to provide aid and ODA. These actors do not have to adapt rules by neither EU nor OECD-DAC. Therefore, this flexibility provides opportunities for emerging donors to act freely and to conduct various types of aid including economic aid. Considering that these donors are emerging economies, trade and investment play a significant role in their humanitarian and aid policies. As a result, these actors mix humanitarian aid, ODA, and trade and investment that creates the blend of modalities. Moreover, even though DAC donors have strengthened the poverty focus of aid as discussed above, they have not yet been able to ensure to integrate trade and investment to pursue development objectives (OECD, 2009; Zimmerman & Smith, 2011).

It is important to note that emerging donors share several similarities with established donors regarding how they operate. Dreher et al. (2011), for instance, argue that although

emerging donors have lacked established donors expressed commitment to poverty alleviation, they have behaved similarly in many respects since the latter have utilized foreign aid to pursue geostrategic or commercial interests including via support for corrupt governments (Rosser & Tubilewicz, 2016; Brautigam 2008; 2010; 2011: 762).

2.7.2. Neo-colonial

In order to gain status and respect in the international humanitarian order, emerging donors can be regarded as new yet neo-colonial actors. Through internationalist mechanisms and institutions, “emerging powers started to establish a degree of sway over the same northern countries that had once been their colonial masters” as Amar (2012: 3) contends. This can be defined as a new form of colonialism, shortly, neo-colonialism. Furthermore, emerging powers establish a new form of humanitarianism with national goals such as to compete with Western actors and to present themselves as benevolent actors compared to traditional donors. This is consistent with the revival of colonial notions via blending activities of new actors that refers to mixture of humanitarianism, mercantilism, and political interests.

Emerging donors emphasize ‘win-win’ relations particularly in South-South Cooperation (SSC) in order to contest the North-South hierarchical relations. However, emerging donors are mostly concerned about their commercial and political interests for geopolitical stability when engaging in the South (Lee & Gray, 2016). With respect to the discussions on neo-colonialism, realist way of thinking helps to assess ‘win-win’ relations in SSC. Considering the importance of relative gains for states in the

international humanitarian order, Waltz (1979: 105) contends that even emerging donors “are compelled to ask not ‘Will both of us gain?’ but ‘Who will gain more?’”. The reason why relative gains outweigh absolute gains is economic and political rise of emerging powers in the world. As such, in order to maintain their rise, pursuing their own gains might be prior goal rather than following purely altruistic humanitarian policies.

In brief, emerging donors use anticolonial rhetoric to challenge the West, while they adopt similar strategies with Western actors for the domination of the Southern countries. This also derives from regional strategic concerns in SSC according to Lee and Gray (2016: 298). Due to regional strategic goals and increasing bilateral relations between emerging donor and recipients, relations can turn into neo-colonial hierarchies. For instance, as highly debated in the literature, China’s renewed interests in various regions such as Africa or Asia reflect certain needs that are cheap labour, needs for primary resources as mentioned earlier, and profitable investment opportunities (Lee & Gray, 2016; Tan-Mullins et. al., 2010; Mohan & Power, 2010).

Thus, when aid and development serve for geopolitical, commercial and political imperatives, neo-colonialism emerges as the continuation of external power over recipient governments if we elaborate the definition of Nkrumah (Langan, 2018). Rather than moral interests or local needs, neo-colonialism renders emerging donors to pursue material interests linked with foreign policy goals to ensure their position in the international system. In this regard, as discussed in Western humanitarianism section, similar to the US or France, emerging donors quest to expand their zone of influence with

long-term alliances that they build via delivering aid.

2.7.3. Political agenda

Emerging donors have a political agenda which aims to redistribute the political power in humanitarian government. This feature might be linked to realist discussions in IR about balance of power (Mearsheimer, 1995: 89). However, the agenda of redistribution of power do not necessarily focus on defensive or offensive strategies as realists argue (Mearsheimer, 1995: 89). Rather, emerging donors employ tools such as soft power diplomacy, bilateral assistance programs, and trade agreements. These tools can be considered as efforts of emerging donors to increase their material capabilities to change the distribution of power in humanitarian government (Mearsheimer, 1995: 91). As discussed earlier, humanitarianism is dominated by Western countries and their practices. Since emerging donors are newcomers in humanitarian government, they have to prove their power against Western traditional actors. In this respect, emerging donors focus on SSC or places where Western countries are not the most powerful humanitarian actors.

The increasing role of non-Western donor countries Turkey, Brazil, China, India, South Africa, and Arab Gulf States rise the significance of SSC in their foreign policy agendas on the new ‘southern dimension’ towards the Global South including the Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa (Donelli & Gonzalez Levaggi, 2016: 95). Beyond the traditional links with the Middle East and North Africa, the rising approach based upon ‘southern dimension’ has led to Turkey’s foreign policy reorientations through integrating humanitarianism including foreign development aid, emergency and humanitarian aid,

and trade and investment towards the African region, Caucasus and Central Asia, the Balkans and East Europe, the Middle East and Latin America (Donelli & Gonzalez Levaggi, 2016: 97; TIKA, 2017). Since 2002, Turkey deepens its relations with SSC in its humanitarian policies. This can be described a strategic movement to balance power and alliances in various geographies as a part of contestation over Western powers' activism.

Through gaining an international identity, these donors aim to (de)stabilize the distribution of power in humanitarian government. This can be achieved through filling the gap in various geographies where the West is no longer powerful. This can be amplified by Turkey's involvement in Somalia that has a power vacuum when Western powers shift their ground activities from Mogadishu to Nairobi in the 1990s. In order to fill the vacuum and to change the balance power in African region where Western actors still have credibility, recipients can be designated strategically to be alternative to Washington (Tan-Mullins et. al. 2010). With respect to Africa, as Langan (2018: 84) contends, Western aid givers must be balanced with a focus on the role of emerging powers in Africa and various regions.

Hence, political relations of emerging donors with recipients and other Western actors affect their modalities of aid and how they operate. Turkey and other emerging donors seek to utilize their emerging economic and political status to exert positive-idea force in dealing with other countries (Langan, 2017: 1404). As result of changing political dynamics, the shift in the balance of power amongst competing actors led to changes in

the content of aid policy over time (Rosser & Tubilewicz, 2016: 14). The content and pattern of aid might change in terms of its scope, priorities, and strategies due to possible shifts in the balance of power and in relations of emerging donors with other actors and recipients. Consequently, the scope of humanitarian agendas has expanded. Humanitarian agendas now include geopolitical and commercial goals to prove supremacy of emerging donors. In doing so, while emerging donors appear powerful competitors to traditional actors, they secure their position in recipient countries and humanitarian government as well.

It is also significant to underscore that the coordination and cooperation between Western and non-Western actors are lacking within humanitarian government. This derives from the reluctance of non-Western humanitarian actors to act together with the OECD/ DAC members. Direct cooperation has rarely occurred in triangular projects that involve a host country, a non-Western donor and an established /traditional donor (Binder et al, 2010: 10; OECD, 2009). Where emerging donors do appear different from Western powers is the types of political relationships they operate through non-interference and non-conditionalities as highlighted by Tan-Mullins et. al. (2010: 868).

2.7.4. Anti-Western / anti-colonial Discourse

Emerging donors prefer to build an anti-Western/anti-colonial discourse in their competing viewpoints against the West. This discourse is consistent with claims of these donors 'to do things different' from traditional donors (Bergamaschi et. al. 2017: 317). They refer to international, horizontal or development cooperation or assistance, and to

themselves as partners rather than donors, in a conscious promotion of a discourse (if not always a reality) of mutual benefit, non-interference and respect for sovereignty between them and their partners/recipients as Mawdsley (2012: 7). In particular, this discourse is highly visible and strong in Turkey, China, India and Brazil. Turkey's rhetoric against the West will be assessed as 'decolonial rhetoric' in Chapter 4. I define decolonial rhetoric as the rejection of Eurocentric and Western-oriented norms and structures that aims to bring a new form of humanitarianism. For example, emerging donors including Turkey refer to non-colonial past in its development assistance. These donors including Turkey emphasize 'cooperation' and describe themselves as partners rather than donors, in a conscious promotion of a discourse (if not always a reality) of mutual benefit, non-interference and respect for sovereignty between them and their partners/recipients as Mawdsley (2012: 7). They contend their definitions and approaches differ and do not buy into DAC standards, however they often are short of genuine knowledge and alternative measurements to sustain their arguments (Bergamaschi et. al., 2017: 321). Hence, anti-colonial discourses rarely reflect as anti-colonial practices that rather reconstruct colonial activities.

These non-DAC actors have a greater focus on capacity-building and training and improving local professionals (Mawdsley, 2015: 205). Apart from specific technologies and skills, many non-Western actors claim personal empathy and closer cultural ties, deriving from Asian, African and South American countries that have experiences regarding colonial and post-colonial injustices (Mawdsley, 2015: 205). These understandings have been expected to build more egalitarian and sensitive relationships

between providers and recipients of humanitarian assistance that diminish power hierarchies, cultural arrogance and ignorance which accompany traditional humanitarianism (Mawdsley, 2015: 205; Donini, 2012; Abu-Sada, 2012; Hirono & O'Hagan, 2012). In this regard, driven by its foreign policy objectives, BRICS countries utilize development initiative programs in order to promote South-South cooperation (Quadir, 2013: 322). However, this is not the reality for all emerging donors because most of them including Turkey create a different type of colonialism through mixing humanitarianism with antagonistic ones; militarism, mercantilism, and globalism (Çetinoğlu, 2019: 290). Although the underlying logic behind anti-colonial discourse is not to 'reproduce the practices of North-South cooperation' (Inoue & Vaz, 2012: 9), BRICS, Turkey and other non-Western actors could not achieve this goal. Because these donors instrumentalize humanitarianism for their self-interests. While Western actors are criticized due to standardized and bureaucratic humanitarian approaches seeking for conditionality, non-Western humanitarian actors strive to provide aid without conditionality. However, still these actors mimic Western forms historically deep-rooted in the instruments to provide imperialism and neo-liberalism.

In this part, I provide some examples of anti-colonial tones in emerging donors' rhetoric. In India and China, "humanitarian assistance" is used to differentiate short-term aid from long-term aid through criticizing Western actors for mixing them in disaster zones (Binder and Meier, 2010: 1135). In addition, Brazil, becoming one of the key non-Western donors with the Haiti earthquake in 2010, describes its humanitarian engagements as "humanitarian cooperation" rather than "humanitarian assistance"

(Binder & Meier, 2011: 1138). In a similar vein, Turkey accounts its humanitarian practices as “win-win relations” between Turkey and the recipient country. Rowlands (2008: 2) stresses that since Brazil, similar to Turkey, aims to establish itself as a trustworthy partner of the South-South Cooperation, it avoids ‘donor-recipient’ hierarchies through building equal and bottom-up relations with respect to humanitarian relationship (Binder et. al. 2010: 11). Despite anti-colonial rhetoric, emerging donors cannot achieve to bring a transformation in practices that are limited to Western instruments and standards of OECD-DAC due to the pursuit of geopolitical influence and mercantilist policies.

CHAPTER 3: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND LIMINAL IDENTITY OF TURKEY'S HUMANITARIANISM

This chapter assesses Turkey as the main research focus for the dissertation in light of its identity and historical background. I define Turkey as a 'non-Western', non-DAC, emerging and quasi-colonial humanitarian actor. This chapter focuses on liminality in Turkey's practices coupled with its expansionary political goals. Turkey as a humanitarian actor is neither Western nor non-Western, thus situated in-between. This is also consistent with Turkey's liminal identity that refers to: "(...) a dual identity allowing Turkey to invoke different aspects of its identity in the West and the East in different ways that catered to both audiences and enabled the pursuit of different political and economic objectives" (Rumelili & Suleymanoglu-Kurum, 2017: 549).

This liminal identity of Turkey in foreign policy shaped its dual identity in humanitarian government. Turkey's liminal identity can be shortly defined as the divergence between its discourses and practices that makes Turkey as a quasi-colonial actor in humanitarianism. Turkey, being suspicious and critical towards traditional actors at discourse level, remains integrated into conventional humanitarian government and Western structure of humanitarianism. Despite its competing perspectives against

Western actors, Turkey seemingly gains visibility supporting its geopolitical goals and national interests, helping to strategically build an international identity as an actor in humanitarian government. Ideas and material interests help to shape humanitarian actions of a state in its foreign policy agenda (İpek, 2015: 177; Adler, 1997: 332). However, Turkey's liminality is problematic because it reconstructs colonial practices and understandings of the West perpetuating the hegemonic position of the West in humanitarian government. In this respect, constructivist paradigm of IR can offer significant points. Identities, discourses, institutions and norms are embedded in state's identity and historically configured state-society relations according to İpek (2015: 176) Hopf (2002), Risse-Kappen (1994) and Katzenstein (1996). This study may speak to the constructivist literature in IR regarding discussion on state identity and how they are constructed (Adler, 1997; Katzenstein, 1996; İpek, 2015). In this respect, Turkey's liminal identity is explained that also constituted Turkey's behaviour and identity in humanitarian government. As such, one of the key focuses of this chapter is the instrumentalization of humanitarianism under the AKP since 2002. Through analysing changes in norms, discourses and institutions through process tracing, this instrumentalization is explained and analysed in detail.

There are three reasons why I select Turkey as the main research focus. First, in 2019 and 2018, Turkey is the largest donor in the world in terms of Official Development Assistance (ODA) and humanitarian aid according to Global Humanitarian Assistance Reports. Second, Turkey is an emerging economy and a middle power country seeking for status and political power in the realm of humanitarianism particularly since 2002.

The last reason is the ambitious claims of Turkey to promote an alternative vision of humanitarianism in the field of development compared to traditional donors through an agenda formed around Islamic elements and Ottoman romanticism.

In this chapter, the core aim is to analyse the liminality of Turkey in humanitarianism to understand how Turkey operationalises its humanitarianism and what it seeks to achieve. This chapter is structured as follows. The first part of the chapter provides an outline of the existing literature on ‘Turkey as a humanitarian actor’ to unravel the deficiencies of existing scholarly works. Next, I assess the general overview about Turkey’s humanitarian agenda and aid policies through engaging with discussions on instrumentalization of humanitarianism by the AKP. Then, through process tracing based on primary and secondary sources, I investigate Turkey’s history of humanitarianism during the Cold War and post-Cold War eras. As Mills. et. al. (2012) underscores that process tracing enables researchers “to capture how an issue evolves especially when the focus of the case is subject to the dynamics of change and time”. The following part explains particular constitutive elements that makes Turkey a quasi-colonial actor. To this end, changes in historical dynamics and trajectories of Turkey’s humanitarianism are analysed through process tracing to map out seven constitutive elements in a causal mechanism.

3.1. The Background of ‘Turkey as a Humanitarian Actor’

First of all, within the literature of IR, there is no comprehensive work on Turkey’s humanitarianism that theoretically conceptualizes it. There are various empirical works

on Turkey's humanitarian agency but few of them adopt a critical approach. The literature of Turkish humanitarianism can be categorised into three groups. The first group is the assessment of Turkey's humanitarianism with a particular focus on Turkish foreign policy and its various dynamics such as neo-Ottomanism (Langan, 2017); discussions on "emerging power" (Altunışık, 2014; Özkan, 2010), or 'regional power' (Parlar Dal & Kurşun, 2018; Murphy & Sazak, 2012; Bayer & Keyman, 2012), "humanitarian state" (Keyman & Sazak, 2015) and "public diplomacy as a component of foreign policy" arguments (Çevik, 2015; Apaydın, 2012). In the context of "emerging donor", Altunışık (2014) points out the role of Turkey within the Middle East in the post-Arab Spring era in terms of its official development assistance.

In a similar vein, through the growing impacts of globalization, Bayer and Keyman (2012) address the peacekeeping and mediation efforts of Turkey as 'internationalist humanitarian actor'. Turkey's growing activism is assessed to the BRICS (Parlar Dal & Kurşun, 2018). Özerdem (2015) analyses Turkey's growing activism as a 'global humanitarian actor', through emphasizing the particular roles of some Turkish actors in Somalia, the argument cannot go further than neo-Ottomanism. Accepting the significant role of neo-Ottomanism, the analysis of Turkey's humanitarianism requires broadening the knowledge of motivations, approaches and practices of Turkey through expanding new conceptual lenses such as its types of aid and humanitarian identities. While Çevik (2015) emphasises the role of public diplomacy in Turkish foreign policy and humanitarianism, Murphy and Sazak (2012) and Apaydın (2012) deal with what types of activities are conducted in the context of humanitarianism. This literature neglects the

question of “what makes Turkey as a different humanitarian actor in its operationalisation of aid?”. In this regard, this work aims to fill the gap through analysing the problematic liminal position of Turkey in the international humanitarian order. The existing scholarly works do not assess a systemic and historical background of Turkey’s humanitarian policies through a critical lens.

Within the second group of the literature, actors in Turkey’s humanitarianism are analysed from different perspectives such as their efficiency, goals, and motivations as Aras (2017), Çelik and İşeri (2016), Binder (2014), Akpınar (2013) (with a particular focus on Somalia) look at the role of NGOs, or the special role of TİKA as a soft power instrument as İpek (2015) argues. Özkan (2010, 2011), Fidan and Nurdun (2008) address the role of TİKA and proactive policies of Turkey in different regions who have governmental identities. Lastly, although Baird (2015) discusses the humanitarian diplomacy of Turkey in light of geopolitical goals in Somalia, this work is limited to explore geopolitical dynamics in various regions that are recipient of Turkish aid. These works are not sufficient enough to cover geopolitical goals in various sectors of Turkey’s aid policies. The general assessment of Turkey’s recipients in the world is lacking. Therefore, I aim to provide a general classification of recipients of Turkish aid in light of geopolitical aid in Chapter 4. This classification presents a wider perspective to assess specifically Turkey’s agenda in Somalia that is the core object of Chapter 5.

Lastly, the third group, de Renzio and Seifert (2014), Quadir (2013), Donelli and Gonzalez Levaggi (2016) locate Turkey within the Global South and South-South

cooperation and analyse how Turkey differs from other actors within the Global South. The works by Mawdsley (2012), Kragelund (2008, 2011, 2012), Quadir (2013), Chin and Quadir (2012), Gray and Murphy (2013), and Gray and Gills (2016) pioneered the development of studies on new emerging donors and the Global South.

Although these works offer important and various analyses of Turkey and its humanitarianism, the analysis of multifaceted humanitarianism of Turkey and its categories of aid and Turkey's goals remains unexplored. Considering the lack of such a study analysing Turkey's humanitarianism and particular formal written documents about humanitarian practices of Turkey besides TİKA reports, this study aims to make a significant contribution to the literature through a detailed assessment of Turkey's humanitarian agenda. Through aiming to expand its zone of influence, Turkey deploys not only humanitarian NGOs but also governmental bodies particularly ministries and formal institutions. As a middle-income and status-seeking country, Turkey that has different categories of aid, and multiple humanitarian identities in the global arena, a systematic analysis of Turkey's humanitarianism around the globe is required. This chapter unpacks and analyses in how Turkey is situated between the West and the non-West in its humanitarian agenda including its historical context.

3.2. Turkey's Humanitarianism: The General Overview and The Historical Context

In this section, first, I address the general overview of Turkey's humanitarian policies to reveal how Turkey instrumentalize these policies to seek its national interests. Second, I discuss the historical context of Turkey's humanitarianism. I aim to provide a detailed

assessment of Turkey in humanitarianism engaging with its historical context. Here, the historical context is important to demonstrate the relevance of the debates on liminality which began in the 1980s. This section also reveals the evolution of Turkey's liminality from 1980s to present. I contend that when the AKP came to power in 2002, liminality becomes a term which define Turkey's in-betweenness in humanitarian government. While predecessor governments were also in-between to become a bridge between Eastern and Western civilizations, yet, since 2002 Turkey's liminality became aligned with Islamic elements and Ottoman romanticism.

3.2.1. The General Overview: Humanitarianism as a Foreign Policy Instrument During the AKP Era

According to 2018 Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, Turkey has been ranked as the largest donor in the world with 8 billion USD in terms of humanitarian aid and development assistance. In 2016, Turkey has also been ranked as the first country with the 0.75% share of Gross National Income (GNI) spent to humanitarian assistance that has increased to 0.85% in 2017 (Global Humanitarian Assistance, 2018). Turkey being a middle-income and status-seeking country as well as a largest humanitarian agency has expanded its influence in various geographies in terms of different fields of humanitarianism. Over the last two decades, the driving force of Turkey to provide assistance to a wide range of geographies to expand its zone of influence (Baird, 2016; Çetinoğlu, 2019). As such, Turkey has been active in various regions which are as follows: the Balkans, South Caucasus, the Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia (TIKA Reports).

Since 2002, besides the attempts of Turkey to be a mediator or facilitator in conflicts, the military and non-military contributions in the Balkans, the Middle East, Africa and the Caucasus, Turkey has shifted its activism in humanitarianism including humanitarian aid and development assistance. Turkey has instrumentalized humanitarian activities as an indispensable component of its foreign policy. As such, the AKP describes this policy as “humanitarian foreign policy” or “humanitarianism plus” in the words of Altunışık (2019: 3) that goes beyond humanitarianism, mixing development projects, business/trade agreements, political relations, mediation and peacebuilding activities. This policy is more than humanitarianism. Therefore, here, strategic, economic, and political interests are very significant. This is consistent with instrumentalization of aid in order to mark an identity formed around civilizational geopolitics formed around Ottoman and Islamic values. Therefore, humanitarian action is deeply embedded in Turkish foreign policy, presenting Turkey as a moral actor as Altunışık (2019:3) contends.

In this regard, “holistic foreign policy” has been constructed that consists of non-governmental business organizations, relief NGOs, educational partnerships, international organizations and most importantly governmental agencies as (Çevik, 2015: 125) argues. The holistic approach is multi-actor and multi-sector in aid and development. The multi-actor policy means the involvement of state institutions (i.e. TİKA, AFAD, Diyanet, Maarif Foundation), NGOs (Kızılay and NGOs that have Islamic aspirations), relevant ministries, and municipalities. The multi-sector policies refer to aid in various sectors

such as government and civil society, infrastructure, private sector, health and education. The details of these actors and sectors of aid will be explored in Chapter 4. The responsible actors mainly concentrate on in-kind assistance, humanitarian aid, ODA, and other financial contributions. More essentially, through integrating TİKA, ministries, NGOs and private sector, Turkey goes beyond ‘foreign aid’ which encompasses a wider range of flows, investments, trade and diplomatic initiatives.

Through blending different modalities that are ODA, emergency and humanitarian assistance, trade and investment, the label of ‘humanitarian’ transcribes these geographies into global market-places for the circulation of businesses, values and political alliances as Çetinoğlu contends (2019: 290). In this respect, Zimmerman and Smith (2011: 731) contend that “even though DAC donors have indeed strengthened the poverty focus of aid, they have not been able to ensure that trade and investment relationships with partner countries pursue coherent, development-friendly objectives”. To put it alternatively, non-DAC community including Turkey aims to fill this gap by blending its instruments to build new political and commercial alliances in contrast to DAC countries. Hence humanitarian practices have become instruments of status symbol.

Forms of assistance have become a mix of different activities. Turkey combines different forms that are as follows projects/programs², training programs, loans, flows, humanitarian aid, in-kind contributions, grants, and direct budget support. With regard to practices, Turkey follows a hybrid approach combining Western and non-Western strands

² In TİKA reports, ‘program’ and ‘project’ are used interchangeably. Therefore, in this study, ‘program’ and ‘project’ will be used interchangeably.

of humanitarianism. Similar to other emerging donors, Turkey mainly focuses capacity building and technical assistances. However, Turkey also provides in-kind and financial contributions to pursue economic interests like Western actors. In contrast to other non-DAC actors, as a Muslim country, similar to Arab donors (Zimmerman & Smith: 2011: 731), Turkey supports religiously motivated activities particularly food aid to Muslim recipients during the holy month of Ramadan (TİKA, 2016).

Turkey's engagements in various geo-cultural spheres (Balkans, the Middle East, Central Asia, Europe) explain its quest to become an emerging but an expansive actor. In this respect, Bayer and Keyman (2012: 74) describes Turkey as a country that "has no choice but to be innovative and active as a policy leader and globalization visionary". Why globalization matters in humanitarianism is important to understand the changing dynamics in norms and practices of humanitarian government. As explained in Chapter 2, the end of the Cold War is a milestone which shaped humanitarian government and its complex structure. After the Cold War, this led Turkey to follow more proactive humanitarian initiatives interacting with proactive foreign policy. The main motivations of this proactive agenda of Turkey can be the quest of a higher status, the quest for institutional design and equal representation, and the quest for institutional power as Parlar Dal and Kurşun (2018) argue. However, during AKP era, Turkey also strives to reposition itself within humanitarian government through new approaches and practices that aim to challenge Western humanitarianism. This is related to the wish to reformulate the power distribution in humanitarianism. Emerging donors prefer to contest "from within and remain integrated into the existing governance order and North Western

liberal structures” (Kahler, 2013; Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019: 7).

Within the last two decades, humanitarianism and compassion have turned into a “status symbol in global politics” as Barnett (2010: 220) both for Western and emerging actors. As such, Turkey utilizes humanitarianism as a policy tool in order to gain status, legitimacy, and stature as other emerging donors. This can be explained Turkey’s liminal identity that is consciously constructed for gaining “international moral identity” that Turkey aspires to become as Western countries. This may derive from “the continuous efforts of the non-Western states to convince the West that they are catching up with the standards” that is linked to desire to be like the West, but also different from the West (Bilgiç, 2015: 7).

As an emerging actor, Turkey is a member of the OECD but not of DAC, only having an observer status in DAC (Renzio & Seifert, 2014). As addressed previously, Turkey refers to the South-South cooperation as a label for its development assistance including humanitarian activities, yet its narratives resort into ‘North versus South categories’ (Renzio & Seifert, 2014: 1868). The principles of South-South cooperation are not officially adopted by the Turkish government. Despite the Southern dimension and its goals, Turkey is not consistent with any groups or geographies that are North and South. Turkey voluntarily endorsed DAC’s aid effectiveness declarations and attended to Busan Forum (Fourth High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness) in 2011. With regard to relations between the North and South, “Turkish development cooperation, therefore seems to be aimed at fulfilling the function of a mediator between Northern and Southern positions

and players by placing itself in neither camp” (Renzio & Seifert, 2014: 1868).

Since 2002, self-confidence of Turkey might challenge the status quo in humanitarian government which also reflects its self-interests in the international sphere. Parlar Dal and Kurşun (2018) claim that “Turkey’s role between the West and the East may be turned into a new bridging role between the North and South” through increasing its activism in the UN system. Yet, placing itself in neither camp, Turkey remains in between in humanitarian government. Therefore, Turkey’s liminal identity is recognized as a dual identity between European/Western state and Asian/Middle Eastern/Islamic state, which contributes to the reproduction of the established social categories (Western/non-Western, European/non-European) (Rumelili (2013: 16). As Pinar Bilgin (2012: 1105) argues that the clash of civilisations is essentialist because it takes them as autochthonous entities. Eurocentrism and Western civilization are viewed in terms of hierarchy where the West is sitting at the top (Bilgin, 2012: 1106). Therefore, a dialogue rather than a clash or a bridge between civilizations remain essentialist because still the centrality of the West continues.

The linkages between Turkey’s new foreign policy discourse and humanitarian activities have roots back in 1992 when TİKA was established (İpek, 2015: 10). At the beginning, the focal goal was to assist newly independent countries that can be described as efforts to align with global politics (Kulaklıkaya & Aybey, 2008: 263). In recent years, this goal has expanded into as politically and economically reconstruction of post-conflict countries via various humanitarian practices. Hence, humanitarianism has been

instrumentalized to serve for Turkey's geopolitical and economic goals under the AKP. TIKA still plays a key role in Turkey's development cooperation which focuses on technical training assistance, capacity development in areas economic, civil, administrative and social infrastructures and services, health, water sanitation, agriculture, private sectors (TIKA, 2016). These are the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that are main activity areas for OECD-DAC countries. Despite Turkey's bilateral channels in providing aid, it adopts the conventional agenda to fulfil the MDGs.

3.2.2. The Historical Context

I assess and discuss the historical context of Turkey's humanitarianism as divided into two eras that are as follows: the Cold War era and the post-Cold War era. The reason why I signify the Cold War as a watershed is the jump of Turkey's development after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. As a result of the dissolution, Turkic countries gained their independence that paved the way for the establishment of TIKA. The initial goal of TIKA was to develop bilateral relations with countries having a common history, language and culture that triggered the civilizational agenda of Turkey. In this part, I aim to unravel the continuation of civilizational agenda and liminality of Turkey and how it evolved from the 1980s to present. Civilisational geopolitics and liminality are much more visible in policies of the AKP due to Islamic elements and Ottoman romanticism compared to predecessor governments. Moreover, Turkey has more antagonistic attitudes towards Western countries in the AKP era. I also integrate the discussions on dynamics and regional focuses in foreign policy, because foreign policy has directly shaped humanitarian policies of Turkey.

3.2.2.1. Turkey's Humanitarianism During the Cold War Era

The Cold War era was the beginning of Turkey's liminality that will form Turkey's contemporary humanitarian agenda. During the Cold War era, Turkey received Marshall Plan and ODA from the US starting from 1947 as the major plan under the Truman Doctrine between 1947-1953. During this era, since there was no central institution or official agency that could deal with development assistance, until 1985, Turkey remained as a recipient country. Before 1985, Turkey's efforts to become a part of Western community became visible around the 1960s. These efforts were particularly to become members of multilateral structures because humanitarianism was not an instrument in foreign policy during this era. İsmet İnönü's quote below show that Westernization efforts have roots back to 1960s:

Turkey as a member of the Council of Europe which contributes to developing common Western civilization and to the development of closer relations between nations will not hesitate to engage with constructive actions in accordance with our honourable place in Western society (cited in Cihan, 1993: 10).

After the end of the World War II, Turkey's entry into the collective security organization North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1952, the missing Western component of Turkish identity desired by Turkish elites was acquired (Yanık, 2011; Aybet & Müftüler-Baç, 2000; Yılmaz & Bilgin, 2005-2006). This was considered as a successful and significant development for a Muslim country that has bolstered Turkey's liminal identity. However, in the 1980s, due to military coup, Turkey's Westernness was hampered that also stalled the relations between the EU

and Turkey in terms of the Agreement between Turkey and European Economic Community (EEC) (Müftüler-Baç, 2000: 165).

When Turkey realized that it is not fully strongly wished by Europe, Turkey concentrated on the Islamic countries in the Middle East in its foreign policy agenda (Dağı, 1996: 136). In 1984, Turkey was represented at the Organization of the Islamic Committee (OIC) that strengthened its 'Eastern' identity for the first time. The Cold War era can be defined as the inception of Turkey's dual identity that will also shape its humanitarianism. In other words, Turkey could be a 'middleman between the Middle East and Europe, and the Middle East and the West in general' as Yanık (2009: 10-12) highlights.

As Bilgin and Bilgiç (2011: 184) contend, even in the Cold War era, due to ideological geopolitics, 'Turkey's policymakers continued to represent their policy choices as responses to the earlier era of civilizational geopolitics'. Hence, the return of Turkey to the Eurasian fold is linked to "the fear of attracting the wrath of the Soviet Union by perceived engagement in Turkic/Muslim irredentism, and a prevailing view among the policymaking elite of the desirability of avoiding Middle Eastern entanglements" (Bilgin & Bilgiç, 2011: 185). This also stimulated Turkey's activism in aid and assistance that changed the focus of Turkey from the Middle East to the Eurasian region in the Cold War era. Apart from development aid, throughout the 1980s, Turkey also engaged with conflict management to conduct mediation, for example in

the war between Iraq and Iran in the 1980s (Bayer & Keyman, 2012: 75), in the conflict between Azerbaijan (Oran, 2001: 154-402).

When Turgut Özal became a Prime Minister of Turkey (1983-1989), and President (1989-1993), the active involvement of Turkey in the international humanitarian order started. Since 1983, Turkey viewed the Middle East as an “area of opportunity”, and after 1991, Turkey established a presence in Central Asia and Caucasus (Bilgin & Bilgiç, 2011: 184). The most salient impact of Özal’s proactive foreign policy was to integrate Turkey with the international economic system in order to enhance trade and bilateral economic relations to utilize aid as an effective mechanism or soft power in developing countries. To put alternatively, Turkish foreign policy under Özal administration aimed to expand the sphere of influence. Therefore, the very first emphasis on aid and its integration to foreign policy were important dimensions of Özal administration. In 1985, Turkey provided comprehensive aid package which was approximately 10 million USD to Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mauritania, Senegal, Somali and Sudan (Murphy & Sazak, 2012: 3).

In addition, the integration of aid into the foreign policy brought about the export-oriented growth through bilateral partnerships between Turkey and African countries. The lack of financial resources and political instabilities postponed aid policies aligned with trade until the AKP came to power in 2002. The 1980s prepared the ground for AKP’s mercantilist humanitarianism entangled with Islamic motives. As a result, Turkey gained the status of being a “recipient donor” during the Cold War era.

3.2.2.2. Turkey's Humanitarianism in the Post-Cold War Era

Various outcomes of global and regional changes invoked by the end of the Cold War brought up additional space for Turkey to manoeuvre and move (Bayer & Keyman, 2012: 83). In this era, Turkey's activities could be framed in a multilateral ground based upon military, various organizations and economic initiatives (Bayer & Keyman, 2012: 84). Turkey acted with other actors within conflict management processes that formed a multilateral setting albeit underappreciated by the international community within the post-Cold War era as stated by Bayer and Keyman (2012: 77).

With regard to Turkey's active role in military contributions, in 1993-1994, Turkey sent 300 personnel in UN Operation in Somalia I (UNOSOM I) and UNOSOM II (Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri, 2010; Bayer and Keyman, 2012: 79). Turkey also contributed to the United Nations Protection Force in Bosnia in 1995 (UNPROFOR), the Implementation Force (IFOR) and Stabilization Force (SFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri, 2010) and the military involvement in Kosovo through air force (Bayer & Keyman, 2012: 78).

In the post-Cold War era, Turkish foreign policy was more proactive and more focused on cultural and economic cooperation. Turkey's regional initiatives in the Balkans, the Middle East, and the Caucasus increased. The end of the Cold War was the stimulus for a pro-active Turkey in its foreign policy and humanitarian activities. In particular, in the post-Cold War era, Turgut Özal's activism reached a new level with the collapse of the Soviet Union. The emergence of Turkic republics was

significant when Turkey ‘now not only had to redefine its role with regard to Europe and the West, but also had to justify rhetorically its activist policy towards these Turkic states’ as Yanık (2011: 8) underscores. The liminality of Turkey started to emerge which situated Turkey in between the Europe and Eurasia. It was an important opportunity for Turkey to become a powerful actor in Eurasia after the dissolution of USSR while it wished to remain integrated to the Western world.

Furthermore, Bilgin and Bilgiç (2011) claim that “AKP has introduced by framing Turkey’s international relations in civilizational terms” through contending that AKP is not the first party that have located Turkey outside the Western civilization. Rather, the Özal governments located Turkey outside the Western civilization in cultural terms notwithstanding locating it in the West in terms of political values as in Eurasia (Bilgin & Bilgiç, 2011: 192).

During the Özal administration, there was an interplay between the civilizational rhetoric which gained prominence and the liminal status of Turkey. This demonstrates the overlap of Turkey’s ambitions after the Soviet dissolution to fill the power vacuum with its practices to expand its zone of influence (i.e. the establishment of TIKA and ODA provided by TIKA to Turkic countries). The rhetoric of ‘bridge’ and ‘gate’ became visible when Süleyman Demirel was the prime minister between 1991-1993 (when Turgut Özal was president). Demirel put forward that “in this part of the world, Turkey has an exceptional importance of being a gate from East to West and from West to East” (Demirel, 1992: 33). According to Demirel, Turkey was defined as a

gate that reinforced the liminal position of Turkey. In a similar vein, Özal, as the president, described Turkey as follows:

Our country is located between developed Western countries and Islamic countries that have rich oil resources. Our location has advantages and certain difficulties. Like a bridge that connects two people, we must connect these two cultures differing in their main orientations and at the same time we should not cause any conflict within us. In other words, we should synthesize West's science and technology and Middle East's belief and value system and present it for the use of humanity. Turkey that can construct a bridge in this regard will do great service for regional and world peace (Özal, 1992: 25)

The 'bridge' metaphor positioned Turkey neither in the West nor in the East. Rather, it called for a synthesis of the East and the West at different levels. In spite of duality of Turkey, civilizational agenda has started to play a key role. Since the late 1980s, countries having cultural, religious and historical affinities have been prioritised in providing aid and assistance. In this respect, I will assess the geographical allocation of Turkish aid recipients in Chapter 4 in light of geopolitical aid.

As indicated earlier, the major and significant development was the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. In the early 1990s, Turkey began to be involved into peace-building activities in the Balkans that can be considered as the rise of Turkey's humanitarian activism (Bayer & Keyman, 2012: 83).

To sum up, I suggest that there are two primary reasons why the post-Cold War era is a watershed with respect to Turkey's humanitarian policies. The first reason is the disintegration of the Soviet Union that resulted in a power vacuum in the Eurasian region. Hence, Turkey aimed to expand its zone of influence within Turkic countries which share

similar culture, history and language with Turkey. The second reason is to represent Turkey as a 'secular role model' via utilizing humanitarian assistance as a crucial component in soft power. As a soft power tool, TIKA was established in 1992 so as to provide technical, cultural, development cooperation, and state security for newly Turkic republics (Murphy & Sazak, 2012: 3-4). Furthermore, the emergence of Turkic Republics in the post-Soviet zone prompted Turkish elite to "discover Eurasia" (Yanık, 2009: 537) to make Turkey as a regional power as the "centre" or "hub" of Eurasia (Yanık, 2011: 85).

Besides TIKA, the other major development in this era was the establishment of the Presidency of Economic, Cultural, Educational and Technical Cooperation (EKETIP) as a different form of TIKA in order to resolve the problem of coordinating aid activities under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1992 (Haşimi, 2014: 132). This clearly echoes the speech given by Özal to the Turkish National Assembly that is "Turkey should not miss this unique occasion that presented itself for the first time in the past 400 years" (Murphy & Sazak, 2012: 4).

In this period, the other influential politician was İsmail Cem as a foreign minister (1997-2002). Taking the step further, Cem maintained and increased the efforts of Turkey in the Middle East as "area of opportunity" (Bilgin & Bilgiç, 2011: 185). To restore relations between the East and the West after the Cold War, İsmail Cem (2004: 33) signified Turkey as "European thus Western and at the same time Asian and thus Eastern". Referring to the Ottoman heritage, Cem (2004: 33-34) defined Turkey as a "geography of

civilizations”. The geographical and historical hybridity defined by Yanık (2011: 85) also shaped the behaviour of Turkey as a humanitarian actor. This liminality made Turkey to develop an ambitious agenda in light of ‘civilizational geopolitics’ to display its humanitarian identity.

Overall, as discussed above, the foundations of Turkey’s ‘new geopolitical imagination’ was constructed by Özal and Cem through the transformations of in Central Eurasia. This has grown since the beginning of the 2000s when AKP came to power (Bilgin & Bilgiç, 2011: 187). Since 2002, Turkey attempted to increase its influence in Central Asian countries in order to build strong relationships between these countries and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), NATO, OECD, and the Council of Europe (COE) (Bayer & Keyman, 2012: 77). This expanded to the Middle East, Africa, the Balkans, Latin America and Far East.

3.3. Turkey: Liminality and Humanitarianism

Since 2002 when the AKP came to power, Turkey as a middle-income and status-seeking country has started to implement its humanitarianism focusing on various regions integrating various components and strategies. I contend that there are two key explanations to investigate the rising significance of humanitarianism in Turkey. The first explanation is Turkey’s quest “to gain stature as a non-Western country that has a troubled relationship with the international system which has been a predominantly Western order in modernity” in the words of Ayşe Zarakol (2012: 74). In this regard,

Langan (2017: 1404) argues that dealing with poorer countries will strengthen the reputation of Turkey as an influential and independent actor on the global stage.

The second explanation is related to Turkey's new path formed in humanitarianism as a new self-representation of Turkey under AKP. As Zarakol (2012: 741) addresses that "Turkey's primary strategy for gaining recognition was joining the European Union, now it is seeking stature through regional leadership". This refers to the rising importance of humanitarianism in Turkey's agenda. The activist policies towards in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), Sub-Saharan Africa, South and Central Asia, the Europe (mainly Balkans), as well as Latin America, and Oceania, are based on new foundations as Bilgin and Bilgiç (2011: 173) argue. The MENA, Eurasia, Sub-Saharan Africa and Balkans are parts of civilizational basin that have Muslim countries or former Ottoman territories. This can be defined: "Turkey not as part of Western civilization, but as the emerging leader of its own 'civilizational basin' consisting of the former Ottoman territories plus adjoining regions inhabited by Muslim and Turkic peoples" (Bilgin & Bilgiç, 2011: 173). In addition to civilization basin, Latin America and Oceania are new geographies of Turkish humanitarianism in order to increase its geopolitical zone of influence. In brief, civilizational geopolitics relies upon an essentialist conceptualisation of target recipient countries supporting the Islamic and neo-Ottoman romanticism.

This section examines Turkey's liminality that makes Turkey a quasi-colonial. The dual identity of Turkey is portrayed in foreign policy "belonging to two different continents and containing the features of both" as Yanık (2011: 80) identifies. Liminal identity, in

other words, a dual identity allows Turkey to invoke different aspects of its identity in the West and East' in the pursuit of different economic and political goals according to Rumelili and Suleymanoglu-Kurum (2017). In the realm of humanitarianism and development, the concept of liminality has never been utilized in order to define Turkey's dual identity and ambivalent position in humanitarian government. In this regard, this work will be the first academic work that incorporates 'liminal identity' in order to define Turkey's ambivalent position and ambiguities in its discourses and practices in humanitarianism. Referring to Turkey's partly Western and non-Western identities, Turkey is analysed as a quasi-colonial actor developing decolonial discourses while reproducing colonial motives of humanitarianism. I define decolonial rhetoric as a set of discourses attempting to eliminate the dominance of Western actors and to criticize the influence of their colonial understandings in humanitarian government. This rhetoric rejects Eurocentric and Western-centric understandings which foreground their practices. Decolonial discourse differs from anti-colonial language that aim to diminish the idealization of the West and their understandings.

As Rumelili (2013) recapitulates, liminality reconstructs the hierarchical structure where the West already occupies a hegemonic position. Even though Turkey adopts rhetoric to contest Western standards and to compete with traditional approaches in humanitarianism, the West remains as a source of both inspiration and scepticism in line with Bilgin's arguments (2009). Thus, Turkey is liminal because its self-articulations and decolonial discourses do not overlap its practices which focus on geopolitical, commercial, and other interests in recipient countries. The discussions on liminality may

be linked to the constructivist insights in the IR literature. The constructivist way of thinking focuses on state and national identities that constituted through intersubjective interactions, shared values at the domestic and international levels (Hopf, 2002; Wendt, 1999). This means that identities are constructed within existing structures (Wendt, 1999; Rumelili & Suleymanoglu-Kurum, 2017). The liminal identity of Turkey is constructed within the existing Western-dominated humanitarian structure which is perhaps a response or a contestation.

The concept of liminality originates from anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep (1968). With regard to “structure of positions”, the liminality is defined as “inter-structural situation” according to Victor Turner (1967: 93) who elaborated the concept. Turner (1969: 95-97) clearly defines liminality asserting that “liminal entities are neither here nor there, they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arranged by law, custom, convention and ceremonial”, therefore, liminality led to “ambiguity, paradox and confusion”. In IR, there is a growing interest in applying this term in different contexts. The main discussions are formed around Europe, its ‘othering’ approaches (Diez, 2004, 2005; Neumann, 1996, 1998), exceptionalism of Turkey (Yanık, 2011; Yanık, 2009), Turkey’s ambiguous relations with the EU and Turkey’s branding strategies (Rumelili, 2003; Rumelili & Suleymanoglu-Kurum, 2017; Müftüler-Baç, 2000, 2004). Although these works offer valuable insights, they overlook the liminality in Turkey’s humanitarianism shaping the pattern and content of aid in terms of geopolitical dynamics that stems from its foreign policy and historical background. This dual identity thus constituted and shaped geopolitical aid of Turkey that will be addressed in Chapter 4.

Turkey's position "being neither here nor there" as Yanık (2011: 80) argues, has started with post-Cold War period grounded on hybrid representations of its geography and history. The geography is hybridized by various discourses portraying Turkey as a 'meeting place of different regions and continents' belonging to two different geographies and containing the features of both as Yanık discusses (2011: 80). The hybridization of history started with remembering the Ottoman past that bring the importance of neo-Ottomanism raised by Ahmet Davutoğlu and other AKP elites. The other significant issue is hybridization of humanitarianism. With the debate of neo-Ottomanism that has never been discursively used by political elites of AKP governments or former political figures, civilizational agenda has gained prominence again since 2002 when the AKP came to power. The significant issue is the reformulation of civilizational agenda by the AKP which relies upon more heavily the importance of Islam and Ottoman era than previous versions (Yanık, 2011: 86). Furthermore, anti-Western stance of Turkey has been enhanced by the AKP era. This also contributed to the changes in civilisational agenda. In the latter sections of the chapter, civilizational agenda is explained in detail as a feature constituting Turkey's ambivalent humanitarian identity.

Due to attitudes echoing Western strands in humanitarianism that are the pursuit of geopolitical influence, economic interests and seeking for alliances, Turkey is defined as a "non-Western but quasi-colonial humanitarian actor". Turkey gains visibility and sympathy (particularly in Africa) being 'anti-Western' in recipient countries to compete with Western humanitarianism. In humanitarian government, Turkey's anxiety has thus

manifested itself as both “Western-orientedness and anti-Westernism”, as Çapan and Zarakol contend (2017: 197). These two attitudes in different degrees can be present at the same period (Bilgin & Bilgiç, 2012). Rather, in light of discussions on liminality these two attitudes can be complementary. As such, I argue that Turkey has a liminal position in humanitarian government. Thus, Turkey is in-between the West and non-West which is neither here nor there referring back to Yanık’s arguments (2011).

3.4. Turkey’s Liminal Identity

Turkey is a non-DAC, emerging and a quasi-colonial humanitarian actor which has a liminal identity. Turkey, being suspicious and antagonistic towards conventional actors and norms, remains integrated into traditional structure of the international humanitarian order. In order to gain status and stature, Turkey mixes decolonial language with practices of Western-oriented norms to prioritise various interests hampering the altruistic motivations. I suggest that there are seven elements that constitute Turkey as a quasi-colonial actor and thus its liminal identity in humanitarian government. In the following section, I assess the details of each constitutive element. In light of historical changes in Turkey’s humanitarianism, the causal pathway that results in the construction of ‘quasi-colonial’ Turkey are analysed through process tracing based on primary and secondary sources.

3.4.1. The Divergence Between Discourses and Practices

Similar to other emerging donors, Turkey adopts an anti-colonial discourse to contest the traditional system of humanitarianism. This anti-colonialism stems from the desire of new actors to ensure their practices and to construct a ground legitimizing their activities. The critical reading of discourses is telling its decolonial tone wishing to diminish the idealization of the West. I benefitted from a set of political figures' speeches (Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (as the prime minister and the president), Ahmet Davutoğlu (as the ministry of foreign affairs and the prime minister), Abdullah Gül (as the president)) that were published in official websites and policy documents. As cited below, the speech of Erdoğan (TCCB, 2016) give us clues on the discussion colonial/anti-colonial to show the international identity that Turkey aspires to be.

Turkey has no colonial past in the African region. We could like to conduct our relations with African countries based upon equal partnerships, mutual respect, and win-win relations. In all fields -defense industry, tourism, economy, trade- we can start co-investments.

Through emphasising cultural, religious, and historical affinities, the speech by President Abdullah Gül shows decolonial and anti-Western motives:

We (Turks) have never run after only our own interests. We know states, which only looked after their own interests in the past, engendered major damage to Africa. The international community should know that we could only be equal partners to Africa (cited in Rudincová, 2014).

If we read between the lines, the phrase of “the international community should know that (...)” tells that Turkey cannot isolate itself from the conventional structure of humanitarianism established by the West. As a result, at the practical level, through

reformulating and combining the narratives of ‘universal’ values and liberal norms of the West, neo-Ottomanism, and Islamic motivations, the scope of practices and modalities took a different shape.

The scope is described as “humanitarian foreign policy” which is used by officials of the AKP, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and TİKA. This term explains AKP’s foreign policy, global ambitions and religious motives. As argued by the head of TİKA Serdar Çam (TİKA, 2017) “the dissolution of the West-centred world order” called for Turkey to take a new role in the multipolar era with new players as Altunışık (2019: 2) contends. As such, Turkey brands itself as a non-Western actor and the leader of the Muslim world and Eastern civilization. As a result, the current government’s civilizational discourse has gained prominence to brand Turkey attaching Islamic, cultural and historical motives unlike previous governments to expand its scope of practices and recipients.

Furthermore, Turkey’s practices range from promoting democracy, empowering security facilitations, and economic growth to mosque building and providing food aid in Ramadan month. While challenging Western practices at a discursive level, Turkey mimics Western approaches and instruments of humanitarianism in terms of promoting globalisation and neo-liberalisation of recipient countries. Although in domestic politics Turkey is defined as “non-democracy” (Aydın-Düzgit, 2020) or as a “competitive authoritarian regime” (Esen & Gumuscu, 2016), Turkey asserts an ambitious role in the global order to expand its sphere of influence similar to democratic and liberal Western countries.

Turkey adopts basic norms and standards of OECD DAC although it is not one of the member countries of DAC. Turkey also implements its aid and development according to Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) adopted by the UN in 2000. Moreover, Turkey holds an observer status in the OECD-DAC since 1991. This status gives Turkey to right to participate fully in DAC meetings (Cihangir-Tetik & Müftüler-Baç, 2018: 943).

Antagonistic discourses against the West led Turkey to instrumentalise humanitarianism to serve for their foreign policy, economic, trade goals through strengthening ties with countries sharing cultural and religious affinities.

The reason I define Turkey's language as decolonial is Turkey's attitudes linked with understandings that reject Eurocentrism and Western-orientedness. The conventional community mainly commissioned by Northern/Western countries are interested in the spread of liberal democracy, free market economics with reference to democratic peace theory and liberalism (Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019: 4). The other argument raised by Langan (2017) is the construction of a moralized discourse concerning Turkey's own international role in juxtaposition to the machinations of an "imperial" European Union. Call and Coning (2017: 18) contend that Turkey and other emerging actors do carry divergent approaches compared to conventional donors: focusing mostly on basic socio-economic and governance capacities as well as physical infrastructure, conceptualising politics, development and stability as closely interlinked, working with governments instead of civil society.

In contrast to decolonial rhetoric, Turkey's conception of development cooperation seems to overlap with Western donors' liberal developmental agenda while other emerging actors not necessarily so, as Changir Tetik and Müftüler-Baç (2018: 947) contends. The similarity between Turkey and Western actors are standard activities that are entangled with liberal and imperialistic goals, and the pursuit of geopolitical influence in various geographies. Although Turkey prioritizes countries that share religious, cultural, and historical affinities, the main goal appears to construct a global or an international identity. The geographical allocations of recipients of Turkish aid will be assessed in Chapter 4 in detail.

(...) We had the opportunity to see all aspects of the global humanitarian aid system and experienced its deficiencies and shortcomings. The current system remains insufficient in responding to urgent problems of the humanity. Only certain countries are shouldering the burden of the system which fails to bring solution to problems. Everybody should assume responsibility to share this burden. We should especially re-handle the global aid system with a people-oriented perspective. In this understanding, Turkey, home to over 3 million Syrian and Iraqi refugees, is currently carrying out humanitarian and development aid activities and undertaking thousands of projects in more than 140 countries.

While the whole world is watching Somalia as an outsider, conveying meetings in other cities, Turkey has sent its most precious diplomats and its most effective civil society and aid organizations to Mogadishu, and has tried to prove this: our destiny is the same with Somalia's destiny. We merged our destiny with Somali people in the past, we are merging them today, and will do so in the future. We do not see Somalia as an area of rant and interest. We do not see it as an area of risk or a security threat. We see it as a geography where the conscious of humanity is put to a test.

A detailed look at speeches of Erdoğan (World Humanitarian Summit, 2016) and Davutoğlu (MFA, 2012) clarifies the 'negative others through which the normative and altruistic nature of Turkey is established in these speeches is predominantly the West' as Aydın-Düzgit (2020: 275) argues. This derives from the desire of Turkey to portray itself as a 'saviour of colonial humanitarianism'.

Turkey's identity is linked with antagonism against the 'negative others' as addressed earlier. Erdoğan continues to refer the West as "imperialist exploiters intent on dividing Muslims" (Aydın-Düzgit, 2020: 275). In a more recent speech addressed in Global Refugee Forum in December 2019 in Geneva, Erdoğan articulated "developed and wealthy Western countries failed to step up to resolve the refugee crisis", emphasizing the 'positive' role of Turkey's open-door policy in Syrian refugee crisis (Anadolu Agency, 2019). Turkey's rhetoric on humanitarianism has become much more explicit since 2011 when the Syrian refugee crisis began. The discourses of Turkish elites show that the West is accused of their interest-based agenda, colonial past, hierarchical position and inequalities in sharing global responsibilities. A close reading of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's speeches saying "Western countries failed the basic human rights exam in Syrian crisis' to compete the 'greatness of Islam' with the West, adding 'we should never forget that we are member of a nation that has built such a great civilization from Samarkand to Cordoba" (Daily Sabah, 2019; Anadolu Agency, 2019) shows rising antagonism towards the West.

This rhetoric is strategically designated. The underlying reason is the benefits of shared kinship status putting Turkey in an advantageous position compared to established donors as Thiessen and Özerdem (2019) underscore. The problematic aspect of these discourses is clearly explained by Rumelili (2013) below:

The co-existence and co-dominance of these discourses locks non-Western societies in a permanent state of becoming, where they validate the universalist and transformative aspirations of Western democracies, and yet at the same time, they reproduce their superiority, by always falling short of a complete transformation,

remaining second-best, incomplete and deformed replicas. As a result, both the hierarchy of democracy and the distinctiveness of the West are maintained.

Rather than being a new model, these ambivalent discourses led Turkey to be a quasi-colonial actor that mimics Western practices. Therefore, Turkey is torn between the West and non-West that is defined as liminal identity. The liminal position of Turkey recreates established hierarchical positions thus reinforces the replicas of the West and their colonial practices.

As the other reflection of discourses, Turkey is portrayed as a state that can take actions in the East due to its Muslim identity, while remaining committed to and even contributing to the diffusion of Western principles and values (Rumelili & Suleymanoglu-Kurum, 2017: 556). This results in the divergence between Turkey's discourses and practices that enables the reproduction of hierarchical structure dominated by the West. To recapitulate, emerging actors are often products of Western colonial influence creating a complex and ambiguous positionality in relation to Western counterparts as raised by Thiessen and Özerdem (2019: 7). Hence, the decolonial language criticizing the West does not often match with Turkey's practices. Consequently, Turkey is positioned itself an important geopolitical actor and 'bridge between the East and the West' that alienates Turkey both from the West and the East.

3.4.2. Turkey's Continuing Position in Traditional Humanitarian Government

Turkey continues to be involved in the conventional structure of humanitarian government. This is an interesting puzzle because Turkey adopts a critical stance towards the West but still continues to apply similar practices. Since 1991, Turkey has an observer status in the OECD-DAC providing reports on a regular basis. The possible question is as Cihangir Tetik & Müftüler-Baç (2018: 946) ask “why Turkey chose not to fully become a member of the DAC, since it complies with the DAC rules and is an OECD member?”. Hausmann (2014: 11) explains that Turkey does not wish to be tied too closely to the traditional Western donors in order to gain the freedom of action that is not tied to the principles and obligations that the DAC members have set. These standards are explained in Chapter 2. Considering this as an important factor, the other explanation by Langan (2017) emphasises the reluctance to be seen as part of the Western donor group by ruling AKP elites in donor identity construction as opposed to the West and the EU. However, Turkey cannot isolate itself from the Western donor community in terms of standards and practices despite its rhetoric. These understandings are infused with epistemic Eurocentrism also with a paradoxical will to align with Europe so as to repel Europe as Onar (2015: 149) highlights.

Non-Western and emerging donors wish to adhere a different concept of humanitarian engagement or even being hostile to the idea of universal human rights (Heins & Unrau, 2015: 211). With respect to humanitarian principles, in formal documents or speeches, there is not enough evidence that Turkey officially applies traditional humanitarian principles that are humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service,

unity, and universality. Only Kızılay (Turkish Red Crescent) is obliged to obey fundamental principles: humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity, universality. Because Kızılay is officially linked to the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement in 1965 (Kızılay, 2018). However, Kızılay is in a grey area torn between states and non-state bodies. According to Altunışık (2019:4), the head of Kızılay recently announced that they are in a process of creating a network of Red crescent and Red Cross organisations in Islamic countries. This clearly shows Turkey's reorientations in its foreign policy moving towards Islamic countries.

This aforementioned attitude of Turkey mainly derives from its liminal identity that is overlooked in the literature on Turkey's humanitarianism. In its geopolitical discourses and suspicions towards Western donors, Turkey is portrayed as in-between with metaphors of "bridge", "gate" fragmented between the East/West, tradition/modernity, and orientalism/Occidentalism (Rumelili & Suleymanoglu-Kurum, 2017: 549).

Considering Turkey's compliance with EU norms and institutions (Cihangir Tetik & Müftüler-Baç, 2018), Turkey's Western identity is consistent with "multilateralism, humanitarianism, and commitment to safeguard the values referred to in the North Atlantic Treaty" (Kınacıoğlu & Gürzel, 2013: 590). Its 'Western identity' is focused on its commitment to multilateral system, and international norms on peace. In this respect, Rumelili and Suleymanoglu-Kurum (2017: 556) highlight that Turkey assumed active roles in multilateral platforms such as UN, Council of Europe (CoE), NATO, and the EU to boost the prestige and reputation of the country.

With regard to humanitarianism, in 2005, Turkey provided its first report to Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (officially accepted in 2000) that is the requirement for DAC member countries. In 2014, Turkey became a member of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) Donor Support Group that is a consultation mechanism in shaping humanitarian policies followed by OCHA. Turkey made membership of the UN Security Council and was elected in 2008 after 47 years. Besides humanitarianism, Turkey took the opportunity to gain advantage from the UN through partnering in sponsor with Spain the Alliance of Civilizations Initiative. This was utilised by Turkish policy makers to present Turkey that belongs to the East (i.e. Muslim community), and the West. This also contributed Turkey's dual identity to balance power against the West on the grounds around the "legacy of humanity" (Rumelili & Suleymanoglu-Kurum, 2017: 556). A close reading of TIKA activity reports show that activities of Turkey are identified as serving "the common good and welfare of humanity as opposed to those who heed the 'interests of great powers and international capital'" (Serdar Çam cited in Aydın-Düzgit, 2020). However, Turkey operationalizes its humanitarian agenda through its strategic interests besides interests of recipient countries.

As a result, Turkey's strategies in the realm of development are premised on its liminal identity as both Western and Eastern to present itself a 'different actor' as opposed to Western traditional donors. Rumelili and Suleymanoglu-Kurum (2017) sum: "Turkey highlighted its commitment to Western norms and values in addressing the West, but essentialised its civilizational commonalities with the East in the East". This will be

explained in latter section of this chapter about civilizational agenda of Turkey. Turkey is neither in the West nor in the non-West but it will continue to be an active actor in traditional structure of the international humanitarian order. Thus, the liminal identity of Turkey can be considered as a positive albeit ambivalent status that reinforces Turkey's activism.

3.4.3. Turkey's Bilateral Relations with Recipient Countries

As other emerging donors assessed in Chapter 2, Turkey follows bilateral channels in providing ODA and humanitarian aid. In this respect, emerging actors differ from established Western donors that follow multilateral channels. Rather, Turkey established its multi-actor structure which consists of various actors that are TİKA founded in 1992, Kızılay, Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, various intergovernmental, NGOs and relevant ministries or local agencies within partner countries (Murphy & Sazak, 2012: 5). Because, emerging actors go towards a more “integrated aid and development model” organically combines different forms of funding streams around aid, trade and investment, drawing in public and private sector actors (Mawdsley, 2012: 30). For example, one of the important actors in Turkey is private sector actor such as Turkish Airlines that started direct flights to strategic locations such as Mogadishu and different cities of African countries which symbolically represents the wish to fill the gap left by former Western actors in Africa.

Although Turkey is committed to multilateral agreements and principles, Turkey provides development and humanitarian assistance through state institutions -TİKA,

AFAD, ministries, Diyanet, municipalities- that also coordinate activities of NGOs and civil society organisations (CSOs). A detailed reading of TİKA reports indicate that Turkey blends different types of modalities and categories of aid to provide bilateral aid. One of the main explanations of emerging donors in using bilateral channels is non-conditionality. As for Turkey, Brazil, Colombia, and Cuba that are emerging actor, the demand driven character of South-South Cooperation is a main priority in their practices, and there are no conditionalities attached to it (Bergamaschi et. al., 2017: 307). The emphasize on seeking no conditionalities are consistent with the contestation of the traditional system by emerging donors. This is also related to the reference to the importance of sovereignty by new actors. They claim not to interfere with the domestic affairs attaching no conditions to the development cooperation they provide (Zimmerman & Smith, 2011: 731). This stands in contrast to DAC donors who follow “hands-on” approach in their relations with partner governments (Mold, 2009). However, the non-conditionality that is linked with the prominence of sovereignty is “excessively idealized” as Benzi and Lo Brutto contend (in Bergamaschi et. al. 2017). According to the critical reading of TİKA reports, political conditionality is not sought but still remains as an important problem that can lead to corruptions or other political conflicts affecting the behaviour of recipient governments. This will be explained in Somalia case in Chapter 5.

There are other criteria determined by Turkish authorities in providing aid. The significant point is that these criteria are designated in choosing target countries before Turkey starts to provide aid. Civilizational geopolitics that is connected to Turkey’s dual identity -partly Western, partly anti-Western- is the key motivation in underpinning aid

policy agenda. Historical, religious, and cultural affinities that constitute civilizational geopolitics are key elements. Thus, Turkey follows different pathways in diverse geographies in light of these elements. I will address the details of this discussion in Chapter 4 under geopolitical aid. Even though the aforementioned criteria play a key role in selecting the target country, once Turkey commences its activities in the target country, these elements cease to be the most important factors. Instead, other issues in terms of economic, politic and diplomatic interests become elements shaping aid and humanitarian policies of Turkey. This clarifies the instrumentalization of aid in order to expand the zone of influence in Turkey's agenda.

3.4.4. Mercantilist and Geopolitical Aid

Mercantilism is consistent with seeking for potential markets for primary goods, securing various resources and building new infrastructures to increase their production or commercial gains. This refers to mercantilist national growth strategy through utilizing development practices as Kim and Gray underscore (2016: 652). However, the bilateral delivery of assistance might subsidy African elites that possibly bolster clientelist networks and corruption as Aydın-Düzgit (2020: 278) argues. The flexibility of being a non-DAC member might be easily manipulated by officials that can lead to troubled dynamics linked to corruption in recipient countries. Geopolitical foundations to find a space for market-oriented approach can turn into 'commodification of humanitarianism' (Bergamaschi et. al., 2017: 308). Turkey seems to export Turkified elements of its economic interests through practices of development and humanitarianism.

In order to build new alliances, recipients are strategically and geopolitically designated in line with Turkey's foreign policy and economic goals in the region linked to regional characteristics. These characteristics of regions denote specificities that are historical, cultural, and religious motives that can be encapsulated as political, Islamic as well as economic dynamics of Turkish foreign aid policy. For this reason, Turkey mixes different types of modalities and forms of aid. The key goal is to expand the zone of influence through building partnerships with local actors in recipient countries for its strategic national interests. In this regard, Mawdsley (2012: 130) explains the role of development cooperation: "Assertions and practices of 'development cooperation' can play a substantial role in wider foreign policy agendas, building relationships with neighbours, and potential allies; securing resources and markets; and as a competitive manoeuvre against rivals."

Turkish officials conduct many high-profile and diplomatic tours to different African countries and opened a large number of embassies of Turkey through locating development cooperation flows as well as commercial relations within "a strategy of high-visibility of diplomacy" (Mawdsley, 2012: 130). Turkey's diplomatic and humanitarian engagements in African region tell Turkey's strategic motivations that are formed around mercantilist motives. This is highly visible particularly in Africa that is indicated by the rise of trade levels that will be assessed in Chapter 5 on Somalia.

Mercantilist and strategic motivations are linked to geopolitical aid of Turkey. Therefore, I define geopolitical aid as revalorisation of particular geographies in terms of

geopolitical specificities influencing the pattern and content of aid in order to expand the zone of influence of a donor country. As mentioned earlier, these specificities are based on political, cultural, economic, religious, and historical characteristics of recipient regions that also shape interests of donor countries. The revalorisation of a particular region refers to renewed interests of Turkey in light of AKP's vision of civilisational geopolitics as a guiding pillar of Turkish foreign policy and Turkish humanitarianism as well (Aydın-Düzgit, 2020: 273; Bilgin & Bilgiç, 2011). Civilizational geopolitics relies upon an essentialist conceptualisation of target recipient countries supporting the Islamic and neo-Ottoman romanticism. This behaviour as Aydın-Düzgit (2020) contends delineates a strict distinction between different civilizations between the Islamic civilization which Turkey is a part and the Western civilization. As discussed earlier, this reconstructs and even perpetuates the dominance of the West. As a result, economically, strategically, and geopolitically motivated Turkish aid becomes 'essentialist' as their Western counterparts whom they criticize (Yanık, 2011: 87; Bilgin, 2009).

3.4.5. Instrumentalization of Humanitarianism

Emerging donors including Turkey utilize aid and development practices as an indispensable part of their foreign policy agenda. In doing so, each emerging actor uses particular references to justify their practices. It is important to note that the growing trend of emerging donors has inaugurated to incorporate foreign aid into foreign policy agendas, as simply described by Altunışık (2014) "foreign aid as foreign policy".

Turkey's humanitarianism is operationalized in light of its foreign policy goals. Since Turkey is a status-seeking and middle-income country, the development trajectory of Turkey is instrumentalized in order to ensure new markets, geopolitical influence, and diplomatic ties in high-visibility. This is about "international insertion and recognition- that is, the need to desire to be seen and treated as a model, success story, or reliable partner by Western cohorts" (Bergamaschi, et. al., 2017: 315). As a result of close reading of TIKA and other political documents, Turkish Islamic civil society organisations (CSOs) and NGOs have become instrumental in building ties with communities in Africa, Central Asia and the Balkans.

Emerging donors share the claim to 'do things different' humanitarianism as compared to traditional actors. This claim is shared by strongly in Turkey, Cuba, China, Brazil, India, UAE, South Africa. In particular, unlike China, Cuba and Venezuela, Turkey is neither a communist nor a leftist country as raised by Bergamaschi et. al. (2017: 320). Rather Turkey has strong religious and Islamic sentiments still wishing to be part of the global system. Hence, Turkey instrumentalizes aid through religious sentiments (i.e. aid relied upon religious NGOs and Diyanet) apart from economic and political considerations. I will focus on the details of religious sentiments of aid in Chapter 4 under 'Cultural and Religious Aid'.

The AKP government, which came to power in 2002, has increasingly been using aid as an instrument of foreign policy, including in the Arab world as Altunışık (2014: 332). To become a regional power, central state, middle power and pivotal state (Brezinski, 1997),

Turkey has actively integrated foreign aid into the foreign policy agenda since 2002. Not only in the Arab world, but also in various geographies in the world, Turkey has increased the amounts of ODA and humanitarian aid as a foreign policy instrument. The geographical allocation of aid linked to geopolitical dynamics will be explained in Chapter 4. The data of ODA and other types of aid in TIKA reports show how Turkey uses different types of aid various geographies as a foreign policy instrument through strengthening its visibility. The government has strived to develop an approach that blends interests with values rooted in humanitarian concerns (Onis, 2012). As a result, foreign aid has thus become “more tightly knit than ever with foreign policy, the former being used to justify the latter” as Altunışık underlines (2014: 337).

3.4.6. Civilisational Agenda

Turkey’s civilisational agenda is shaped by Islamic undertones and Ottoman romanticism. This agenda is anchored by “claiming continuity with Ottoman heterogeneity, Ottoman religiosity, and Ottoman involvement in the broader region” (Onar, 2015: 148). Turkey invokes its Islamic and Ottoman aspects of its identity in recipient countries, while it reinforces its Western dimensions in implementing traditional practices of humanitarian government. As such, Turkey’s liminal identity is reinforced by its civilizational agenda that shapes its development policies in various geographies. Humanitarian agenda of Turkey is often linked with its historical responsibility aligned with Islamic values, namely ‘historical baggage’ of the Ottoman empire, that affects its relations with the West and political discourses inside Turkey in terms of its policy in the Middle East, Asia and Africa (Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019: 7; Aras, 2009; Bayer &

Keyman, 2012). As mentioned earlier, this led Turkey to position itself as a ‘meeting place’ or ‘bridge’ of the Eastern and Western civilisations. In a nutshell, this can be understood as a “rereading of Turkey’s ambivalent relationship with the West, itself an echo of Ottoman empire” as Onar (2015:153) underscores.

Turkey’s ambitions for bridging civilisations as a regional power derived from contesting the status quo in the international humanitarian order. Turkey’s civilizational discourse can be explained as the pursuit of geopolitical goals in providing aid that can serve national interests. In spite of virtuous aspects, this narrative bears close resemblance with Western imperial geopolitics “in the sense that the ultimate goal to be pursued in Turkish foreign policy is economic and geopolitical dominance over its civilizational hinterland defined by Islam” as Aydın-Düzgit (2020: 274) stresses.

It is worth to note that civilizational agenda is deep-rooted in Turkish foreign policy since the 1990s that was discussed in 3.2.2. in this Chapter. The transformation of this understanding began in 2002 when the AKP came to power. In 2004, the ‘Alliance of Civilizations’ was organized in Istanbul sponsored by the UN. This organization resulted in the increase of religious motives when Turkey claimed to ‘bridge Islam and the West’ (Yanık, 2009: 542). To put differently, in contrast to predecessor governments, AKP maintained the civilizational discourse emerged in the early 1990s with a more religious tone (Yanık, 2011: 86). Hence, the pattern and content of aid are shaped through religious and political motives in light of renewed interests of Turkey in diverse geographies.

3.4.7. The Ambivalent Content of Turkish Humanitarianism

In light of discussions above, the pattern and content of Turkish humanitarianism has signs of ambitious liberal goals of Western development and aid policies. The similarities stem from activities of Turkey that are aiming to empower security and to increase capacity building of states. The reports of TİKA demonstrate that the AKP has concentrated on security and stability, and on consolidating power among new regimes (TİKA reports; Altunışık, 2014). Hence, the direction of aid has followed that of regional foreign policy, and interests of the government in an ideational framing through notions of historical, religious and cultural affinity and responsibility as Altunışık (2014) argues.

On the other hand, these activities are analysed as instruments of democracy support in one region only by Aydın-Düzgit (2020). However, it would be erroneous to generalize and label these activities as “democracy promotion instruments” in Turkish case. Despite resemblance of activities, at the rhetoric level Turkey does not adopt the liberal norms such as importance of democracy or liberal peace in its humanitarian agenda. Rather, geopolitical goals, religious (i.e. Islamic) motives and commercial goals shape the behaviour of Turkey as a donor. This will be explained further with reference to the involvement of Turkey in Somalia in Chapter 5. Through humanitarian and development assistance entangled with trade and investment, Turkish government attributes itself as a “solution to Western colonialism” in terms of humanitarian assistance that resembles to the claim raised by Southern actors as indicated earlier.

Fundamental humanitarian practices particularly humanitarian aid and ODA can be similar to Western practices. Yet, Turkey has expanded it through in-kind and financial government-to-government contributions to build partnerships with aid-recipient countries besides aforementioned traditional practices. In brief, Turkey blends different modalities that are ODA, humanitarian aid and trade and investment. This amplifies the instrumentalization of humanitarianism for economic and commercial goals. Technically, trade and investment are not part of humanitarian practices. However, Turkey labels these various practices as ‘humanitarian’. These may hamper altruistic motives in providing aid. Secondly, due to the critiques of Western humanitarianism in terms of its bureaucratized, slow and standardized system, Turkey deploys mainly governmental agencies, ministries as well as NGOs with a secondary role in providing humanitarian aid and ODA in a faster process bypassing international organizations. However, this may lead to problems in terms of transparency in knowledge, confusions about distribution of tasks, and negative impacts on legitimacy of Turkey’s activities. Thirdly, although humanitarian principles are regarded as Western-oriented foundations of humanitarianism, in Ministry of Foreign Affairs and formal speeches, these principles have been mentioned as principles to be respected. Clearly, Turkey has confusions about in fully compliance with Western conventional structure of humanitarianism. Consequently, Turkey remains torn between in Western and non-Western approaches while it aspires to be like a powerful Western actor. Fourthly, Turkey entails a dual position through adapting decolonial rhetoric while remaining integrated to the conventional structure of humanitarianism in tandem with geopolitical aid. As a consequence, in order to being involved and to be represented as “the most generous

donor” (GHA, 2014) within the expanding international humanitarian order, Turkish case shows how anti-Westernism and Western-orientedness can be complementary that constitutes liminality. All in all, the ultimate goal of Turkey to position itself as an ‘alternative development actor’ attaching Islamic, cultural and civilizational elements in its ambivalent humanitarian agenda.



CHAPTER 4 : TURKEY’S MULTIFACETED HUMANITARIANISM

According to 2018 Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, Turkey has been ranked as the largest donor in the world with 8.4 billion USD in terms of humanitarian aid and development assistance. In 2016, Turkey has also been ranked as the first country with the 0.75% share of Gross National Income (GNI) spent to humanitarian assistance that has increased to 0.85% in 2017 (Global Humanitarian Assistance, 2018). Turkey is a middle-income and a status-seeking country as well as the largest humanitarian agency. Turkey has aimed to expand its influence in various geographies by utilizing different components of humanitarianism.

This chapter analyses Turkey’s aid in light of geopolitical dimensions of renewed relations between Turkey and recipients of Turkish aid. This is related to the point by Tuathail (1998: 22): “geopolitics can be described as a particular mode of representing global space”. In this respect, I argue that Turkey develops a new way of self-representation through revalorising, in other words, attributing new value to particular geographies in terms of their characteristics at the global space. These regional characteristics denote particular features of recipient countries that are historical, cultural, and religious motives. These characteristics are being a Muslim state, being a former Ottoman territory, and being located in the post-Soviet zone that is a significant region

for Turkey since the end of the Cold War. These are the sum of political dynamics of civilizational geopolitics in Turkish foreign aid policy (Bilgin, 2004). Therefore, this chapter contends that Turkey operationalizes its humanitarianism through multifaceted strategies which are performed by geopolitical aid. I define *geopolitical aid* as revalorisation of particular geographies in terms of regional characteristics shaping the pattern and content of aid in order to expand the zone of influence of a donor country in order to assess Turkish foreign aid policy. This term can be applied to discussions on non-Western and Western donors as well. Revalorisation is managed through providing high amounts of aid, delivering development assistance, increasing trade and diplomatic ties. Here, the significant issue is the inclusion of civilizational features that increase the value of a region in the eyes of donor countries. Through an Islamic identity harnessed with Ottoman legacy, Turkey utilizes humanitarianism and different types of aid for a broader influence. As such, Turkey's agenda can be described as mimicry of practices by Western donors which have liberal and colonial traces to pursue a geopolitical influence, political and commercial goals.

Since the beginning of the 2000s, Turkish policymakers presented self-representations of Turkey as both Western and Eastern with a branding approach in various policy domains as Rumelili and Suleymanoglu-Kurum assert (2017: 551). One of the key implications of this combination is dual identity of Turkey that becomes an asset allowing Turkey to brand itself to different audiences in different ways (Rumelili & Suleymanoglu-Kurum, 2017: 551). This chapter examines the liminality of Turkey which is promulgated by Ottoman and Muslim aspirations is a significant factor constituting the pattern and

content of aid. I design the classification of recipients through Turkey's liminal identity providing liability to develop region-specific strategies. The dual identity- being partly Western and partly Eastern- enables Turkey to maneuver easily in order to pursue its political and economic goals in providing assistance. However, the dual identity is more linked to Islamic, cultural and historical determinants that are parts of civilizational agenda becoming an indispensable component of Turkey's humanitarianism. Starting from the mid-2000s, due to stalled relations with the EU, Turkey started to search for new zones to expand its zone of influence through reinforcing its civilizational geopolitics. To put differently, Turkey has sought for new markets and areas where it could act as a regional power (Bayer & Keyman, 2012; Öniş, 2012).

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section of the chapter discusses Turkey's multifaceted humanitarianism and different identities of Turkey in this realm. The multifaceted humanitarianism is structured as follows: 1) Turkey's Official Development Assistance (ODA) & Turkey as a *Development Actor*, 2) Emergency and Humanitarian Aid & Turkey as a *Humanitarian Actor*, 3) Trade and Investment & Turkey as a *Trade Partner*. This chapter uncovers civilizational geopolitics which is located at the heart of Turkey's humanitarian agenda which is more heavily relied upon religion and Ottoman romanticism in the AKP era. In the second section, these discussions are explained by the concept of geopolitical aid in the context of Turkey. In the third section, I aim to provide a classification of recipients of Turkish aid to demonstrate the geographical scope of Turkey's recipients. To this end, I present three groups of countries which are as follows: a) geopolitical hinterlands (GHs), b) post-

Soviet Zone (PSZ), and c) new geopolitical horizons (NGHs). GHs refer to the Balkans, MENA, and Sub-Saharan Africa) that are former territories of the Ottomans. The countries in South and Central Asia are defined as PSZ that consists of Turkic Republics. Latin America and Caribbean, and countries in the other Asia and Oceania are recognized as NGHs. The final section investigates four types of aid which are emergency aid, technocratic aid, cultural and religious aid, and technocratic aid to unpack multi-sector aid of Turkey.

4.1. Turkey as A Humanitarian Actor: Different Dynamics since 2002

After the AKP's rise to power in late 2002, foreign aid has become an essential instrument of its foreign policy. From the 1990s onwards, there is a continuation of liminal identity and civilizational geopolitics as explained in Chapter 3. This liminal identity of Turkey in foreign policy shaped its hybrid identity in humanitarian government. However, liminality of Turkey has undergone a major shift when the AKP came to power in 2002. Unlike predecessor governments, Turkey's new geopolitical representation under AKP is more linked with history, identity (Altunışık, 2014: 35) as well as religion. The purpose of this narrative is to define roles including foreign policy positions and tools, identities and domestic political goals. In this chapter, I emphasize that the purpose of the AKP is to construct three identities under multifaceted humanitarianism as a foreign policy tool. In doing so, Turkey creates a different type of colonialism through mixing humanitarianism with antagonistic ones; militarism, mercantilism, and globalism (Çetinoğlu, 2019: 290). The humanitarianism aspect of AKP policy served as the purpose of Turkey's dual position to increase its attractiveness for

the two worlds “the West” and “the East” (Altunışık, 2014: 36) to invoke different dimensions of Turkey’s state behaviour. However, liminality has changed. It has become more focused on Islamic and Ottoman romanticism. This new form of liminality is also entangled with commercial and geopolitical interests.

As Kavaklı (2018) argues, whereas trade focus makes Turkey similar to Western traditional donors, the increasing role of cultural ties sets Turkey apart. Hence, I argue that Turkey is torn between Western and non-Western strands which refers to its liminal identity explained in Chapter 3. Turkey is Western because it remains integrated into conventional humanitarian government and its Western dominated activities. Turkey is non-Western because it adopts a civilizational agenda which is linked with culture, religion and Ottoman aspirations. The civilizational agenda is highly visible in Turkey’s rhetoric to criticize and challenge the West. Consequently, Turkey emerges as a quasi-colonial actor that bears resemblance to traditional donors because of its economic and strategic goals. Despite its decolonial language, Turkey reproduces Western type of activities in order to pursue geopolitical influence. As a result, Turkey seemingly gains visibility supporting its geopolitical goals, economic and political interests to strategically build an international identity. The details of decolonial language will be specifically illustrated by Somalia case in Chapter 5.

Since 2002, in light of the pursuit of geopolitical influence similar to traditional donors, geopolitical aid has become a significant instrument. In the implementation of geopolitical aid, the AKP government revitalize regions in terms of new determinants

that had different places in previous governments. Under AKP rule, these new determinants are history, religion, and culture in light of geopolitical representations shaped by characteristics of these regions. Civilizational agenda is an important constitutive element of AKP government's humanitarian agenda. In this respect, characteristics of regions are profound because they are the main criteria for Turkey before providing assistance. As indicated above, the AKP government distributes geopolitical aid based on its religious, historical, cultural and political affinities. Once it enters to the recipient country, these criteria ceased to be the major factors. Rather, economic and political interests come to the agenda. In brief, these dynamics demonstrate that Turkey operationalizes its humanitarianism as a status symbol and as a foreign policy instrument in order to pursue its political and economic goals. The term of 'humanitarian' transcribes various types of activities that serve for political, economic and diplomatic relations.

With regard to the allocation of different types of aid to diverse regions, the major focus of Turkish aid has shifted from South and Central Asia to the Balkans since the 1990s. The Sub-Saharan region has emerged as the other major recipient region of Turkish aid since 2011 as shown in Figure 5. This clearly reveals that Turkey shapes its aid in terms of geopolitical specificities namely regional characteristics or "geographical elements" in the words of Agnew and Corbridge (1995: 15).

Since 2012, there has been a gradual increase in the amounts of aid in GHs that are Europe specifically the Balkans, and the MENA, despite the fluctuations in sub-Saharan

Africa clearly shows revalorisation of these regions. In MENA and Sub-Saharan Africa, the kinship between AKP and Muslim Brotherhood plays a crucial role. This will be explained in proceeding sections. Moreover, Sub-Saharan African countries are important for AKP due to Islamic civilization ties. I argue that the increase of aid to the Balkans is about Turkey's historical ties with these countries which have roots back in Ottoman era. In PSZ, there is a surprising decrease in aid provided to South and Central Asia in spite of the importance of the region since the establishment of TİKA in 1992. I prefer to signify Turkic Republics under the category of PSZ although they are Muslim countries. Because, the dissolution of the USSR was the beginning of Turkey's active humanitarianism started in Turkic Republics. In contrast to previous governments, the decrease in the amount of aid to PSZ shows the renewed interests of AKP to expand its sphere of influence in other geographies. This can be defined as follows: "Turkey not as part of Western civilization, but as the emerging leader of its own 'civilizational basin' consisting of the former Ottoman territories plus adjoining regions inhabited by Muslim and Turkic peoples" (Bilgin & Bilgiç, 2011: 173).

However, due to expansions of components and scope of Turkey's humanitarian agenda, in addition to these regions as part of 'civilization basin', Latin America and Oceania are new geographies of Turkish humanitarianism. As a result, within NGHs, AKP revalorised Latin America and Caribbean, and other Asia and Oceania despite fluctuations of amounts of aid. The details of the classification of recipients will be explained in the following sections of this chapter.

4.2. Why is Humanitarianism a Foreign Policy Instrument?

It is significant to ask why humanitarianism has become a foreign policy instrument in the agenda of emerging donor country. My primary answer is to gain status, visibility, stature, and to expand the sphere of influence. In light of this answer, I propose that there are two key explanations to investigate the rising significance of humanitarianism in Turkey. The first explanation is Turkey's quest "to gain stature as a non-Western country that has a troubled relationship with the international system which has been a predominantly Western order in modernity" in the words of Ayşe Zarakol (2012: 74). On the one hand, this implies that humanitarianism is regarded as a coping mechanism to handle relations with the West. On the other hand, humanitarianism is a tool to contest the traditional structure dominated by the West. Turkey wishes to gain stature while competing with Western understandings that reinforces its civilizational agenda. This duality derives from Turkey's liminal identity that shapes its foreign policy and humanitarian agenda. With respect to gaining stature, Langan (2017: 1404) argues that dealing with poorer countries will strengthen the reputation of Turkey as an influential and unilateral actor on the global stage. As a result, Turkey increases its trade ties with aid recipient countries like traditional donors while utilizing culture and religion to attract recipient countries unlike Western states.

The second explanation is related to Turkey's new path formed in humanitarianism as a new self-representation of Turkey under AKP. Turkey brands itself as a "apolitical and disinterested donor" (ICG, 2012; Altunışık, 2014; Tank, 2013) and a "benevolent country" (Langan, 2017). This is also connected to Turkey's claims to represent itself a

different actor. AKP has a bold assertion to bring a new form of development in contrast to other emerging donors. In this respect, the civilizational agenda makes Turkey an interesting case. The civilizational agenda took a different form that is harnessed with religious and essentialist Ottoman or historical responsibility. Besides these new elements, this is also directly linked to Turkey's new reorientations in its foreign policy. In line with this argument, Zarakol (2012: 741) addresses that "Turkey's primary strategy for gaining recognition was joining the European Union, now it is seeking stature through regional leadership". This refers to the rising importance of humanitarianism in Turkey's agenda. As a result of seeking for stature and new self-representation or an "identity marker" as Altunışık (2019) defines, AKP has enlarged the scope of activities and diversity of recipient regions to build an international zone of influence attached with global ambitions.

4.3. Geopolitical aid: The Definition and The Insights From the Literature

Geopolitical aid signifies the revalorisation of particular geographies in terms of regional characteristics shaping the pattern and content of aid in order to expand the zone of influence of a donor country. As mentioned above, these regional characteristics are features of recipient regions that have historical, cultural, and religious affinities with Turkey. This section introduces the background of the term formed through the synthesis two literatures; development studies (particularly humanitarianism) and critical geopolitics. Geopolitical aid is often used amongst various scholarly works particularly in economics in order to differentiate it from developmental aid in analysing its effectiveness on growth (Reddy & Minoiu, 2006; Minoiu & Reddy, 2007; Clemens et.al.,

2004). The common argument of these works is that aid mainly serves for the donor's national interests that is predicted on the basis of past and present geopolitical ties colonial relationships, a shared language, and common membership in an alliance (Headey, 2008; Reddy & Minoiu, 2006: 18). However, in humanitarianism, geopolitical aid leads to a different argument that focuses on political dynamics of donor countries. Power (2010) underlines the importance of developing new approaches in analysing the linkage between development and critical geopolitics in light of the Global South. For example, Power and Mohan (2010) analyse China's engagement with Africa from a critical geopolitical lens. The dialogue between Tuathail (1994) and Slater (1993) emphasises the importance of geopolitics of development shaping "geopolitical imagination" of development actors. Slater defines 'geopolitical imagination': "All the major conceptualizations of development in the post-war period contain and express a geopolitical imagination which has had a conditioning effect on the enframing of meanings and relations of development" (Slater, 1993: 189)

Although Slater (1993) refers to the post-Cold war era when the relations between the North and the South changed, this concept can be applied to existing understandings of development studies particularly foreign aid. In this respect, Lee and Gray (2016) argue that "geopolitical specificities influence the manner in which South-South cooperation shapes the possibility of development". I claim that this is also true for Turkey because it shapes its manner in providing aid in terms of geopolitical specificities.

Accepting “all aid is strategic” as noted by Tan-Mullins et. al. (2010: 864), the pattern and content of aid are shaped based on AKP government’s efforts to revitalize its position through a search for stature and reputation. As a result, Turkey’s humanitarianism is operationalized in order to expand its zone of influence with respect to its political, economic and diplomatic interests. These regional characteristics denote specificities that are historical, cultural, and religious motives that can be encapsulated as political dynamics of Turkish foreign aid policy. Hence, as Tan Mullins et. al. (2010: 867) highlight ‘current aid is entwined with geopolitical agendas’ that design types of aid and its recipients.

4.4. Turkey’s Multifaceted Humanitarianism

In this section, I discuss Turkey’s multifaceted humanitarianism and different identities of Turkey in this realm. During the AKP era, multifaceted humanitarianism has been used as an instrument to achieve national interests which have expansionist and liberal developmentalist undertones. The combination of different modalities that are ODA, emergency and humanitarian assistance, trade and investment, the label of humanitarian formulates recipient geographies into international market-places for business relations and political alliances. The multifaceted humanitarianism is structured as follows: 1) Turkey’s Official Development Assistance (ODA) & Turkey as *a Development Actor*, 2) Emergency and Humanitarian Aid & Turkey as *a Humanitarian Actor*, 3) Trade and Investment & Turkey as *a trade partner*. Turkey’s multifaceted humanitarianism is a combination of different actors mainly governmental agencies, ministries as well as NGOs with a secondary role in providing humanitarian aid and ODA. The main reason of

this combination is to deliver aid in a faster process bypassing international organizations due to critiques of Western humanitarianism around its bureaucratized, slow and standardized system. The actors are Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), Turkish NGOs (mostly Islamic, i.e. İHH, Cansuyu, Yardım Eli) based in various regions of the world, the Turkish Red Crescent (Kızılay), and relevant governmental agencies (i.e. ministries, Diyanet and TOKİ) to provide aid in various sectors which mix different modalities. These modalities are ODA, emergency and humanitarian aid, and trade and investment.

4.4.1. Turkey's Official Development Assistance (ODA) & 'Turkey as a Development Partner'

In the context of ODA, Turkey is analysed as a 'development partner'. As a self-representation mechanism, AKP uses ODA a tool to reflect its new status -development partner- that Turkey aspires to be. ODA is a medium of Turkey to locate itself against Western donors. However, ODA activities are replicas of Western practices to pursue geopolitical influence. In addition, ODA is the main modality of OECD-DAC donor countries in accordance with Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The standard definition of ODA by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) in 1961 is as follows:

(...) flows to countries and territories on the DAC List of ODA Recipients and to multilateral development institutions which are provided by official agencies; and each transaction of which is administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as its main objective and its concessional in character and conveys a grant element of at least 25 percent (OECD, 2007).

ODA consists of official development assistance, aid, and other flows, besides direct and indirect aid to developing countries. A close reading of TİKA reports shows that Turkish ODA is mainly delivered in the sectors of humanitarian assistance, social infrastructure, agriculture, and sub-sectors of the government. Since 2002, Turkish foreign policy has undergone a major change which made ODA a major tool to strengthen Turkish involvement in neglected regions (Apaydın, 2012) With respect to development assistance, as Quadir highlights, Turkey has emerged as one of the ‘non-traditional countries’ that is a new, non-DAC actor (Apaydın, 2012; Quadir, 2013).

As a non-DAC actor, Turkey’s development cooperation is provided mainly by TİKA (OECD, 2017). Established in 1992, TİKA sought to provide assistance to the Central Asian Republics and Azerbaijan in their transformation (Bilgin & Bilgiç, 2011: 186). While between 1992 and 2002, TİKA had only 12 Program Coordination Offices (POCs) and activities in only 28 countries (TİKA, 2013), in 2015-2016, TİKA increased its POCs to 56 in 2017 (TİKA, 2017). In 2005, the OECD adopted the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness where Turkey approved its compliance with TİKA in monitoring this adaptation (Cihangir-Tetik & Müftüler-Baç, 2018: 946). Thus, Turkey compiled its ODA to the OECD-DAC rules, regularly participating meetings since 2011 and reporting its ODA flows to OECD-DAC voluntarily since 1991.

Since 2015, TİKA became the only official entity that provides public and private aid cooperating with Turkish non-state actors and not-for-profit actors (Apaydın, 2012: 262). In July 2018, TİKA has become a legal entity with its independent budget. In the past, it

operated under the prime ministry. In July 2018, TİKA has started to operate under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism with its independent budget (TİKA, 2020). This shows the dominance of state institutions in Turkey in providing aid compared to OECD-DAC countries that mostly follow multilateral channels. This expansion of TİKA in various regions clearly demonstrates the desire of Turkey to build a new identity in the international humanitarian order besides existing traditional actors. In this respect, Aydın-Düzgit (2020) underscores that ODA hence became a medium through which “a virtuous Islamic identity unburdened with an imperialist and colonial legacy could discursively be deployed against Western donors, which could in turn be deployed against Western actors in the region”.

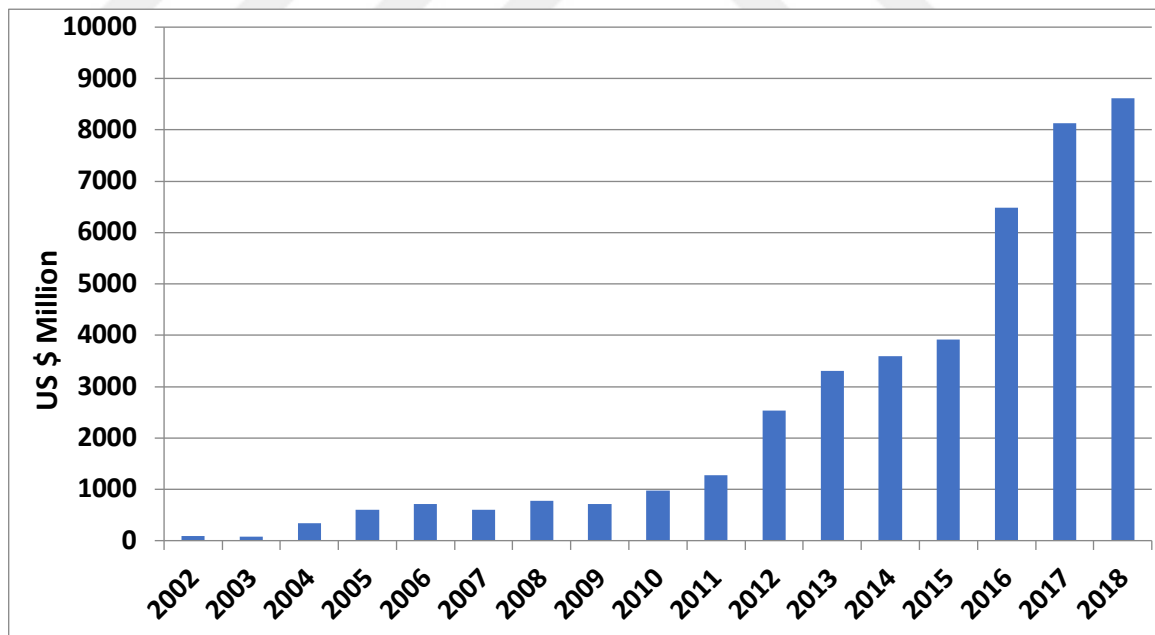


Figure 1: Turkish ODA flows 2002-2018

Source: TİKA Development Assistance Reports (2002-2018) and OECD Development Co-Operation Report 2018

As shown in Figure 1, there is a gradual increase in the amount of total ODA that has reached 8.6 billion USD in 2018. Through its humanitarian agenda Turkey seeks for new supporters in the world among recipients countries of Turkish ODA. For this reason, recipients are designated in light of geopolitical dynamics of Turkey's humanitarian agenda. Turkey's ODA has the greater attention to improvement of other aspects of relations that are investment and aid (Shinn, 2015: 5). As such, the delivery of ODA has strictly entailed non-conditionality and an avoidance of controversies on state's sovereignty as Aydın-Düzgit (2020: 269) underscores. Hence, I contend that the delivery of ODA is strategically designed to represent 'positive Turkey' against 'negative others'. As mentioned in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, the claim 'to do things differently' constructs the anti-Western discourse of emerging donors particularly on sovereignty and conditionality.

In 2017, according to OECD (2018) preliminary data, Turkey's net ODA reached 8.1 billion USD (0.95% of gross national income GNI). The ratio of ODA as a share of GNI rose from 0.50% in 2015 to 0.76% in 2016, which exceeds the 0.7% target set by OECD (OECD, 2017). As shown in Figure 2, the increase in ODA and humanitarian assistance has been equal to Turkey's 0.75% of its Gross National Income (GHA, 2017).

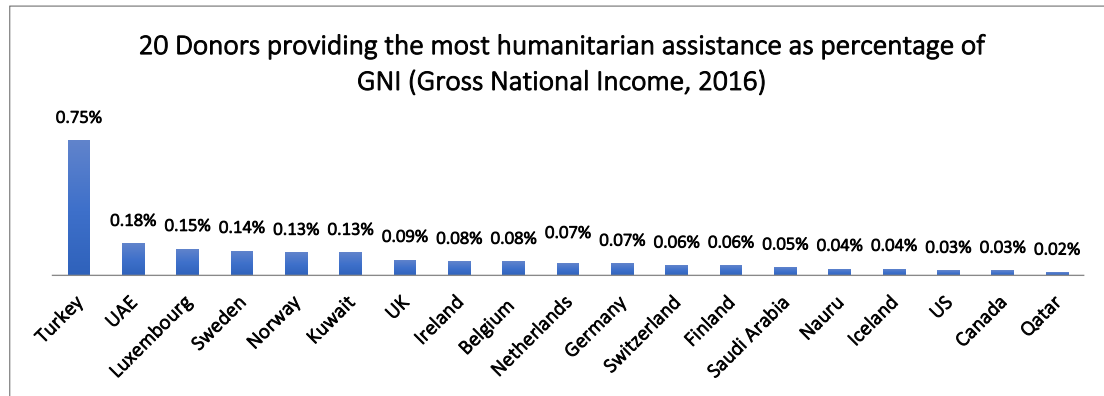


Figure 2: 20 donors providing the most humanitarian assistance as percentage of GNI, 2016

Source: 2017 Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) Report

With the AKP government since 2002, TIKA restructured its objectives in line with economic and security concerns, as Fidan and Nurdun argue (2008: 101). MDGs were signed in 2000 that have aimed at maximizing national visibility and the symbolic impact of aid programs (Fidan & Nurdun, 2008: 101). For Turkey, signing MDGs was an important step to be involved in the official humanitarian sphere to be as a newcomer. It is also an opportunity for expansionist policies of Turkey to dominate various regions in terms of multi-sectoral aid.

In 2016, the increase in ODA is mostly related to its response to the refugee crisis in Syria (OECD, 2017). While the share of Turkey's total ODA provided to Syria was 52% in 2013 and 65% in 2014, it increased to 70% in 2015 (OECD, 2017). This seems as an obstacle for Turkey which prevented its active involvement and providing aid in other regions. However, the AKP has started to utilize the refugee influx as a leverage in its political relations with the European Union (EU). On the one hand, this can be described as an effort to change the distribution of political visibility in the international arena

against the EU. On the other hand, high amounts of aid to Syrians have been reflected as a status symbol of ‘generosity’ and ‘benevolence’ to brand Turkey in other regions. Somalia was the second country that Turkey provided its bilateral development cooperation including humanitarian aid and various types of aid. In contrast to 1990s, with the declaration of 2005 as the *Year of Africa*, Turkey sharply increased its bilateral and multilateral ODA for sub-Saharan Africa with a particular interest for Somalia (Özkan, 2010; Apaydın, 2012).

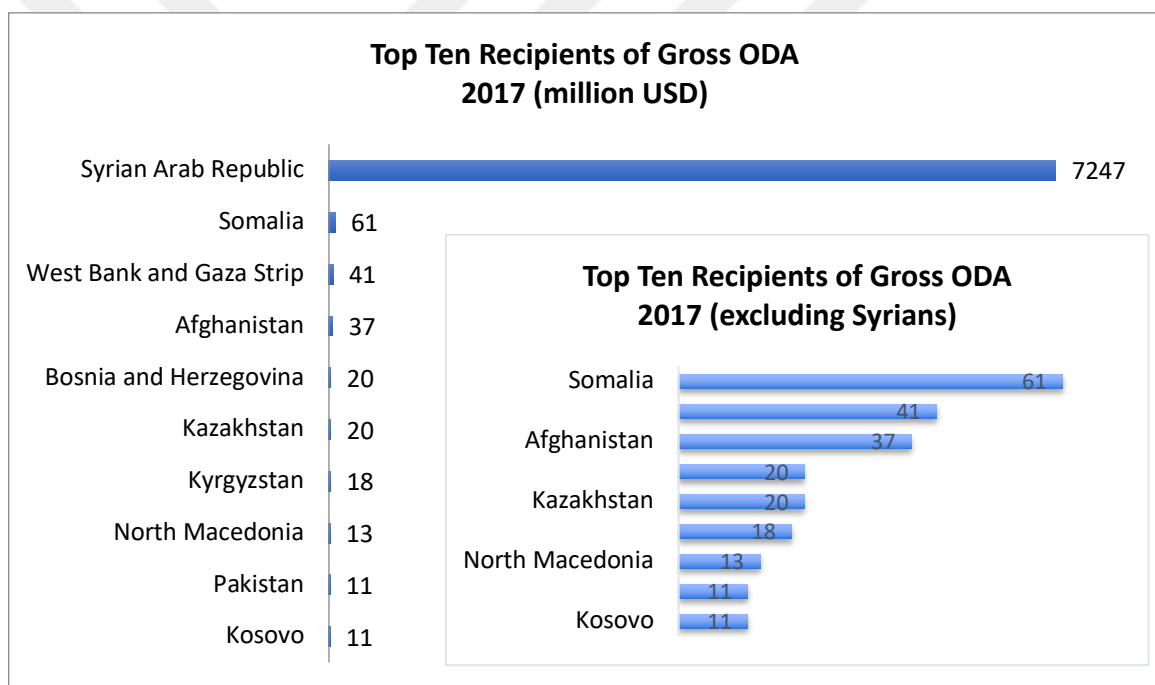


Figure 3: Top ten recipients of Gross ODA of Turkey in 2017 (million USD)

Source: OECD Development Co-Operation Report 2018

Besides ODA provided to Syrians which was a result of a humanitarian crisis, as shown in Figure 3, Turkey has allocated its development assistance activities mainly in the Middle East, Central Asia, the Balkans, and Somalia due to the growing interest in Sub-Saharan Africa of Turkish foreign policy. Indeed, these top recipients offer a blueprint of

Turkey's ODA activities in terms of its geographical allocations and regional specificities that Turkey has religious, cultural and historical affinities as well as Turkey's desire to expand its dominance.

4.4.2. Emergency and Humanitarian Aid & Turkey as a Humanitarian Actor

In order to gain status and stature, I propose that the AKP government has sought to build another identity of Turkey in the international humanitarian order through focusing on emergency and humanitarian assistance. On the one hand, humanitarian assistance is deeply embedded in the Turkish national identity, "presenting Turkey as a moral actor" as Altunışık (2019: 3) contends. On the other hand, humanitarian crises attract more attention from the public and the media (Shoemaker & Reese, 2011). If people pay closer attention to where the government send humanitarian aid, then the government has incentives to provide humanitarian aid in ways that please the public and gain popularity (Kavaklı, 2018: 617; Strömberg, 2007). Turkey's increasing focus on Somalia by Erdoğan's visit in 2011 in Ramadan month with Turkish celebrities including singers and actors can be a good example. As Kavaklı (2018: 617) argues, this visit was highly publicized and accompanied by Turkey's highest humanitarian package that is 77 million USD to the country. This visit publicized both in domestic and international arena to brand Turkey as a humanitarian actor to serve national political and economic interests.

This assistance is basically to "save lives, alleviate suffering and maintain human dignity during and after man-made crises and disasters caused by natural hazards, as well as to prevent and strengthen preparedness for when such situations occur" (Development

Initiatives, 2020). However, in Turkey case, I argue that the underlying motivation is linked to two sources: Islamic benevolence and Ottoman romanticism. Therefore, in providing humanitarian aid, the AKP government prioritizes countries that have cultural, religious and historical connections. This also reinforces its national identity empowering Islamic motives in the domestic sphere as well. Consequently, humanitarian assistance has become instrumentalized to present and brand new ‘moral’ identity for domestic and international goals. The gradual increase in Turkey’s emergency and humanitarian assistance in the Figure 4, 2012 has been a turning point for Turkey since it was the onset of Syrian refugee influx. As a result, Turkey was listed in the top five largest donors in the world. When we examine the amounts of humanitarian aid in 2017, Turkey provided 8.1 billion USD as shown in Figure 4. However, if we exclude the humanitarian aid of 7.2 billion USD given to Syrians, the remaining amount corresponds to 0.9 billion USD which was provided to other recipients. This analysis clearly demonstrates that Turkey is still a significant humanitarian donor in global scale. As can be seen in Figure 4, even after the exclusion of aid to Syrians, Turkey becomes the fifth largest donor after the US, Germany, UK, and EU institutions in 2017.

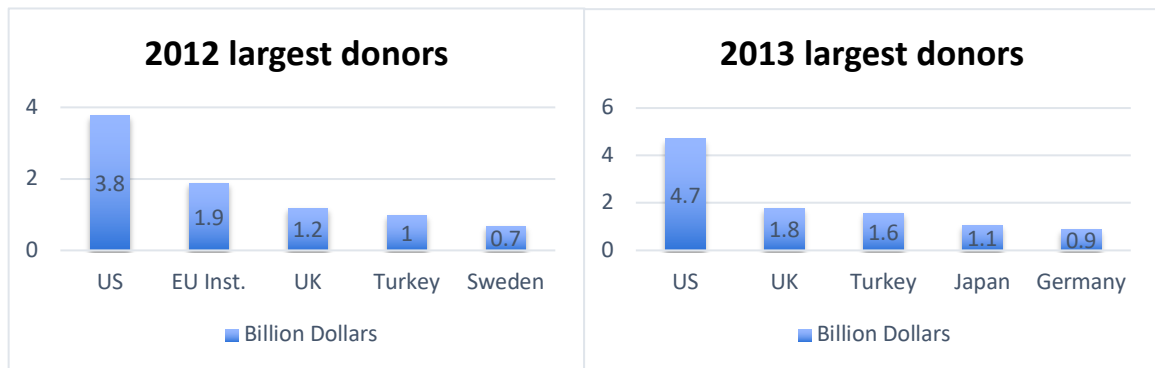




Figure 4: Donors (largest volumes) (2012-2017)
Source: GHA Reports

In 2018, Turkey has become the largest donor with 8.4 billion USD. Turkey has become the 4th largest humanitarian donor in the world in 2012 that was the first time for Turkey

to be listed in top five donors. In 2016, Turkey is accounted as the second largest donor that is equal to 6 billion USD. In 2017, Turkey has become the first largest donor that is equal to 8 billion USD (GHA, 2018). Main institutions involved are Ministry of Foreign Affairs, AFAD, Kızılay, NGOs and TİKA coordinated with ministries. Embassies have also a significant role in providing humanitarian assistance to pursue political goals in bilateral relations with recipients.

In this section, I assess different examples of Turkey's recipients of humanitarian aid to demonstrate the importance of religion. The crucial example can be humanitarian aid to Kashmir earthquake that has a total volume of 179 million USD (Binder, 2014). Kashmir is a region the majority of which is Sunni-Muslim. This is in line with foreign policy reorientations that Turkey aspired to be an emerging donor, highlighted by Cihangir-Tetik and Müftüler-Baç (2018: 945) argue. In a similar vein, Somalia (as the second largest recipient of ODA) is a Sunni-Muslim country. These examples prove Turkey's Islamist dimensions in providing humanitarian aid. In particular, due to religion and Sunni-Muslim ties, Turkey's enter to Muslim nations has become easy in humanitarian and other issues of Somalia.

4.4.3. Trade and Investment & Turkey as A Trade Partner

In recent years, aside from ODA and humanitarian assistance, Turkey also focuses on trade and investment including in-kind and financial contributions that can be considered as new forms of practices. This can be described as the combination of internationalism with nationalism in terms of the interplay between economic interests and aid policies.

The underlying logic behind focusing on trade to achieve commercial goals in Turkey's agenda. This proves the evidence how Turkey's agenda has colonial, neo-liberal, and imperial imperatives to attract recipients by trade agreements. Trade and investment make recipient countries dependent on Turkey which might be manipulated in light of Turkey's national goals. Therefore, I signify this third component of multifaceted humanitarianism as the mercantilist instrument to seek for new markets and natural resources in Turkey's export agenda.

According to Kirişçi (2009), before the AKP, the primary driving force of Turkish foreign policy was security considerations. When the AKP came to power, Turkey has become a "trading state" whose main foreign policy goal is to seek for new markets and economic benefits (Kirişçi & Kaptanoğlu, 2011: 701). This new orientation has shown that AKP governments perhaps have used aid and humanitarianism more strongly to gain economic advantages like access to new export markets (Kavaklı, 2018: 616). This is consistent with the mercantilist way of emerging donors to provide aid to seek for new markets and trade ties as discussed in Chapter 2. Similar to traditional actors, emerging donors including Turkey adopt a commercial and mercantilist agenda that has viewed aid as a useful way of assisting domestic business to 'go international' and expand exports and/or investments as Rosser and Tubilewicz (2016: 12) contend.

Since 2002, Turkey as an emerging economy expanded its trade and investment linkages in Africa, the Middle East and North Africa, and Central Asia (Altunışık, 2014; Kirişçi, 2009; Kirişçi & Kaptanoğlu, 2011). To become involved in humanitarian order, trade and

investment are new sets of sub-practices of in-kind and financial contributions in Turkey's humanitarianism. Although trade and investment are not traditional components of humanitarianism, Turkey has integrated these components in its foreign policy, and thus its humanitarian agenda. Trade is used as an instrument for Turkey's entry to recipient countries to build friendly relations to boost its trade, investments and business relations.

Turkey has integrated trade and investment into its humanitarian initiatives particularly in African region. Turkey's interest towards the Africa region began in 1998 by Turkey's Opening Up to Africa Policy. Aydın-Düzgit (2020: 273) underscores that Africa is where the AKP was pushed to find new markets for the rising conservative business known as 'Anatolian tigers', on whom it depended for electoral and financial support. When the AKP revives its focus on Africa, the other key development was the declaration of "Year of Africa" and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's visit to sub-Saharan Africa, Ethiopia and South Africa in 2011 (Meral & Paris, 2010: 77). Özkan (2011: 98). argues that this visit stimulated business environment for economic cooperation through expanding ties and increasing trade volume with African region. Hence, this yielded to the establishment of the cooperation between Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB) and Union of African Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Agriculture and Professions (UACCIAP) (Özkan, 2011).

In 2015, Turkey has signed bilateral investment treaties with 12 countries in sub-Saharan African countries that are Cameroon, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, Mauritius,

Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Sudan and Tanzania (Shinn, 2015). In brief, Turkey's reorientation of foreign aid towards African region that integrates economic relations has two objectives. The first is to reinforce cooperation and economic partnerships with African countries linked to Turkey's humanitarian albeit mercantilist identity. The second objective is connected to Turkey's attempts to achieve goals of its foreign policy reformulations in international platforms.

4.5. Geopolitical Aid and Categories of Turkish Aid

Aid as a shorthand version of ODA that includes financial, technical and cultural aid given by governments, their multilateral agencies, and official bodies, and NGOs generates all sorts of resources as Challand (2014: 291) argues. However, Challand (2014) contends that aid is also source of “prestige for those who are able to define its use or who can play on local economic system to justify new delivery of aid. This echoes the point raised by Altunışık (2014: 333) “pattern and content of aid is important”. The pattern of Turkish foreign aid policy is shaped by its determinants forming its content in terms of geographical diversification and characteristics of regions. The three main determinants are history, religion and culture which include Islamic and Ottoman imperatives. These are directly linked to characteristics of regions -being a Muslim state or being a former Ottoman territory and being located in the post-Soviet zone-. Shortly, these features are historical, cultural, and religious motives that are core elements of Turkish foreign aid policy.

4.6. The Foundations of Geopolitical Aid

There are various works on AKP's vision of civilizational geopolitics which has been integrated into discussions on humanitarianism (Altunışık, 2014; Kavaklı, 2017; İpek, 2015). However, its working mechanism shaping aid policies in terms of regions' characteristics remain unexplored. Therefore, I argue that geopolitical aid is the working mechanism of Turkey's practices which have civilizational and geopolitical undertones in selecting and revalorising a particular region in terms of renewed interests of Turkey in light of cultural, religious, and historical features of the recipient region. Consequently, Turkish government focuses on different regions as geopolitical representations in providing aid according to characteristic of recipient countries. These characteristics are being a Muslim state, being a former Ottoman territory, and being located in the post-Soviet zone that is a significant region for Turkey since the end of the Cold War. The revalorisation of a particular region, in other words, attributing value to a region does not merely rely upon economic terms. Because geopolitics encapsulates many specificities that also have political dynamics affected by Turkey's foreign policy agenda. To offer a more explicit definition, these specificities are based on political, cultural, economic, religious, and historical characteristics of recipient regions that also shape interests of donor countries. Therefore, this agenda is a medium which unfolds Turkey's colonial goals that echo neo-Ottomanism (Onar, 2015).

In this respect, civilizational geopolitics as a guiding pillar of AKP's foreign policy relies upon 'a fixed and essentialist conceptualisation of identities in the form of cultures and civilizations as determinants of state behaviour' as Aydın-Düzgit (2020: 273) defines.

The underlying assumption behind this essentialism by AKP is that ‘regions are geopolitical representations’ which was formerly constructed in Turkish foreign policy after the end of the Cold War as Bilgin (2004: 273) contends. As a result, determinants that are culture, history and religion have become significant factors in choosing target countries and implementing type(s) of aid. To put differently, each region can deliver a different type of aid in terms of its determinants and regional characteristics. In this respect, Kavaklı (2018: 614) highlights: “Turkey began to give more economic aid to trade partners and more humanitarian aid to Muslim nations”. This point by Kavaklı is true albeit deficient. Because, Turkey has renewed interests with Muslim nations in its humanitarian agenda. Muslim nations do not only receive humanitarian aid. Rather, due to the importance of Islam, these nations receive humanitarian aid, ODA, and trade investments as can be seen in the example of Somalia. Thus, Muslim nations have become trade partners. Chapter 5 assesses Somalia as a case study to demonstrate how civilizational geopolitics now is harnessed with commercial and mercantilist considerations since 2002.

Turkey’s renewed interests are also related to reinforce its leadership in its “civilisational basin” to expand its sphere of influence (Davutoğlu, 2001). Civilisational basin “consists of the former Ottoman territories plus adjoining regions inhabited by Muslim and Turkic peoples” as underscored by Bilgin and Bilgiç (2011: 181). However, through its active foreign aid policies and various humanitarian initiatives, the AKP has increased its presence at regional multilateral fora with legacies of colonialism that are linked to Ottoman memories and Islamic civilization. These colonial legacies are used to revalorise

of particular geographies in terms of their historical, cultural and religious affinities to increase Turkey's presence, visibility, and stature. Thus, Turkey's aid can be defined as Islamic and romanticized through Ottomanism. The four types of aid (emergency, technocratic, cultural and religious, infrastructure) are shaped by the essentialist representations of recipient regions.

In addition to discussions above, I suggest that liminal identity is other foundation that shapes Turkey's agenda. The liminality of Turkey which is promulgated by Ottoman and Muslim aspirations is a significant factor constituting the pattern and content of aid. Shortly, the ongoing dual identity of Turkey since the beginning of the 1990s has shaped its geopolitical aid. This means that liminality of Turkey is reflected in its humanitarian agenda that was formerly a "bridge" or "the geography of civilizations" (Cem, 2004). Considering the increasing impact of religious and cultural undertones, Turkey claims to establish a new form of development without European, Western colonial legacies. However, through a mercantilist agenda that prioritizes countries which have affinities, Turkey clearly pursues an expansionist policy. This is the new liminality that has changed its form connected to AKP's vision of civilizational geopolitics and its renewed interests as well.

At the practical level, Turkey assumes a given role by 'opening up to former Ottoman territories and adjoining regions inhabited by Muslim and Turkic peoples where it has "historical responsibility" (Bilgin & Bilgiç, 2011: 182). As discussed earlier, although there is a continuation of Turkey's in-betweenness that has been put forward by İsmail

Cem and Turgut Özal, AKP aimed to implement a change in foreign policy. Started with Ahmet Davutoğlu (adviser to the prime minister's office 2003-2009 and minister of foreign affairs 2009-2014, and prime minister 2014-2016) geopolitics has been redefined that is linked to geography, history and identity (Altunışık, 2014: 34). Rejecting the bridge metaphor, Davutoğlu contended that Turkey “should be seen neither as a bridge country which only connects two points, nor a frontier country, which sits at the edge of the Middle East or the West’, rather Turkey was a ‘central country’” (Davutoğlu, 2008).

After Davutoğlu left the cabinet in 2016, this understanding continued to use Turkey's geography as an advantage in order to expand their zone of influence through aid while reinforcing their commercial and political interests. Yanık (2009: 533) contends that geopolitical imaginations serve to define roles and identities including domestic goals. This was true for previous governments. Since 2002, AKP has reformed it adding new tools that are different types of aid, and new positions that linked with its geopolitical imaginations. The geopolitical imagination has changed in the AKP due to the rise of Islamic undertones and Ottoman romanticism.

4.7. The Geographical Scope

In this section, I assess the geographical scope of Turkey's aid recipients in line with arguments above. As Keyman and Gümüşçü (2014: 74) highlight “(...) to employ soft power to complement Turkey's geopolitical power; to initiate regional engagement through diplomatic activism; and to link economic dynamism, cultural affinities, and geopolitical security together in a way to increase Turkey's sphere of influence

regionally, as well as in world politics, is a choice made in a suitable environment, and, in this sense, proactivism and multidimensionality characterise” with respect to Turkish foreign aid policy. Öniş and Yılmaz (2012: 9) explain this multidimensionality as follows:

Thus, Turkey has multiple regional identities that cannot be reduced to one unified character or a single region, necessitating it to extend its influence simultaneously to Europe, to the Middle East, the Balkans, the Black Sea, the Caucasus, the Caspian and the Mediterranean.

Although Aydın-Düzgit (2020) has applied this argument only two regions that are the MENA and Africa, however, this argument is applicable to other regions as well. I offer a comprehensive classification of recipients. As in Table 1, recipients of Turkish aid are divided into three groups: geopolitical hinterlands (GHs), post-Soviet Zone (PSZ), and new geopolitical horizons (NGHs). The countries in GHs are either Muslim nations or former Ottoman territories or both such as the Balkan countries and Somalia. The countries in PSZ include Turkic Republics which have cultural and religious ties with Turkey. I prefer to include Turkic Republics in a separate group which is PSZ. Because, the dissolution of USSR was the turning point that resulted in the establishment of TIKA in 1992. The common point of GHs and PSZ is historical, cultural or religious affinities with Turkey. On the contrary, NGHs (except for Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar) do not have these affinities. NGHs consists of Latin America and Caribbean, other Asia and Oceania where Turkey develops its presence for the first time. GHs (the Balkans, MENA, and Sub-Saharan Africa) and countries in the PSZ have become revalorised in terms of expanding zone of influence of Turkey under the AKP started with the 1990s. Besides these regional horizons, NGHs- Latin America and Caribbean-, and countries in the other

Asia and Oceania- have been recently added to Turkey’s humanitarian agenda. Since 2015, Turkey has started to deliver aid to Rohingya Muslims. Despite being a new recipient, due to religious ties, Turkey has been immediately involved in this crisis proving the significance of religion and Islam in Turkish aid agenda.

Table 1: Classification of recipients

Geopolitical Hinterlands (GHs)	Post-Soviet Zone (PSZ)	New Geopolitical Horizons (NGHs)
• The Balkans (including European countries) (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, Kosovo, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Bulgaria) • The Middle East and North Africa (Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Algeria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Lebanon Palestine Gaza Strip) • Sub-Saharan Africa (Somalia, Ivory Coast, Djibouti, Senegal, Sudan, Ghana, Yemen, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Gambia, Eritrea, Mozambique, Djibouti, South Africa, Tanzania, Cameroon, Brunei, Mauritania, Kenya)	• South and Central Asia (including Turkic Republics and the Caucasus) • (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Tajikistan, Mongolia, Iran)	• The Latin America and the Caribbean (Haiti, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Guyana, Argentina, Venezuela, Paraguay, Peru, Brazil, Chile) • Other Asia and Oceania (Bangladesh, Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Myanmar, Nepal)

From the 1990s to 2010s, approximately 80 % of Turkish aid was sent to Asia, especially Turkic republics in the Central Asia such as Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan (Cihangir-Tetik & Müftüler-Baç, 2018: 950). This is consistent with Turkey’s “rediscovery of Eurasia” as Yanık argues after the dissolution of Soviet Union. One of the motivations of this focus is Turkey’s cultural, historical and religious ties. None of these countries are categorized as Least Developed Countries (LDCs) or Least Income Countries (LICs) as Cihangir-Tetik and Müftüler-Baç (2018: 950) argue. The

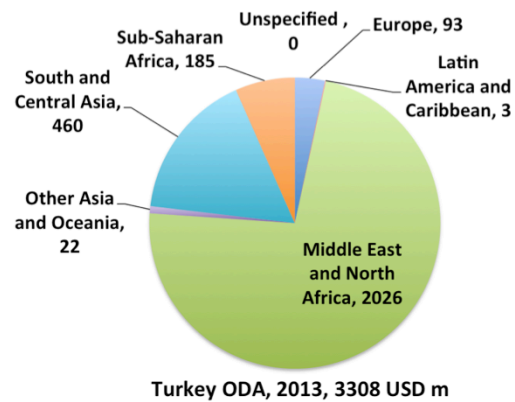
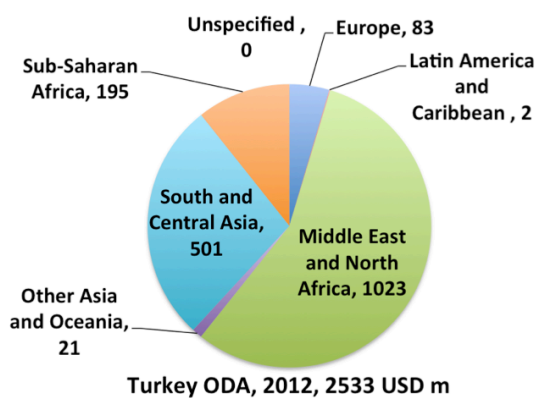
other motivation is Turkey's economic interests such as trade relations and diplomatic relations in order to fill the power vacuum.

In line with Islamic ideology and the Ottoman past, Turkey has aimed to enhance its “natural sphere of influence” that it bears “historical responsibility” (Davutoğlu cited in Aydın-Düzgit, 2020). Although concerns about security and stability in the Middle East played a significant role as Cihangir-Tetik and Müftüler-Baç (2018: 950) assert, Islam in fact is the medium through which Turkish influence would be legitimised and accepted as natural (Özkan, 2014; Aydın-Düzgit, 2020). This explains the exponential increase in the amount of aid to the MENA such as development assistance in Egypt and Tunisia in 2012-2013, and the humanitarian aid to Syrians. Uprisings in Syria and Egypt (to a lesser extent in Tunisia and Libya) provided Turkey “with the potential work with a convenient belt of Muslim Brotherhood governed countries with close ties to the AKP through which it could assume a leading role in the region” as Aydın-Düzgit (2020: 274) puts forward. Since the 1970s, Turkish political parties having Islamist tones had close relations with the Muslim Brotherhood (Özkan, 2014). Besides Ottoman history and religious affinities, the ideological kin of the AKP that is the Muslim Brotherhood has become the major counterpart in MENA region with regard to aid and ODA.

In the Balkan region that is represented within Europe in Figure 5, Bosnia and Herzegovina, FYROM and Kosovo are amongst top recipients, again based on Turkey's political, cultural, social, and economic ties with these countries that are also former Ottoman territories. The point by İbrahim Kalın who is the special adviser to the

president and the current presidential spokesperson clearly shows the importance of these regions that are defined as “geographical focus”: “Turkey’s descent from the Ottoman experience results in genuine familiarity with a large geographic area extending from the Balkans to the Middle East” (2011: 10). Turkey’s involvement in the Caucasus and the Balkans was based on “its interests in an orderly transition, and the restoration of stability, as well as on a shared identity and history”, as Altunışık argues (2014: 334). As with 2002, Bilgin and Bilgiç (2011: 187) stress that “Turkic language speaking states” have been seen as “Turkey’s siblings” towards whom it has a historical responsibility.

Since 2002, as İpek (2015) and Kavaklı (2018) argue that the AKP model of aid policy gave a new group of foreign policy elites the opportunity to implement their vision. Turkey has aimed to expand its zone of influence in various geographies of the world in “(...) the direction of aid followed that of regional foreign policy and the government’s interests has been given an ideational framing through notions of historical and cultural affinity and responsibility”, as Altunışık (2014: 333) highlights.



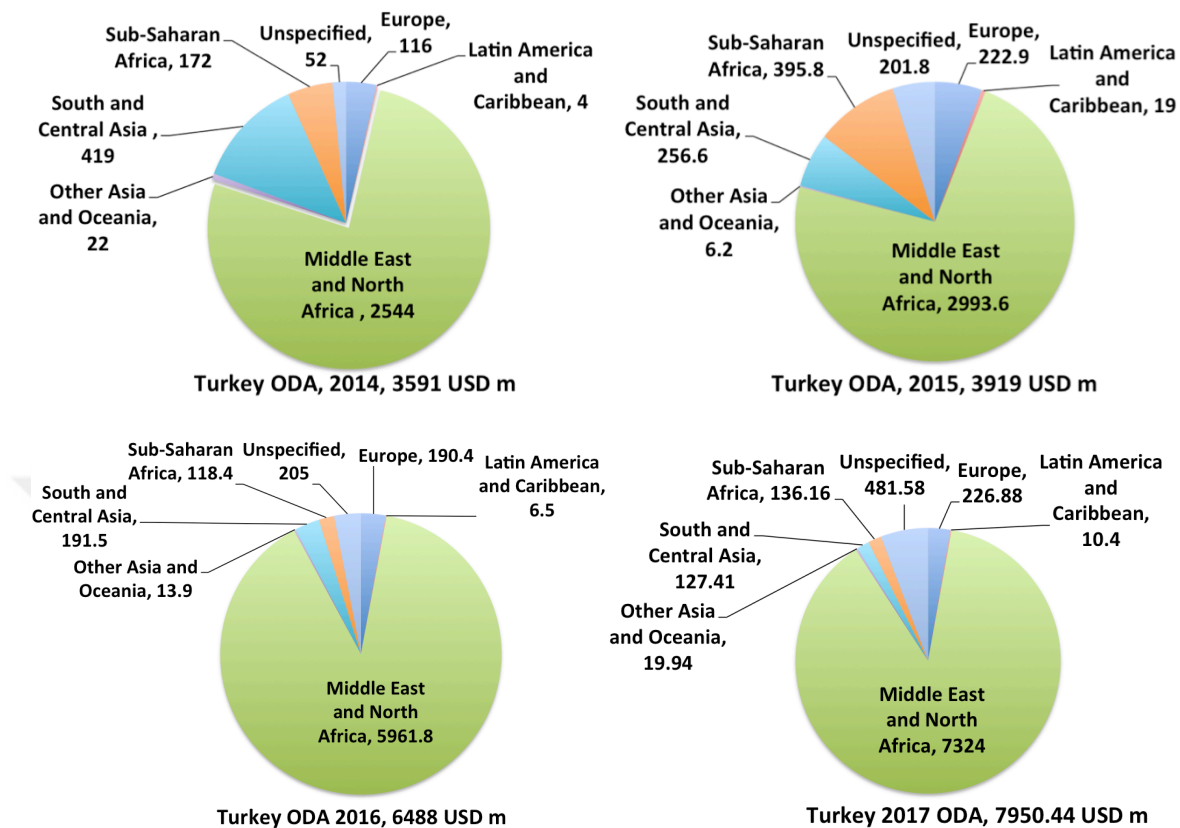


Figure 5: Turkey's Regional ODA Amounts

Source: OECD 2012-2017 Reports

As shown in Figure 5, differences in the regional allocation of Turkish aid (2012-2017) allow to understand the geographical scope of Turkey's aid in various sectors of such as humanitarian, education, health, infrastructure and population. Although categories of aid have been diversified, the amount of aid provided to South and Central Asia has gradually decreased. Despite the regional importance of South and Central Asian countries since the end of the Cold War, Turkey has decreased the amounts of aid in this region albeit the continuity in interests to strengthen ties with these countries. In a similar vein, in spite of the growing prominence of African region in Turkish foreign aid policies, there are fluctuations in the amounts of aid provided to Sub-Saharan Africa. Since the visit of

President Erdoğan to Somalia in 2011, the revalorisation of Africa has begun with respect to humanitarian, political, and economic aspects through growing focus on diplomatic visits, high amounts of aid in different sectors and trade agreements.

The revalorisation of Latin America and Caribbean that are NGHs has reached its peak in 2015 (Figure 5). Interestingly, Latin America and diverse countries emerged as a focus area of Turkey's humanitarian agenda since 2010. Latin America and Caribbean received 10.4 million USD in 2017 as shown in Figure 5. Although the amounts to this region are not high, this reflects Turkey's ambitions to become a global scale actor. In this regard, for instance, Turkey acted immediately after 2010 Haiti earthquake to create "first humanitarian decongestion" in Haiti through setting up a small-tented encampment for 200 families in a safer region (Wynter, 2010). Although İsmail Cem initiated the first diplomatic visits to Latin American region in 1998, AKP has sought to revitalize its relations with this region through aid and development programs. Interestingly, the only gradual increase in the amounts of aid is in Europe mainly including the Balkan countries giving proof to reorientation of Turkey's new identity from Central Asia to the Balkans that is a natural hinterland of Turkey. In brief, Turkey revalorises various regions has been by its aid policies and humanitarian activities in civilizational terms when the AKP came to power.

4.8. Types of Aid

In this section, I assess four types of aid which are emergency, technocratic, cultural and religious, infrastructure. The aim of this part is to reveal how pattern and content are

shaped including recipients according to their regional features that are addressed above. The important point is that the steady rise of four different types of aid started with the AKP's victory in elections in 2002. Before 2002, there were minimal efforts during previous governments. However, these efforts could not reach to wide international scale with respect to visibility and reputation. This was mainly because of insufficient amounts of aid due to political instabilities and lack of financial resources. Apart from cultural and religious aid which focuses on Islamic values and export of Turkish national motives, the other three types of aid designate Turkey's mimicry of Western countries practices. Because these practices are directly about restructuring recipient countries politically, economically and militarily in line with MDGs. These initiatives can be considered as replicas of Western activities that are harnessed with commercial interests, the pursuit of geopolitical influence and foreign policy goals.

4.8.1. Emergency Aid

I signify emergency aid as the type of aid which consists of food, shelter, prefabricated houses, tents and vital needs after major crises such as wars, natural disasters and conflicts. This aid is provided through TİKA, Kızılay, AFAD, Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, relevant ministries, the Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet Foundation), and İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality.

The recipients of emergency aid are mainly countries in GHs (Africa, the Balkans) and NGHs (Latin America, and South Asia). Emergency aid to Haiti earthquake in 2010 can be considered as the beginning of this type aid. As TİKA reports (2011-2018) show

emergency aid has been provided to conflict zones that are mainly Myanmar (Arakan Muslims), Palestine/Gaza, Yemen, Syria, Pakistan, Nigeria, Chad, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, Liberia Somalia, Libya, Sudan and Iraq. The other countries experienced natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes and drought receiving aid are mainly as follows: Haiti, Colombia, Kenya, Ghana, Ethiopia, Somalia, Guinea Bassau, Nepal, Mauritania, and Costa Rica. In addition, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Ukraine, Montenegro, Kosovo, and Albania are also amongst countries that receive Turkey's emergency aid. Besides Balkan countries, Turkey attributed value to different African countries and Latin America to brand itself a global scale actor like other Western donors. Because, in Africa for example, Turkey is not the only country in delivering aid. There are other Western counterparts to compete with. In particular, the focus on Arakan Muslims and Palestine/Gaza derive from the importance of Islam and religious ties.

Except Syrians in Turkey which have received emergency aid since 2011, these countries are chosen in light of the global context of emergency aid policy mainly conducted by Western countries and international organizations. Turkey mimics Western type of practices in order to pursue its national interests as established donors. This underlines Turkey's desire to demonstrate 'altruistic' motives that are linked to its global ambitions like as other humanitarian actors. It has become an instrument to attract the attention from the international arena. In contrast to Western NGOs, Turkish humanitarian NGOs have a distinct approach which focuses on Muslim values and close linkages with the Turkish state. As Turhan and Bahçecik (2020: 2) contend that these faith-based NGOs in Turkey have close contacts with the government over the last decade due to their political

and religious proximity. The mimicry of Western practices can be described as a combination of Islamic and neo-Ottoman values with global norms of humanitarian government. This is highly visible in emergency aid. To put it alternatively, emergency aid enables Turkish state to adapt the global traditional humanitarianism with national and religious goals. Thus, emergency aid is directly related to Turkey's liminal and ambivalent position in humanitarian government. Through emergency aid, in order to brand Turkey's 'humanitarian identity' as mentioned earlier, we can assume that Turkish government has developed a mixed approach that juxtaposes interests with values rooted in humanitarian concerns as Öniş contends (2012: 48).

4.8.2. Technocratic Aid

I define technocratic aid as security aid (police training, facilitating security institutions including military forces) and financial contributions (direct budget support and concessional loans). These activities bear resemblance to traditional donors such as the US focus to empower security facilities, to increase state capacities and to promote economic growth. Similar to traditional donors, Turkey's aid is dictated as much by political and strategic considerations as by the economic needs and policy performance of the recipients (Alesina & Dollar, 2000: 33). A close reading of TİKA reports show that the Balkans, Sub-Saharan Africa and Central Asia are top recipients of technocratic aid. This clearly unveils that Turkey prioritizes GHs (Balkan countries and Sub-Saharan Africa) and PSZ (particularly Turkic Republics) in delivering technocratic aid. Unlike previous governments, AKP added security, military, and other financial dimensions in Turkey's aid policies. In the 1990s, there was a lack of financial resources which also

resulted in 2001 economic crisis. Therefore, the emergence of these dimensions was postponed until AKP came to power in 2002. The mercantilist aid agenda which consists of economic agreements and commercial interests have become profound during the AKP era.

Technocratic aid particularly aims to promote state resilience through capacity building (Abegaz, 2015: 1383). This can be achieved through different channels such as through reducing poverty, inclusive market, civic and political engagement, as Abegaz (2015) discusses. According to Collier and Dollar (1998), the allocation of aid has the maximum effect on poverty reduction that is a function recipient countries' level of poverty and quality of economic institutions and policies. Consequently, we can expect that financial contributions including providing assistance to empower facilities of military and security play an important role in statebuilding. As Challand (2014) argues that it is complex to locate military aid in OECD DAC. The definition of ODA by DAC is clear: "Grants, loans, and credits for military purposes are excluded" (Challand, 2014). Therefore, military aid, or facilitating military institutions should not be considered as a humanitarian initiative.

Since 2007, Police Training Cooperation Project by TİKA and Turkish Security Directorate as trained approximately 7400 police officers and soldiers from countries are mainly countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the Balkans, the MENA, and Central Asia including Moldova and Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TİKA, 2015). Although military aid is not part of ODA, Turkish government labels its loans to restructure

security facilities as a part of its humanitarian agenda which is very problematic.

In this respect, the point articulated by the commander of Turkish Military Training Base Yasin Kalın shows Turkey's resistance to label building of a military base as humanitarian: "training base is only complementary to Turkey's humanitarian work in Somalia" (Daily Sabah, 2018). This quote also tells mixed modalities of development is a new tool of Turkey to expand its zone of influence. A good example is the opening of 50 million USD amount military base in Mogadishu that is the largest overseas base of Turkey which signals ever-closer ties and interests between Turkey and Somalia (Reuters, 2017).

In the context of technocratic aid, defense and security pacts have been signed with more than 25 African countries (Sıradağ, 2018: 2). For example, in 2018, Turkey and Sudan signed security and defense deal amounted as a 650 million USD to establish a military base in near future (Sıradağ, 2018: 3). Sudan is one of the significant recipients where Turkey aspires to enlarge its footprint and to restore Ottoman heritage on Red Sea shores. In security agreements, training of hundreds of soldiers and police officers from many countries in Africa are key activities (Sıradağ, 2018). Since 2017, Somali soldiers and police officers have been trained in Mogadishu as well as in Turkey. The forces are also taught Turkish language during their training program by the Yunus Emre Institute (Daily Sabah, 2018). This clearly amplifies that Turkish military aid and Turkish language training are used to expand the zone of influence in GHs to reinforce Turkification of Somalia.

Even in technocratic aid, religion and culture appear as profound components of Turkish foreign aid policy that is consistent with its soft power. This is also very much linked to “Turkey’s geographical and social interests as well as trade considerations with African countries” as Özkan contends (2017: 60). Turkey concentrates on being a political, economic, and military as well as a humanitarian actor within Africa through revalorising the region. Since 2002, African region has a different image and value for the AKP government that serves for its foreign policy and domestic goals linked its Islamic identity.

The alliances or good relations can influence aid allocation that they could be “either military-strategic or commercial (involving trade and investment ties) or both” as Alesina and Dollar (2000: 47) highlight. Turkey’s technocratic aid clearly proves that its aid allocation aims to build both military-strategic and commercial ties. In this regard, Turkey’s trade volume with African countries increased from 5.4 billion USD in the 2000s to 17 billion USD in 2016 (Özkan, 2017: 62). The increase in the role of trade and mercantilist interests is consistent with have been stimulus to expand its policies. Moreover, Turkey’s efforts to reposition itself as a central country are visible and powerful from Africa to the Balkans by utilising aid as a powerful instrument. In this respect, Bilgin argues that these efforts are part of a “struggle for relocating Turkey in the post-Cold war geographical terrain of world politics” (2004: 283).

The other important component of technocratic aid is financial contributions including direct budget support and concessional loans. Concessional loans containing financial

privileged conditions have lower rates than the market (TİKA, 2012). After the Arab Spring, Egypt and Tunisia were the countries received concessional loans as well as Kyrgyzstan. The amount of concessional loans to Tunisia and Kyrgyzstan was 200 and 16.98 million USD, respectively (TİKA, 2014). The loan Egypt also received is 1 billion USD to the Morsi government (TİKA, 2013). After the toppling of Mubarak, Turkey directly stepped in to provide political, financial, technical, and humanitarian assistance to Egypt (Aydın-Düzgit, 2020: 271). I interpret this immediate move of Turkey as an opportunity to fill the power vacuum and to brand itself as a ‘model country’ in the post-Arab Spring era. In the wake of the Arab Spring, MENA region has appeared as a target to find significant partners with benefits. Moreover, the kinship between AKP and Muslim Brotherhood plays a key role which aims to spread the impact of Muslim Brotherhood in the MENA region.

Even though these loans were expected to support mainly governmental infrastructures in order to promote state resilience. Altunışık (2014: 336) contends that Turkey’s aid efforts expanded into the Middle East have been closely linked to political, strategic concerns and broader political ambitions. These are related to aforementioned close linkages between Muslim Brotherhood and AKP. In 2012, besides concessional loans, political engagements increase such as the meeting of Muslim Brotherhood leaders and representatives from Egypt, Tunisia, Iraq and Palestine at the AKP congress in 2012 (Kirişçi, 2018). The underlying motivation is linked to Turkey’s domestic goal and identity wishing to revive the unification of the Muslim world in MENA. Technocratic aid in the MENA has also been channeled through a “discourse of moral responsibility,

especially towards Muslims and former peoples of the Ottoman geography” (Altunışık, 2014: 336). In addition to humanitarian aid, Turkey provides technocratic aid in MENA for stability in the Middle East in order to diminish its security threats and to increase Turkey’s “good image” (Altunışık, 2014: 340). As Aydın-Düzgit (2020: 274) puts forward, the other key motivation is Islamist discourses and practices of the AKP that is ideological kin to the Muslim Brotherhood that is the major interlocutor in the MENA.

Considering the continuity in focusing on Turkic republics since the 1990s, AKP has maintained ties with these countries but in more civilizational sense. Islamic motives, cultural bonds as well as trade considerations appear as key determinants to revalorise these regions. Kyrgyzstan was also another significant recipient of technocratic aid in this respect. Turkey provided 2.23 million USD and 15 million USD direct budget support to Kyrgyzstan and Somalia, respectively (TİKA, 2013). Additionally, in 2013, 60.55 million USD concessional loan was provided to Kyrgyzstan. After the dissolution of Soviet Russia and through the establishment of TİKA in 1992 under the President Turgut Özal era, Central Asian Republics have gained importance. ‘Turkic world’, is also now AKP’s focus that has a Muslim background (Erşen, 2013: 23) Eurasia is the first region that TİKA provided aid starting from 1992 Özal era. As Erşen (2013: 24) underlines Turkey expands its sphere of influence through “traditional geopolitical concerns formed around its renewed interests”.

4.8.3. Cultural and Religious Aid

Since this type of aid is directly connected to the social restructuring of recipient countries, it is called as cultural and religious aid. This type of aid is the main element of Turkey's aid policies that sets apart Turkey from traditional donors. As discussed earlier, this type of aid has roots back in the 1990s particularly during Turgut Özal and İsmail Cem eras. For instance, the establishment of TİKA in 1992 to support the newly established Turkic Republics can be a major starting point. However, AKP increased the intense focus on Islamic and Turkish national values. Although culture and religion might be important for Western donors, Turkey's focus on exporting Turkified (e.g. country-specific) elements and Islamic activities such as teaching Turkish language, building mosques and renovating Ottoman sites is very powerful. This type of aid separates Turkey from other traditional and emerging donors. As a result, Turkey creates a different form of colonialism which aims to prove its dominance in its hinterlands that are designated by Islam and common cultural bonds.

This category of aid mainly consists of education assistance (including teaching Turkish language), restoration activities and mosque building. In this category, geopolitical determinants are shaped through Turkey's historical, cultural and religious identity that is consistent with "civilisational geopolitics" as Agnew identifies (1998: 119). Civilisational geopolitics is in "people's mental maps according to the 'civilisation' to which people that inhabited that region were perceived to belong", as Bilgin defines (2004: 270). Besides belonging, these mental maps lead to efforts of expanding zones of influence through reviving these regions where Turkey has cultural, religious, and historical

affinities. Thus, this results in revalorisation of particular regions that are GHs and PSZ - the Balkans, the Central Asia, Africa, and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA)- that have received most of cultural and religious aid.

Turkey restored mainly mosques, tombs and historical sites rooted back into Ottoman era. These activities have been conducted primarily through TİKA, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Directorate General of Foundations and particular municipalities. One of the most visible examples is firstly in Balkans in GHs as well as Budapest that has majority of Muslim fellows and historical sites of the Ottomans. In the Balkans, the Bursa Metropolitan Municipality has been active in restoration works since 2015 (Anadolu Agency, 2015). In the post-Cold War era, due to the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Turkey's active presence in the Balkans has risen up due to Ottoman and Islamic compassion as Altunışık (2019: 8) contends. This can be related to discussions formed around neo-Ottomanism of Turkey's aid policy as Langan contends (2017). Although this narrative has never been used by any political figures in the AKP and predecessor governments, "neo-Ottomanism" became a core element of Turkish foreign policy starting from Turgut Özal to Ahmet Davutoğlu who is the second architect of this fashionable term (Yanık, 2011: 84). In 1992, Graham Fuller defined neo-Ottomanism as "a renewed interest in the former territories and people of the Empire, which includes Muslims who were part of that Empire" (Yanık, 2011). To put it differently, Rūma (2010) explains this as "Turkey's responsibilities towards former Ottoman citizens" particularly in the Balkans. For this reason, historical sites of Ottomans in the region are regarded as shared historical values with the people of the Balkans.

Besides the Balkans, in the MENA and African region, restoration activities have become a part of Turkey's aid policy. For example, historical mosques and tombs were restored in Algeria, Ethiopia, Sudan and South Africa (TİKA, 2017). Furthermore, in South Africa, one of the biggest cricket sports club was established by the Ottomans in 1863. TİKA provided technical equipment for restructuring of club's building started in 2018 (TİKA, 2020). This is called as "137-year legacy of the Ottomans Cricket Club" emphasizing the importance of aid to this club as a symbol of revival of cultural and historical ties with Africa (TİKA, 2018). In a nutshell, Turkey's aid in these regions in various forms demonstrates the efforts of Turkey to reposition itself as an emerging regional power through imperial legacies going back to Ottoman era.

Education scholarships are conducted by TİKA, TUBITAK, the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) and Turkish Maarif Foundation. Newly, on 25th of June 2019, Turkish Presidency has decided to transfer 541 million Turkish Liras from Ministry of National Education to Maarif Foundation that was founded in 2016 (Resmi Gazete, 2019). This huge amount shows civilizational geopolitics of Turkey that has integrated education as a core instrument of its aid policy to become a visible actor. Yanık (2004) underscores that educational ties established with Eurasian and Balkan countries were an important part of Turkey's redefining the importance of these countries in terms of common ethnic bonds and religion. One of the key instruments is Turkey Scholarships Program under YTB started in 2012 to provide support particularly for foreign higher education students. In 2019, from 167 countries, 145.000 students applied for this scholarship from countries (YTB, 2020) in GHs (MENA, the Balkans, and

Africa) and PSZ (Central Asia and the Caucasus), countries from South Asia (Bangladesh, Indonesia, Malaysia and India) (TİKA, 2015). Yanık (2004: 293-294) summarizes Turkey's education aid and its strategic motivations in NGHs and PSZ as follows:

Turkey emphasized common history and traditions, attempted to create a common alphabet, and furthermore created and reorganised certain institutions that worked to highlight this ethnic commonality. (...) the goal was to create a stratum of people who would be well versed in Turkish culture and language, which then would act as a bridge between their countries and Turkey.

These countries demonstrate how education has been turned into a powerful source of foreign policy and foreign to construct a spectrum of people which have common culture and religious background. This also implies how Turkish foreign aid aims to rebuild Turkey as a major regional power through imperial legacies linked with Ottoman aspirations and memories of Ottoman era. Besides these countries, East Asia also appears one of the NGHs that Turkey has focused recently.

Turkish Diyanet Foundation (TDF) founded in 1975 and the Ministry of Education provide education aid including scholarships and school buildings in 14 countries: Azerbaijan, Mongolia, Pakistan, Kyrgyzstan, Haiti, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Kazakhstan, Romania, Georgia, Bulgaria, Bangladesh, Palestine, Somalia, Malaysia (TDV, 2019b). Turkey aims to be an influential actor in education through TDF as well as TİKA and other actors in geopolitical GHs, PSZ, and NGHs.

In order to build a permanent sphere of influence, like education, religion is one of the milestones of aid policy of Turkey in order to increase its capacity to affect people in a deeper level. Due to the Islamic ideology of AKP, religious aid has become an indispensable part of its humanitarian agenda. Therefore, mosque construction has been one of the key activities of Turkey's religious aid. This also echoes Turkey's efforts to spread its national and religious identity into different geographies in the name of a "leader of the Muslim world". In the "2017-2021 Strategic Plan" by Diyanet the increase in number of mosques and officials in the abroad has been aimed (TDF, 2019). In order to build mosques recognized as 'places of solidarity and brotherhood', Diyanet and TDF have spent 10 billion Liras (TDF, 2019a). Since 1975, 22 out of 103 established mosques are located in 17 different countries in GHs, PSZ, and NGHs (TDF, 2019a). According to TDF, in order to pursue 'the legacy of Seljuk and Ottoman empires to build mosques', activities have reached its peak (TDF, 2019a). This can be understood from the diversified regional focuses of Turkey to build mosques. This also reinforces "Turkey's Islamic social capital" empowering Islamic NGOs to serve for rebuilding AKP's national and international identity (Çevik et. al., 2018: 176; Altunışık, 2019: 4). Therefore, it is worth to note that NGOs have political roles in policy-making of Turkey particularly in terms of agenda-setting and information sharing as Turhan and Bahçecik (2020: 3) argue. This means that NGOs aim to affect and guide the attention of policy makers which enable these organizations to exert their influence in the domestic and foreign politics (Turhan & Bahçecik, 2020).

Interestingly, there are countries where Turkey built mosques which have a majority of Christian population. These countries are not chosen as former Ottomans' territories where Muslim people live such as Haiti, Philippines, the United States, Belarus, Russia, Crimea, and the United Kingdom (TDV, 2019a). Besides, -Somalia, Djibouti, Palestine, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Macedonia, Kosovo- are provided different types of aid where Turkey shared historical, cultural and religious affinities. Despite virtuous motives, these narratives bear close resemblance to Western imperial geopolitics with respect to the ultimate objective to be pursued in Turkish foreign policy that is economic and geopolitical dominance over its civilizational hinterland signified by Islam (Aydın-Düzgüt, 2020: 274; Özkan, 2014).

4.8.4. Infrastructure Aid

Infrastructure aid aiming for self-reliance refers to providing public buildings, agriculture, and clean water facilities including building schools, hospitals, roads, as well as parks and other public spaces. This type of aid consists of tangible projects about major cities in recipient countries. In this respect, the central objective is to improve capacity-building and public service facilities in their cities. It is significant to note that Western donor countries are heavily focused on infrastructure activities in light of their comprehensive development agendas. In this respect, Turkey conducts similar activities which are implemented by traditional actors.

Turkey deploys actors which are TİKA, TDF, and relevant ministries. The key purpose is to rebuild cities or to provide necessary facilities that are main infrastructure systems.

This is important for Turkey to be an individual actor in particular areas through reaching wider recipients in public areas. Because, in contrast to Western countries which follow multilateral channels, Turkey acts bilaterally to build partnerships. More significantly, compared to other categories of aid, Turkey has provided infrastructure aid in a wider geographical horizon. The key objective is to expand the zone of influence entangled with Turkey's strategic motivations to gain reputation.

TİKA reports indicate that Africa is the largest recipient of Turkey's infrastructure aid since 2011. These activities in Africa include construction of parks, hospitals, dormitories, various training centres, roads including agricultural development programmes and water sanitation. A close reading of TİKA reports shows that the second largest recipient is the Balkans. This is also consistent with activities in the PSZ -Central Asia and the Caucasus- in addition The MENA specifically Palestine.

In spite of first initiatives of İsmail Cem in Latin America as mentioned earlier, the Latin American region has become important and valuable again in the AKP era. With regard to infrastructure aid, this region has become one of the target regions when the AKP government declared 2006 as 'the year of Latin America and Caribbean' (Anadolu Agency, 2018). In 2008, TİKA and other actors officially started their programme including infrastructure aid such as opening schools, providing health and education equipment. The rise of infrastructure aid in this region rose up with opening of offices in Latin America (Mexico in 2014-Bogota in 2015) by TİKA (Anadolu Agency, 2018). These initiatives can be recognized as revalorisation of the region since 2014 to seek for

new regions of influence besides Turkey's 'civilizational basin'. These new geopolitical horizons will be used by the AKP to justify that recipients of Turkish aid are not always chosen in terms of their religion and cultural ties. However, as discussed in earlier sections, the Turkish aid is still mainly concentrated on regions that have religious, cultural and historical affinities reminding the importance of civilizational geopolitics in Turkish foreign policy.



CHAPTER 5 : THE ANALYSIS OF TURKEY'S ROLE IN SOMALIA

According to OECD reports (2011-2018), Somalia has been the second largest recipient of Turkish ODA, humanitarian assistance and other types of aid since 2015. This chapter explores Turkey's increasingly active foreign aid agenda and expanding footprint in the Horn of Africa particularly in Somalia. To this end, Somalia is selected as the single case study to conduct a within-case analysis of the significant recipient of Turkish aid. As Paterson (2012) underlines that within-case analysis which the in-depth exploration of a single case enables researcher to hypothesize and generate theoretical understandings. Furthermore, this chapter deploys process tracing which is the means of conducting within-case analysis (George & Bennett, 2005). This chapter argues that Turkey's contemporary policy towards Somalia, which reflects the Western and liberal developmentalism. The objective of Turkey's ambitious foreign policy agenda is to instrumentalize Somalia in particular, and the Horn of Africa in general. As such, Turkey's 'Western' identity can be reproduced. In the context of Turkey-Somalia relations, Turkey as a non-Western and emerging donor constructs its political and economic hegemony over Somalia. This is achieved through implementing different types of aid, soft power diplomacy, trade agreements and building military base. As a

result, Turkey can be represented as a member of humanitarian government (to the Western audience of international conventional humanitarian order) but still different from the West and as a challenge to the West (to the Somali audience and the domestic audience in Turkey). I argue that this is enabled through what I call as geopolitical aid that is driven by its political and economic goals in Somalia, which has a strategic geopolitical significance in the Horn of Africa. Turkey's geopolitical aid resulted in instrumentalization of Somalia people and geography and the production of Turkey's hegemony over Somalia concomitantly as Western and non-Western donor. In this regard, Turkey has a liminal identity in humanitarian government which is in between West and non-West in operationalization of its humanitarianism. Liminality is defined as the divergence between Turkey's discourses and its practices, which makes Turkey as 'a quasi-colonial actor' in humanitarian government. Considering Turkey's in-betweenness in Somalia, although the language used by Turkish political elites in Somalia is decolonial, its practices are colonial or reconstruct colonial practices of traditional actors.

As already addressed in Chapter 4, I signify Somalia as one of the target recipient countries within geopolitical hinterlands. In this context, Somalia is a Muslim country having historical ties with Ottoman Empire. Notwithstanding Turkey's decolonial language, renewed Turkish engagement cannot be explained merely by humanitarian or altruistic motives. Rather, Turkey is a quasi-colonial actor because it covers religious, cultural, economic and political goals altogether in providing aid. Although Turkey's focus on Somalia began with historical, religious and cultural affinities in 2011, the

growing economic and trade investments, the construction of Turkey's largest overseas military base demonstrate Turkey's long-term goals.

This chapter is structured as follows. I begin by addressing the importance of Somalia and Africa with respect to geopolitical dynamics. I then move on to focus on the historical background of relations between Turkey and Somalia. In the following part, I present and explain determinant factors of revalorisation of Somalia. These determinant factors are as follows: religion, Somalia's natural resources, Turkey's economic interests, and geopolitical rivalry in Somalia. These factors are parts of process tracing to analyse and unpack what are key drivers that cause a rise in Turkey's interest and policies in Somalia. In the next section, after assessing causal linkages of rediscovery and revalorisation of Somalia, I analyse geopolitical aid of Turkey in Somalia, its dynamics and focuses. Lastly, as a result, I classify and provide an analysis of four specific types of Turkey in Somalia that are emergency aid, technocratic aid, cultural and religious aid, infrastructure aid.

5.1. The Significance of Somalia

The Horn of Africa is in a strategic location that is South-West of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden.



Figure 6: Map of Somalia
Source: Britannica (2020)

Over the last decade, the Horn of Africa has become one of the most important geostrategic locations because of trade sea lanes land routes. Therefore, particularly, the coastline of this region has become valuable increasing the focus of many states in terms of security, economic, and political developments. In this regard, one of the players in this geography has been Turkey within the last decade. Turkey's developmental, security and economic role has become expanded in terms of instruments and goals.

Owing to the geostrategic significance of Somalia, there is a major transformation of Turkey's activities from primarily humanitarian aid after the 2011 famine to increasing

security and economic investments. This proves Turkey's commitment to be an active player in Somalia with global ambitions apart from other foreign powers in the country. To state differently, Turkey's shift to "more ambitious geopolitical and heavy security roles has been met with caution as competition between Turkey and Qatar against Gulf has heightened intra-Horn disputes" as Van Den Berg and Meester (2019:1) argues. Although Kani Torun, the former ambassador of Turkey to Somalia, indicates that at the first stage "Somalia policy of Turkey has not been planned", contemporary policy is underpinned by diplomatic, economic and geopolitical goals that are new elements of Turkey's humanitarian agenda. Although the first involvement of Turkey in Somalia was not strategically designed, strategic interests have become important that also increased the amounts of aid after 2011.

The sudden focus of Turkey on Somalia started in 2011 due to famine, and high rates of death. After the civil war of Somalia in 1991, Western powers withdrew their humanitarian actors in the country. This power vacuum enabled Turkey to achieve a significant humanitarian and political influence with little amounts of aid compared to traditional donor countries. Since it was Ramadan when Erdoğan visited Mogadishu with a group of celebrities and ministers, the media organs well presented this visit, as Torun states (personal communication, 18 April, 2018). This can be a stimulating impact on acceleration of Turkey's focus on Somalia serving for AKP's domestic goals as well inside the public audience. After the visit of Erdoğan to Mogadishu in August 2011, the first office of TİKA was opened in Mogadishu on 11th of September in 2011 (TİKA, 2017). Due to the rising strategic significance of Somalia, Turkey's engagements in

various sectors have also dramatically increased. I address the details of the geopolitical rivalry between Turkey and other players in Somalia in the following sections.

As Langan (2017: 1406) points out that: “Turkey has utilised interventions in Somalia as a ‘showpiece’ for its potential humanitarian clout throughout Sub-Saharan Africa”. There are specific motivations which are related to civilizational geopolitics of Turkey in Somalia to provide aid: common religion and historical ties coupled with the physical absence of Western actors on the ground in Mogadishu (USAID and the EU institutions). In sum, as Vertin (2019) contends that with regard to Ankara’s approach in Somalia that is “underwritten by Erdoğan’s appeal to Islamic solidarity and a more visible presence on the ground than traditional donors” has been largely lauded by Somalis.

5.2. The Background of Relations Between Turkey and Africa

Turkish-Somali relations can be traced back to the 16th century and the ties between the Adal Sultanate (near the present-day Djibouti) and the Ottoman Empire (Lewis, 2003: 26). By the 17th century, Somali coastal towns were under control by local sultanates with nominal links to the Ottoman Empire (Lewis, 2003: 33; International Crisis Group, 2012: 2). Therefore, I define Somalia as one of the geopolitical hinterlands of Turkey that is a Muslim country having an Ottoman past. As discussed in Chapter 2, there were special criteria for Turkey to be involved in Somalia which are being a Muslim country and having former Ottoman links. Once Turkey was involved in Somalia, these criteria cease to be the main motivations. Besides these criteria, there are now other determinant factors that will be discussed in following sections. Yet, it should be noted that still the

underlying logic of Turkey's engagement in Somalia is directly connected to its civilizational geopolitics. These features of Somalia affect Turkey's pattern and content of aid particularly in the AKP era. The pattern of Turkey is more state-centric approach harnessed with political elites of the AKP while the content is more religious aligned with Turkey's economic investments. The details of Turkish aid and its geopolitical dynamics will be addressed in following sections.

With the opening of Somali Embassy in Ankara in 1979 and Turkey's involvement in the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) in 1993, Turkey-Somali contemporary relations began. Since the end of the Cold War, Turkey and political elites became more interested in Muslim countries that are former Ottoman Empire and African region. In 1998 African Action Plan announced by former Minister of Foreign Affairs İsmail Cem aimed for opening to Africa that was the turning point in Turkey's humanitarian agenda. The goal of this plan to create political, commercial and cultural cooperation including opening of new embassies and schools and implementing humanitarian assistance and trade agreements (Rundincova, 2014: 202).

Therefore, we can expect that civilizational geopolitics formed by mental maps of Turkey aligned with Ottoman and religious aspirations has actually started with the 1990s. However, the current focus that revalorizes Africa in diverse dimensions has reached its peak in the AKP era since 2002. As discussed in Chapter 2, despite the continuation of civilizational agenda, AKP has integrated more Islamic and Ottoman romanticism undertones that serves for its foreign as well as domestic goals. As Keyman and

Gümüşçü (2014: 73) point out that “proactive Turkish foreign policy should not be reduced to a rational choice made by the AKP” that was a long and historically contingent one. As a result of the expansion of humanitarian government with new donor countries from the Global South, BRICS and Turkey started to claim to conduct a different development vision especially in Somalia which is a display arena for renewed interests of Turkish foreign policy under the AKP. At the beginning, there was no detailed policy and program. The special focus on Somalia has revived after 2011, thus, it has gradually increased since then.

It is pertinent to note that these engagements actually started during the Cold War era. In 1948, Turkey supported the United Nations General Assembly to send economic assistance to Sahel region (Northern Africa) in Africa. In 1978, medical assistance was provided to Zimbabwe (Erkin, 1952: 127-128). In 1979, Economic and Technical Cooperation agreement was signed between Turkey and Sierra Leone (Official Gazette of Republic of Turkey, 1979). In 1985, Turkey’s first official development program that was equal to 10 million USD was provided to Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, Senegal, Somalia and Sudan (MFA, 2019). Turkey signed cooperation agreement with Uganda in terms of industry, trade, agriculture, and air transportation in 1987 (Official Gazette of Republic of Turkey, 1987). In 1989, Economic and Technical Cooperation agreements with Botswana, Chad, Djibouti, Gambia and Zambia were signed (Official Gazette of Republic of Turkey, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c, 1989d). These agreements and development programs in Africa demonstrate that Turkey has become the newcomer of the international humanitarian order started in the Cold War era. In particular, under the

President Turgut Özal, Turkey had a more proactive foreign policy aiming to expand Turkey's visibility in international relations. During Özal era, in 1993, Turkey signed various cooperation agreements with Sudan and Senegal on health, security, culture and technical cooperation (İpek, 2015: 416). It is worth bearing in mind that these agreements were named as "cooperation protocols" rather than "humanitarian assistance" as used by the AKP.

5.3. Turkey's Rediscovery of Somalia Since 2002

When the AKP came to power in 2002, as I have addressed above, Turkey rediscovered specifically Somalia, and generally the Horn of Africa through various instruments including development, trade and diplomatic ties. Somalia has been one of target countries of Turkey's foreign aid since Özal era that started with assistance in 1985. Turkey's post-1998 "Opening to Africa" policy that also stimulated the major interest towards Somalia (MFA, 2019). In 2005, AKP government declared "The Year of Africa" (MFA, 2019). Turkish engagement in Somalia designates 'the most substantive outgrowth of Ankara's ambitious "Opening to Africa" policy started in 2005 that also aimed to boost Turkish diplomatic and commercial presence across the continent as Vertin (2019) notes. In 2008, Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit was held in Istanbul in order to increase institutional agreements (MFA, 2020). Since 2010-2011, AKP has designated Somalia as a display zone to increase its influence and to pursue its multi-dimensional interests to expand its zone of influence. As such, AKP uses the term 'humanitarian' to transcribe its activities encompassing various dimensions in particular geopolitical and economic ones.

Turkey's proactive policy strategy has become more crystallized and consolidated during the 2000s with the AKP government (Keyman & Gümüşçü 2014: 73). With regard to foreign aid and humanitarian agenda, besides NGOs, AKP built a model that is a more state-centric augmented by new governmental institutions as well as CSOs. In this respect, TİKA, Kızılay, AFAD, Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), Diyanet, Yunus Emre Institute, Maarif Foundations, and Islamic NGOs are new actors that are now more closely linked to the government. In other words, this new trend can also be described as a more state-centric approach in humanitarian activities in Somalia and other geographies as well. In brief, with regard to pro-activism and multidimensional foreign policy efforts, Keyman and Gümüşçü (2014: 78) address: "Turkey has tried to contribute (...) to the betterment of the human condition in the war-torn and least developed countries, such as Afghanistan and Africa, through humanitarian aid activities and civil-society based engagements."

Although the quote above reflects some altruistic motives, there are economic and political goals that Turkey wishes to pursue in Africa. To this end, besides state institutions, private sector is highly involved in aid practices such as different businesses and companies (i.e. Turkish Airlines).

During the AKP era, this chapter asserts that the focus on Somalia in terms of humanitarian agenda aligned with political and economic interests has increased. As widely addressed in the literature (Akpınar, 2013; Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019; Aydın-

Düzgit, 2020), Turkey's assistance to Somalia started with the visit of the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to the country in 2011. After 2011, Somalia has become major target country not only as a foreign aid recipient but also a political actor in Turkey's Africa foreign policy agenda. As a result of cooperation agreements on various fields, humanitarian aid and development assistance, Turkey has aimed to become a visible actor in order to expand its zone of influence in Africa specifically in Somalia. With respect to actors in Somalia, TİKA, the Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet), Kızılay, AFAD, NGOs with religious aspirations (Yeryüzü Doktorları, İHH, Cansuyu) and other relevant ministries are involved. In Somalia and various regions, Gülenist Terrorist Organisation (FETÖ) which was known as Gülen Movement had an efficient network with NGOs and CSOs particularly in education and trade before the coup attempt on the night of 15 July 2016.

In contrast to Western approaches following multilateral approaches, Turkey uses bilateral channels to deliver aid and to advance its economic investments and diplomatic ties. The re-opening of Turkey's embassy in Mogadishu in 2011 that was first opened in 1979 and closed in 1991 due to the civil war of Somalia (MFA, 2020) was a vital development that represented Turkey's high ambitions and expectations to gain from the region. Because, this embassy is the largest embassy complex of Turkey in the world (Akpınar, 2017) that is in line with the declaration of 'Year of Africa' in 2005. This embassy is also the largest embassy in Mogadishu. I interpret the re-opening of this embassy as an important symbol representing Turkey's high ambitions and expectations to gain from the region that can catalyse the geopolitical rivalry in the country. After

Turkey, UAE established the second largest embassy in Mogadishu that proves an evidence for geopolitical rivalry with regard to symbolic importance of embassies. The details of the rivalry will be examined in proceeding sections.

Referring back to the new form of liminality discussed in the previous chapter, even though the language used by Turkish political elites in Somalia is decolonial, the practices are colonial or reconstruct colonial practices of traditional actors which focus on economy, military, and political dominance besides implementing MDGs. The driving force of these practices to prove a long-term dominance in Somalia through Turkification of the country in different fields. With respect to integration of military into aid policies, for example, before Black Hawk Down, the US military forces played a key role in the intervention of US in Somalia. This can be recognized as “military humanitarianism” as Dawson (2011) puts forward. This resonates with Turkey’s current position because Turkish military force is now one of the core actors in Somalia. In addition, Turkey obviously conducts a mercantilist agenda to seek for new market-places and raw materials. For this reason, Turkey is in an ambivalent position which is situated in between decolonial non-Western and colonial West. As such, I contend that Turkey is a quasi-colonial actor with regard to its foreign aid and humanitarian agenda. Turkey’s practices that are driven by strategic interests do not match with its decolonial language that will be explained in detail in following sections of the chapter. At the practice level, Turkey mimics Western types of aid adopting standard practices of OECD-DAC. These practices are humanitarian aid as well as infrastructure, poverty eradication in Sub-Saharan Africa, and economic growth through providing investments in line with

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) signed in September 2000. However, Turkey differs from OECD-DAC in two aspects. Firstly, Turkey underlines the importance of technical cooperation and capacity building compared to traditional donors that focus primarily on giving training programs to Somali troops and workers in different sectors such as doctors and nurses (Kragelund, 2008; Zimmerman & Smith, 2011). Secondly, in contrast to OECD-DAC donors and their full compliance with MDGs, Turkey does not highlight political goals such as democratization, rule of law and gender equality. Rather, Turkey focuses on religious and cultural imperatives in Somalia that can be considered as elements of the normative terrain of Turkey's engagements in the country.

I propose that the other key driving force of Turkey's rediscovery is the power vacuum in Somalia. Why there is a power vacuum in Somalia? Because after 1991 the Black Hawk operation against US in UNOSOM which shot down US helicopters, the Mission of the U.S Agency for International Development (USAID) office was closed on 5th of January in 1991. until June 2019. The US has recently re-opened USAID in Mogadishu on 17th of June in 2019 (USAID, 2019). As a result of these incidents, there has been a power vacuum left by former actors involved in Somalia.

Due to this incident, besides US, EU and UN branches started to deliver aid to Somalia from Nairobi, Kenya. As Thiessen and Özerdem (2019: 2) argue, "while the conventional intervention is multi-lateral in nature and is coordinated from Nairobi, the Turkish intervention community is based in Mogadishu and has been perceived as isolationist as it circumvents most conventional coordination structures". Turkey's aid in Somalia is

channelled bilaterally with Turkish aid money (Sazak & Woods, 2017). This can be one of the core reasons of sympathy of Somalis towards Turkish actors who work on the ground. This proves that Turkey aspires to be a unilateral actor to position itself as one of the legitimate donors in humanitarian government but ironically through bypassing multilateral agreements of traditional structure. However, to this end, through using conventional practices, Turkey expands its sphere of influence in the Horn of Africa to fill the power vacuum, “dealing with poorer countries such as Somalia will apparently enhance the reputation of Turkey as an influential and independent actor on the global stage” as Langan (2017: 1404) stresses. As a result, geopolitical aid has turned into an instrument of humanitarian and foreign policy agenda of Turkey “to tangibly demonstrating the altruism of the AKP government” according to Langan (2017: 1404). In the following section, in what ways Turkey attributes new value to Somalia due to particular dynamics will be assessed.

5.4. Revalorisation of Somalia Under the AKP Through Particular Determinant Factors

In this section, I suggest that there are specific determinant factors in revalorisation of Somalia by the AKP. These are religion (i.e. the importance of Islam), Somalia’s natural resources, Turkey’s economic interests and geopolitical rivalry in Somalia. As indicated above, Turkey’s opening to Africa dates back to 1998 Africa Action Plan. This plan can be considered as a milestone in Turkey’s relations with Africa. Due to economic crisis, lack of financial resources and political instability delayed the implementation of this policy until the AKP came to power in 2002 (Tepeciklioğlu, 2016: 10). Furthermore, the scope of this plan was not as expansionist as current policies of AKP in Somalia. Even

though aid delivery of Turkey in Somalia started with humanitarian reasons (i.e. famine and drought in 2011), I present determinant factors below as constitutive elements of Turkey's revalorisation process of Somalia to expand its zone of influence that shapes the pattern and content of aid which I define as geopolitical aid.

Firstly, Somalia as a Muslim country is prioritised in the AKP's foreign policy agenda. This is related to AKP's focus on 'Islamic solidarity' aligned with shared kinship that refers to the strategic value of cultural, religious, and historical affinities in delivering assistance to "common cultural geography" (Aydın-Düzgit, 2020: 275; TİKA 2004, 2012). The prominence of Islamic values in development and aid organisations (Baird, 2016: 474) has increased. As a result, this increases the sympathy and support of Somali people to Turkey. To put it alternatively, Islamic values appear as one of the important ideological motivations in the involvement of Turkey in Somalia. The linkages between AKP and Muslim Brotherhood in different periods and different deepness might be visible. In particular, Erdoğan's (as Prime Minister and President) speeches highlighting "humanity" or "Islam is the only umbrella (...)" toward the Islamic community arguments are apparently controversial with the policy backing Muslim Brotherhood. These linkages are another subject for a wide investigation which is beyond the topic of this dissertation.

In contrast to predecessor governments, AKP emphasizes the worldwide Muslim community (*ummah*) (Kavaklı, 2018: 616). A close look at President Erdoğan's speech at the Civilizations Forum demonstrates the underlying idea 'to revive Islamic civilization'

(TCBB, 2017). However, contestation of the West can result in an essentialist understanding that might recreate Western superiority. As a result, I argue that since 2002, Turkish governments utilize humanitarian and economic aid to achieve its international as well as domestic goals. Because Sunni-Muslim identity emerged as the new central feature of Turkish foreign policy aligned with domestic ideological stance of AKP in domestic politics (Saraçoğlu & Demirkol, 2015; Kavaklı, 2018).

However, rather than building solidarity within the Muslim world, this can be described as Turkey's high ambitions to expand its zone of influence in other words to create its dominance on Islamic community. This can yield unequal power structure within the Muslim world that can trigger further clashes. More interestingly, Turkey's wish to pursue geopolitical and Islamic dominance echoes Western civilizational geopolitics with imperialistic aspirations as Aydın-Düzgit (2020: 274) argues. Despite competing viewpoints of emerging donors including Turkey (preferring government partners instead of civil society, and desires to redistribute power in global political economy), Turkey remains an actor that is a product of Western colonial influence as Thiessen and Özerdem (2019: 7) contend. It should be noted that as an emerging donor Turkey utilizes its various identities addressed in Chapter 4 serves its foreign policy and economic interests.

Secondly, Somalia is one of the emerging markets for Turkey since 2011 due to its natural resources. The value of Somalia derives from its rich natural resources, such as minerals and energy, and oil reserves in Puntland province (Akpınar, 2013: 748; Langan, 2018: 108). Yurdusev (2004: 31) indicates that the Puntland province alone could

produce 10 billion barrels of oil, while Turkey currently imports around 600,000 barrels per day. Somalia's geopolitical position that is a gateway to Africa and natural resources are important for Turkish energy companies. Therefore, in near future, different private companies in various sectors are likely to increase their investments in Somalia. In January 2020, Somalia invited Turkey to conduct energy drilling and exploration of oil, gas and mining opportunities (Bloomberg, 2020). Similar to Western donors such as Norway, Sweden and the US (Reuters, 2013), Turkey's oil exploration can be an important task resonating with mercantilist humanitarian agenda of Turkey. However, in near future, this can trigger a geopolitical rivalry and disputes with respect to economic interests of donors that can destabilize Somalia.

Thirdly, humanitarianism motivated by mercantilism play a vital role that has shaped by Turkey's economic interests of AKP in revalorization of Somalia. In this regard, humanitarian aid and development assistance has become instruments of Turkey to pursue economic and geostrategic benefits. In line with the point raised by Aydın-Düzgit (2020: 272-273), the underlying logic is to increase Turkey's geostrategic and economic presence in various regions rich with energy resources such as Somalia. This reflects the mercantilist dimension of Turkey's policies seeking for new markets and raw materials. For this reason, in addition to state institutions, Turkish private sector is heavily involved in Somalia.

From 2011 to 2015, Turkey built close relationships with Middle East countries formed around Muslim Brotherhood. This was highly visible particularly post-Arab Spring era

and after the 2017 Qatar blockade when the diplomatic crisis between Gulf Countries Council (GCC) and Qatar. As shown in Figure 7, after 2010, Turkey started to follow a more assertive foreign and domestic foreign policy. Not only in Somalia, Turkey wishes to enlarge its footprint in Sudan where Turkey wins Suakin port concession. Similar to Somalia, Sudan is also one of the geopolitical hinterlands of Turkey that is a Muslim country that had ties with Ottoman empire.

When figure 7 is analysed, under the AKP, Turkey's GDP growth dramatically increased from 200 billion USD in 2001 to 950 billion USD in 2013. According to World Bank data, in 2018, it reached to 1 trillion USD as shown in figure 7. Through consolidating pro-business policies at the domestic level, AKP reinforced domestic economic growth that gave Turkish state to engage in a more assertive foreign policy and successful Turkish companies (known as 'Anatolian Tigers') to seek markets abroad (Van Den Berg & Meester, 2019; Hosgör, 2011).

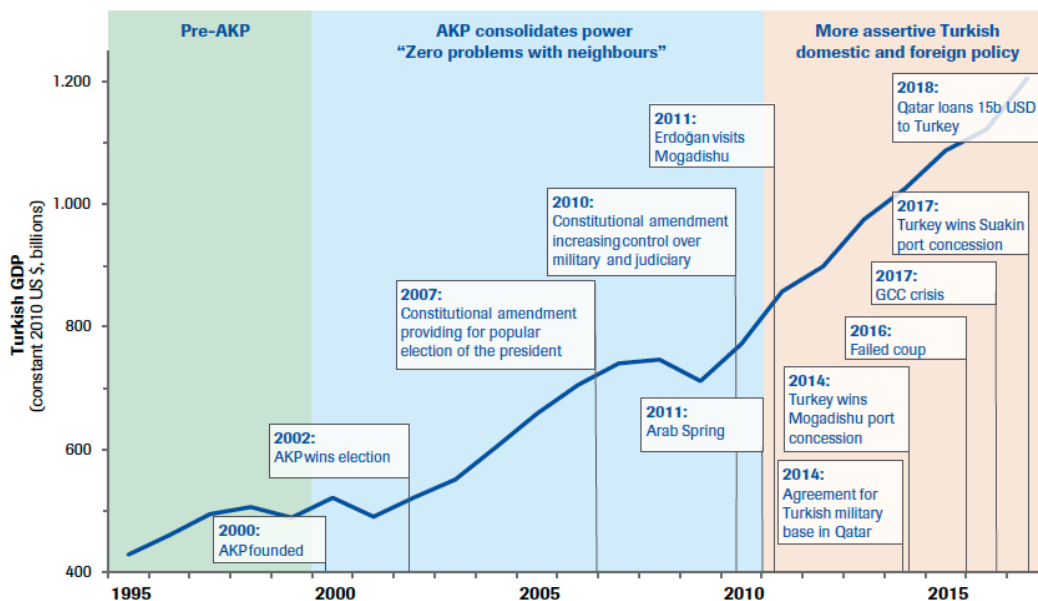
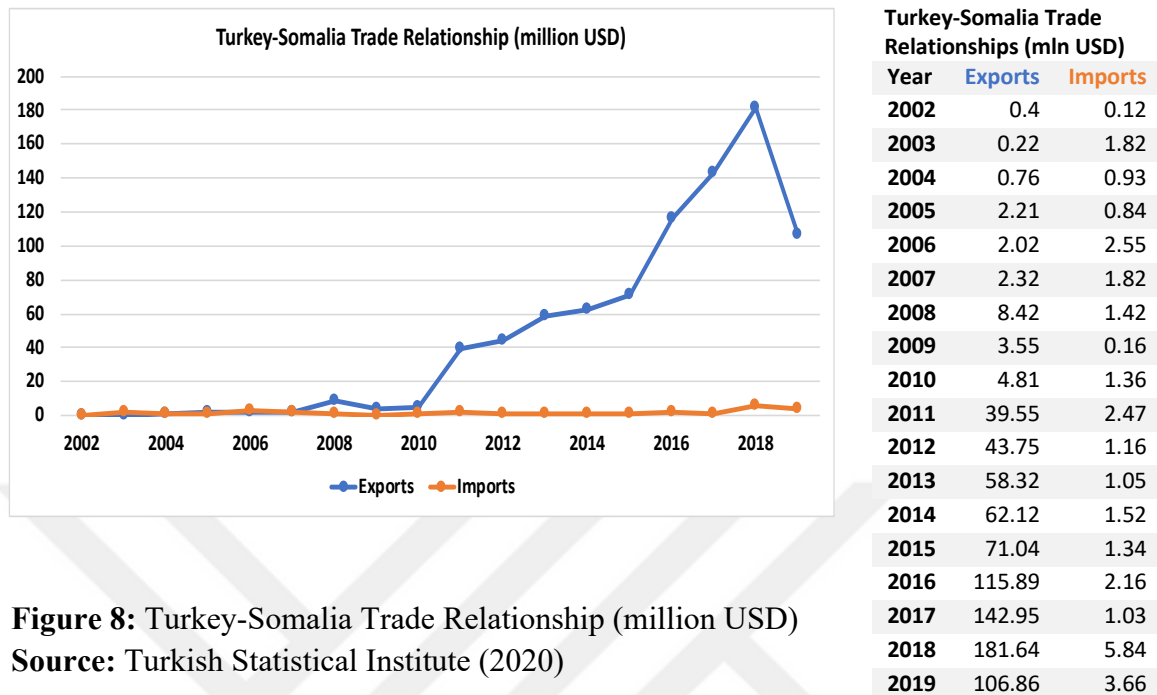


Figure 7: Turkey's economic and foreign policy development

Source: World Bank Open Data (2020), ‘World Development Indicators, GDP Constant 2010 US \$’ and Van Den Berg and Meester (2019)

As figure 7 demonstrates that the power of AKP increased in military and judiciary by 2010 constitutional amendment which reinforced Turkey’s mobilizations at the international level as well. This was followed by Erdoğan’s visit to Mogadishu in 2011. In the post-Arab Spring era, Turkey’s ties with Muslim Brotherhood increased after 2011. According to figure above, the era starting from 2012 can be recognized as ambitious policies of AKP both in domestic and international spheres.

With respect to assertive economic policies, trade agreements and investments in different sectors play a key role. Turkish trade with sub-Saharan Africa “reached \$ 7.5 billion in 2011, a 72 % increase from the year before and a tenfold increase since 2000” (cited in Langan 2018: 105, Özkan & Orakçı, 2015: 344) (see figure 2). Turkey made huge investments in the Mogadishu’s international airport and port of Mogadishu (Cannon, 2018: 25). Cannon notes that “the revenues from the airport and port are estimated to run anywhere between \$11 and \$20 million, per month” (Cannon, 2019: 26; Marqaati, 2017: 7). Cannon (2019: 26) and Marqaati (2017:7) address that under the terms of 20-year port agreement between Turkish firm Albayrak and the Somalia Federal Government (SFG) of Hassan Sheikh, “55 % of revenue generated at the seaport will go the SFG and remaining 45 % to Albayrak”. Companies that are involved in Somalia have often close ties to the AKP. This demonstrates a dual approach of the AKP in Somalia; benefitting Turkish companies to serve for its domestic goals while enhancing its ties with foreign countries such as Somalia.



In 2014, the Federal Government of Somalia (TFG) officially delegated the management of port of Somalia to Albayrak group. As shown in figure 8, it was the beginning of the increase in trade with regard to exports of Turkey to Somalia. This increase also includes investments of Turkey to build its military base in Mogadishu in 2017 when exports level reached to 140 million USD. Restoration activities of Mogadishu airport that started in 2013 was completed by Turkish company Favori LLC in January 2015. This clearly explains the exponential increase in the amount of exports of Turkey. In 2012, the value of exports was equal to 60 million USD, while it has reached to 71 million USD (see figure 2).

Figure 8 illustrates an interesting allocation of trade, while exports have increased since except for the dramatic decline from 2018 (182 million USD) to 2019 (107 million USD), the flow of imports remains almost the same during the period between 2002-2019. This

proves Turkey's economic engagements and investments in Somalia are unidirectional. Although trade relations between Somalia and Turkey will bring benefits to both sides, Turkey has benefitted more because of its mercantilist approaches in providing aid. Mercantilist approaches are consistent with increasing exports and finding new market-places for donor countries. In this regard, in figure 8, I interpret the data as the mercantilist aspect of Turkey's agenda in Somalia with respect to exports boom starting with 2011 when Turkey delivered its first humanitarian assistance to the country.

Cannon (2019: 27) argues that this represents "the major source of non-aid revenue for the SFG, thus underscoring and enhancing Turkey's critical influence and behind-the-scene political power in Mogadishu". This demonstrates that economic investments and partnership between Turkey and SFG Turkey have been important factors in both domestic economy and politics of Somalia.

The port and airport agreements were signed during the presidency of Hassan Sheikh. As a result, the political power and public support of Hassan Sheikh increased who was president from 16 September 2012 to 16 February 2017. Turkey's initial engagements particularly started with humanitarian concerns for alleviating famine in 2011-2012 according to Cannon (2019: 28). After 2012, economic and political factors have also become important. Turkey also built its largest Turkish military training facility across the world in Mogadishu in October 2017. Military base proves a shift in Turkey's policy that reflects its long-term objectives, which rely upon stability in Somalia. Furthermore, it is also a means to fill the power vacuum that was created from the withdrawal of 22,000

African Union forces of Somalia by the end of 2020 that started in 2019 (Foreign Brief, 2019). In order to stabilize the country which suffered from civil war, conflicts an al-Shabaab insurgency, Turkey is likely to be one of the key players in Somalia to fill the gap will be left by African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Hence, I identify building the military base in 2017 is a strategic decision taken by the AKP government with respect to changes in the balance of region both politically and militarily.

Lastly and most importantly, the salient factor in revalorization of Somalia is geopolitical dynamics that consists of geostrategic rivalries in Somalia in terms of clashing interests and power competition amongst Gulf countries (i.e. United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Qatar). Ever since the Arab Spring, the UAE and Saudi Arabia have pursued a strategic goal aimed to stifle any and all Muslim Brotherhood influence because of the latter's social and political capital that stems from grassroots social service as Arman (former Somali Special Envoy the US) (2018) contends. Furthermore, Arman (2018) underscores that Gulf monarchs considered Muslim Brotherhood and Turkey's political ascendancy and influence on the Islamic and Middle Eastern affairs as the most serious threat to their life-long rule in Horn of Africa. The kinship between Muslim Brotherhood and AKP and its impacts on the region will be addressed in next sections.

I suggest that Turkey has been an actor that challenges the existing geopolitical power structure dominated by Gulf countries in the region. To recapitulate, Turkey's geopolitical engagements in the Horn of Africa reflect its struggle for power in order to enlarge its footprint in the region. Unlike development assistance in different sectors and

financial aid, Turkey's military base built in Somalia has not received warm reactions by foreign powers particularly Gulf countries. Furthermore, Turkey's ambitious agenda in Somalia will cause more struggles for power. Activities under humanitarian and development aid might indirectly support radical and Islamist organisations particularly in countries where political instability, corruption and illegal practices are common. In Somalia, the UAE versus Qatar/Turkey geopolitical rivalry appears to be a major problem. Turkey and Qatar have a shared religious Sunni affinity with respect to ideology of Muslim Brotherhood. Since the 2010s, Turkish-Qatari partnership is growing in bilateral economic agreements, defense cooperation, energy and military. As a result, Turkey and Qatar became allies against UAE and Saudi Arabia bloc. This may be the cause of UAE officials' accusations towards Qatar and Turkey backing Islamist radical organisations militarily and/or financially according to report of International Crisis Group (2018: 5). Although these accusations might be articulated by some officials from UAE, to the best of my knowledge neither the aforementioned report nor any study or academic work do not prove these claims towards Turkey and Qatar.

Moreover, Turkey has played a key role in affecting inner dynamics of national politics of Somalia. President Hassan Sheikh was supported with a splinter group Al-Islah and Damul Jadid (the Somali offshoot of Muslim brotherhood) as Cannon (2019: 28) states. However, there are no further academic works or reports confirming a direct linkage between Al-Islah and AKP. The linkages of AKP and Muslim brotherhood might be visible in various areas in the Middle East and Africa. Yet, in Somalia, despite huge trade investments and partnerships during 2011-2017 when Hassan Sheikh was president, this

did not help him to be re-elected after 2017. “Turkey remained overtly neutral throughout the process and there is no indication that Ankara provided money directly to Hassan Sheikh specifically for his reelection.” as Cannon (2019: 40) underscores. In this regard, Cannon (2019: 28) argues that: “Turkey’s support of Hassan Sheikh reportedly emanated less from an affinity for the president and more from a wish for continuity and continued access to the levers of Somali power and profit.”

However, it is important to note that the entry of Turkey to Somalia might be aligned with Turkey’s ideological stance and political strands such as Al-Islah or Damul Jaddid having ties with Muslim Brotherhood. In this respect, Van Den Berg and Meester (2019: 9) highlight that: “The ideological congruence between the AKP and political factions aligned to the Muslim Brotherhood in Somalia and Sudan may also have helped Turkey’s entry into these countries, although its importance should not be overstated.” Because while the previous Somali administration of Hassan Sheikh Mohamud was connected to Al-Islah (the Somali branch of the Muslim Brotherhood), the current president is the leader of a different political party which is called as Tayo Party. The new and current president of TFG Mohamed Abdullahi Farmajo was elected on 16 February 2017 with 195 votes out of 330 defeating Hassan Sheikh.

From 2017 onwards, Turkey remains as a significant actor in Somalia through continuing its economic investments and political support. President Farmajo prefers to be neutral within the dynamics in Somalia amongst Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Turkey and United Arab Emirates. There is an Emirati pressure on Somalia due to its close relations with Turkey

and Qatar that are large investors in Somalia. The growing competition amongst different external powers in the Horn of Africa is proof of the region's rising prominence as Akpınar (2017: 15) underscores. In the report of International Crisis Group (2018: 3): "Farmajo's reluctance to cut ties with Qatar and Turkey makes sense, particularly given the scale of Turkish aid and investment, though his increasing reliance on both countries has further soured relations with the UAE." The relations between Somalia and Saudi Arabia were also negatively affected. According to International Crisis Group (2018: 4): "His relations with the Saudi-led bloc deteriorated sharply, triggering a temporary suspension by Riyadh of direct budgetary support of some \$30 million per year". As a consequence, Farmajo's deteriorating relations with Emirati and Saudi Arabia led to closer relations with Turkey and Qatar which are geopolitical rivals according to Abu Dhabi and Riyadh. The current situation that is namely geopolitical rivalry in Somalia can be summarized through the insights from the report by International Crisis Group (2018: 19) which is as follows: "The Somali government, feeling besieged, has deepened ties to Qatar and Turkey, further fueling Emirati disquiet, and adopted heavy-handed tactics against rivals at home, aggravating Somali factionalism."

As a consequence, aforementioned geopolitical rivalry can be a vital risk paving way for the destabilization of the region. In particular, given the ongoing rivalry between Turkey and UAE that has triggered the Qatar crisis, the fact that the latter is planning to open a base in Somaliland could change the balance of power in Somalia and jeopardize the chance for peace in the ongoing negotiations between Somalia and Somaliland, which is being mediated by Turkey (Akpınar, 2017: 15). In brief, on the contrary to Turkey's anti-

Western stance and decolonial discourses, its economic interests and geostrategic ambitions can destabilize the region for the sake of geopolitical rivalry.

5.5. Rhetoric

How do Turkish foreign policy elites speak about their humanitarian aid and development assistance in Somalia specifically? Do they have a different tone compared to their Western counterparts? Considering new features of emerging donors that were assessed in Chapter 2, Turkey adopts anti-Western discourse harnessed with its civilizational agenda which I signify decolonial rhetoric. Decolonial rhetoric means the rejection of Eurocentric and Western-oriented norms and structures that aims to bring a new form of humanitarianism. Emerging donors including Turkey refer to international, horizontal or development cooperation or assistance, and describe themselves as partners rather than donors, in a conscious promotion of a discourse (if not always a reality) of mutual benefit, non-interference and respect for sovereignty between them and their partners/recipients as Mawdsley (2012: 7). For example, Tan-Mullins et. al. (2010: 861) define China as a non-DAC donor in the opposition of the West in its articulation on the one hand stressing “the distinctiveness its approach, but on the other hand China is keen to assert that it contributes to, or is part of, global aid efforts, adopting the Millennium Development Goals vocabulary and seeking to be of international organizations”. This is explicitly true for Turkey that adopts the conventional practices like traditional actors while branding Turkey as an ‘apolitical and altruistic humanitarian actor’ via decolonial rhetoric. Contrary to its self-professed decolonialism, Turkey’s aid is driven by its

geopolitical and economic interests related to Somalia's geostrategic location in Horn of Africa.

At the practice level which will be assessed in the following section, Turkey's practices perpetuate the Western style engagements in Somalia such as building a military base and pursuit of geopolitical and economic dominance. In the wake of the divergence between its discourses and practices, Turkey appears as a quasi-colonial actor in the international arena which I propose. This derives from being in between Western and anti-Western strands of humanitarianism that was defined as liminality in previous chapters. In the context of humanitarianism, Turkey is liminal. Because Turkey is suspicious and critical towards traditional actors at discourse level, but it still remains integrated into conventional humanitarian government and Western structure of humanitarianism despite its emphasis on culture and religion.

To conduct an in-depth examination of AKP government's discourse, I reviewed a collection of speeches of prominent figures of AKP on Somalia. The Internet websites of relevant government branches, TIKA reports (2011-2018), and interviews conducted with elites and Somali people are my sources. I benefitted from a set of political figures' speeches (Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (as the prime minister and the president), Ahmet Davutoğlu (as the ministry of foreign affairs and the prime minister), Bekir Bozdağ, Abdullah Gül (as the president)) that were published in official websites and policy documents. These sources reveal Turkey's rhetoric both at international and domestic levels of aid policies concentrates on their interests to brand Turkey.

It seems AKP's rhetoric is based upon civilizational agenda having Islamic undertones and Ottoman romanticism that rely upon strategic benefits and geopolitical goals including mercantilist interests. In this regard, Turkey is similar to Western actors that prioritizes the pursuit of geopolitical influence through huge investments in economy and military. Like Western actors, Turkey seemingly gains visibility supporting its geopolitical goals and national interests, helping to strategically build an international identity. The contradictions and ambiguities in rhetoric and practices locate Turkey as a quasi-colonial actor perpetuating the traditional structure of Western-style humanitarian government that hampers altruism by geopolitical interests. With respect to Western rhetoric, Thiessen and Özerdem (2019: 4) argues that:

The conventional community in Somalia is primarily commissioned by democracies in the North/West and is, as such, underpinned by liberalism, which is vitally interested in the spread of liberal democracy and free-market economics in service to the democratic peace theory.

However, this is not the case for Turkey. In Somalia, in contrast to traditional actors involved in Somalia, Turkey rarely refers to the elements of liberal peace or democratic peace theory. In speaking about sub-Saharan Africa in general, as Aydın-Düzgit (2020: 276) contends that Turkish officials do not shy away from justifying ODA and other aid types in various sectors as a strategic foreign policy tool that serves to "Turkey's capability to have say in issues of regional and global politics and create new business opportunities in new geographies" (Bekir Bozdağ in TİKA, 2013). In brief, Turkey chooses a language that signifies humanitarianism as an instrument to find new commercial ties and to have a voice in humanitarian government. The quote by President

Erdoğan at 6th High-Level Partnership Forum on Somalia below also reflects how Turkey is seeking for new strategic partners to expand its zone of influence where there is stability. However, in this respect, stability does not necessarily mean that there should be democracy respecting human rights.

Somalia has become a symbol of how we view Africa and the brotherly relations we wish to establish with Africa. With Somalia, Turkish model of aid has gained recognition in literature. We, in cooperation with international community and countries in the region, will continue to work until Somalia becomes a country of peace and stability (TCBB, 2016).

Through integrating humanitarianism as a significant instrument in Turkish foreign policy, Turkey wishes to be a notable actor with global ambitions. Rhetoric ‘claiming to do things differently’ in terms of development derive from “the discourse of uniqueness” and “the construction of geopolitical representation” of Turkey as Yanık (2011) and Altunışık (2014) contend respectively. Although the claim “to do things differently” is prevalent amongst emerging donors, the emphasis on this claim is the most visible in Turkey’s agenda (Bergamaschi et. al., 2017).

In this regard, at the discourse level, as Altunışık (2014: 26) highlights that Turkey “tends to characterize their position as unique, either due to geographical location, identity, history or all of these factors”. This echoes the revalorisation process of geopolitical hinterland in countries like Somalia that serves as one of the key laboratories of Turkey in providing humanitarian aid, ODA and other types of aid. Due to historical and religious affinities aligned with the aim of challenging power asymmetries through language (Langan, 2016; Wodak, 2012), Turkey is using Somalia as the first great display of “virtuous power” as Langan (2017: 1407) contends. In Somalia, although Turkey

builds its narratives upon decolonialism containing anti-imperialism undertones, its practices are consistent with Western or namely traditional norms and understandings of humanitarianism within humanitarian government.

5.6. Decolonial rhetoric

I define decolonial rhetoric is a set of discourses attempting to eliminate the dominance of Western actors and to criticize the influence of their colonial understandings in humanitarian government. The underlying logic of decolonial rhetoric is Turkey's claim to do things different in development compared to traditional donors and its claim to promote an alternative vision of development. Why I choose to call Turkey's rhetoric as decolonial is related to the literature arguing decoloniality as a response and resistance to the West. Originally, the academic literature on decolonial thinking has been pioneered mainly by intellectual debates from Latin American scholars; Anibal Quijano, Walter D. Mignolo, and Arturo Escobar. It has been developed in other contexts as well that are decolonizing development (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012), decolonizing International Relations (Çapan, 2017; Gruffydd Jones, 2006; Shilliam, 2011; Bhambra, 2014), and very recently decolonizing intervention and humanitarianism (Sabaratnam, 2017; Rutazibwa, 2019). Quijano (2007: 168) defines decoloniality as "a response to the relation of direct, political, social, and cultural domination established by Europeans." This understanding mainly stems from the critique towards Eurocentrism and "coloniality of power" shaped through political, social, cultural domination by European colonialism transformed into an aspiration (Quijano, 2007: 171). Although one of the emphasises is on race, it sheds light on different aspects of coloniality within international relations as shown below:

So, coloniality of power is based upon ‘racial’ social classification of the world population under Eurocentered world power. But coloniality of power is not exhausted in the problem of ‘racist’ social relations. It pervaded and modulated the basic instances of the Eurocentered capitalist colonial/modern world power to become the cornerstone of this coloniality of power (Quijano, 2007: 171).

In broader terms, Mignolo (2007: 155, 167) and Ndlovu Gatsheni (2012) explain coloniality of power working as a significant structuring process within global imperial designs that sustains the superiority of the Global North and ensuring the perpetual subalternity of the Global South using colonial matrices of power. Hence, as a response, “decoloniality originated as a response to the capitalist and communist imperial designs” as Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012: 19). Built upon Global South, including various strands of decolonial options that are Islamic option, nationalist option, feminist option and Afrocentric option, broadly speaking decoloniality became an “epistemic and political project involving epistemic disobedience, decolonization of power, decolonization of being and decolonization of knowledge” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 20; Fanon, 1968). Quijano (2007: 176) argues that decoloniality also can be an alternative for the ‘destruction of the coloniality of power’.

Turkey’s rhetoric in Somalia shows its “normative terrain in their elite discourse, Turkey seeks a truly global role based upon core humanitarian and altruistic principle” (Langan, 2017: 1400). To a certain extent, this can be explained by neo-Ottoman identity of Turkey that is “presented as a benevolent force in the Global South in contrast to Western hegemony, within an “anti-colonial ‘narrative’” as Bilgiç and Nascimento (2014) claim. The term ‘neo-Ottomanism’ has never been used by any political elites of the AKP. Yet it

is important to underscore its impact on Turkey's growing interest in Somalia. In this respect, Langan (2017: 1400) argues that:

Turkey and Africa ties in the neo-Ottoman phase of Erdoğan's rule has significance for challenging EU moral credibility abroad (...) AKP elites' construction of this foreign policy role in Sub-Saharan Africa has drawn sharp contrasts between Turkey and Western actors, particularly the UN.

This highlighted "the normative values of virtuous power Turkey in juxtaposition with the perceived neglect of Somalia by self-interested Western entities" as Langan (2017: 1406) addresses. Langan (2017: 1406) points out that Turkey's new humanitarian identity that has become highly visible in Somalia "reinforces Turkey as a virtuous power in contrast to the West and EU institutions".

In 2011, when the focus of Turkey on Somalia increase, this new geopolitical imagination is attributed as 'a new idea of time and place (that) makes it possible for Turkey to produce its own concepts and build a new vocabulary' which focuses on Turkey's non-colonial past, civilizational bonds and religious ties in İbrahim Kalın's words (current spokesman of president) (cited in Aras and Fidan, 2009: 197).

Turkey has no colonial past in the African region. We could like to conduct our relations with African countries based upon equal partnerships, mutual respect, and win-win relations. In all fields -defense industry, tourism, economy, trade- we can start co-investments.

The quote of Erdoğan above shows anti-colonial undertones of Turkey's development agenda to persuade Somali people how Turkey is not like its Western counterparts. In particular, Turkey emphasizes its non-colonial past in Africa and its non-Western identity which has Islamism. The similar undertones can be found in the speech of Prime Minister

Erdoğan in 2011 at OIC Summit below: “I hope the efforts (of the OIC) will mobilise the sleeping consciences. We hope the Western world, which likes to boast about its per capita income, shows its support for Somalia” (Reuters, 2011).

As Langan (2017: 1400) points out according to elite discourses Turkey seeks a global role based upon core humanitarian and altruistic principles. Through emergency aid in 2011 Turkish elites have constructed “a moralised discourse concerning their country’s own international role in juxtaposition to machinations of an ‘imperial EU’” as Langan (2017) contends. Decolonial rhetoric of Turkey’s foreign aid agenda targets not only ‘imperial EU’ but also ‘imperial the US and the Western world’ that are involved in humanitarian government. The discourse adopted by Turkish elites in providing aid can be described as being suspicious and aggressive about the Western world in general. In this regard, Arman, former Somali Special Envoy to the United States, (2018) portrays aforementioned arguments as follows: “Turkish model has exposed the international aid system as corrupt and politically toxic”.

Turkey allegedly constructed ‘a new vocabulary’ in the words of that is designed against Eurocentrism and the ‘colonial West’. I evaluated the language used in Somalia by Turkish elites as decolonial to a certain extent. Because, decolonial language of Turkey challenges power asymmetries in humanitarian government and Western dominance in African region. The significant problem is that this challenge is only done discursively. In practical terms, there is a high possibility of Somalia’s dependence on Turkey in economy, military and public facilities such as health and education. This can also be

read as a Turkish form of Orientalism in helping and dominating Somalia which contains colonial and liberal undertones. As such, decolonial rhetoric should be transferred into decolonial practices that are not primarily anchored by national interests. Therefore, as Langan (2017: 1407) underscores that “it is important to question whether there might be disjuncture between states objectives and material policy outcomes”. In spite of the match of Turkish narratives with discourses of Somali leaders, practices of Turkey in Somalia more based on its interests to expand its zone of influence. Hence, this situated Turkey in an ambiguous position that is clashing with its decolonial narratives. The details of practices of Turkey in Somalia will be analysed in the next section under geopolitical aid.

The close look at Somalia’s political elites show that Turkey’s decolonial language is warmly welcomed in their country. As former President of Somalia Hasan Sheikh Mohamud articulates:

They taught the Somalis to drive the vehicles what makes the difference. We have been constantly preaching to our international partners. ‘Don’t do the work with us, do the work with us’. This is the difference- the Turks are doing work with us. They are training the Somalis, improving their capacity and introducing a new work culture to Somalia (cited in Wasuge, 2016).

Amongst emerging donors, government-to-government approaches namely partnerships in bilateral channels play an important role. Since Turkey is a non-DAC donor, it becomes more flexible to work with Somali people in contrast to Western donors which have to follow OECD-DAC rules based upon multilateral settings. The quote above by the former President of Somali sets apart Turkey from traditional

donors noting “its speed, efficiency, and lighter political baggage” (Van Den Berg & Meester, 2019: 1).

The other vital element of decolonial rhetoric of Turkey is its civilizational geopolitics in its foreign policy and humanitarian agenda. The quote of Ahmet Davutoğlu below underscores the cultural similarities:

Stretching hundreds of years back, history tells us that the wellbeing of Africa and Turkey cannot be separated from each other. Within a relationship based on equality, mutual respect, cooperation, and common stance against adversaries, the rise of African and Turkish civilizations were always closely linked (...) when our ties and defences were weakened due to many reasons including imperialism, colonialism, conflicts or inner strife, we were both weakened and fell back behind other nations (cited in Bilgiç and Nascimento, 2014).

As also seen in the speech of President Erdoğan below:

In addition to humanitarian aid, we are also carrying out crucial activities in the field of humanitarian development aid, which we regard as the true solution of the problem. As seen in the case of Somalia, we have formed our own humanitarian development models by our own name. Our aid activities extending from the Balkans to the Central Asia and from Africa to the Middle East are as much the product of our historical ties as our responsibility toward humanity (TCBB, 2016).

Somalia is a recipient of Turkish aid which is one of the geopolitical hinterlands.

This means that Somalia is an important strategic partner with strategic benefits.

Because it is a Muslim country having ties with Ottoman Empire having a geostrategic significance-commercial interests. In light civilizational geopolitics, discourses often emphasize cultural, religious, and historical affinities that has decolonial undertones to challenge the influence of the West. One of the examples can be found in the quote by former President Abdullah Gül:

We (Turks) have never run after only our own interests. We know states, which only looked after their own interests in the past, engendered major damage to Africa. The international community should know that we could only be equal partners to Africa (cited in Rudincová, 2014).

Although Turkey adopts a decolonial language, this does not prevent the potential hierarchy of Turkey in Somalia where aid has been gradually Turkified according to geostrategic preferences of Ankara since 2011. In a similar vein, its humanitarian agenda in Somalia is mainly based upon emergency needs, state-building. Abukar Arman (2018), a Somali diplomat and analyst, who was the former special envoy to the US contends: “Turkey still embodies the gold standard of bilateral nation building and development with its tangible achievement and non-interference policy on Somalia’s domestic politics, the Turkish model has exposed the international aid system as corrupt and politically toxic”.

I claim that this success of Turkey mainly stems from its decolonial rhetoric, in other words, discourses to challenge power asymmetries and hierarchical relations. Yet, now there is a possible jeopardy of possible Turkish superiority over Somali people that can be a new form of hierarchy of the West in Africa. As Langan (2017: 1407) underlines, it is also crucial “to question whether there might be disjuncture between stated objectives and material policy outcomes”. This does not imply to reject positive contributions of Turkish aid after the famine in Somalia but to question possible negative consequences of particular forms of Turkish involvement in Somalia. In order to assess positive reflections of Turkey in Somalia that is linked to its decolonial language, it might be beneficial to look at the point stated by a Somali analyst,

Abdinor Dahir (personal communication, 4 January, 2019), a researcher at TRT

World:

Turkish aid is effective and efficient that is timely and demand-based. Whereas the UN delivers aid for a village in one month, Turkey can deliver it only two or three days. They directly go to the Somali government in order to deliver aid in specific areas. They distribute the aid with local officials.

The other interviewee is Ahmed Omar Ibrahim (personal communication, 17

February, 2019), Save the Children's Area Representative for Southern States, based in Mogadishu states:

Turkish supported areas that no one ever supported, higher education, airport, port, and hospitals. Western countries support small and non-essential infrastructures. Turkey is the only country that have touched the life of every Somali, even those living in the rural areas where non-Turkish support ever reached appreciate Turkish, Turkey is the only country Somalis appreciate their support, it was timely, genuine and responding to actual needs. Turkish is direct and supporting only those in need while West support through multiple layers including UN.

Both my interviewees highlight the timing and efficiency of Turkish aid that has concentrated on diverse fields in cooperation with local officials to respond particular demands. This implies a difference in terms of practices of Turkey in Somalia compared to Western actors. Turkey directly works with Somali government to conduct bilateral agreements without any interference by UN or any other international actor. Turkey also refrains from trilateral cooperation which includes Turkish state, Somali state and an international humanitarian actor. This is related to the flexibility of Turkey being a non-DAC donor as mentioned earlier. To put differently, Kragelund (2011: 603) contends that whereas the processes set up by DAC to enhance the quality of aid that can prolong the response of the rate of traditional donors, new emerging donors are not influenced by

these procedures. It is argued that these new donors are able to respond much more quickly to the needs of African governments according to Kragelund (2011: 603; Tan-Mullins et. al., 2010). As a non-DAC donor, unlike traditional actors in Somalia, Turkey might have an advantageous position that has not subjected to specific procedures of DAC enabling Turkey to deliver its aid promptly in Somalia and other geographies.

Besides flexibilities that also ease the production of a different rhetoric, this decolonial language of Turkey can be interpreted as “paradoxical Orientalism” amongst Turkish elites and Turkish population as Langan explains (2017: 1409). This argument can be connected to ambitious foreign aid agenda of Turkey as shown by a sentence from TİKA 2011 report as follows: “Wherever there is fire, wherever there is pain, Turkey has mobilised all means to extinguish that fire and has travelled great distances to heal those wounds ... We will reach to every corner of the world (TİKA, 2011)”.

There has been a tendency of the AKP to portray their state as the humanitarian “saviour of weaker polities marginalising African states on the international stage” in Langan’s words (2017: 1409). This is actually related to the point raised by Tan-Mullins et. al. (2010: 875) arguing that African states are seen as “helpless that were treated as victims of Western colonialism”. And now they are subjected to a different form of it by emerging donors such as Turkey. As noted by Tan-Mullins et. al. (2010: 865), since the end of the Cold War, African countries are now able to choose alternative donors like Turkey and different developmental models, although these new donors have not radically changed the course of Africa’s development.

5.7. Practice: Geopolitical Aid in Somalia

As already addressed in previous chapters, I introduced the concept of geopolitical aid that means the revalorisation of particular geographies in terms of regional characteristics shaping the pattern and content of aid in order to expand the zone of influence of a donor country. As addressed earlier, through decolonial rhetoric, Turkey aims to traverse North-South hierarchies and challenge the dominant discourse of the OECD-DAC by questioning foundational terms used by traditional actors. In contrast to its decolonial rhetoric, I signify practices of Turkey in Somalia which are in tandem with gaining status, stature, and visibility are entangled with their foreign policy, diplomatic, and economic considerations.

At the practice level, I argue that Turkey is a quasi-colonial actor because it covers religious, cultural, economic and political goals altogether in providing aid. Overall, these goals serve political interests of Turkey. In this regard, Baird (2016) highlights that the focus of Turkish engagement in Somalia is “humanitarian aid, business and trade, and security sector reform”. The problematic point is that Turkey identifies these all different kinds of engagement as ‘humanitarian’. In other words, Turkey possibly creates a different type of colonialism through mixing humanitarianism with antagonistic ones; militarism, mercantilism, and globalism as Çetinoğlu (2019: 290) contends. Being ‘different’ and ‘non-Western’ might result in the mimicry of Western humanitarianism, thus being a ‘quasi-colonial’.

Turkey does not reject Western style practices of established donors that are seen as toxic and problematic. Rather, it adopts them expanding their scope of activities in various terms. I argue that aforementioned determinant factors (i.e. Somalia as a Muslim country, Turkey's economic interests related to natural sources of Somalia and Somalia's geopolitical importance) in revalorisation of the country influence the pattern and content of aid in order to expand the zone of influence of a donor country. Hence, these factors shape different types of aid and how they will be delivered by particular actors. At the practice level, I divide Turkish aid in Somalia into four types: emergency, technocratic, cultural and religious, and infrastructure aid. It is important to note that Turkey's model has not radically change or reformulate existing course of development, rather, Turkey conducts similar activities as Western actors in a different pattern. Accepting resemblance between sets of activities, Turkey has integrated cultural and religious elements in terms of delivery of aid expanding its scope as well as opposed to Western donors in Somalia.

5.7.1. Emergency Aid

This part will focus on emergency aid of Turkey to Somalia. Briefly, I refer emergency aid to food, shelter, prefabricated houses, tents and vital needs after major crises such as wars, natural disasters and conflicts. This aid is provided through TİKA, Kızılay, AFAD, Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, relevant ministries, the Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet Foundation), and İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. In contrast to Western donors, Turkey brought together variety of actors

that work in a coordination. The activities in Somalia is coordinated mainly by TİKA and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This differs from Western engagement in Somalia that prefers to follow multilateral channels such as UN agencies based in Nairobi in providing emergency aid to Somalia. Turkish actors have headquartered their activities in Mogadishu and viewed as isolationist due to Turkey's resistance to coordination with traditional multi-lateral donors and their reliance of Turkish aid money controlled by the government (Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019: 3).

On 19th of August 2011, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and its delegation visited Mogadishu during Ramadan. At that time, Somalia suffered from drought and famine caused high rates of deaths. As Vertin (2019) articulates that Erdoğan became the first non-African leader to visit the war-torn capital in two decades amid a devastating famine. The humanitarian initiatives of Turkey in Somalia started in 2011 during the famine and drought. The humanitarian imperative of intervention of Turkey in Somalia drought received a strong sympathetic response from the Turkish population, particularly during Ramadan period, yet the intervention also highlighted the narrative portraying Turkey as a rising donor well played with the AKP's conservative domestic supporters (Van Den Berg & Meester, 2019: 7). Then, they have evolved into long-term goals including solid projects such as military base. These actions will be discussed in following parts. Due to famine, the agenda of foreign aid to Somalia firstly included emergency aid that particularly includes food, shelter, and other necessities for living.

According to Kani Torun (2018), after the visit of Erdoğan through the involvement of Kızılay, AFAD, and Doctors Worldwide Turkey (Yeryüzü Doktorları), and Turkish civil society organisations, 550 million TL (300 million USD) aid was collected through various campaigns. After these initial aid campaigns, each actor started to follow their own agenda (Torun, personal communication, 18 April, 2018). Turkey through the coordination of the embassy in Mogadishu that was opened in 2011 planned to provide emergency aid between 2011 and 2013 according to Kani Torun.

The essential point is that emergency aid has provided Turkey legitimacy and a significant opportunity to develop its subsequent and long-term policies in Somalia. To put alternatively, emergency aid to Somalia emerged in 2011 presents the beginning of Turkey's Somalia policy in terms of its comprehensive agenda in order to expand its zone of influence thus proving its visibility within the region.

The other significant point is the influence of Turkish emergency aid in Somalia on other actors that are involved in the country. As Arman (2018) contends that “as soon as Turkey launched a massive humanitarian and development campaign in 2011, and began to form a strategic partnership with Somalia, the United Arab Emirates (the UAE) came on the scene for what many consider an effort to torpedo Turkey's newly found stature in Somalia.” The first presence of Turkey in Somalia through providing emergency aid has led to geopolitical rivalry amongst Gulf countries and Turkey. This mainly stems from Somalia's geostrategic location as mentioned earlier. Due to Turkey's support to Qatar and its ideological linkages with Muslim Brotherhood, the direct opposition to

blockading states are Saudi Arabia, UAE, Bahrain and Egypt (Van Den Berg & Meester, 2019: 10). Therefore, important impact of emergency aid and Turkey's rediscovery of Somalia can be described as a catalyst in escalating conflict of interests between Turkey and other actors in Somalia.

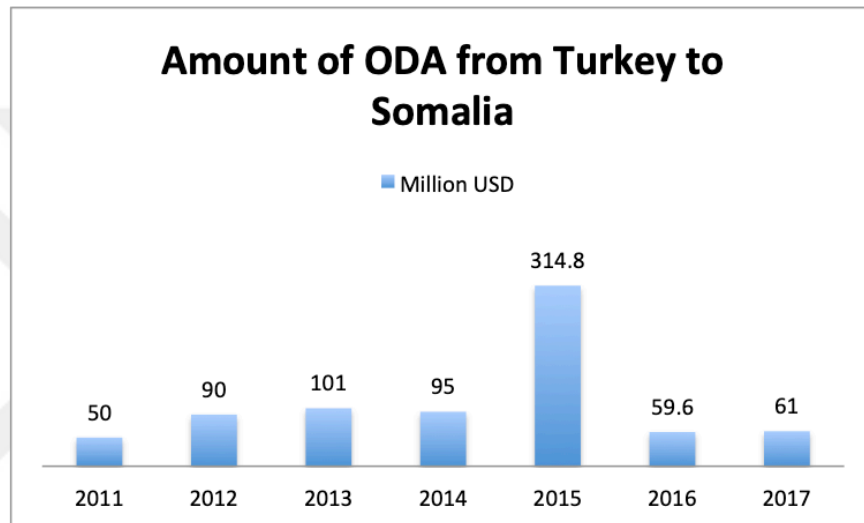


Figure 9: Amount of ODA from Turkey to Somalia
Source: OECD Reports (2011-2018)

As shown in figure 9, the ODA which mostly consists of humanitarian and emergency aid in 2011 was 50 million USD. The dramatic increase in the amount of ODA to Somalia in 2015 happened because of the construction of Mogadishu port and international airport. Figure 9 clearly illustrates that Turkey has achieved much with little. The significant point is the changing pattern and content of aid over the years. The construction of Mogadishu port presents as the ambitious maritime agenda of Turkey to find new sea routes that can bring benefits for its commercial interests.

In the realm of emergency aid, on August 12, 2011, Turkey called upon the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) for an emergency meeting in Istanbul in order to (BBC News, 2011). The OIC Executive Committee at the level of foreign ministers took place in Istanbul on 17th of August in 2011 (Reliefweb, 2011). In the wake of the OIC Summit in Istanbul, OIC pledged 350 million USD in aid to fight in Somalia (Reuters, 2011). This strategy of Turkey is consistent with its wish to have a leading role like Western countries in the international arena such as OIC. Through using ‘altruistic’ motives to provide emergency aid, Turkey strives to position itself amongst major emerging powers within OIC and humanitarian government despite its decolonial rhetoric. Here, the particular motivation is to re-balance the power structure in humanitarian government to have a dominant voice besides conventional actors.

Since Turkey is in between Western and non-Western humanitarian strands, Turkey occupies an ambivalent position. In contrast to unilateral approaches and bilateral channels to provide aid, Turkey does not refrain from playing roles at multi-lateral platforms. For instance, besides the OIC summit, the first Istanbul Somalia Conference was held in Turkey through the support of the United Nations (UN) in 2010 (UN Secretary-General, 2012). In May 2012, the second Istanbul Somalia Conference was held in Turkey entitled “Preparing Somalia’s Future: Goals for 2015” supported by the UN and other international actors as well. The particular goals of these conferences were to expand emergency aid to ‘commit to long-term assistance for Somalia’ in the words of Ban-Ki Moon (UN Secretary General, 2012). These multilateral engagements of Turkey clearly prove that Turkey is still integrated into conventional

humanitarian government and Western structure of humanitarianism in contrast to its decolonial rhetoric.

With regard to emergency aid, TİKA has a role in the coordination and organization of food aid, providing shelter, and other necessities in Somalia. It is worth noting that there are other Turkish institutions had key roles in providing emergency aid. The Turkish Red Crescent (Kızılay) undertook the distribution of funds, basic food and medical necessities projects through the support of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. In addition, the Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet) has an active role in providing emergency aid, although it is not an active actor in emergency aid. This is related to instrumentalization of humanitarianism along with the variety of state actors having active roles and policies.

More importantly, after 2011, the role of Diyanet has undergone a major change shifting from ‘provider of emergency aid’ to a political-humanitarian actor dealing with other types of aid that will be assessed in next sections. On August 9, 2011, Diyanet sent Somalia 222.416 million Turkish Liras in cash assistance and 1470 tons of material reliefs besides “one Fitr and one Iftar donation from every home to Africa” campaign to provide food packages for Somalia (Özkan, 2014: 43). After 2011-2013, the foreign aid policy of Turkey in Somalia has more concentrated on development, infrastructure, and other types of aid as Kani Torun expresses (personal communication, 18 February, 2018). The next sections about other types of aid will also deal with this transformation of content of aid in Somalia.

5.7.2. Technocratic Aid

In contrast to the existing scholarly works (Özerdem, 2016; Cihangir-Tetik and Müftüler-Baç, 2018, Aydın-Düzgit, 2020), I do not prefer to generalize capacity building and statebuilding activities. Rather, this study developed the term technocratic aid that is defined as the combination of security aid (police training, facilitating security institutions) and financial contributions (direct budget support and concessional loans). Technocratic aid particularly aims to promote state resilience through capacity building (Abegaz, 2015: 1083). After 2012, economic and political factors have also become important. Turkey built the largest Turkish military training facility in Mogadishu across the world in October 2017. As also mentioned by Kani Torun (personal communication), activities regarding statebuilding have become core tenets of Turkey's aid policy in Somalia. Therefore, with respect to facilitating security institutions, Turkey decided to build a military base in Mogadishu which is the largest overseas base of Turkey.

This proves concrete commitment of Turkey to be an active player in Somalia entangled with its global ambitions. Since the early of the 1990s, Somalia has security issues due to civil war and Al-Shabaab that is an extremist group controlling Southern Somalia. Therefore, due to collapsed state infrastructure handling security objectives and terrorist groups, security aid has become an important task in the foreign aid agenda of Turkey. The other reason is to fill the power vacuum that is created by the withdrawal of 22,000 African Union forces of Somalia by the end of 2020 that started in 2019. Helping to restore security forces of Somalia and providing assistance in

statebuilding of Somalia mirror enlarging footprints of Turkey in the country. In Mogadishu, the opening of 50 million USD amount military base that is the largest overseas one signals ever-closer ties and interests between Turkey and Somalia (Reuters, 2017). During 2014 and 2015, the Turkish General Staff provided 20.7 million Turkish Liras (7 million USD) for security in Somalia (MFA, 2020). The Somali central government is provided a security service training that is 20 million TL for restructuring of the Somali army and its police forces since 2011 (TIKA, 2015).

I examine military base, loans and programs for facilitating security institutions as a significant shift in Turkey's agenda from its developmental role to more ambitious geopolitical and security roles due to its renewed interests. Although military base, and other loans are not technically part of humanitarianism, Turkey names these activities as humanitarian which is very problematic. Hence, I assess these initiatives as part of technocratic aid. It is crucial point to address Turkey's military endeavor in the context of growing geopolitical rivalries in the Horn of Africa specifically in Somalia. Military bases serve as an instrument for foreign actors in Africa to ensure both their own security by containing the conflicts existing in these countries and to increase their existing leverage as Akpınar (2017: 4) puts forward. For this reason, it is important to note that self-interests of Turkey play a key role to ensure its geopolitical power and to revitalize its position in the region. After the 2017 Qatar blockade in June 2017, Turkey has drawn closer to Qatar and been entwined with Qatar's rift with Saudi Arabia, UAE and Egypt -all foreign powers having large footprints of their own in the Horn of Africa (Van Den Berg & Meester, 2019: 2; Yousef et. al., 2018). Opening a

military base, therefore, has not been warmly welcomed by Gulf countries. Although the Somali government and Turkey prefer to describe the military base as “military training camp”, by many Arab states it is projected as a sign of power and securitization (Rossiter & Cannon, 2018).

The Yemen Crisis has also been an influential incident triggering power and interest clashes of these foreign powers in the region. For example, whereas Saudi Arabia is preparing to open a base in Djibouti, the UAE has a base in Eritrea, is funding Puntland’s Maritime Police Force, and will soon open a base in Somaliland (Akpınar, 2017: 4). It can be expected that the geopolitical rivalry will bring about more clashes amongst these powers including Turkey, which have similarities in terms of practices such as military bases, aid, and ports as material tools.

It is worth noting that judiciary has become one of the other tasks of technocratic aid of Turkey. In 2015, following the visit of Ministry with Somalia’s Minister of Justice Mr. Abdullahi Ahmed Jama, a Somali delegation consisting of 15 senior judiciary members participated in training and seminar programs on “Turkish Judicial System” at the Academy of Turkey in January and November 2015 (MFA, 2016). In order to rebuild Somalia state, multi-sector strategy has been adopted in technocratic aid. In the words of Kani Torun (personal communication, 2018): “(...) There was no state. The new state is established, therefore finance, foreign affairs, and other sectors require education process”. However, there is a potential risk that can designate Turkey as an imperial power aiming to implement its own state structure in terms of diverse sectors

of Somalia. To put differently, these material components of Turkey's aid agenda can be regarded as direct exporting Turkish education, judiciary, finance, and military system to Somalia. This aid policy, thus, can lead to 'Turkification of Somalia' as Abukar Arman (2018) contends. Since 2017, Somali soldiers and police officers have been trained in Mogadishu as well as in Turkey. The forces are also taught Turkish during their training program by the Yunus Emre Institute (Daily Sabah, 2018). This clearly amplifies how Turkish military aid aims to expand its zone of influence in its geopolitical hinterland that are historically, culturally and religiously that can also be former Ottoman territories.

In agreements between Turkey and African countries in terms of defense and security, training of hundreds of soldiers and police officers from many countries in Africa are key activities (Reuters, 2017). Before the opening of the base, between 2012 and 2015, Turkey trained 144 members of the Somalia Police Force (MFA, 2016). Furthermore, in technocratic aid, the collaboration amongst Turkey's General Directorate of Security, the Turkish General Staff and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs plays a crucial role. Turkey brought 60 Somali police officers to Turkey through the General Directorate of Security that were trained at the Police Academy and sent back to Somalia (Özkan, 2014). Through considering the geostrategic preferences of Turkey, this multi-actor foreign aid policy has been constructed as an instrument in order to increase their visibility and power against Gulf countries in the country. In this respect, as Woldemariam contends that through multi-sector and multi-actor engagement of Turkey in Somalia, "Turkey has a greater level of visibility among

Somalis than many of the country's other external partners" (World Politics Review, 2017). At some levels such as in financing and establishing a budget system, Turkey worked with UNDP and particular Scandinavian countries in state-building activities according to Kani Torun (personal communication, 2018). Despite the collaboration with UNDP and other countries, Turkey has aimed to be an individual and unilateral actor in Somalia.

With respect to technocratic aid in Somalia, I find an important resemblance between Turkey and other Western donors that is the focus on direct budget support and flows in cash. Moreover, besides Gulf countries, I consider Turkey and World Bank, which is one of the crucial international actors of development, as unofficial partners in Somalia. In this respect, according to the report of Aid Coordination Unit Office of Prime Minister Federal Republic of Somalia (released via UNDP), most on treasury grants (approximately 90%) were delivered through three channels: projects financed through the World Bank Multi Partner Fund (MPF) (16 million USD), Saudi Arabia and sector budget support by Turkey (UNDP, 2019). Between 2015-2018, 90% of committed funding for budget support was delivered by the World Bank MPF donors (146.2 million USD), Turkey (56.1 million USD), and Saudi Arabia (56.1 million USD) (UNDP, 2018). Although Saudi Arabia and Turkey are rivalries in Somalia, their pattern of economic aid in terms of supporting treasury and sectoral aid are similar. More interestingly, Turkey's practices in sectoral and budget support in Somalia bear resemblances with leading actors of development (international organizations) such as the World Bank as they are amongst top three donors in this respect.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a monthly cash budgetary support was provided to Somalia between June and December 2013 (MFA, 2014). This cash budgetary support was transported to Mogadishu to the Federal Government and the Turkish embassy by courier due to the lack of a central bank system (MFA, 2014). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs released a declaration regarding the news about Turkey's cut of direct budget support to Somalia claiming to continue budgetary support to Somali government (MFA, 2014). It is not clear yet whether Turkey still continues to provide budgetary support. This type of development activity is also prevalent amongst Western donors. For instance, on 26th of September in 2018, the European Union (EU) firstly announced its first-ever Budget Support to Somalia (Delegation of the European Union to Somalia, 2018). The budget support amounting 100 million euros will be channelled through the Federal Government from the late 2018 to 2021. Secondly, more than 30 years later, the World Bank announced its first International Development Assistance (IDA) amounting 80 million USD to finance the Federal Government (Delegation of the European Union to Somalia, 2018).

5.7.3. Cultural and Religious Aid

Since this type of aid is directly connected to the social restructuring of recipient countries, I name this category as cultural and religious aid. Although Kavaklı (2018), Özkan & Demirtepe (2012) classify education and technical training programs as part of economic aid, I set apart these activities from economic aid. Because, it would be much more appropriate to categorize education under cultural and religious aid, and

technical training programs under infrastructure aid. Referring back to aforementioned determinants, the key driver is AKP's increasing Islamic undertones to emphasize 'Islamic solidarity' to ensure its leadership in the Muslim world. Especially, in this regard, the cultural and religious component of development assistance of Turkey separates Turkey from traditional donors. As such, social restructuring of Somalia has been done through means of cultural and religious aid. Islamic soft power has become an important tool of Turkey's development programs that contains mosque building, religious educational institutions and scholarships.

This category in Somalia consists of mostly education assistance and mosque building. In this category, geopolitical specificities are shaped through Turkey's historical, cultural and religious identity that is consistent with "civilisational geopolitics" as Agnew (1998) identifies. Civilisational geopolitics is in "people's mental maps according to the 'civilisation' to which people that inhabited that region were perceived to belong", as Bilgin (2004: 270) defines. Besides belonging, these mental maps lead to efforts of expanding zones of influence through reviving these regions where Turkey has cultural, religious, and historical affinity. Therefore, as mentioned earlier, Somalia as a Muslim country that has ties with Turkey from the Ottoman era has been a core part of Turkey's foreign policy agenda. This mainly derives from common religion and culture in order to increase bilateral relations as well as to increase Turkey's humanitarian identity within African geography.

Political motivations that are AKP's kinship to Muslim Brotherhood can influence the pattern and content of aid. Since the Arab spring in 2011 in Egypt and Tunisia and Qatar blockade in 2017, religious ties have become profound in providing aid. Particularly in Somalia, Turkish religious education has been welcomed by some Somalis as a counterbalance to Wahhabi influences from the Gulf, and the associated Turkish cultural influences have helped build trust between Somali and Turkish elites (Tol, 2019; Van Den Berg & Meester, 2019: 9). This reflects that through implementing Islamic soft power, Turkey aims to diminish the Gulf influence in Somalia. This is related to ideological congruence between AKP and political factions aligned to Muslim Brotherhood in Somalia may have helped Turkey's entry into the country, although its prominence should not be overstated as Van Den Berg and Meester (2019: 9) argues. This is actually true because despite the visible significance of Islamic factions and Muslim Brotherhood, pragmatism outweighs ideology. Yet this does not mean to deny the overall agenda of Turkey in Somalia is driven by its strategic motivations.

Turkish government scholarships to Africa started with the 'Action Plan for the Opening up to Africa' in 1998 that announced the cultural exchange project between Turkey and Africa through providing education grants for African students. Interestingly, this echoes the projects Turkey to provide grants and scholarships to the students in South and Central Asia that is a post-Soviet zone since the 1990s. To put alternatively, the education aid of Turkey to Somalia can be described as the reflection of foreign policy of Turkey to expand its zone of influence like it did in post-Soviet

zone after the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. As Thiessen and Özerdem (2019: 8) contend that Turkish self-interests shine through its strategic and multi-track development and foreign policy, which attempts to balance conscience with national interests through giving aid to crises secure power, influence and prestige. In contrast to conventional Western donors, aid has been instrumentalized in a different pattern and content that includes religious and cultural imperatives.

Similar to Turgut Özal era, Erdoğan's AKP is seeking for new geographies in order to expand its zone of influence to assert itself a 'major regional power'. As such, these regions and countries are particularly designated in terms of cultural, historical, and religious dimensions. Therefore, socially restructuring the Somali society has been an important task that is directly connected to Turkey's "civilisational geopolitics" as Bilgin (2004) and Agnew (1998) contend. The highest number of Turkish government scholarships granted to the students from Sub-Saharan countries (MFA, 2016). The number of Somali students receiving private and government funding is approximately 2000 (MFA, 2016). Hence, Turkey has nominated and positioned itself as an influential geopolitical actor and as meeting of place of civilizations as Thiessen and Özerdem (2019: 7) argue.

In contrast to Western donors, state institutions have become key players to act bilaterally in terms of agreements and decisions. The Diyanet Foundation (TDF), Yunus Emre Institute, Maarif Foundation, and Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) are primary actors in providing education aid. On 25th of

June 2019, Turkish Presidency approved to transfer 541 million Turkish Liras from Ministry of National Education to Maarif Foundation (Resmi Gazete, 2019). Although Maarif Foundation has opened more schools in South and Central Asia particularly in Afghanistan and Pakistan, are one of the major active zones is Somalia. Turkey's Maarif Foundation opened seven education institution and three dormitories (Türkiye Maarif Vakfı, 2019) in Somalia. Maarif foundation was founded in cooperation with the Ministry of National Education in 2016. In recent years, through transfer of huge amounts of money and through attributing a significant role, within the foreign policy and humanitarian agenda, this foundation has become one of the core actors.

In Mogadishu, as in other places where Turkey is actively involved in education assistance, the Turkish language teaching is one of the core parts of this assistance through in cooperation with Yunus Emre Institute that emerged in 2007. This aspect of education aid echoes exporting Turkish language and cultural influences in Somalia which has turned into laboratory of Turkey regarding development and further strategic goals. In light of cultural and historical ties with African countries, Turkey not only expands its sphere of influence but also strives to fill the power vacuum in Somalia left by other external actors and countries.

Besides Maarif Foundation, the second important actor in education assistance is Diyanet and its foundation (TDF). Diyanet has shifted its focus to state's main purposes particularly education and religious services to serve for AKP's international and national goals. After 2012, Diyanet has provided scholarships almost 650 students

in Turkey and 400 students in Somalia. The active involvement of Diyanet in Turkish aid policy agenda is consistent with the rising importance of Diyanet which is now regarded as one of the core decision makers in foreign policy. As Tol (2019) contends, “the AKP has expanded the Diyanet’s international mission and made it more distinctively an instrument of the party’s political and ideological agenda”. TDF has schools in Somalia besides other countries that are mainly from Post-Soviet zone, geopolitical hinterlands of Turkey that are the Balkans, Africa as well as Latin American countries as new geopolitical horizons.

Apart from education, Turkey focuses on to expand its zone of religious influence questing to main leader of the Muslim world that aspires to become. Turkey delivers religious aid which is one of the types of Turkish aid policy. This consists of building mosques, distributing Quran, distribution of meat in Eid al-Adha (the Feast of Sacrifice) and delivering food aid during Ramadan month. This is delivered by Diyanet Foundation and NGOs that have religious aspirations that are Humanitarian Relief Foundation, Cansuyu (including opening water wells), Helping Hands Foundation, Dost Eli foundation. Although these have a significance in Turkish aid policy in Somalia, as Akpınar (2013: 744) notes that this is not a priority for the Turkish government with regards to its activities in Somalia. Yet, as a strong soft power tool, this is a strategic aid that can potentially increase the image of Turkey as a Muslim country that has ambitions to spread its religious impact within African region. This is also related to AKP’s focus on Islamic solidarity with Islamic values in development and aid organisations as Baird (2016: 474) argues to strategically

increase the support and trust of Somali people to Turkey. To put it alternatively, Islamic values appear as one of the important ideological motivations in the involvement of Turkey in Somalia. The linkages between AKP and Muslim Brotherhood in different periods and different deepness might be visible. In particular, Erdoğan's (as Prime Minister and President) speeches highlighting "humanity" or "Islam is the only umbrella (...)" toward the Islamic community arguments are apparently controversial with the policy backing Muslim Brotherhood. All these are another subject for a wider investigation and future works.

The other aspect of religious aid is consistent with growing budget and importance to build mosques around the world. This can also be called as "mosque diplomacy" as Tol (2019) contends. However, rather than a diplomacy tool, Turkey under AKP distinctively integrates mosque building as Islamic soft power tool. In Somalia, two mosques were built in Mogadishu in cooperation with Turkish Housing Development Fund (TOKI) that are Somalia Central Mosque and Hacı Tenzile Erdoğan Mosque (Bird & Şentek, 2019). The second mosque was named as Erdoğan's mother after her death in 2015. As Van Den Berg and Meester (2019: 5) argue, Turkey's presence in Somalia can be presented as a personal move driven by Erdoğan himself.

5.7.4. Infrastructure Aid

Technical cooperation and capacity building are associated with emerging donors particularly Turkey (Zimmerman & Smith, 2011; Kragelund, 2008). However, except this specific focus, building infrastructure is one of the traditional practices of Western

donors. A close reading of TİKA reports (2011-2018) reveals that practices under infrastructure aid are implemented with a specific reference to Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) established in 2002 by the UN. MDGs are also important components of OECD-DAC community. Although Cihangir-Tetik and Müftüler-Baç (2018: 943) argue that Turkish compliance and adjustment to OECD-DAC is in an “alternative framework of external differentiated integration”, Turkey borrows and mimics Western practices of building infrastructure.

I refer infrastructure aid, which primarily aims to build self-reliance, to provide public buildings, agriculture, and clean water facilities including building schools, hospitals, roads, as well as parks and other public spaces. The main actors are TİKA, TDF, and relevant ministries. This is important for Turkey to be an individual actor in particular areas through reaching wider recipients in public areas. More significantly, compared to other categories of aid, Turkey has provided infrastructure aid in a wider geographical horizon. TİKA reports indicate that Africa is the largest recipient of Turkey’s infrastructure aid since 2011. In particular, since Somalia has been the core focus of Turkey, valorisation process of Somalia has been started since 2011. As a result, infrastructure aid has been integrated as a significant tool in valorisation of Somalia because of Turkey’s geostrategic preferences. Turkey’s geostrategic preferences to expand the zone of influence resonate with Western aid aiming to expand infrastructure and to promote economic growth that started in the Cold War era (Lancaster, 2007: 32). Through infrastructure-centred aid, the US strived to protect its position in the global system and to ensure that countries would not be sympathetic to its biggest rivalry USSR

(Lundsgaarde, 2012: 190). Similarly, in the context of Turkey, infrastructure aid has turned into a tool to gain status symbol while expanding its sphere of influence.

According to TİKA reports (2011-2108), main activities under infrastructure aid in Somalia are as follows: building hospitals, roads, schools, airport, reinforcing agricultural and fishing facilities, water supply projects, garbage collection, and giving technical trainings. Since these are visible and tangible outcomes of aid, it can empower Turkey's reputation within Somalia. Compared to other activities to provide infrastructure, airport building has been an important initiative of Turkey in order to enhance its influence in Somalia. Turkish Airlines flights can be considered as a strategic tactic to integrate private sector into development assistance to serve for Turkey's economic benefits.

In 2012, the construction of the hospital in Mogadishu started that was completed in 2014 and named as "Mogadishu Somalia-Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Training and Research Hospital". The Turkish Ministry of Health provided 16 million USD from 2011 to June 2014 in health sector in Somalia (MFA, 2016). The UAE opened the Sheikh Zayed Hospital to compete with the Erdogan Hospital (Arman, 2018). Besides hospitals and schools that were built mainly by TİKA, Kızılay, fishery and agricultural schools were opened in order to give training programs. In contrast to established donors, training programs and capacity building are considered more important tasks for emerging donors (Kragelund, 2008). However, activities under infrastructure aid are consistent with Turkey's goal that is ensure its position via its tangible projects to being integrated in the conventional structure of humanitarian government. For instance, Kani Torun (personal

communication, 2018) associates the increasing popularity of Turkey to its tangible projects of such as garbage collection that is very visible amongst Somali society. As a result, trust of Somalis towards Turkey and their development agenda has increased despite Turkey's self-interests in the country.

5.8. Concluding Remarks

In particular, due to various geopolitical specificities and the power vacuum left by former powers in Somalia led Turkey to build “the Turkish model”. Besides political and economic areas, Turkey deployed ‘Turkish model’ to represent Turkey as one of the central countries in the international humanitarian order.

Through its liminal identity, Turkey has emerged as a ‘saviour’ of Somali people in contrast to Western or namely traditional actors involved in Somalia. In particular, this identity and model is built to challenge the EU and the US that are newly engaged in Somalia in 2019 after 1991. Besides identity, practices of the EU and the US particularly held by the USAID are called as infrastructure, education, direct budget support programs. However, these actors never built a school, a hospital and a mosque. Further, these public buildings are never called as the name of the leader, mother of the president or names of important people of aforementioned traditional actors. This is a unique characteristic of Turkey's humanitarian initiatives in Somalia such as particularly Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Hospital and Hacı Tenzile Erdoğan Mosque. In addition, although Turkey has started its proactive policy towards Somalia in 2011,

these actors have very recently started their development projects and opened their offices in Mogadishu in 2019.

To a certain extent, Turkey constructed a different model in Somalia through diversified agenda of foreign aid policy in Somalia consisting of four specific types of aid that are emergency, technocratic, cultural and religious, and infrastructure. In addition, compared to other actors, Turkey delivers aid timely in Somalia that is effective and demand-driven. The foreign aid policy and proactive foreign policies in Somalia however have been framed in terms of geopolitical that is revalorisation of particular geographies in terms of geopolitical specificities influencing the pattern and content of aid in order to expand the zone of influence of a donor country referring to Turkey in Somalia. Consequently, this leads to the disjuncture between discourses and practices of Turkey in Somalia that results in an ambivalent position of Turkey within the international humanitarian order.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1. Executive Summary and Arguments

This dissertation began its analysis with the argument that humanitarianism has been an instrument of foreign policy to serve donor countries' interests particularly geopolitical and commercial goals. In order to open up this argument, this dissertation engaged in Turkey as the main research focus to reveal its geopolitical agenda aligned with Turkey's interests. In 2018, Turkey was the largest humanitarian donor in the world. This study focused on Turkey's humanitarian policies under the Justice and Development Party (AKP) rule since 2002 that is implemented by a civilisational agenda aligned with religion and Ottoman nostalgia. As the necessity of achieving such task, this dissertation asked three key questions which are as follows:

- 1) How does Turkey operationalize its humanitarianism and what does it seek to achieve?
- 2) How has Turkey become an important humanitarian actor in the world despite its middle-income country status?
- 3) Why and in what terms does Turkey emerge as a significant actor amongst emerging donors in humanitarianism?

This dissertation argued that emerging humanitarian actors in the non-Western world do not totally differ from Western donor countries contrary to their assertions to be outside of the traditional structure. Rather, emerging actors bear resemblances to Western donors, in other words, traditional actors with respect to their practices and goals. Through focusing on Turkey and its humanitarian policies in Somalia as the single case study, this dissertation analysed that emerging donors are seeking for visibility, the pursuit of power and geopolitical influence by using humanitarian aid, development assistance and heavy investments in different sectors of recipient countries. Through using the method of process tracing, the changes in norms, practices, identities, and discourses within Turkey's humanitarian agenda were analysed in Chapter 3, 4 and 5. These analyses also were the bases of arguments and discussions to assess Somalia as a single case study to conduct a within-case analysis. In doing so, a detailed qualitative analysis about the causal linkages, historical dynamics and changes in practices of Turkey's humanitarianism were conducted.

To answer these questions, Chapter 2 provided history of humanitarianism and the expansion of international humanitarian order to humanitarian government. Moreover, this chapter presented actors, practices, principles and goals of Western and non-Western humanitarianism. This chapter had a special focus on emerging non-Western countries with respect to their common features and particular examples.

In Chapter 3, I assessed Turkey's liminal identity which is situated between Western and non-Western humanitarianism. Furthermore, this chapter introduced and discussed the

literature on Turkey's humanitarianism and its liminal identity in foreign policy. Turkey was analysed as a *quasi-colonial* actor in light of its civilizational agenda that is harnessed with its mercantilist and political goals. Third chapter analysed seven elements that constitute Turkey as a quasi-colonial actor. This chapter discussed the divergence between Turkey's discourses and practices that resulted in Turkey's ambivalent position in humanitarian government. Chapter 3 also addressed history of humanitarianism of Turkey during the Cold War era and post-Cold War era.

Chapter 4 introduced and analysed Turkey's geopolitical aid. I developed this concept to present how pattern and content of Turkish aid are shaped according to civilizational geopolitics of Turkey's agenda. The important discussion of the chapter is about civilizational geopolitics which is located at the heart of Turkey's humanitarian agenda which is more heavily relied upon religion and Ottoman romanticism in the AKP era. This chapter revealed that particular features of recipient regions are key factors which determined the patterns of revalorisation. The ultimate goal of Turkey is to expand its zone of influence which I highlighted in the chapter. In order to achieve this task, the chapter argued that Turkey constructed multifaceted humanitarianism and different identities of Turkey in this realm with a detailed analysis on Turkey's (ODA) humanitarian aid, and trade and investment. This chapter provided a classification of recipients of Turkish aid to demonstrate the geographical scope of Turkey's recipients and their main regional features. With the help of classification of recipients which presented a comprehensive analysis of based upon geopolitical hinterlands (GHs), post-Soviet Zone (PSZ), and new geopolitical horizons (NGHs), the importance of religion

and Ottoman romanticism that shaped civilizational geopolitics was unravelled. This chapter also assessed other underlying political and economic goals of Turkey in various countries. To unpack multi-sector aid of Turkey, the final section of the chapter presented and analysed four types of aid which are emergency aid, technocratic aid, cultural and religious aid, and infrastructure aid. Although emergency, technocratic and infrastructure aid were argued as similar activities to Western actors, cultural and religious aid set apart Turkey from other donors. Because, this type of aid provided an evidence of key drivers of civilizational geopolitics which are Islam and Ottoman romanticism.

In Chapter 5, the main focus was on Turkey's humanitarianism in Somalia in order to confirm Turkey as a *quasi-colonial* actor through using case study method. Somalia To this end, this chapter presented critical arguments with respect to political, economic, diplomatic and geopolitical interests of Turkey in Somalia. The main argument of the chapter was to demonstrate Turkey's contemporary policy towards Somalia, which is driven by geopolitical aid, political and economic goals. This chapter also described how Turkey delivered demand-based, efficient and fast programs of aid in Somalia based on interviews with Somalis. This issue was linked to discussions on inefficiency of remote aid of Western counterparts in the country. In addition to the geostrategic significance of Somalia in the Horn of Africa, this chapter addressed the background of relations between Turkey and Africa with a specific reference to Somalia. In order to analyse the rediscovery of Somalia under the AKP, I assessed particular determinants of revalorisation in a detailed framework. The chapter assessed particular determinants of AKP government's Somalia with the help of framework based upon religious ties,

Somalia's natural resources, Turkey's economic interests and geopolitical rivalry in Somalia. The chapter analysed Turkey's decolonial rhetoric and its practices in Somalia in light of geopolitical aid and four types of aid. This chapter relied upon an important argument; there is a divergence between Turkey's decolonial rhetoric and its practices which resemble to colonial practices of Western actors. This chapter revealed that the driving force of Turkey's practices aim for a long-term dominance in Somalia through Turkification of the country in different fields. Throughout the chapter, these discussions were linked to Turkey's wish to pursue geopolitical and Islamic dominance which resonates with Western aspirations and ambitions.

6.2. The Final Analysis of Turkey

This dissertation provided a comprehensive qualitative analysis of Turkey as an emerging and non-Western actor in humanitarian government with insights from the case study of Somalia. This analysis leads to the following conclusions.

First, despite its decolonial rhetoric, Turkey still creates new forms of hierarchies in its relationship with Somalia in terms of economic, and political dimensions. I defined decolonial rhetoric as a set of discourses attempting to eliminate the dominance of Western actors and to criticize the influence of their colonial understandings in humanitarian government. The underlying logic of decolonial rhetoric is Turkey's claim to promote an alternative vision of development in contrast to Western donors. Accordingly, Turkey has presented itself as an anti-colonial actor without a colonial past like the Western donor states. However, Turkey has not engaged like a different

humanitarian actor. Because, Turkey may create a dominance over recipient states in terms of political and economic relations similar to liberal developmentalist understandings. Despite bilateral engagements of Turkey, as analysed in the case of Somalia, Turkey has created economic dependencies. Turkey also cannot adopt an apolitical stance in Somalia. As a result, the instrumentality of Turkey's aid outweighs altruism which makes Turkey *quasi-colonial*. This rhetoric disguises the true motives of non-Western actors, erroneously portraying them as utterly positive players that can challenge Western humanitarian actors. In reality though, the non-Western governments share a set of colonial practices with their Western counterparts, albeit without the colonial legacy. However, still, Turkey is accounted as a positive and successful example of emerging donors to act differently on the ground with regard to bilateral relations, partnerships, and their close interactions with the local people in Somalia.

Second, in the context of Turkey, this is problematic because this understanding idealized and romanticized being a 'non-Western' actor within humanitarian government. Because despite Turkey's efforts to position itself out of the traditional structure of humanitarian government, Turkey remained as a significant actor in this structure. As a consequence, despite increasing its partnerships with Somalis, Turkey does not "rewrite standard accounts" as Schroeder (2018) proposes. Rather, Turkey operationalizes its actions according to the "empire of humanity" (Barnett, 2011). This means that Turkey is a *quasi-colonial* humanitarian actor. One of the main conclusions of the study is that Turkey does not radically change or reform the understandings of humanitarianism except its rhetoric to criticize 'colonial West'. However, Turkey will remain as a

significant humanitarian actor which has increased its visibility and reputation in various geographies.

Third, considering decolonial rhetoric used by Turkish elites, this study answered why Turkey is highly obsessed with the claim ‘to develop a different vision of development’. This dissertation demonstrated that there are two key explanations for this claim of Turkey. The first explanation is to seek status defined as some variation on closing the gap with the West (Zarakol, 2012: 741). This has helped Turkey to follow more ambitious agendas in foreign policy and domestic politics as well such as increasing its visibility and publicity. Consequently, this status concern shapes the content and pattern of aid and foreign policy of Turkey. Through the growing proactivism towards Somalia, AKP has an explicit foreign policy discourse of “virtuous power Turkey” and of “humanitarian power” as Langan (2017: 1404) contends. In this regard, this study confirms that there is a transformation of Turkey’s strategy to gain recognition and status. Yet, in the case study of Somalia, Turkey’s aid has been largely welcomed due to its speed, efficiency, and being demand-based. Zarakol (2012: 741) addresses this issue as ‘Turkey’s primary strategy for gaining recognition was joining the European Union, now it is seeking stature through regional leadership’. However, this does not solely refer to the so-called axis shift of Turkish foreign policy. Rather, this echoes the evolution of instruments in Turkish foreign policy that is currently humanitarianism. With regard to humanitarian policies, Turkey seeks beyond regional leadership. This is evident in Turkey’s geopolitical aid which has aimed to reach a broad range of geographies to expand its zone of influence while

it has changed the pattern and content of aid according to specific features of regions.

The second explanation is related to the ambiguity in Turkey's position because of its liminal identity for building a new model within humanitarian government as a new self-representation of Turkey under AKP.

In this regard, Zarakol (2010: 9) contends:

All three countries (Turkey, Japan and Russia) are torn between the East and the West, and in each case this condition is sometimes seen as a weakness that needs to be overcome (by choosing one side over other) and sometimes as a blessing that needs to be exploited (by acting as either a bridge or a protective gate between the two).

Through its liminal identity, Turkey has emerged as a saviour of Somali people in contrast to Western actors involved in Somalia. 'Humanitarian' identity is not a new identity for these actors whereas Turkey currently owes its reputation to be a humanitarian actor to gain stature as an emerging power as Zarakol (2012) argues. The self-representation of Turkey through its liminal identity forged discursive ground for AKP's foreign policy objectives that situates Turkey as a central country, even though Turkey is an emerging economy and a middle-income country. In its overall agenda, Turkey does not radically change or reform the understandings of humanitarianism except its rhetoric to criticize 'colonial West'. If Turkey matches its practices with its decolonial language with a less focus on national interests and liberal norms of development, this can pave the way for a new form of humanitarianism.

6.3. Contributions of the Dissertation

There are scholarly works on humanitarianism and emerging donors in IR. However, in IR literature, still there is no blueprint of the agendas of non-Western humanitarianism. In

this respect, first, this dissertation contributed to the literature on non-Western humanitarianism through investigating Turkey in detail as the example of emerging and non-Western humanitarian actor. It is significant to look at new approaches of emerging actors whether they are convergent or divergent to the traditional agenda of humanitarianism which they have challenged. To this end, the concept of humanitarian government was integrated. The dissertation is the first study to analyse Turkey, particularly policies of AKP eras, in the context of humanitarian government. In the literature, the concept of humanitarian government has never been used to identify the roles of emerging new actors in discussions of instrumentality and their colonial imperatives. In doing so, this concept provided wider insights about different dimensions of emerging actors with respect to their roles in power asymmetries and colonial imperatives of humanitarian order. In the literature of humanitarianism, humanitarian policies non-Western donors are rarely studied. Moreover, there is a lack of studies on Turkey as an emerging and non-Western humanitarian actor. This dissertation also systematically compared Western and non-Western humanitarianism.

Second, this research is one of the rare inquiries in the literature probing Turkey's general aid policies, different tools, recipients, and its different identities in international humanitarian order through a critical lens. More importantly, within-case analysis of Somalia is a major contribution to conduct a single case study to develop a qualitative analysis that uncovers geopolitical, economic and political interests of Turkey in the country. By doing so, this dissertation provided a comprehensive analysis on Turkey through defining its tool as *geopolitical aid* which includes four types of aid. I defined

geopolitical aid as revalorisation of particular geographies in terms of regional characteristics shaping the pattern and content of aid in order to expand the zone of influence of a donor country in order to assess Turkish foreign aid policy. As a result, this study developed the terms *geopolitical aid* and *quasi-colonial actor* to signify Turkey amongst emerging donors within humanitarian government. These terms can be applied in various studies to explain both Western and non-Western humanitarian actors. Such an examination was useful and necessary, because these aspects have been largely neglected by scholars in the literature. This research has one limitation. Due to security risks by Al-Shabaab militant terrorist organisation which is currently active in Mogadishu, there was no possibility to conduct a field work in Somalia. Al-Shabaab is highly active and attacked civilians in places where Turkish NGOs and diplomats work on the ground.

Third, in order to analyse how Turkey is a *quasi-colonial actor*, this dissertation became the first critical study to argue that Turkey is situated in between Western and non-Western approaches in humanitarianism through integrating discussions on liminality. Compared to existing works in the literature, this study offers a critical assessment of Turkey's humanitarian policies through bringing discussions together about its identity, tools, practices and goals. Although Turkey's liminal identity is discussed in scholarly works in IR with respect to foreign policy, the concept of liminality has never been employed to assess Turkey's humanitarian agenda and its increasing amounts of aid in various geographies. The liminality concept made it possible to develop a different perspective to signify ambivalent position of Turkey in humanitarian government.

Fourth, this research was based on the synthesis of concepts, analytical discussions and paradigms from different disciplines. In doing so, this dissertation contributed to a broad range of literatures that are as follows: IR, development studies (emerging donors), humanitarianism, rising powers and Turkish foreign policy. While most existing scholarly works on today's 'rising powers' investigate China, Brazil and India, this research focused on Turkey that has engaged with the international development field through using insights from IR, Turkish foreign policy, and humanitarianism.

6.4. Paths for Future Research

Throughout the dissertation, the concept of 'decoloniality' in humanitarianism was emphasized. The centrality of decolonial understandings that started in IR will last very long in order to develop new insights without colonial imperatives. As such, the important question to ask is 'What should be the ideal form of humanitarianism?' that is neither Western nor non-Western. The answer could be *decolonial humanitarianism* that can be an alternative vision of development and the subject for future research.

In this dissertation, by investigating emerging donors in humanitarian government with a special focus on Turkey and its engagements in Somalia, this research also discusses possibilities of an alternative vision of development. The research on Turkey unravels the necessity of a new form of humanitarianism. This new form is *decolonial humanitarianism* which is neither Western nor non-Western. Indeed, decolonial humanitarianism can be defined as decentring humanitarian activities. Decentred humanitarianism is neither state-centric nor necessarily limited to non-Western humanitarian approaches. As widely argued in body of knowledge of IR, humanitarian

government is centred on Western and Northern perspectives (Nayak & Selbin, 2010: 2). Therefore, as Schroeder (2018: 145) argues decentring humanitarianism requires rewriting its standard accounts. As such, decolonial humanitarianism can be consistent with decentring humanitarianism that delinks it from Western and non-Western elements. In this respect, this research reveals that although Turkey strives to decentre standards of humanitarianism by using a decolonial rhetoric, Turkey does not “rewrite standard accounts” as Schroeder (2018) proposes. This means that Turkey remains as a *quasi-colonial* humanitarian actor in spite of its decolonial language. As a result, Turkey’s humanitarianism is decolonial to a certain extent. The underlying reason is the “Western code” (Mignolo, 2011) of humanitarian government which is very powerful so non-Western are influenced by Western actors and their colonial approaches. Thus, Donini (2016: 73) argues that international humanitarian order has evolved into the “empire of humanity”. The empire of humanity refers to “the global dominance of standards that have achieved critical mass in language, technology, trade, law” as well as in development practices and aid policies. This results in the dominance of particular standards that consists of a form of power that shapes the functioning institutions, as Donini (2016: 73) highlights. As a consequence, emerging donors concomitantly bear similarities to Western donors.

In practical terms, the key strategy to develop *decolonial humanitarianism* is to provide self-sufficiency to the recipient countries without creating dependencies on donors or humanitarian agencies. However, this understanding still requires new methods and approaches of humanitarian actors that should go beyond disposability that recognizes recipients as marginalized or weak (Sabaratnam, 2017: 141). In this regard, Rutazibwa

(2019: 65), suggesting the current laments of humanitarianism reflect Eurocentric worldview, calls for a fundamental revision of the assumptions informing humanitarian scholarship. Therefore, “decoloniality and anticolonialism should be taken seriously so as to not reproduce the same by a different name after the end of the liberal order”, as Rutazibwa highlights (2019: 66). The definition of decolonial approach to humanitarianism:

A decolonial approach to humanitarianism challenges Eurocentric analyses, foregrounding the experiences and knowledges of the intended targets of humanitarian aid. It poses questions not so much about the political will, operational implementation and technical capabilities of humanitarians as about the perpetuation of colonial power relations in seemingly benevolent activities (Rutazibwa, 2019: 66).

This purports that actors should focus mainly on values, practices, and identities of beneficiaries of humanitarian aid. This new approach will shape humanitarian actors’ major activities and knowledges which include “an understanding of the relevance of the good intentions of humanitarians to the aspirations of their intended ‘beneficiaries’” (Rutazibwa, 2019: 66). Through *decolonial humanitarianism*, “humanitarian actors can challenge the ideological character of a given order but also the power relations” (Rutazibwa, 2019: 67). In the dissertation, it is argued that Westernism in humanitarianism has negative connotations. Despite negative connotations, “non-Westernism” in humanitarianism should not be taken for granted as the only positive motive compared with Western humanitarian actors and approaches. Rather, through exploring its positive and negative motives, the primary goal should be to develop *decolonial humanitarianism* for future research.

REFERENCES

- Abegaz, B. (2015). Aid, accountability and institution building in Ethiopia: the self-limiting nature of technocratic aid. *Third World Quarterly*, 36(7), 1382–1403. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1047447>
- Abu-Sada, C. (2012). (Ed.) *In the Eyes of Others: How People in Crises Perceive Humanitarianism*. Médecins Sans Frontières.
- Adler, E. (1997). Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics. *European Journal of International Relations*, 3, 319–363.
- Agier, M. (2010). Humanity as an Identity and Its Political Effects (A Note on Camps and Humanitarian Government). *Humanity: An International Journal of Human rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*, 1(1), 29-45.
- Agnew, J. (1998) *Geopolitics: Revisioning World Politics*, London: Routledge.
- Agnew, J. A., & Corbridge, S. (1995). *Mastering space: hegemony, territory and international political economy*. Retrieved from <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=vDxDAQAAIAAJ>
- Aid Data (2020). China's Global Development Footprint. Retrieved from <https://www.aiddata.org/china-official-finance>
- Akpınar, P. (2013). Turkey's Peacebuilding in Somalia: The Limits of Humanitarian Diplomacy. *Turkish Studies*, 14(4), 735–757. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2013.863448>
- Akpınar, P. (2017). From benign donor to self-assured security provider: Turkey's role in Somalia. Policy Brief. Sabancı University: Istanbul Policy Center.
- Alesina, A. (2019). *Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why ? Author (s) : Alberto Alesina and David Dollar Published by : Springer Stable URL :* <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40216022> *Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why ?* 5(1), 33–63.
- Alesina, A., & Dollar, D. (2000). Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why? *Journal of Economic Growth*, 5(1), 33–63. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1009874203400>

- Altunışık, M. B. (2014). Turkey as an ‘Emerging Donor’ and the Arab Uprisings. *Mediterranean Politics*, 19(3), 333–350.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2014.959761>
- Altunışık, M. B. (2019). *CMI BRIEF Turkey ’ s Humanitarian Diplomacy : The AKP Model*.
- Amar, P. (2012). ‘Introduction: Global South to the rescue’, In P. Amar (Ed.), *Global South to the Rescue: Emerging Humanitarian Superpowers and Globalizing Rescue Industries*, London: Routledge.
- Anadolu Agency (2018). TİKA Latin Amerika’da 10 Yılda 172 Proje Faaliyet Gerçekleştirdi. November, 30. Retrieved from
<https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/dunya/tika-latin-amerikada-10-yilda-172-proje-ve-faaliyet-gerceklestirdi/1325913>
- Anadolu Agency (2019). Muslim world can forge renaissance: Turkish leader. Retrieved from <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/middle-east/muslim-world-can-forge-renaissance-turkish-leader/1681921>
- Apaydın, F. (2012). Overseas Development Aid Across the Global South: Lessons from the Turkish Experience in Sub-Saharan Africa and Central Asia. *European Journal of Development Research*, 24, 261-282.
- Aras, B. (2009). Turkey’s Rise in the Greater Middle East: Peace-Building in the Periphery. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, 11(1), 29–41.
doi:10.1080/19448950902724380.
- Aras, B. (2017). Medical Humanitarianism of Turkey’s NGOS: A “Turkish Way?”. *Alternatives*, 42 (4), 183–194. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0304375418754404>
- Aras, B., & Fidan, H. (2009). Turkey and Eurasia: Frontiers of a new geographic imagination. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 40, 193-215.
doi:10.1017/S0896634600005276
- Arman, A. (2018). Transformation Euphoria in the Horn of Africa. London: London School of Economics Blog. Retrieved from
<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2018/08/09/transformation-euphoria-in-the-horn-of-africa/>
- Aybet, G., & Müftüler Baç, M. (2000). Transformation of in security and identity after the end of the cold war. *International Journal*, 55(4), 567-582.
- Aydın-Düzgıt, S. (2020). Can non-democracies support international democracy? Turkey as a case study. *Third World Quarterly*, 41(2), 264–283.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2019.1636643>

- Baird, T. (2016). The geopolitics of Turkey's 'humanitarian diplomacy' in Somalia: a critique. *Review of African Political Economy*, 43(149), 470–477.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03056244.2015.1084913>
- Barbara, J. (2008). Rethinking neo-liberal state building: Building post-conflict development states. *Development in Practice*, 18, 307–318.
- Barkawi, T. & Laffey, M. (2006). The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies. *Review of International Studies*, 32(2), 329–52.
- Barnett, M. N. (2010). *International Humanitarian Order*, Oxford: Routledge.
- Barnett, M. N. (2013). Humanitarian Governance. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 16(1), 379–398. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-012512-083711>
- Barnett, M.N. and Weiss, T. (2008). (Eds.) *Humanitarianism in Question*, Cornell: Cornell University Press.
- Bayer, R. & Keyman, F. (2012). Turkey: An Emerging Hub of Globalization and Internationalist Humanitarian Actor'. *Globalizations*, 9 (1), 73-90.
- Bergamaschi, I., Moore, P., & Tickner, A. B. (2017). *South-South Cooperation Beyond the Myths: Rising Donors, New Aid Practices?* Retrieved from <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=LYxcDgAAQBAJ>
- Bhambra, G. K. (2014). Postcolonial and decolonial dialogues. *Postcolonial Studies*, 17(2), 115–121. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13688790.2014.966414>
- Bilgic, A. (2015). 'We are not barbarians': Gender politics and Turkey's quest for the west. *International Relations*, 29(2), 198–218.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0047117814565524>
- Bilgic, A., & Nascimento, D. (2014). *Turkey's new focus on Africa: causes and challenges*. (September), 1–3.
- Bilgin, P. (2004). A Return to 'Civilisational Geopolitics' in the Mediterranean? Changing Geopolitical Images of the European Union and Turkey in the Post-Cold War Era. *Geopolitics*, 9 (2), 269-291, DOI: [10.1080/14650040490442863](https://doi.org/10.1080/14650040490442863)
- Bilgin, P. (2008). Thinking Past 'Western' IR. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(1), 5–23.
- Bilgin, P. (2009). Securing Turkey through western-oriented foreign policy. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 40, 105-125.

- Bilgin, P. (2012). Civilisation, dialogue, security: The challenge of post-secularism and the limits of civilisational dialogue. *Review of International Studies*, 38(5), 1099–1115. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210512000496>
- Bilgin, P. & Bilgiç, A. (2011). Turkey's "New" Foreign Policy toward Eurasia. *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 52 (2), 173-195, DOI: [10.2747/1539-7216.52.2.173](https://doi.org/10.2747/1539-7216.52.2.173)
- Bilgin, Pinar. (2004). A return to “civilisational geopolitics” in the Mediterranean? Changing geopolitical images of the European Union and Turkey in the post-cold war era. *Geopolitics*, 9(2), 269–291. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650040490442863>
- Binder, A. (2014). The Shape and Sustainability of Turkey’s Booming Humanitarian Assistance. *International Development Policy*, 5 (2).
- Binder, A. & Conrad, B. (2009). China's potential role in humanitarian assistance. Berlin: GPPi. Retrieved from http://www.gppi.net/fileadmin/gppi/Binder_Conrad_2009_CHN_in_Hum_Assis.pdf
- Binder, A. & Meier, C. (2011). Opportunity knocks why non-Western donor enter humanitarianism and how to make best of it. *International Review of the Red Cross*, 93 (884), 1135-1149.
- Binder, A., Meier, C. & Steets, J. (2010). Humanitarian Assistance: Truly Universal? A Mapping Study of non-Western Donors. Global Public Policy Institute, Research Paper, No:12.
- Bird, M. & Şentek, Z. (2019). Turkey Global Mega-Mosque Bonanza List. Retrieved from <https://theblacksea.eu/blogs/turkey-global-mega-mosque-bonanza-list/>
- Blaney, D. L., and Inayatullah, N. (2008). International relations from below. In C.R. Smit & S. Duncan (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bloomberg (2020). As Turkey shows interest, Somalia says oil tenders open to all. Retrieved from <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-01-21/as-turkey-shows-interest-somalia-says-oil-tenders-open-to-all>
- Brautigam, D. (2008). China’s foreign aid: what do we know?’. In R. Rotberg (Ed.) *China into Africa: Trade, Aid, and Influence*, (pp. 197-216), Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Brautigam, D. (2010). *The Dragon’s Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Brautigam, D. (2011). Aid “with Chinese characteristics”: Chinese foreign aid and development finance meet the OECD-DAC aid regime. *Journal of International Development*, 23(5), 752-64.
- Brezinski, Z. (1997). *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives*, New York: Basic Books.
- Britannica (2020). Somalia. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Somalia>
- Brown, W. (2013). Sovereignty matters: Africa, donors, and the aid relationship. *African Affairs*, 112 (447), 262–282. <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adt001>.
- Brown, W. (2006). The Commission for Africa: results and prospects for the West’s Africa policy. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 44(3), 349–74.
- Call, C. & Coning, C. (2017). Conclusion: Are rising powers breaking the peacebuilding mold?. In C. Charles & C. Coning (Eds.), *Rising Powers and Peacebuilding*, (pp.243–272), London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cannon, B. (2019). Foreign State Influence and Somalia’s 2017 Presidential Election: An Analysis. *Bildhaan: An International Journal of Somali Studies*, 18(1), 20–49.
- Çapan, Z. G. & Zarakol, A. (2017). Postcolonial colonialism: The case of Turkey?. In C. Epstein, C. (Ed.), *Against International Norms Postcolonial Perspectives*, (pp. 193-210), Oxford: Routledge.
- Carothers, T. & Ottaway, M. (2000) (Eds.). *Funding virtue: civil society, aid and democracy promotion*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Cooke, B. & Kothari, U. (2001). *Participation: The New Tyranny?*. London: Zed Books.
- Çelik N. & İşeri, E. (2016). Islamically oriented humanitarian NGOs in Turkey: AKP foreign policy parallelism. *Turkish Studies*, 17 (3), 429-448, DOI: [10.1080/14683849.2016.1204917](https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2016.1204917)
- Cem, İ. (2004). *Türkiye Avrupa Avrasya*. Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Cetinoglu, T. (2019). ‘New’ humanitarianisms and programming: the encounter of Turkey and Europe with Syrian refugees. *Conflict, Security and Development*, 19(3), 289–294. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2019.1608025>
- Çevik, S. B. (2015). The Benefactor: NGOs and Humanitarian Aid. In S.B. Çevik, S. B. & P. Seib (Eds.), *Turkey’s Public Diplomacy*, (pp. 121-152), New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chakrabarty, D. (2000). *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical*

Difference, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Challand, B. (2014). Revisiting Aid in the Arab Middle East. *Mediterranean Politics*, 19 (3), 281-298, DOI: [10.1080/13629395.2014.966983](https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2014.966983).

Chandler, D. (2010). *International statebuilding: The rise of post-liberal governance*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Chaturvedi, S., Fues, T. & Sidiropoulos, E. (2012). *Development Cooperation and Emerging Powers: New Partners or Old Patterns?*. London: Zed Books.

Checkel, J. (2008). Process tracing. In A.Klotz & D.Prakash (Eds.), *Qualitative methods in international relations: A pluralist guide*, (pp. 114–129). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chin, G., & Quadir, F. (2012). Introduction: Rising states, rising donors and the global aid regime. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 25(4), 493–506. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2012.744642>

Cihan, A. R. (1993). İsmet İnönü'nün TBMM'deki Konuşmaları (Speeches of İsmet İnönü in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey 1920–1973). Vol. 3. Ankara, Turkey: TBMM Kültür, Sanat ve Yayın Kurulu Yayınları.

Cihangir-Tetik, D., & Müftüler-Baç, M. (2018). Turkey's compliance with the European Union's development policy: a pattern of external differentiated integration? *Journal of European Integration*, 40(7), 939–959. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2018.1482291>

Clemens, A. M., Radelet, S. & Bhavnani, R. (2004). Counting chickens when they hatch: The short-term effect of aid on growth. *Center for Global Development*, Working Paper No: 44.

Collier, P. & Dollar, D. (2002). Aid allocation and poverty reduction. *European Economic Review*, Elsevier, 46(8), 1475-1500, September.

Coşkun, E. R. (2019). The role of emotions during the Arab Spring in Tunisia and Egypt in light of repertoires. *Globalizations*, 16(7), 1198–1214. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2019.1578017>

Dağı, I. D. (1996). Democratic transition in Turkey, 1980-1983: the impact of European diplomacy. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(2), 124-141.

Daily Sabah (2018). Turkey's Maarif Schools take hold in Somalia with new graduates. Retrieved from <https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2017/09/30/turkey-opens-biggest-overseas-military-base-in-somalia>

- Daily Sabah (2019). Erdoğan says Western countries have failed the basic human rights exam as evident in Syrian crisis. Retrieved from <https://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2019/06/29/erdogan-says-western-countries-have-failed-the-basic-human-rights-exam-as-evident-in-syrian-crisis%20/>
- Davey, E. (2013). A History of the Humanitarian System: Western Origins and Foundations, HPG Working Paper. London: ODI.
- Davutoğlu, A. (2001). *Stratejik Derinlik: Türkiye'nin Uluslararası Konumu (Strategic Depth: Turkey's International Position)*. İstanbul, Turkey: Küre Yayınları.
- Davutoğlu, A. (2008). *Turkey's foreign policy vision: an assessment of 2007*. Insight Turkey, 10(1), 77-96.
- Dawson, A. (2011). New World Disorder: Black Hawk Down and the Eclipse of U.S. Military Humanitarianism in Africa. *African Studies Review*, 54(2), 177-194. doi:10.1353/arw.2011.0024
- De Sousa J. and Sarah-Lea (2008). Brazil as a development actor: South-South cooperation and the IBSA initiative'. Retrieved from http://www.fride.org/descarga/COM_Brazil_South_South_ENG_jul08.pdf.
- Delegation of the European Union to Somalia (2018). European Union announces its first ever budget support to Somalia. Retrieved from https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/somalia/51224/european-union-announces-its-first-ever-budget-support-somalia_en
- Demirel, S. (1992). Başbakan Sayın Süleyman Demirel'in 24.12. 1992 Tarihli BasınToplantısı. Ankara: BaşbakanlıkYayınevi.
- Diez, T. (2004). Europe's others and the return of geopolitics. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 17(2), 319-335.
- Donelli, F. and Gonzalez Levaggi, A. (2016). Becoming Global Actor: The Turkish Agenda for the Global South'. *Rising Powers Quarterly*, 1(2), 93-115.
- Donini, A. (2004). The future of humanitarian action: Implications of Iraq and other recent crises. Medford, MA: Tufts University, Feinstein International Famine Center.
- Donini, A. (2012). *The Golden Fleece: Manipulation and Independence in Humanitarian Action*. London: Kumarian.
- Donini, A. (2016). Decoding the Software of Humanitarian Action: Universal or Pluriversal?. In V. Heins, K. Koddenbrock & C. Unrau (Eds.), *Humanitarianism and the Challenges of Cooperation*, Routledge, London.

- Donini, B. A. (2006). Humanitarian Agenda 2015 Afghanistan Country Study. *Politics, 2015*.
- Doyle, M. W. (2005). Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace. *The American Political Science Review, 99*(3), 463–466. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30038953>
- Doyle, M. W. (2016). Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace Author. *The American Political Science Review, 99*(3), 463–466.
- Dreher, A., Nunnenkamp, P. & Thiele, R. (2011). Are “new” donors different? Comparing the allocation of bilateral aid between non-DAC and DAC donor countries. *World Development, 39*(11), 1950-68.
- Duffield, M. (2001). *Global governance and the new wars: The merging of development and security*. London: Zed Books.
- Duffield, M. (2007). *Development, security and unending war: Governing the world of peoples*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Duffield, M. & Hewitt, V. (2009). Introduction. In M. Duffield & V. Hewitt (Eds.), *Empire, Development and Colonialism: The past in the present*, (pp. 1–15). Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd.
- Eberwein, W.D. & Reinalda, B. (2016). A Brief History of Humanitarians Actors and the Humanitarian Principles. In Z. Sezgin & D. Dijkzeul (Eds.), *The New Humanitarians in International Practice: Emerging Actors and Contested Principles*, (pp. 25-42). London: Routledge.
- Eckstein, H. (1975). Case Study and Theory in Political Science. In F. I. Greenstein & N. W. Polsby (Eds.), *Handbook of Political Science, Vol. 7* (pp. 79–138). Retrieved from <http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft0k40037v&chunk.id=d0e2292&toc.depth=1&toc.id=d0e2292&brand=ucpress>
- EMERCOM (2010) ‘Emercom of Russia: The Past, the Present and the Future’, available at <http://www.mchs.gov.ru/en/>.
- Erkin, F.C. (1952). Turkey's Foreign Policy. *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, 24* (4), 122-133.
- Erşen, E. (2013). The Evolution of ‘Eurasia’ as a Geopolitical Concept in Post–Cold War Turkey. *Geopolitics, 18* (1), 24-44, DOI: 10.1080/14650045.2012.665106.
- Esen, B., & Gumuscu, S. (2016). Rising competitive authoritarianism in Turkey. *Third World Quarterly, 37*(9), 1581–1606. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1135732>

- Fanon, F. (1968). *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Fassin, D. (2007). Humanitarianism as A Politics of Life, *Public Culture*, 19 (3), 499-520.
- Fassin, D. (2010). Heart of Humaneness: The Moral Economy of Moral Intervention. In D. Fassin, & M. Pandolfi (Eds.), *Contemporary States of Emergency: The Politics of Military and Humanitarian Interventions*, New York: Zone Books, (pp.269-294).
- Fassin, D. (2012). *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fidan, H. & Nurdun, R. (2008). Turkey's role in the global development assistance community: The case of TIKA Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency. *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 10 (1), 93–111.
- Finnemore, M. (1996). *National Interests in International Society*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.
- Foreign Brief (2019). 1.000 African Union troops to begin withdrawal from Somalia. Retrieved from <https://www.foreignbrief.com/daily-news/1000-african-union-troops-to-begin-withdrawal-from-somalia/>
- George, A. L., & Bennett, A. (2005). *Case studies and theory development in the social sciences*. Boston: MIT Press.
- Gerring, J. (2004). What Is a Case Study and What Is It Good for ? *American Political Science Review*, 98(2), 341–354.
- Global Humanitarian Assistance (2011) *Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) Report*.
- Global Humanitarian Assistance (2012) *Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) Report*.
- Global Humanitarian Assistance (2013) *Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) Report*.
- Global Humanitarian Assistance (2014) *Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) Report*.
- Global Humanitarian Assistance (2015) *Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) Report*.
- Global Humanitarian Assistance (2016) *Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) Report*.
- Global Humanitarian Assistance (2017) *Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) Report*.
- Global Humanitarian Assistance (2018) *Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) Report*.
- Global Humanitarian Assistance (2019) *Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA) Report*.

- Gordon, S., & Donini, A. (2015). Romancing principles and human rights: Are humanitarian principles salvageable? *International Review of the Red Cross*, 97(897–898), 77–109. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1816383115000727>
- Gray K. & Murphy, C. N. (2013). Introduction: rising powers and the future of global governance. *Third World Quarterly*, 34 (2), 183-193.
- Gray, K. & Gills, B. K. (2016). South–South cooperation and the rise of the Global South. *Third World Quarterly*, 37 (4), 557-574, DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2015.1128817.
- Grimm, S., Humphrey J., Lundsgaarde E. & de Souza S. J. (2009). European development cooperation to 2020: challenges by new actors in international development. EDC Working Paper no. 4, Bonn: DIE (German Development Institute), Retrieved from www.edc2020.eu/fileadmin/Textdateien/EDC2020_WP4_Webversion.pdf
- Grovogui, S. N. (1996). *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns, and Africans*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Grovogui, S. N. (2006). *Beyond Eurocentrism and Anarchy*. Houndsmiths, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gruffyd Jones. B. (2006). *Decolonizing International Relations*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Harmer, A., & Cotterrell, L. (2005). Diversity in donorship: the changing landscape of official humanitarian aid. In *HPG Research Briefing* (Vol. 10). <https://doi.org/10.1080/0965431042000212803>
- Haşimi, C. (2014). Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy and Development Cooperation. *Insight Turkey*, 16 (1), 127-145.
- Hausmann, J. (2014). Turkey as a Donor Country and Potential Partner in Triangular Cooperation. German Development Institute (DIE) Discussion Paper No: 14/2014. Bonn: DIE. Retrieved from http://edoc.vifapol.de/opus/volltexte/2015/5599/pdf/DP_14.2014.pdf
- Headey, D. (2008). Geopolitics and the effect of foreign aid on economic growth: 1970–2001. *Journal of International Development*, 20, 161-180. doi:10.1002/jid.1395
- Heins, V. M. & Unrau, C. (2015). Cultures of Humanitarianism. *Global Trends 2015, Development and Peace Foundation Institute for Development and Peace*, 209-217.

- Hirono, M. & O'Hagan, J. (2012). (Eds.) *Cultures of Humanitarianism: Perspectives from the Asia-Pacific. Keynotes 11*. Canberra: Australia National University Department of International Relations.
- Hobson, J. M., & Sajed, A. (2017). Navigating beyond the eurofetishist frontier of critical IR theory: Exploring the complex landscapes of non-western agency. *International Studies Review*, 19(4), 547–572. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/vix013>
- Hopf, T. (2002). *Social Construction of International Politics: Identities and Foreign Policies, Moscow, 1955 and 1999*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hosgör, E. (2011). Islamic capital/Anatolian Tigers: Past and present. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 47(2), 343–360. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2011.534336>
- Hutchison, E. (2014). A Global Politics of Pity? Disaster Imagery and the Emotional Construction of Solidarity after the 2004 Asian Tsunami. *International Political Sociology*, 8(1), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ips.12037>
- ICG (2012). Assessing Turkey's role in Somalia. ICG Africa Briefing no. 92. October 8. Retrieved from <https://www.crisisgroup.org/tr/africa/horn-africa/somalia/assessing-turkey-s-role-somalia>
- Inayatullah, N. & Blaney D. L. (2004). *International Relations and the Problem of Difference*. London and New York: London.
- Inoue, C. Y. A., & Vaz, A. C. (2012). Brazil as “Southern donor”: Beyond hierarchy and national interests in development cooperation? *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 25(4), 507–534. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09557571.2012.734779>
- International Crisis Group (2012). Assessing Turkey's Role in Somalia. Policy Briefing. October 8.
- International Crisis Group (2018). Somalia and the Gulf Crisis. Africa Report.
- Ipek, P. (2015). Ideas and change in foreign policy instruments: Soft power and the case of the turkish international cooperation and development agency. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 11(2), 173–193. <https://doi.org/10.1111/fpa.12031>
- Kahler, M. (2013). Rising Powers and Global Governance: Negotiating Change in a Resilient Status Quo. *International Affairs*, 89(3), 711–729. doi:10.1111/1468-2346.12041.
- Kalın, İ. (2011). Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in Turkey. *PERCEPTIONS: Journal of International Affairs*, 16 (3), 5-23 . Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/perception/issue/48986/625023>

- Katzenstein, P. J. (1996). *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kavakli, K. C. (2018). Domestic Politics and the Motives of Emerging Donors: Evidence from Turkish Foreign Aid'. *Political Research Quarterly*, 71(3), 614–627. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912917750783>
- Keyman, E. F., & Sazak, O. (2014). Turkey as a humanitarian state? *Pomeos Analysis*, (2).
- Keyman, F. & Gümüşçü, Ş. (2014). *Democracy, Identity, and Foreign Policy in Turkey*. London: Palgrave.
- Kharas, H., Makino K. & Jung W. (2011). (Eds.) *Catalysing Development: A New Vision for Aid*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Kinacioglu, M., & Gürzel, A. (2013). Turkey's Contribution to NATO's Role in Post–Cold War Security Governance: The Use of Force and Security Identity Formation. *Global Governance*, 19(4), 589–610.
- Kim, S. & Lightfoot, S. (2011). Does “DAC-ability” really matter? The emergence of non-DAC donors: introduction to policy arena. *Journal of International Development*, 23(5), 711–21.
- Kim, Soyeun, & Gray, K. (2016). Overseas development aid as spatial fix? Examining South Korea’s Africa policy. *Third World Quarterly*, 37(4), 649–664. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1108162>
- Kim, Suweon. (2019). The misadventure of Korea Aid: developmental soft power and the troubling motives of an emerging donor. *Third World Quarterly*, 40(11), 2052–2070. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2019.1622410>
- King, K. (2010). (ed.) A brave new world of “emerging”, “non-DAC” donors and their differences from “traditional” donors’. Norrag News: Network for Policy Research Review and Advice on Education and Training, 44, September.
- Kirişçi, K. (2009). The Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy: The Rise of the Trading State. *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 40, 29–56.
- Kirişçi, K. & Kaptanoğlu, N. I. (2011). The Politics of Trade and Turkish Foreign Policy. *Middle Eastern Studies*, 47 (5), 705–24.
- Kothari, U. (2005). *A Radical History of Development Studies: Individuals, Institutions and Ideologies*. London: Zed Books.
- Kragelund, P. (2008). The return of Non-DAC donors to Africa: New prospects for

- African development? *Development Policy Review*, 26(5), 555–584.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7679.2008.00423.x>
- Kragelund, P. (2011). Back to BASICS? The Rejuvenation of Non-traditional Donors' Development Cooperation with Africa. *Development and Change*, 42(2), 585–607. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2011.01695.x>
- Kragelund, P. (2012). The Revival of Non-Traditional State Actors' Interests in Africa: Does it Matter for Policy Autonomy? *Development Policy Review*, 30(6), 703–718. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7679.2012.00595.x>
- Krishna, S. (1993). The Importance of Being Ironic: A Postcolonial View on Critical International Relations. *Alternatives*, 18(3), 385–417.
- Krishna, S. (2014). A Postcolonial Racial/Spatial Order: Gandhi, Ambedkar and the Construction of the International. In R. Shilliam, A. Anievas & N. Manchanda (Eds.), *Confronting the Global Color Line*, (pp.139–56). London and New York: Routledge.
- Kulaklıkaya, M. & Aybey, A. (2008). An emerging donor in the Mediterranean basin: Turkey. Retrieved from [http:// www.iemed.org/anuari/2008/aarticles/EN263.pdf](http://www.iemed.org/anuari/2008/aarticles/EN263.pdf)
- Lancaster, C. (2007). The Chinese Aid System, Centre for Global Development. Retrieved from <http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/13953/>
- Langan, M. (2017). Virtuous power Turkey in sub-Saharan Africa: the 'Neo-Ottoman' challenge to the European Union. *Third World Quarterly*, 38(6), 1399–1414.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1229569>
- Langan, M. (2018). *Neo-Colonialism and Poverty of 'Development' in Africa*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lee, J.W. & Gray, K. (2016). Neo-Colonialism in South–South Relations? The Case of China and North Korea. *Development and Change*, 47, 293–316.
doi:[10.1111/dech.12223](https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12223)
- Lewis, I. (2002). *A Modern History of the Somali: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa*. Boydell & Brewer.
- Library of Congress (2020). Regulation of Foreign Aid: South Korea. Retrieved from <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/foreign-aid/southkorea.php>
- Lightfoot, S. (2008). Enlargement and the challenge of EU development. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 9(2), 128–42.

- Ling, L. H. M. (2002). *Postcolonial International Relations*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ling, L.H.M. (2014). *The Dao of World Politics*. London: Routledge Littlefield.
- Lundsgaarde, E. (2013). *The Domestic Politics of Foreign Aid*. New York: Routledge.
- Manning, R. (2016). OECD-DAC and Japan: Its Past, Present, and Future. In H. Kato, J. Page, & Y. Shimomura (Eds.), *Japan's Development Assistance: Foreign Aid and the Post-2015 Agenda* (pp. 276–292). https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137505385_17
- Marqaati (2017). Somalia State of Accountability 2016. Retrieved from <https://marqaati.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Marqaati-2016-Corruption-Report.pdf>
- Mavelli, L. (2017). Governing populations through the humanitarian government of refugees: Biopolitical care and racism in the European refugee crisis. *Review of International Studies*, 43(5), 809-832. doi:10.1017/S0260210517000110
- Mawdsley, E. (2012). *From recipients to donors emerging powers and the changing development landscape*. Zed Books.
- Mawdsley, E. (2015). Non-DAC Humanitarian Actors. In R. Mac Ginty & J.H. Peterson (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Humanitarian Action*, (pp. 204-214). London: Routledge.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (1995). A Realist Reply. *International Security*, 20(1), 82. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539218>
- Meral, Z., & Paris, J. (2010). Decoding Turkish foreign policy hyperactivity. *Washington Quarterly*, 33(4), 75–86. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2010.516613>
- Mignolo, W. D. (2007). Introduction: Coloniality of Power and De-Colonial Thinking. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2-3), 155-167.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2011). *The Darker Side of Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Mills, A., Durepos, G., & Wiebe, E. (2012). Encyclopedia of Case Study Research. *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*, 735–736. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412957397>
- Milner, H. V, & Moravcsik, A. (2009). Power, interdependence, and nonstate actors in world politics. *Power, Interdependence, and Nonstate Actors in World Politics*.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (MFAOJ) (2016). Japan's Humanitarian Assistance. Retrieved from <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000357360.pdf>

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Turkey (MFA) (2012). Dışışleri Bakanı Sayın Ahmet Davutoğlu'nun Somali Sivil Toplum Grupları Toplantısında Yaptıkları Konuşma', May, 27. İstanbul. Retrieved from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/disisleri-bakani-sayin-ahmet-davutoglu-nun-somali-sivil-toplum-gruplari-toplantisinda-yaptiklari-konusma_-27-mayis-2012_-istanbu.tr.mfa
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Turkey (MFA) (2014). Press Release Regarding Turkey's Aid to Somalia. No: 49. Retrieved from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/no_-49_-16-february-2014_-press-release-regarding-turkey_s-aid-to-somalia.en.mfa
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) (2016). 2016 Yılı İdari Faaliyet Raporu. Retrieved from <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/data/BAKANLIK/2016-yili-idare-faaliyet-raporu.pdf>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Turkey (MFA) (2018). 'Turkish Emergency Humanitarian Assistance'. Retrieved from available at <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/humanitarian-assistance-by-turkey.en.mfa>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Turkey (MFA) (2019). Turkey's development cooperation and general characteristics and the Least Developed Countries (LDC) aspect. Retrieved from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_s-development-cooperation.en.mfa
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Turkey (MFA) (2020). Turkey-Africa Relations. Retrieved from <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relations.en.mfa>
- Minoiu C. & Reddy, S. (2007). Aid Does Matter, After All: Revisiting the Relationship Between Aid and Growth. *Challenge*, 50 (2),39-58, DOI: 10.2753/0577-5132500203.
- Mohan, G., & Power, M. (2008). New African choices? The politics of Chinese engagement. *Review of African Political Economy*, 35(1), 23–42. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03056240802011394>
- Mold A. (2009). *Policy Ownership and Aid Conditionality in the Light of the Financial Crisis-A Critical Review*. OECD Development Centre: Paris.
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1951). *In Defense of The National Interest*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Müftüler Baç, M. (2000). The impact of the European Union on Turkish politics. *East European Quarterly*, 34(2), 159-179.
- Müftüler Baç, M. (2004). Turkey's accession to the European Union: institutional and security challenges. *Perceptions*, 9(3), 29-44.
- Muppidi, H. (2012). *The Colonial Signs of International Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Muppidi, H. 2016 The Elements of Bandung. In Q. N. Pham & R. Shilliam (Eds.), *Meanings of Bandung*, (pp.23–36). London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Murphy, T. and Sazak, O. (2012) ‘Turkey’s Civilian Capacity in Post-Conflict Reconstruction’, Istanbul Policy Center, Sabanci University.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2012). Coloniality of power in development studies and the impact of global imperial designs on Africa. *Australasian Review of African Studies*, 33(2), 48–73.
- Neumann, I. B. (1996). Self and other in international relations. *European Journal of International Relations*, 2(2), 139-174.
- Neumann, I. B. (1998). European identity, EU expansion and integration exclusion nexus. *Alternatives*, 23(3), 397-417.
- OECD (DAC) (2007). *Glossary of Statistical Terms*. OECD, Paris.
- OECD (2009) *Triangular cooperation - What do we know about it?*, Paris: OECD.
- OECD (2009). Building Blocks for Policy Coherence for Development. OECD: Paris.
- OECD (2011) Turkey’s Official Development Assistance (ODA). Development Co-Operation Report 2011.
- OECD (2012) Turkey’s Official Development Assistance (ODA). Development Co-Operation Report 2012.
- OECD (2013) Turkey’s Official Development Assistance (ODA). Development Co-Operation Report 2013.
- OECD (2014) Turkey’s Official Development Assistance (ODA). Development Co-Operation Report 2014.
- OECD (2015) Turkey’s Official Development Assistance (ODA). Development Co-Operation Report 2015.
- OECD (2016) Turkey’s Official Development Assistance (ODA). Development Co-Operation Report 2016.
- OECD (2017) Turkey’s Official Development Assistance (ODA). Development Co-Operation Report 2017.
- OECD (2018). Turkey’s Official Development Assistance (ODA). Development Co-Operation Report 2018.

- OECD (2019). Development Finance Data. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/dac/financing-sustainable-development/development-finance-data/>
- OECD. (n.d.). OECD Library. Retrieved April 20, 2020, from https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/714276e8-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/5e331623-en&csp_=b14d4f60505d057b456dd1730d8fcea3&itemIGO=oecd&itemContentType=chapter
- Official Gazette of Republic of Turkey (1979). Decision No. 7/18294. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hükümeti ile Sierra Leone Cumhuriyeti Hükümeti Arasında Ekonomik ve Teknik İşbirliği Anlaşması. No. 16823, November 28.
- Official Gazette of Republic of Turkey (1987). Dec. No. 87/12077. Uganda Cumhuriyeti Hükümeti ile Hükümetimiz Arasında Sanayi, Ticaret, Tarım, Bayındırlık ve Hava Ulaşım Alanlarında İşbirliğine Dair Mutabakat Zaptının Onayı Hakkında Karar. No.19635, November 15.
- Official Gazette of Republic of Turkey (1989a). Dec. No. 89/14527. Zambiya ve Botsvana Cumhuriyetleri ile Türkiye Arasında Yapılan Teknik Yardım İşbirliği Mutabakat Zaptının Onaylanması Hakkında Karar. No. 20315, October 17.
- Official Gazette of Republic of Turkey (1989b). Dec. No. 89/14552. Nijer, Türkiye ve Çad Arasında İmzalanan Teknik İşbirliği Andlaşmaları ile Tutanaklarının Onaylanması Hakkında Karar. No. 20329, November 1.
- Official Gazette of Republic of Turkey (1989c). Dec. No. 89/14402 Cibuti Cumhuriyeti ile Türkiye Arasında İmzalanan Ticaret, Ekonomik ve Teknik İşbirliği Anlaşmasının Onayına Dair Karar. No. 20272, September 04.
- Official Gazette of Republic of Turkey (1989d). Dec. No. 89/14701 Gambiya Hükümeti ile Türkiye Arasında İmzalanan Teknik İşbirliği Protokolünün Onaylanmasına Dair Karar. No.20339, November 11.
- Onar, N. F. (2015). Between memory, history and historiography: Contesting Ottoman legacies in Turkey, 1923-2012. In K. Nicolaidis, B. Sèbe, & G. Maas (Eds.), *Echoes of Empire*, (pp.141-154), London: I.B. Tauris.
- Onis, Z. (2012). Turkey and the Arab spring: between ethics and self-interest. *Insight Turkey*, 14 (3), 45–63.
- Öniş, Z. & Yilmaz, Ş. (2009). Between Europeanization and Euro-Asianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era. *Turkish Studies*, 10(1), 7-24, DOI: [10.1080/14683840802648562](https://doi.org/10.1080/14683840802648562)

- Oran, B. (2001). *Türk Dış Politikası: Kurtuluş Savaşı'ndan bugüne olgular, belgeler, yorumlar*, İstanbul: İletişim.
- Özal, T. (1992). Cumhurbaşkanı Turgut Özal'ın III. İzmir İktisat Kongresinden Konuşmalar. Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi.
- Özerdem, A. (2015). Turkey as a Rising Power: An Emerging Global Humanitarian Actor. In Z. Sezgin & D. Dijkzeul (Eds.), *The New Humanitarians in International Practice: Emerging Actors and Contested Principles*, (pp. 64-81), London: Routledge.
- Özerdem, A. (2019). Turkey as an emerging global humanitarian and peacebuilding actor. In *The Routledge Handbook of Turkish Politics* (pp. 470-480). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315143842>
- Özkan, B. (2014). Turkey, Davutoğlu and the Idea of Pan-Islamism. *Survival*, 56(4), 119-140.
- Özkan, G. & Demirtepe, T. M. (2012). Transformation of a Development Aid Agency: TİKA in a Changing Domestic and International Setting. *Turkish Studies*, 13 (4), 647-64.
- Özkan, M. (2010). Turkey's rising role in Africa. *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 9 (4), 94-105.
- Özkan, M. (2011). Turkey's "New" Engagements in Africa and Asia: Scope, Content and Implications. *Perceptions*, 16 (3), 67-100.
- Özkan, M. (2017). The Turkish Way of Doing Development Aid? An Analysis From Somali Laboratory. In I. Bergamaschi, P. Moore & A.B. Tickner (Eds.), *South-South Cooperation Beyond the Myths*, (pp. 59-78), London: Palgrave.
- Ozkan, M., & Orakci, S. (2015). Viewpoint: Turkey as a "political" actor in Africa – an assessment of Turkish involvement in Somalia. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 9(2), 343-352. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2015.1042629>
- Pallister-Wilkins, P. (2015). The humanitarian politics of European border policing: Frontex and border police in Evros. *International Political Sociology*, 9 (1), 53-69.
- Park, K. (2011). New development partners and a global development partnership. In H. Kharas, K. Makino & W. Jung (Eds.), *Catalysing Development: A New Vision for Aid*, (pp. 38-60), Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Parlar Dal E. & Kurşun, A. M. (2018). Turkey's Global Governance Strategies at the UN compared to the BRICS (2008-2014): Clarifying the Motivation-Contribution

Nexus. *Third World Quarterly*, 39(9), 1770-1790, DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2018.1438182

Paterson, B. (2010). Within-case analysis. In A. J. Mills, G. Durepos & E. Wiebe (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of case study research*, (pp. 971-973). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412957397.n357

Potter, D. M. (2008). *Modes of Asian Development Assistance*. Nagoya: Nanzan University.

Power, M. (2010). Geopolitics and 'Development': An Introduction. *Geopolitics*, 15 (3), 433-440. DOI: [10.1080/14650040903500999](https://doi.org/10.1080/14650040903500999)

Power, M. & Mohan, G. (2010). Towards a Critical Geopolitics of China's Engagement with African Development. *Geopolitics*, 15 (3), 462-495. DOI:10.1080/14650040903501021

Pugh, M. (2005). The political economy of peacebuilding: A critical theory perspective. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 10(2), 23-42.

Quadir, F. (2013). Rising Donors and the New Narrative of 'South-South' Cooperation: what prospects for changing the landscape of development assistance programmes?. *Third World Quarterly*, 34 (2), 321-338.

Quadir, F. (2013). Rising donors and the new narrative of "South-South" cooperation: What prospects for changing the landscape of development assistance programmes? *Third World Quarterly*, 34(2), 321-338. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2013.775788>

Quijano, A. (2007). Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2-3), 168-178.

Reddy, G. S. and Minoiu, C. (2006). Development Aid and Economic Growth: A Positive Long-Run Relation. *DESA Working Paper*, No: 29.

Regional Cooperation Programme (2010). Homepage. Retrieved from <http://www.rcp.org.tr/en/index.php>

Reliefweb (2011). US\$500 Million Required Urgently. Retrieved from <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/ihsanoglu-tells-oic-executive-committee-meeting-istanbul-us500-million-required>

Renzio, P. & Seifert, J. (2014). South-South Cooperation and the Future of Development Assistance: mapping actors and options. *Third World Quarterly*, 35 (10), 1860-1875.

- Resmi Gazete (2019). Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kararı. Retrieved from <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2019/06/20190626-12.pdf>
- Reuters (2011). OIC pledges \$350 million to Somalia at Turkey summit. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/ozatp-turkey-somalia-idAFJOE77G0NX20110817>
- Reuters (2013). Exclusive: Western oil exploration in Somalia may spark conflict – U.N. Report. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-somalia-oil-un-idUSBRE96G0HZ20130717>
- Reuters (2017). Turkey opens military base in Mogadishu to train Somali soldiers. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-somalia-turkey-military/turkey-opens-military-base-in-mogadishu-to-train-somali-soldiers-idUSKCN1C50JH?il=0>
- Richmond, O. P. (2011). De-romanticising the local, de-mystifying the international: hybridity in Timor Leste and the Solomon Islands. *The Pacific Review*, 24 (1), 115-136. DOI: 10.1080/09512748.2010.546873.
- Rieff, D. (2002). *A Bed for The Night: Humanitarianism in Crisis*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Risse-Kappen, T. (1994). Ideas Do Not Float Freely: Transnational Coalitions, Domestic Structures, and the End of the Cold War. *International Organization*, 48,185–214.
- Rosser, A., & Tubilewicz, C. (2016). Emerging donors and new contests over aid policy in Pacific Asia. *Pacific Review*, 29(1), 5–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2015.1066413>
- Rossiter, A., & Cannon, B. (2018). Re-examining the “Base”: The Political and Security Dimensions of Turkey’s Military Presence in Somalia. *Insight Turkey*, 21, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.25253/99.2019211.09>
- Rudincova, K. (2014). New player on the scene: Turkish engagement in Africa. *Bulletin of Geography*, 25(25), 197–213. <https://doi.org/10.2478/bog-2014-0039>
- Rüma, İ. (2010). Turkish Foreign Policy Towards the Balkans: New Activism, Neo-Ottomanism, Or/So What?. *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, 9 (4), 133-140.
- Rumelili, B. (2003). Liminality and perpetuation of conflicts: Turkish-Greek relations in the context of community building by the EU. *European Journal of International Relations*, 9(2), 213-248.

- Rumelili, B. (2013). Modelling Democracy: Democracy, Western Hegemony, Turkey and the Middle East. In V. Morozov (Ed.), *Decentring the West: The Idea of Democracy and the Struggle for Hegemony*, (pp. 65-84), Farnham: Ashgate.
- Rumelili, B., & Suleymanoglu-Kurum, R. (2017). Brand Turkey: Liminal identity and its limits. *Geopolitics*, 22(3), 549–570.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2016.1270269>
- Rutazibwa, O. U. (2019). What's There to Mourn? Decolonial Reflections on (the End of) Liberal Humanitarianism. *Journal of Humanitarian Affairs*, 1(1), 65–67.
<https://doi.org/10.7227/jha.010>
- Sabaratnam, M. (2017). *Decolonising Intervention: International Statebuilding in Mozambique*. London: Rowman and Littlefield International Ltd.
- Sahin, S. B & Shahin, E. (2020). Aid-supported governance reforms in Solomon Islands: Piecemeal progress or persistent stalemate?. *Development Policy Review*, 38: 366–386. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dpr.12425>
- Saraçoğlu, C., & Demirkol, Ö. (2015). Nationalism and Foreign Policy Discourse in Turkey Under the AKP Rule: Geography, History and National Identity. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 42(3), 301–319.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2014.947152>
- Sardamov, I. (2005). Civil society and the limits of democratic assistance'. *Government and Opposition*, 40(3), 379–402.
- Scheyvens, H. (2005). Reform of Japan's official development assistance: a complete overhaul or merely a fresh coat of paint?. *Progress in Development Studies*, 5(2), 89–98.
- Scott, J., M. vom Hau & Hulme D. (2010). Beyond the BRICS: identifying the “emerging middle powers” and understanding their role in global poverty reduction. BWPI Working Paper 137, December.
- Sezgin, Z. and Dijkzeul, D. (2015). (Eds.), *The New Humanitarians in International Practice: Emerging Actors and Contested Principles*, London: Routledge.
- Shilliam, R. (2011). Decolonising the Grounds of Ethical Inquiry: A Dialogue between Kant, Foucault and Glissant. *Millennium*, 39(3), 649–665.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0305829811399144>
- Shilliam, R. (2015). *The Black Pacific*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Shinn, D. (2015). *Turkey's Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa Shifting Alliances and Strategic Diversification*. Chatham House Research Paper.

- Shoemaker, P. & Reese, D.R. (2011). *Mediating the Message*. New York: Routledge.
- Six, C. (2009). The rise of postcolonial states as donors: a challenge to the development paradigm?'. *Third World Quarterly*, 30(6), 1103–21.
- Sıradağ, A. (2018). Turkey-Africa alliance: Evolving patterns in security relations. *African Security Review*, DOI: 10.1080/10246029.2018.1550429.
- Slater, D. (1993). The geopolitical imagination and the enframing of development theory. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 18, 419-437.
- Slim, H. (2004). How we look: Hostile perceptions of humanitarian action. Presentation to the Conference on Humanitarian Coordination,. Montreux, April 21, 2004. Retrieved from <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/26939/HowWeLook.pdf>
- Slim, H. (2006). Global Welfare: A Realistic Expectation for the International Humanitarian System?, *ALNAP Review of Humanitarian Action in 2005: Evaluation Utilisation*, December.
- Snyder, J. (2011). Realism, Refugees and Strategies of Humanitarianism. In A. Betts & G. Loescher (Eds.), *Refugees in International Relations*, (pp.29-52). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Strömberg, D. (2007). Natural Disasters, Economic Development, and Humanitarian Aid. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 21 (3), 199–222.
- Tan-mullins, M., Mohan, G., & Power, M. (2010). Redefining ‘ Aid ’ in the China – Africa Context. *Development and Change*, 41(5), 857–881.
- Tank, P. (2013). Turkey’s New Humanitarian Approach in Somalia. *NOREF Policy Brief*, 20 December.
- Tepeciklioglu, E. (2016). African Studies in Turkey. *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, 13(50), 3–19.
- Terry, F. (2002). *Condemned to Repeat? The Paradox of Humanitarian Action*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- TCCB (Presidency of Turkic Republic) (2016). Turkey has no history of colonialism in Africa. Retrieved from <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/44216/turkiyenin-afrikada-somurgeci-gecmisi-olmamistir>
- TCCB (Presidency of Turkic Republic) (2017). Civilizations Forum demonstrates the underlying idea ‘to revive Islamic civilization’. Retrieved from <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/85040/those-who-are-unfamiliar-with-civilization-are-bound-to-give-into-imitation>

- Thiessen, C., & Özerdem, A. (2019). Turkey in Somalia: challenging North/Western interventionism? *Third World Quarterly*, 40(11), 1976–1995.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2019.1619074>
- Tickner, A. B. (2003). Seeing IR Differently: Notes from the Third World. *Millennium*, 32(2), 295–324.
- Tickner, A. B. (2008). Latin American IR and the Primacy of lo *práctico*. *International Studies Review*, 10(4), 735–48.
- Ticktin, M. (2011). *Casualties of Care: Immigration and the Politics of Humanitarianism in France*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- TIKA (2011) *Turkish Development Assistance*, Ankara: 2013.
- TIKA (2012) *Turkish Development Assistance*, Ankara: 2013.
- TIKA (2013) *Turkish Development Assistance*, Ankara: 2013.
- TIKA (2015) *Turkish Development Assistance*, Ankara: 2015.
- TIKA (2016) *Turkish Development Assistance*, Ankara: 2016.
- TIKA (2017) *Turkish Development Assistance*, Ankara: 2017.
- TIKA (2017) *Turkish Development Assistance*, Ankara: 2018.
- Tol, G. (2019). Turkey's bid for religious leadership. Retrieved from <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/turkey/2019-01-10/turkeys-bid-religious-leadership>
- Tschirhart, C. (2011). Theory Talk #41: Mark Duffield on Human (In)security, Liberal Interventionism and Fortified Aid Compounds. *Theory Talks*. Retrieved from <http://www.theorytalks.org/2011/07/theory-talk-41.html>
- Tsopanakis, G. (2011). 'Japan International Cooperation Agency: a brand "new" international development organisation or a traditional bureaucratic actor?', Working Paper no. 5, Manchester: Centre for Organisations in Development.
- Tuathail, G. Ó (1994). Critical Geopolitics and Development Theory: Intensifying the Dialogue. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 19, 228–233.
- Turhan, Y., & Bahçecik, Ş. O. (2020). The agency of faith-based NGOs in Turkish humanitarian aid policy and practice. *Turkish Studies*, 0(0), 1–19.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2020.1756786>

- Turkish Statistical Institute (2020). Foreign Trade Statistics. Retrieved from <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=temelist>
- Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri (2010). *Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerinin Barış Destekleme Harekatına Katkıları*. Retrieved from http://www.tsk.tr/4_ULUSLARARASI_ILISKILER/4_6_Turkiyenin_Barisi_DesteklemeHarekatina_Katkilari/konular/Turk_Silahli_%20Kuvvetlerinin_Barisi_Destekleme_Harekatina_Katkilari.htm.
- Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı (TDV) (2019a). Camiler. Retrieved from <https://tdv.org/tr-TR/faaliyetlerimiz/camiler/>.
- Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı (TDV) (2019b). Eğitim ve Kültür. Retrieved from <https://tdv.org/tr-TR/faaliyetlerimiz/egitim-kultur/>
- Türkiye Maarif Vakfı (2019). Dünyada Türkiye Maarif Vakfı. Retrieved from <https://turkiyemaarif.org/page/42-dunyada-tmv-16>
- Turner, V. W. (1967). *Forrest of symbols: Aspects of Ndembu ritual*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Turner, V. W. (1969). *The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- UNDP (2018). Aid Flows in Somalia: Analysis of aid flow data. Retrieved from <https://www.undp.org/content/dam/unct/somalia/docs/publications/Aid%20Flows%20Booklet%20FINAL.pdf>
- United Nations (1991). Strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian emergency assistance of the United Nations. A/RES/46/182, 78th plenary meeting 19 December.
- United Nations (2004). Strengthening of the coordination of emergency humanitarian assistance of the United Nations. A/58/L.39, 5 February.
- United Nations Secretary General (2012). Opening Remarks at Istanbul II Conference on Somalia. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2012-06-01/opening-remarks-istanbul-ii-conference-somalia>
- USAID (2019). Opening of USAID Mission Mogadishu. Retrieved from <https://www.usaid.gov/news-information/press-releases/jun-17-2019-opening-usaid-mission-mogadishu>

- Van Den Berg, B. & Meester, J. (2019). Turkey in the Horn of Africa: Between the Ankara Consensus and the Gulf Crisis. CRU Policy Brief. Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations.
- Van Gennep, A. (1968). *The rites of passage*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press/Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Vertin, Z. (2019). Turkey and the new scramble for Africa: Ottoman designs or unfounded fears?. Report. May 19. Washington: Brookings Institution.
- Walt, S. M. (1998). International relations: One world, many theories. *Perspectives on World Politics: Third Edition*, (110), 424–433. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1149275>
- Walters, W. (2011). Foucault and Frontiers: Notes on the Birth of the Humanitarian Border. In U. Bröckling, S. Krasmann & T. Lemke, (Eds.), *Governmentality: Current Issues and Future Challenges*, (pp. 138-164), Abingdon: Routledge.
- Waltz, K. N. (1979). *Theory of International Politics*. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
- Wasuge, M. (2016). Turkey's Assistance Model in Somalia: Achieving Much with Little. Mogadishu, Somalia: The Heritage Institute for Policy Studies.
- Wendt, A. (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Williams, D. & Young, T. (1994). Governance, the World Bank and Liberal Theory. *Political Studies*, 42(1), 84–100. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1994.tb01675.x>
- Williams, D. & Young, T. (2009). The international politics of social transformation: trusteeship and intervention in historical perspective. In M. Duffield & V. Hewitt (Eds.), *Empire, Development and Colonialism: The past in the present*, (pp. 102–115). Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd.
- Wodak, R. (2002). Aspects of critical discourse analysis. *ZfAL*, 36, 5–31.
- Woods, N. (2008). Whose aid? Whose influence? China, emerging donors and the silent revolution in development assistance. *International Affairs*, 84(6), 1205–21.
- World Humanitarian Summit (2016). President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, May, 23. Retrieved from <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/exclusive/diz/1/>
- World Bank (2020). World Development Indicators, GDP Constant 2010 US \$. Retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD?locations=TR>

- World Politics Review (2017). Turkey's deep ties with Somalia reflect its broader Africa strategy. Retrieved from <https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/trend-lines/23576/turkey-s-deep-ties-with-somalia-reflect-its-broader-africa-strategy>
- Wynter, A. (2010). In Haiti quake response, east meets west, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 21 May, Retrieved from <http://www.ifrc.org/docs/news/10/10052102/index.asp>
- Xinhua (2010). China supports humanitarian activities in Ethiopia. Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2010-04/21/c_13261712.htm.
- Yanik, L. K. (2004). The politics of educational exchange: Turkish education in Eurasia. *Europe - Asia Studies*, 56(2), 293–307. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966813042000190551>
- Yanik, L. K. (2009). The metamorphosis of metaphors of vision: “Bridging” Turkey’s location, role and identity after the end of the cold war. *Geopolitics*, 14(3), 531–549. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650040802693515>
- Yanik, L. K. (2011). Constructing Turkish “exceptionalism”: Discourses of liminality and hybridity in post-Cold War Turkish foreign policy. *Political Geography*, 30(2), 80–89. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2011.01.003>
- Yılmaz, E., & Bilgin, P. (2005-2006). Constructing Turkey’s ‘western’ identity during the cold war. *International Journal*, 61(1), 39-59.
- Yousef, T., Kabbani, N., Aboueldahab, N., Sadiki, L., Alaaldin, R., Dalay, G., Fathollah-Nejad, A., & Ghafar, A.A. (2018). ‘What Brookings experts are saying about the one-year anniversary of the Gulf crisis.’ Brookings, Op-Ed. Retrieved from <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/what-brookings-experts-are-saying-about-the-one-year-anniversary-of-the-gulf-crisis/>
- Yurdusev, A. N. (2004). *Ottoman diplomacy: Conventional or unconventional?*. London: Palgrave.
- Zarakol, A. (2010). *After Defeat: How the East Learned to Live with the West* (Cambridge Studies in International Relations). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511921421
- Zarakol, A. (2012). Analysis of current events: Problem areas for the new turkish foreign policy. *Nationalities Papers*, 40(5), 739–745. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2012.715146>
- Zimmermann, F. & Smith, K. (2011). More actors, more money, more ideas for international development co-operation. *Journal of International Development*, 23(5), 722–38.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: Interview Questions

- 1) What is the difference of Turkey's humanitarian aid in Somalia compared to other Western actors (for example the United States, the United Nations)? Is it faster, and does it include larger amounts? What is the particular difference?
 - Could you explain key differences of Turkey in Somalia through 4-5 sentences?
 - When you compare Turkey and its practices in Somalia, can we say that Turkey is developing a 'Turkish model'? If yes, could you summarize Turkish activities in Somalia from your own perspective and experiences?
- 2) What are the partner activities of Turkey with Somalia in Mogadishu and other cities as well? Are there common activities or projects of Turkish and Somali people on the ground?
 - How do the Somali people see Turkey?
 - Does Turkey have a positive or negative image in Somalia? Can you explain it please?
- 3) Do Turkish people (officials of TİKA, Kızılay and other NGOs) work together with the Somali officials/people on the ground?
- 4) Are there any Turkish institutions or Turkish officials in other cities of Somalia besides Mogadishu?