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**Soft Power Potentials of European Union and Turkey: A  
Comparative Analysis**

Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye'nin Yumuşak Güç Potansiyellerinin  
Mukayeseli Analizi

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## Soft Power Potentials of European Union and Turkey: A Comparative Analysis

### Abstract

The purpose of this study is to analyze the soft power impact of the European Union, a supra-national body exerting its power in the economic sphere rather than in the military field such as nation states, in establishing its inspiring and appealing exceptional structure and the soft power of Turkey in a comparative perspective.

For the purpose of this analysis, the soft power of the EU is examined and evaluated with a holistic approach besides dwelling on the soft power activities of the EU's Big Four, namely Germany, United Kingdom, France and Italy. We already know that Turkey, as a candidate for EU membership, has been affected by such activities for a long time. In this respect, the point that should be inquired is how much the EU is affected from Turkey. That is why we believe that this study will shed light on the soft power and public diplomacy dimensions of EU-Turkey relations.

**Keywords:** European Union, Turkey, Exertion of Soft Power, Public Diplomacy, Cultural Activities, Turkey's Public Diplomacy Institutions, Turkish Trademarks.

## Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye'nin Yumuşak Güç Potansiyellerinin Mukayeseli Analizi

### Özet

Bu çalışmanın amacı, ulusüstü bir yapı olan ve ulus devletler gibi gücünü askeri sahadan ziyade iktisadi sahada gösteren Avrupa Birliği'nin özenilen ve cezbeden bu istisnai yapısını oluşturmasındaki yumuşak güç etkisi ile Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin yumuşak güçlerini inceleyip bunların birbiri ile karşılaştırmasını yapmaktır.

Bunu ortaya koyarken AB'nin yumuşak gücü bir bütün olarak incelenmiş ve değerlendirilmiş yanısıra AB'nin 4 büyükleri olan Almanya, Birleşik Krallık, Fransa ve İtalya'nın da yumuşak güç faaliyetlerine değinilmiştir. Uzunca bir süredir AB aday ülkesi statüsündeki Türkiye'nin bu faaliyetlerden etkilendiğini bilmekteyiz. Bu bağlamda sorgulanması gereken husus AB'nin Türkiye'den ne denli etkilendiği olmalıdır. İşte bu yüzden bu çalışmanın AB-Türkiye arasındaki ilişkilerin yumuşak güç ve kamu diplomasisi yönüne ışık tutacağını düşünmekteyiz.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** Avrupa Birliği, Türkiye, Yumuşak Güç Kullanımı, Kamu Diplomasisi, Kültürel faaliyetler, Türk Kamu Diplomasisi Kurumları, Türk Markaları.



## Introduction

The integration adventure of the European Union (EU), which was started with the European Coal Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952 in order to re-develop Europe in the post-World War II period and prevent reoccurrence of a mass war, has continued until today. This integration effort of the EU on the European continent has taken today's form by evolving from its 6-member state to a 28-member state with the enlargement parameter and from the Customs Union stage to the full integration stage with the deepening parameter. This integration, which is referred to as a peace project, is still considered to be very successful and inspiring to other states, despite some specific problems and troubles. At this point, the soft power of the Union and the issue of how it is used, which constitute the main subject of our study, has emerged. The concept of Soft Power, whose terminological background is in the United States, was in fact a redefinition of an existing situation in academia. The use of force, whose content and scope is still being debated and subject to new analyzes with new perspectives, is a great way to describe the influence of the EU, whose has no or limited hard power, on other countries.

The Europeans, who tried to become a customs union by establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) after the ECSC, indicate the establishment of the strongest unity ever among European people, the use of common resources to protect peace and freedom, and removal of the barriers in front of the stable expansion, balanced trade and fair competition as the main targets in the preamble of the 1957 Treaty of Rome, which constitutes the legal content of this structure. Even these statements show that European integration, which aims to be a peace project, in fact, intends to use soft power even when it is not named yet.

The Community, which later became named as the European Union, has become a center of attraction for the countries around it, unlike the USA, with its socio-economic structure, in which the inequality diminishes and the society becomes more integrated, and realization of a peaceful world order, which efforts for the integration of European people and respects the environment, and determination in solving the disputes via the participation and diplomacy. As a matter of fact, the fact that it first has become a center of attraction for Eastern and Central European Countries, and membership of Ukraine and Georgia to the Union, proves this argument (Smith, 2006). On the other hand, the less developed countries that are not in Continental Europe demanded to get support from the Union for development and reach the European market by cooperating with the EU (Smith, 2006). In other words, the EU's attractional force has caused the enlargement phases from 1973 to 2013, indicating that it continues with Turkey, Macedonia, and Montenegro, which already have the candidate country status, and potential candidate countries Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Kosovo (Ferreira-Pereira, 2012: 298). Since the values on which the EU is based are



economic growth and prosperity, democracy, adherence to the rules of law and respect for human rights, the former Iron Curtain countries have been willing to accept the conditions of the Union, including its values, norms, and standards. Then, the EU completed the accession process with all Central European countries and three Baltic countries. At this point, the attractiveness of the union, the desire and determination to realize the reforms, justice and reliability have been seen and shown as necessary elements for the EU accession process (Volten, 2016: 93). In this process, the idealized democratic and human values of the EU were standardized with the Copenhagen Criteria<sup>1</sup> and followed up during the accession negotiations. Since the end of the Cold War, the spread of freedom, legality, free market economy, democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms on the European continent has been the basis of EU policies (Kodakcı, 2004). Claiming to be a zone of wealth and high standards, the EU has been expanding its benefits, values, and prosperity to countries within its borders or attracting new members with this promise for more than 20 years through the expansion instrument. Nevertheless, one way or the other, the accession of the Central and Eastern European countries to the Union should be seen as a major contribution of the EU to world peace. The Union clearly uses the enlargement parameter for the unification of the European continent under the values of peace, democracy, stability, and prosperity, which are its main founding principles, and in doing so, transforms the candidate countries.

In this framework, the EU has started a democratization process since 1989 with its attraction and economic and technical assistance tools that it has when the Eastern and Central European countries are not members of the Union (Yılmaz, 2008). The most important criterion in EU enlargements since this date is the democratic governance in the candidate country and implementation of the democratic reforms that the Union obliges, and the Copenhagen criteria adopted in 1993 were an indication of the importance that the EU attaches to the protection of democracy, human rights, and fundamental freedoms: The membership requires that the candidate country ensures the institutional stability guaranteeing the democracy, legal order, human rights and the protection of minorities. In 2004, some Central and Eastern European countries, which were former members of the Eastern Bloc and recently opened to the free market economy, were allowed to adopt the democracy and the rule of law, which are the fundamental values of the EU through the accession to the Union. In other words, the EU has asked the candidate countries to fulfill their obligatory criteria for full membership in order to be able to include new members its entity without trouble and deepen, however, this has not been received reaction since it is not compelling, but, is indicated as a means of reaching the ideal social structure that constitutes the content of the soft power of the community.

<sup>1</sup> [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/accession\\_criteria\\_copenhagen.html](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/summary/glossary/accession_criteria_copenhagen.html)



Therefore, the fact that the EU is both a prosperous regional community and a strong international economic actor creates a socioeconomic attraction. We can say that the principles of democracy, peacekeeping, and respect for human rights have a serious impact in the creation of this power of attraction on the continent, which has not had a war for more than fifty years, and that these emerged as soft power instruments of the community.

According to the general assumption, the concept of power in international relations is now divided into hard power and soft power (which we see and accept this concept as the attraction power and influence in this analysis). According to most academics, the concept, which is expressed as hard power, emerges as military intervention or economic pressure/aid. Soft power, which is the opposite of hard power and which is the essential element of our work, is seen as the achievement of the goals that a country demands to achieve in foreign policy through the attraction power arising from its culture, identity, and values. Although the EU is not a state, it is not different from any other state in terms of soft power use with its supranational and quasi-state structure.

According to Joseph Nye, the American scholar who first used the concept of Soft Power, the word power, which can be expressed as the ability to control others and make them do something they do not want to do, was previously defined in international law as having population, land, natural resources, economic size, military power and political stability by associating with having certain resources. Within this framework, the war and peace between countries, determination of borders and resolution of disputes related to borders, determination of the rules of trade between countries, transactions of governments towards foreign country citizens and determinations of the rules regarding the international communication and transportation were included in the traditional diplomacy carried out between countries or governments and, because of its nature, mostly in secret. However, in today's global world, military power, population, land size or natural resources recedes relatively into the background as technology, education and economic development have gained great importance in international power. The traditional diplomacy, in order to create international public opinion aiming that the countries reach international policy objectives in a peaceful way, is replaced by the public diplomacy compromising all international actors including non-governmental organizations and international companies and the skill of using the interdependence of countries on the issues of security, trade, and finance for their own interest with the organizational and institutional skills and its strategies and activities including all communication channels. Public diplomacy is not a new concept and the propaganda, nation marking and image formation go back to ancient times; it is understood that it was performed in the Ancient Greek and Byzantine Empire, and even it is thought that it was in the Bible (Melissen, 2005: 3). Since the countries desire to introduce themselves worldwide through public diplomacy in order to



create a brand for their nation, they present the ideas using the concepts, images, and words, that is, all kinds of communication channels (Nirwandy and Awang, 2014). The aim of creating a country brand is to gain international acceptance and achieve foreign policy objectives. For this purpose, governments want to gain significant gains such as control power in negotiations, an economy recovering rapidly during crises and high tourism revenues in exchange for the serious expenditures they make for the brand companies (Nirwandy and Awang, 2014).

Today, developing communication tools connect the whole world and provide access to information quickly and simultaneously. On the other hand, since the countries are strongly linked to each other in terms of trade, security or financial aspects, a country prefers that the countries, which have commercial relations with it, or the countries in the same region have economic and political stability and are safe. Moreover, using military force to achieve economic gains is now more costly and risky for countries than ever before. Instead, the great powers prefer to achieve their objectives by using multinational companies and small states. In this context, the countries demanding to spread their power to non-governmental actors use the economic dependence with other countries, activities of international companies, nationalist feelings in weak countries, and diffusion of technology, and, when necessary, they skillfully change the political issues. This situation makes soft power not only an element of choice but also an obligation for the countries that want to be effective and maintain their effectiveness.

Public diplomacy, which can be defined as the state's activities to receive the support of foreign public opinion in other countries, has provided different and more comprehensive dimension to the international relations and is now accepted as one of the most important elements of soft power (Nye, 1990). In this context, we can say that the EU and the major European countries are very advantageous and successful in this regard. In the harmonization process to Union, its role in the social and legal change of Turkey is undeniable, however, the fact that the Union uses its soft power sometimes against Turkey, despite all the positive image, leads that the EU values and public diplomacy activities are questioned in Turkey and the idea that Europe is a hidden agenda. From this point of view, we can say that soft power, which is perceived as a completely positive concept, can be used as a tool for ideology and cultural wars. For example, the strategy of the USA to eliminate the negative image that stuck to it after the Iraq War in 2003 has been the effort to gain sympathy and influence other governments, people of foreign countries and opinion leaders rather than resorting to military force or threats. Likewise, the countries with a bad history of human right violations, such as Germany, or the countries that were formerly poor, have used soft power to improve their negative country images in the minds



of foreign people. As a matter of fact, no country holds Germany responsible for the Nazi period.

Another point in this matter that should be emphasized is that in the case that a country imposes its power, whether soft or hard, legitimately to other countries, it will face much less resistance in achieving its objectives by intervening in whatever it wants. But the fact that the source of this power is based on soft power makes the country that uses power lovely and makes its intervention legitimate among others. Therefore, in the event that a strategic communication with the public opinion of foreign countries is established mutually and on the basis of public opinion researches in public diplomacy practice, it is thought that in addition to the correct understanding of the messages of the country implementing public diplomacy the likelihood of success in the medium and long term increases (Oktay, 2012: 128).

### **Soft Power and Public Diplomacy Practices of the European Union**

Human rights, peace, and democracy have been the basis of enlargement policies since the establishment of the EU. With the emergence of the idea of enlargement, respect for human rights, promotion of democracy and peacekeeping have become concrete goals driving the actions and instruments of the EU in foreign policy (Ferreira-Pereira, 2012). Therefore, when the accession of the former Eastern Bloc countries to the Union is brought to the agenda, the EU has redefined itself as a global power that maintains peace and determines rules instead of regional power. The transformation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy into the European Security and Defense Policy in 1999, the fact that the EU has military power and the partial and limited military operations in Africa and the Balkans are the indications that the EU wants to act as a global power (Ferreira-Pereira, 2012). Nevertheless, it is thought that it is very difficult for the EU to transform into a structure that uses both hard and soft power like the USA. In this situation, as well as the financial resources to provide hard power, the different positions of the countries forming the union are effective. According to the traditional understanding, in order for a country's foreign aid or diplomacy to be effective, it must have also military power, however, the EU is a civilian power with great global influence. In this frame, soft power understanding and practices of the EU differ from the original definition of Nye (Smith, 2014). It is known that the efforts of the EU, which emerged as an economic integration and gradually increased it, to create a defense community in order to increase its strength and influence as a structure, have always been suspended due to the concerns of small countries and the lack of an answer to how their financial burden will be met. Therefore, the use of soft power remains largely the only power factor in increasing the international effectiveness of the Union. As a matter of fact, the European Union has included the concept of soft power in both its discourses and legislation since 1999, and this concept reflects the unique



characteristics of the Union and its role in international relations (Kavaliunaite, 2011: 241). Soft power has become an important tool used by the EU to determine its foreign policy, manage international risks, strengthen its foreign influence and ensure peace and security.

The EU is based on development and foreign aids as the main pillar of its influence and effective tools of its soft power in the international arena. The cultural richness and diversity of Europe are closely related to its role and influence in the world. The EU is not only an economic union and a commercial power but also an unprecedented and very successful cultural and social project (Kavaliunaite, 2011: 241). For this reason, it sets an example to the rest of the world thanks to its soft power stemming from its values and norms such as human dignity, solidarity, tolerance, freedom of expression, respect for differences and intercultural dialogue. The enlargement policy, on the other hand, is the main instrument for the development of the EU in order to prevent Europe to be divided and to spread peace and stability to the whole continent, and played great role both in the destruction of dictatorships and collapse of communism and the establishment of democracy, human rights and stability. Although it is thought, considering some of its attitudes, by someones that this high values of the EU are ignored in some cases for the commercial and economic benefits and interests of the union, the general perception is that the EU is at the forefront in the matters of universal values and principles,

Interestingly, the concept of soft power has been originated as a recommendation for the administration of the USA to create a gravitational force without the use of power or incentive methods (stick/carrot), it has become a more suitable concept for the foreign policy of the EU. Thus, Nye defined the European countries and the EU as the closest competitors of the USA in terms of the use of soft power (Smith, 2014). Because while the USA still continues to be a superpower in terms of military and economic aspects, the EU, with its supranational structure, is an example for and evokes the admiration of the others. As a matter of fact, today, the EU has important soft power sources and the highly theorized relations between its member states have changed the international relations in the whole continent. The EU is a powerful model for the rest of the world. Most neighboring countries wish to join the EU instead of balancing or resisting it, and other regional organizations are trying to resemble it (Smith, 2014). The most interesting example of this encouraging attitude took place in 1987 with the application for membership of Morocco, an African country. Although the application was rejected on the grounds that Morocco was not within the geographical and political borders of Europe, this is a good example of the attractiveness of this soft power effect. As a matter of fact, all non-member countries in the Balkans are candidate members in the EU accession process or in the



potential member status<sup>2</sup>. The fact that the Union is seen as a successful model has inspired activities for similar partnership efforts elsewhere in the world. The goodwill created by the international policy of the EU based on international law and multilateral participation in the international arena distinguishes its soft power from the soft power of the USA, which violates most international treaties and even renders the UN dysfunctional at times. In this sense, the anti-American attitude of the German-French block within the EU is observed in international relations, especially in the intervention of the USA to Iraq, in a couple of times.

All EU member states are democratic, respectful to human rights, have important cultural heritage and civil society. Or at least they evolved in this direction. The EU, which does not have an army, only uses its military force for peacekeeping or training exercises but reverses this disadvantage with its great economic and diplomatic tools. The EU, which has the largest development aid budget in the world, makes trade and aid agreements with third countries and international organizations and encourages other countries to enter into dialogue through its delegations and special representatives (Smith, 2014: 105). The foreign aids of the EU are conditional and it expects that the recipient country will, in principle, comply with human rights and democratic principles. In addition, the country receiving foreign aid must comply with EU trade regulations. If the country cannot meet the demands of the Union or the EU does not approve its policies, in this case, the EU imposes sanction (Smith, 2014). In this case, the award is replaced by punishment.

In 2004, the EU Commission decided to financially support the initiatives of European non-governmental organizations regarding the development in the poorest, vulnerable and marginalized regions. The European Parliament acknowledged the contributions of the member states and the international donor community as essential elements of the Union's soft power understanding (Kavaliunaite, 2011: 241). This situation can be perceived as an indication that the EU is trying to increase the effectiveness of its soft power practices by making them coordinated with NGOs. The EU's soft power understanding and practices are based on non-military social practices such as social action programs, social processes and social systems. According to this approach of the EU, it is possible to separate these social practices into two groups as dictatorships/communism and poverty/vulnerabilities/marginalization of some groups and to prevent the threats and dangers they cause by means of soft power tools (Kavaliunaite, 2011: 242). This attitude can sometimes give negative results. As a matter of fact, the fact that the EU considers the use of power as soft power and chooses to intervene in different ways can sometimes exacerbate the problems. The most appropriate example is the problems experienced in the Balkans such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. Because of the EU's

<sup>2</sup> Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania and Kosovo



reluctance to use military force in these events, which turned into mass deaths and even genocide, no intervention could be made in time and the problem became more chronic. As is known, interventions to these problems could be solved by the initiative of the USA via the deployment of the NATO.

What makes the EU a unique actor on the international stage is the relationship between the impact it plans to have on other countries (proactive foreign policy) and the impact it has without planning (Casier, 2012). The exports to the Union, which has a major impact particularly on neighboring countries as an economic giant, is about 30% of the total exports of the countries covered by the European Neighborhood Policy<sup>3</sup>. Such economic dependence often leaves no choice but to accept the standards and practices of the EU. The prosperity offered by the Union within its borders leads it to be an attraction center or attracting power. Another unplanned impact of the EU's foreign policy on its neighbors is its attracting power (Casier, 2012). Neighboring countries in Eastern Europe adopt the standards and practices of the Union not only because they are economically dependent on the Union, but also because of the potential to become a member of the Union (except those in North Africa). Consequently, it is possible to say that the relationship between the EU and neighboring countries varies depending on political support, internal agenda, political preferences and degree of dependence (Casier, 2012).

## Public Diplomacy Practices of Leading EU Members

In this section, the potentials and contents of the powers of the largest countries of the union in terms of economy and population, that are, in order of power, Germany, Britain, France, Italy and Spain, will be examined.

Germany has a troubled history, particularly in relation to World War II. The fall of the Berlin Wall and unification of West and East Germany as single Germany made it the largest and most powerful country in Europe. Despite the concerns of France and Britain, Germany has retained its commitment to EU values and norms. "Germany, which has positioned itself as a civilian power within the Western system after the World War II, has acted as the locomotive of Europe in a wide range of institutional structure and cooperation from human rights to disarmament" (Kıratlı, 2016: 214). Since 1990, Germany has pursued a foreign policy aiming at building confidence in the long term (Holguin, 2013: 8). Germany has tried to avoid being on the agenda with its strong power by emphasizing human rights and democracy in its discourses and policies. Thus, it aimed to improve the

<sup>3</sup> European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) is the official name given to the instrument used by the European Union in its relations with countries in the south and east.



negative image in other countries (Yılmaz and Kılıçoğlu 2017: 92). Germany's understanding of diplomacy focuses on public diplomacy based on German culture, education, and values, rather than its own national security (Holguin, 2013: 8). In the Soft Power 30 list<sup>4</sup>, Germany ranked 2<sup>nd</sup> with 73.89 points in 2015<sup>5</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> with 72.60 points in 2016<sup>6</sup>, by receding one rank, 4<sup>th</sup> with 73.67 points in 2017<sup>7</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> with 78.87 points in 2018<sup>8</sup>.

In the Monocle index, which is another index measures the soft power, Germany ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> in 2012, first in 2013 and 2015 and second in 2014, 2016, 2017 and 2018.

It can be said that Britain, one of the three major countries of the EU, lost its status as a superpower after the collapse of the Great British Empire. Nevertheless, although the United Kingdom has weakened greatly in military and economic terms, it continues to use its hard and soft power simultaneously as the USA in order to protect its national interests (Bell, 2016: 75). As it uses its soft power through cultural institutions such as the British Council, it has recently increased its influence on other countries thanks to large companies, which are an element of commercial diplomacy. Although British culture makes the United Kingdom attractive for other nations, the commercial expansion provided by British companies both increases the economic power of the United Kingdom and facilitates to gain the advantages of its interests (Bell, 2016: 79).

The UK ranked first in the Monocle Soft Power ranking in 2012, second in 2013, third in 2014 and 2015, fourth in 2016, fifth in 2017 and sixth in 2018.

In the Soft Power 30 list of Portland<sup>9</sup>, the United Kingdom ranked first with 80.55 points in 2018<sup>10</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> with 75.72 points in 2017<sup>11</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> with 75.97 points in 2016<sup>12</sup>, 1<sup>st</sup> with 75.61 points in 2015<sup>13</sup>.

France is one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and has nuclear power like the other permanent members (Kıratlı,

<sup>4</sup> [https://softpower30.com/country/germany/?country\\_years=2016,2017,2018](https://softpower30.com/country/germany/?country_years=2016,2017,2018)

<sup>5</sup> It ranked 7<sup>th</sup> in digital index, 10<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 5<sup>th</sup> in education, 5<sup>th</sup> in culture, 3<sup>rd</sup> in engagement, 6<sup>th</sup> in government, and 3<sup>rd</sup> in polling.

<sup>6</sup> It ranked 4<sup>th</sup> in digital index, 15<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 5<sup>th</sup> in education, 4<sup>th</sup> in culture, 3<sup>rd</sup> in engagement, 8<sup>th</sup> in government, and 7<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>7</sup> It ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> in digital index, 11<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 5<sup>th</sup> in education, 4<sup>th</sup> in culture, 3<sup>rd</sup> in engagement, 7<sup>th</sup> in government, and 9<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>8</sup> It ranked 4<sup>th</sup> in digital index, 6<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 2<sup>nd</sup> in education, 4<sup>th</sup> in culture, 8<sup>th</sup> in engagement, 6<sup>th</sup> in government, and 9<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>9</sup> [https://softpower30.com/country/united-kingdom/?country\\_years=2015](https://softpower30.com/country/united-kingdom/?country_years=2015)

<sup>10</sup> It ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> in digital index, 7<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 3<sup>rd</sup> in education, 2<sup>nd</sup> in culture, 2<sup>nd</sup> in engagement, 11<sup>th</sup> in government, and 6<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>11</sup> It ranked 2<sup>nd</sup> in digital index, 13<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 2<sup>nd</sup> in education, 2<sup>nd</sup> in culture, 2<sup>nd</sup> in engagement, 11<sup>th</sup> in government, and 8<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>12</sup> It ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> in digital index, 14<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 2<sup>nd</sup> in education, 2<sup>nd</sup> in culture, 2<sup>nd</sup> in engagement, 13<sup>th</sup> in government, and 5<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>13</sup> It ranked 2<sup>nd</sup> in digital index, 17<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 2<sup>nd</sup> in education, 2<sup>nd</sup> in culture, 2<sup>nd</sup> in engagement, 13<sup>th</sup> in government, and 7<sup>th</sup> in polling.



2016: 216). Unlike Germany, France has shown the necessary political will to lay the foundations of the EU and throughout the integration process, but never has the power and potential that Germany has. For France, we can also say that it differs from Germany as a country with a significant political, economic and cultural impact on many countries with its deep-rooted colonial history. However, France could not demonstrate the economic and technological miracle that Germany demonstrated by rising from its ashes after the World War II and could not evolve into the position driving and shaping the international politics and became a middle-class power. Nevertheless, the foreign policy priorities and objectives for France have been to free Europe from the influence of the USA and to create an environment in which the EU is a global player and France is its leader (Kıratlı, 2016: 216).

The Mediterranean Union, which was formed within the framework of the EU's neighborhood policy, was essentially France's proposal and aimed to increase its leadership in the region. In this way, France aimed both to increase its impact on the Mediterranean countries and to balance the power and influence of Germany on Eastern Europe Countries with the Mediterranean countries, and also, to propose a different partnership relationship for Turkey, it opposed its membership to the Union.

In the Soft Power 30 list<sup>14</sup>, France ranked 4<sup>th</sup> with 73.67 points in 2015<sup>15</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> with 72.14 points in 2016<sup>16</sup>, 1<sup>st</sup> with 75.75 points in 2017<sup>17</sup>, and 2<sup>nd</sup> with 80.14 points in 2018<sup>18</sup>.

In Monocle index, it ranked fourth in 2012 and 2013, fifth in 2014, 2015, 2016, third in 2017, first in 2018.

Italy is an important member of the EU. It is possible to say that it comes to the forefront especially in cuisine and sports. Besides its historical and cultural aspects, the Vatican is undoubtedly one of the soft power factors of Italy. This little state, despite its independent state status, is looking like a neighborhood (maybe even smaller), and it may be thought that it has a positive contribution to Italy and Italian perception due to its status. Even only the name of Rome has made Rome, which is the center of the Roman Empire, a brand and is providing a positive contribution to the Italian perception among other peoples. In the Soft Power 30 list<sup>19</sup> of Portland, the

<sup>14</sup> [https://softpower30.com/country/france/?country\\_years=2016,2017,2018](https://softpower30.com/country/france/?country_years=2016,2017,2018)

<sup>15</sup> It ranked 3<sup>rd</sup> in digital index, 19<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 6<sup>th</sup> in education, 3<sup>rd</sup> in culture, 1<sup>st</sup> in engagement, 15<sup>th</sup> in government, and 4<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>16</sup> It ranked 5<sup>th</sup> in digital index, 18<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 9<sup>th</sup> in education, 3<sup>rd</sup> in culture, 1<sup>st</sup> in engagement, 15<sup>th</sup> in government, and 9<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>17</sup> It ranked 4<sup>th</sup> in digital index, 19<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 8<sup>th</sup> in education, 3<sup>rd</sup> in culture, 1<sup>st</sup> in engagement, 18<sup>th</sup> in government, and 5<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>18</sup> It ranked 2<sup>nd</sup> in digital index, 18<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 5<sup>th</sup> in education, 3<sup>rd</sup> in culture, 1<sup>st</sup> in engagement, 15<sup>th</sup> in government, and 5<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>19</sup> [https://softpower30.com/country/italy/?country\\_years=2016,2017,2018](https://softpower30.com/country/italy/?country_years=2016,2017,2018)



Italy ranked 12<sup>th</sup> with 63.09 points in 2015<sup>20</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> with 63.79 points in 2016<sup>21</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> with 64.74 points in 2017<sup>22</sup>, and 12<sup>th</sup> with 70.40 points in 2018<sup>23</sup>.

In Monocle index, it ranked fourteenth in 2012, tenth in 2013 and 2017, twelfth in 2014, 2015 and 2018, and eleventh in 2016.

In the 1980s, Spanish Foreign Minister Fernando Moran referred to the history and culture of his country by saying that: "Spain has no power but has the influence" (BBC Monitoring European, 2008). Spain's foreign policy is based on public diplomacy. Spain entered to the Soft Power 30 list of Portland<sup>24</sup>, at rank 14 with 61.70 in 2015<sup>25</sup>. In 2016, by levelling up two ranks, it ranked 12<sup>th</sup> with 63.47 points.<sup>26</sup> It went down to 15<sup>th</sup> rank in 2017 with 63.57 points<sup>27</sup>, it ranked 14<sup>th</sup> in 2018 with 69.11 points<sup>28</sup>.

In Monocle index, Spain ranked sixteenth in 2012, eleventh in 2014 and 2015, twelfth in 2016, fourteenth in 2017, and thirteenth in 2018. The soft power and public diplomacy practices in various areas of the afore-mentioned countries are examined below.

## Sport

Sport is among culturally interchangeable elements such as knowledge, language, and art between countries. Massive sporting events can attract the attention of billions of people on the same thing for days, make itself mentioned all over the world, and are therefore an excellent tool for the host country to present itself with its culture, political values, and image. While making its citizens proud of its successful athletes and organization, it contributed to the positive image of the country (Yılmaz & Kılıçoğlu, 2017: 94). The image of a state diplomacy that is cold, indifferent and difficult to understand can become innovative, effective and public by using sport. Moreover, in the postmodern information age, making foreign peoples dependent by using soft power is more likely (Murray & Pigman, 2014: 1102). Indeed, Nye says the fact that the countries are increasingly eager to invest in elite sports and to host elite sports organizations is arising from

<sup>20</sup> It ranked 20<sup>th</sup> in digital index, 25<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 12<sup>th</sup> in education, 8<sup>th</sup> in culture, 5<sup>th</sup> in engagement, 20<sup>th</sup> in government, and 6<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>21</sup> It ranked 24<sup>th</sup> in digital index, 26<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 19<sup>th</sup> in education, 7<sup>th</sup> in culture, 12<sup>th</sup> in engagement, 23<sup>rd</sup> in government, and 2<sup>nd</sup> in polling.

<sup>22</sup> It ranked 29<sup>th</sup> in digital index, 26<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 19<sup>th</sup> in education, 7<sup>th</sup> in culture, 7<sup>th</sup> in engagement, 24<sup>th</sup> in government, and 3<sup>rd</sup> in polling.

<sup>23</sup> It ranked 24<sup>th</sup> in digital index, 26<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 9<sup>th</sup> in education, 10<sup>th</sup> in culture, 6<sup>th</sup> in engagement, 21<sup>st</sup> in government, and 1<sup>st</sup> in polling.

<sup>24</sup> [https://softpower30.com/country/spain/?country\\_years=2016,2017,2018](https://softpower30.com/country/spain/?country_years=2016,2017,2018)

<sup>25</sup> It ranked 22<sup>nd</sup> in digital index, 21<sup>st</sup> in enterprise, 13<sup>th</sup> in education, 6<sup>th</sup> in culture, 8<sup>th</sup> in engagement, 17<sup>th</sup> in government, and 12<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>26</sup> It ranked 14<sup>th</sup> in digital index, 25<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 16<sup>th</sup> in education, 6<sup>th</sup> in culture, 6<sup>th</sup> in engagement, 19<sup>th</sup> in government, and 12<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>27</sup> It ranked 26<sup>th</sup> in digital index, 25<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 12<sup>th</sup> in education, 6<sup>th</sup> in culture, 6<sup>th</sup> in engagement, 22<sup>nd</sup> in government, and 12<sup>th</sup> in polling.

<sup>28</sup> It ranked 16<sup>th</sup> in digital index, 25<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 16<sup>th</sup> in education, 5<sup>th</sup> in culture, 7<sup>th</sup> in engagement, 18<sup>th</sup> in government, and 10<sup>th</sup> in polling.



their demand to reach what they want to achieve in their foreign policies through these investments (Nye, 1990).

Germany was one of the countries that successfully used this feature. The sense of admiration aroused in individuals has been influential in Germany's policies and had a significant impact on other countries. The world football championship in 2016 is an example of Germany's soft power. The fact that Germany has hosted such a large sports organization has set an example of what the soft power effect of sports can be. The use of sports in the development of Germany's national image and national brand fully complies with Nye's soft power concept. It is possible to see that German flags are hung during the matches even in countries that do not fall within the cultural influence of Germany and have never been involved in the colonization process. This example also demonstrates that the effect of soft power is greater than expected in regard to how a sports activity can affect people and how they take action.

After World War II, and especially since the fall of the Berlin Wall, Germany has made great efforts for international relations and cooperation with foreign countries (Holguin, 2013). For this purpose, it has tried to change its bad reputation and image that it has brought from the past with its typical tactic, namely elite sports organization.

In Germany, the task of branding Germany's hosting of the 2006 World was assigned to the government-funded organizations. Successful examples such as Germany's hosting at the World Cup have contributed to the emergence of elite political identity with high self-confident and resurgent patriotism among the people, the increase in the number of tourists visiting the country, and the growth of exports and investments (Grix and Houlihan, 2014: 579).

The use of sport as a public diplomacy strategy in Germany is not new, it goes back to the 1936 Nazi Olympics (Grix and Houlihan, 2014: 579). Adolf Hitler saw the 1936 Berlin Olympics as an opportunity for the Nazis to show the world his power and tried to prove to everyone that German athletes were "superior" to others (Erhan, 2010). Socialist East Germany then used sport as a means of gaining international recognition and legitimacy. After successfully hosting the 2006 World Cup, both the German people displayed their pride with their country to all world by emblazoning everywhere with the flags and colors of the country, and more than 26 billion cumulative spectators watched the cup (FIFA, 2016) live from the beginning to the end on television, and during the four-week World Cup, 2 million tourists came to Germany and this contributed to the improvement of the country's image (Grix and Houlihan, 2014: 580). Consequently, hosting the 2006 World Cup is a unique opportunity to promote German culture and its people to the world. Another consideration is the sustainability of this matter. 2 million tourists who came to watch the 2006 World Cup have continued to increase



in recent years after the cup and, in addition to the improvement in tourism, this situation is also seen in enhancements in airline transportation, food, cinema, and media sectors. As a better indicator of Germany's improved country image, Germany, in the Anholt-GfK Roper Country Ranking, rose from the seventh rank in 2004 to the first in 2006 and remained first until 2012 (Grix and Houlihan, 2014: 580).

The 2012 London Olympic Games also emerges as an important event in terms of the fact that the UK increases and uses its soft power. As the UK Foreign Relations Committee says, the UK is seen by other nations as "fair, innovative, pluralistic, confident and stylish but old fashioned, cumbersome, cold, impertinent and arrogant" (House of Commons 2005–06, FCO written evidence, 20, 2016, in Grix and Houlihan, 2014: 583). For this reason, the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office has stated that they want to create a more modern, open (tolerant, different, sincere), geographically and politically connected (in terms of trade and travel through the United Nations and the G20), creative and dynamic UK (House of Commons 2005–06, FCO written evidence, para. 20, 2011, in Grix and Houlihan, 2014: 583) and within this framework the 2012 London Olympics were seen by the Foreign Office as an opportunity to improve the image of the United Kingdom. The British Foreign Office's view of sport as an element of soft power has been a very new and untested attempt for the UK (Grix and Houlihan, 2014: 584). It is only recently that Britain has begun to think that sport can reach a broad audience from different economic and social strata, and therefore it can be used as an element of public diplomacy. Since it has no previous experience in public diplomacy where the sport has been used extensively and successfully, Foreign and Commonwealth Office (the "FCO") of the UK, in order for the 2012 London Olympics and Paralympic Games hosting strategy is successful, has initiated an 18-month preparatory process, and targeted the matters of emphasizing British culture and the fact that England is a vibrant, open and modern country and a global transfer hub in the interconnected world both at home and abroad, of stimulating the economy and creating commercial opportunities in the target countries for the British business world, of increasing the security of their own countries by ensuring the security of the Olympics and of strengthening tolerance, moderation and open-mindedness among young people (Grix and Houlihan, 2014: 588). According to British Foreign Minister Jeremy Browne, the 2012 London Olympics would contribute to the economic goals envisaged by the FCO and would make the UK particularly attractive in terms of trade and foreign investment. As is seen, the fact that the UK attaches the main importance to increasing international trade opportunities stems from the fact that the UK, unlike Germany, does not have the image of a negative country should be corrected or it is not a country, which has a history as bad and dirty as Germany's (Grix and Houlihan, 2014: 586). Before the start of the Olympics, three Olympic Ambassadors were identified and they traveled to selected countries such as Israel, Palestine, and Jordan.



Following this, granting the Chevening Scholarship, which has a long history, to the leading figures in the field of sports in connection with the International Inspiration Program is ensured and five athletes were granted scholarships in 2011-2012.

The differences between the two organizations were that the UK State Department's public diplomacy strategy including sports was modest, especially when compared to Germany's 2006 World Cup, and was mainly financed by the donations provided by the foundations of International Inspiration and Sports Relief. FCO of the UK was planning to attract foreign public attention on the Olympics in pre-opening demonstrations, opening ceremony and evaluations after the end of the games. The most watched part of the event was the opening ceremony, and the FCO decided to use this opportunity to develop the UK brand. The inauguration ceremony consisted of the celebration the institutions such as the history of the UK, which also hosted the industrial revolution, the National Health Service and the marketing section indicating that the UK is warm, cosmopolitan, creative and connected to the outside world. Indeed, the 2012 London Olympics, even years later, would make the people talk about its success with passionate fans filling the stadium and with the people living the sports, art, and culture simultaneously by filling the streets and squares. The criticism in the international press was positive and pleased with the introduction of the UK's culture, and even Washington Post made the reports indicating that it is thought that it was "fully British"(Grix and Houlihan, 2014: 588). We could say that in our modern world, where the monarchies are perceived as old and archaic, the fact that even the British queen was reflected as a positive figure is ingenious and it is worth to examine that she was used as an element in creating a positive image as a case analysis (<https://www.dw.com/en>).

Spain's foreign policy is based on public diplomacy. In particular, the two major events held in 1992, the Barcelona Olympics and Seville Expo, introduced Spain's local cultural creativity and successful hosting to other nations and brought Spain international reputation. Spain continues to interpret public diplomacy in a new and broad way with non-governmental actors (BBC Monitoring European, 2008).

## Education

Germany, in particular under Helmut Kohl's ruling, has determined a foreign policy that could be defined as self-limitation since 1990, and aimed at improving the negative image in other countries by bringing human rights and democracy to the agenda instead of talking about weapons and power. Germany's foreign policy is fully suited to the use of soft power. In other words, we can say that Germany has followed a foreign policy aiming to build confidence in the long term (Holguin, 2013: 8). In this frame, Germany places great emphasis on education and tries to influence other



countries with the pedagogical and academic effects of around 1000 German schools across the world.

Germany supports the development of democracy and the decision-making mechanisms via the cooperation between the German foundations in Latin American countries and political elites, business world, media, churches, associations, academic institutions and schools of the said countries. Thanks to the activities of the German foundations and schools in the field of education, Germany is able to influence the governments of many countries and make them adopt its own policies and practices (Holguin, 2013: 42).

As the United Kingdom has used its soft power through cultural institutions such as the British Council, it has recently increased its influence on other countries through large corporations, which are an element of commercial diplomacy. Although British culture makes the UK attractive for other nations, the commercial expansion provided by British companies both increases the economic power of the UK and facilitates to gain the advantages of its interests (Bell, 2016: 77). Compared to cultural and educational exchange programs, it can be said that companies are much more effective and successful in the influence of the UK expanding in the world and allowing it to reach its foreign policy objectives.

In this sphere of influence, mainly the countries of the Commonwealth of Nations, where the remains of the British Empire were kept alive in economic and cultural dimensions, are the prominent ones. This structure, of which 52 countries are members, covers almost one-third of the world's population in an area of 30 million km<sup>2</sup>. The fact that the headquarters of the community is in London and the president is queen clearly indicates that the UK is the center of power. Therefore, in these countries, which constitute the British influence area, it offers an extremely suitable medium for the use of soft power to the UK. There are sportive, cultural and educational activities among the community members, and their economic output is known to contribute significantly to the UK.

France has the highest number of schools in foreign countries: it has 461 high schools and 260,000 students in 130 countries (Lane, 2013: 102). In spite of their decreasing influence, French schools are still regarded as prestigious schools in Turkey, and the opinion that their graduates are advantageous in the career path maintains its effect in the majority of society. Aside from the 400-year-old history in Turkey, France prefers developing countries more with respect to the schools and provides assistance to them about education as well. We can clearly state that there is a demand in this policy that French is wanted to be a world language again. The fact that their strategists state that the 10 most spoken languages will remain as we enter the next century makes us even think that there is a war of language and culture. Therefore, it should not be surprising that France's efforts to increase the effectiveness of French by using its advantages in this regard. For France, the most intense field of linguistic activity is Africa, but the sole aim of France in the region is



not to be seen as linguistic. The importance of African countries for France is also closely related to the power that France wants to have globally (Milburn, 2009).

## Language and Culture

In the post-World War II era, a disarmed Germany had no means to use, other than soft power, to change its negative image in the minds of the rest of the world. For this purpose, the promotion of German language and culture is provided all over the world by generalizing academic and cultural exchange institutions such as the German Academic Exchange Service and the Goethe Institute. Two other events that contributed to Germany's country image were the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the merging of the two Germany in 1990.

It has used its soft power through cultural institutions such as the British Council as well as it has recently increased its influence on other countries thanks to large companies, which are an element of commercial diplomacy. Although British culture makes the UK attractive for other nations, the commercial expansion provided by British companies both increases the economic power of the UK and facilitates to gain the advantages of its interests (Bell, 2016: 77).

Within the framework of the policy of the UK to influence foreign public opinion and establish institutions to act for this purpose, the British Council<sup>29</sup> (operating in more than 100 countries) and the BBC World Service<sup>30</sup> have played a major role in creating and communicating cultural value, especially from the 1950s to the end of the 1970s, thus, they have taken place among the actors forming the soft power of the UK (Martin, 2014: 3). Both institutions operated on the basis of the view that British culture was a worthy source of dissemination and that their activities were appreciated by the masses who followed them. While the British Council focused on cultural relations, the interpretation of international news from the British perspective and values was likewise a cultural activity. These institutions acted with political and commercial concerns and cooperated with a particular focus on the development of English language curricula (Martin, 2014: 4). Within this framework, the BBC was engaged in propaganda against the communism and supported British export products, while was simultaneously trying to spread British values. The British Council operated for the dissemination of British culture through activities such as visiting programs covering various occupational groups, provision of engineering and vocational training equipment to educational institutions in the Middle East and India, opening of branches in the foreign countries by sending a representative for the first time to Japan in 1952 (Martin, 2014: 14).

<sup>29</sup> <https://www.britishcouncil.org/>

<sup>30</sup> <https://www.bbc.co.uk/worldserviceradio>



France establishes cultural, educational, scientific and academic co-operation with other countries using its creative history, artists and French, the aspects that in which it is strong in the international arena, and uses its embassies and *French Culture*<sup>31</sup> and *Francais Alliance*<sup>32</sup> s associations (Lane, 2013). For this purpose, he classified his embassies until 2011 and gave priority to the ambassadors with the roles of defense, culture, economy, security, and extended role.

French is the ninth most widely spoken language in the world, and *TV5 Monde*<sup>33</sup> is one of the five most-watched television channels in the world. *TV5 Monde* transmits French globally to 210 million homes through 6000 cable networks worldwide (Lane, 2013). Other institutions operating to promote and spread the French language in the world are *Agence universitaire de la francophonie*, *Assemblée parlementaire de la francophonie*<sup>34</sup> (*Francophone University Ajansi*, *Francophone Parliamentary Assembly*) and *Sedar Senghor University*<sup>35</sup> in Alexandria and the *Association internationale des maires francophones*<sup>36</sup> (International Association of French Mayors). Africa is France's most important priority for French language and education. The 29 countries have accepted French as the official language and this corresponds to more than half of the total number of countries on the continent. In these countries, the associations of *French Culture* and *Alliances Françaises* play an important role in the cooperation and dissemination activities in the field of education and language.

*La Francophonie*, which resembles a Commonwealth of Nations-style structuring in the UK example, is a structure with more than 28 million km<sup>2</sup> and more than 1 billion people living in 57 countries and an organization which includes all of those countries in which all or a significant part of the population have a connection with French language and culture. This organization, which is largely active in the former French colonies like the *Commonwealth*, carries on its struggle with English to become a world language over this structure. This power of English, which made great progress towards becoming an international single language depending on the economic and political power of England in the 19th century and the US in the 20th century, was created by working against French at most. Maintaining and increasing the effectiveness and prevalence of the French language plays a significant role in the soft power policies of France.

The fact that their strategists state that the 10 most spoken languages will remain as we enter the next century makes us even think that there is a war of language and culture. Therefore, it should not be surprising that France's efforts to increase the effectiveness of French by using its advantages in this

<sup>31</sup> <https://www.ifturquie.org/>

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.alliancefr.org/>

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.tv5monde.com/>

<sup>34</sup> <http://apf.francophonie.org/>

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.usenghor-francophonie.org/>

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.aimf.asso.fr/>



regard. The most intense working area of France's linguistic activity efforts is Africa, but France's only goal in the region should not be considered as linguistic. The importance of African countries for France is also closely related to the power that France wants to have globally (Milburn, 2009).

Perhaps the most important factor among the soft power factor of Spain is the Spanish language. The infrastructure of making today's Spanish a world language that is called Castilian in historic concept and one of nearly 10 languages spoken in the Iberian peninsula, in fact, has begun with the period of discoveries. From this period, while increasing its effectiveness in the Iberian Peninsula, on the one hand, it has become the only language spoken in the colonial countries, on the other hand. As of today, the number of people who use Spanish as their mother tongue is even more than English and it is the most widely spoken European language in the world with a total of over 500 million speakers, mainly in Latin America. This provides Spain with a broad global space for soft power use globally, particularly in 21 countries that use Spanish as their mother tongue. The Cervantes Institutes, which are scattered all over the world, perform the promotion activities of Spanish culture and language.<sup>37</sup>

## Gastronomy

Gastronomy, meaning good culinary in a simplest way, surprisingly influences the recognition of countries. Therefore, they constitute the most delicious corner of cultural diplomacy (Yılmaz, 2018: 23).

When Italy is considered, the first thing that comes to mind is culinary culture. Gastro diplomacy, on the other hand, is considered as another branch of public diplomacy based on the use of soft power, and it is very powerful and non-verbal communication method because it is now regarded as one of the important elements in determining national identities such as flag and national anthem (Nirwandy and Awang, 2014: 327).

Gastro Diplomacy emerges as a powerful approach based on the fact that the countries, which are featured with their cuisine, influence other countries and cultures in the world by saucing their food with public diplomacy (Nirwandy and Awang, 2014: 329). It is a comprehensive strategy regarding the cultural diplomacy that countries use their entire cuisine or famous food as a country brand and started to be defined as a platform where the countries use the world-wide reputation of their cuisine and strengthen their economies thanks to cuisine and tourism accompanying it (Nirwandy and Awang, 2014: 328). The presentation of national cuisine by combining it with national values can make the country globally attractive. In addition, if the cuisine of the country in question is famous for healthy or diet food, tourists may want to go to this country just for this reason. Italy

<sup>37</sup> For Turkey <https://estambul.cervantes.es/tr/default.htm>



has been very successful in gaining prestige by presenting its national cuisine as Mediterranean Cuisine. Such that, the international tourists demanding to eat healthy foods and to get into good shape are invited by claiming that Italian cuisine offers healthy and light meals (Ab Karim, 2006).

As the small countries with unrecognized dishes demanding to gain international prestige will not be able to make great gains from this strategy, and the cuisines such as Japanese, Mexican, French and Italian cuisines, which are a distinctive and national signature, always bear the flags of their countries around the world: Pizza undoubtedly carries the brand of Italy all over the world. Lasagna, spaghetti, and risotto are other worldwide famous Italian dishes and are perceived as Italian brands. A very important link is established between food and tourism due to the fact that food culture is associated with Italy and it is connected with the Italian lifestyle by foreign nations (Ab Karim, 2006).

Since Italy is also famous for its vineyards and olives, food tourism includes tours to farms and wineries, where food and drinks are tasted by tourists. With its historical and cultural heritage, foreign tourists traveling to Italy have the opportunity to see Italian culture and history together with Italian food. Italy is very successful in developing the cultural role of gastronomy and the food sector is an important sector that contributes to the Italian economy and social development (Ab Karim, 2006). It was not accidental that the *Slow Food*<sup>38</sup> movement, which was founded in 1986 by Carlo Petrini in Bra, Italy and is aiming to start a movement against the Fastfood culture, is not accidental and reflects the value given to Italian food culture. We can say that this organization, which is active in many parts of the world with its nearly 100 thousand members, contributes to the Italian soft power. Consequently, the quality food and wine and historic, cultural and natural treasures have led Italy to become an attraction for other nations.

Spain is also a European country that effectively emphasizes gastronomy. With the food products such as tomatoes, potatoes, avocados, cocoa, corn, and vanilla brought to the new continent by the Spanish after the discovery of America by Columbus, Spain can be defined as the place where the globalization of food begins (De Lera, 2012). Indeed, since Spanish cuisine includes many tastes Spain has become a brand in the gastronomy and tourism areas. For example, Andalusian-style fish fries, cold tomato soup Gazpaço, seafood rice, the famous Paella are some of the most well-known Spanish dishes.

Tapas (Spanish appetizers), on the other hand, are not only snacks taken with a drink in the bar but also the reflection of Spanish culture and view of life. Mediterranean cuisine, which has been included in the UN's cultural heritage list, affirms that the Spanish cuisine to be both delicious and healthy (De Lera, 2012).

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<sup>38</sup> <http://www.slowfood.com/#>



## **Tourism**

The slogans that Spain used for tourism were "Spain is different" and "Everything under the sun" were the slogans fully expressing Spain (BBC Monitoring European, 2008). In order to promote Spanish culture and develop commercial relations, ICEX (Spanish Institute of Foreign Trade), SEACEX (Association of Foreign Cultural Activities) and Cervantes Institute (Spanish Cultural Center) serve the international image of Spain which is the brand of "Spain" created by performing activities abroad. (Rius-Ulldemolins and Zamorano, 2015).

Spain, which is the country most preferred by tourists after the USA, France and China, hosted 52.67 million tourists in 2010 and generated approximately 49 Billion Euros (De Lera, 2012: 116). Gastronomy is one of the most important reasons for traveling to Spain, and food and gastronomy are among the most dynamic sectors in the export of Spain (De Lera, 2012: 116).

## **Use of Military Power as an Element of Soft Power**

Since the German Constitution prevents the German army from conducting operations abroad, except for the United Nations and NATO operations, Germany, by following a civil and passive security policy, has initially sent troops to countries for only humanitarian aid (Kıratlı, 2016: 214). On July 12, 1994, after the German army was allowed to participate in out-of-territory operations to ensure peace, Germany has actively participated in many international operations with humanitarian aid purposes until now. However, in the course of this process, Germany has not changed its civil and peaceful character and has refused to participate in military operations unless it believes it is necessary from the humanistic approach. The harsh reaction it demonstrated against the intervention of the USA to Iraq and its opposition against the intervention of France and the UK through NATO to Libya can be regarded as the examples of this situation.

## **Some Examples about the Use and Effect of the Soft Power of the EU on Other Countries**

The EU initiated negotiations for the Stabilization and Unification Agreements with the three former Yugoslav countries, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia Herzegovina, towards the end of 2005. However, for countries like Serbia, the EU's Copenhagen Criteria focuses on cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (Lašas, 2013: 903). Relations between the EU and Serbia could not be improved because Serbia refused to cooperate with the International Criminal Court and did not recognize Kosovo, which declared its independence on February 17, 2008. The European Perspective developed by the EU for the Balkans also included Kosovo, which has the potential to become formally a member of



the Union, but since Serbia's aim was to join the Union by joining Kosovo into its territory, it did not comply with EU conditions for good relations with the neighbors and regional cooperation and made it difficult for the Union (Obradovic-Wochnik and Wochnik, 2012: 1159).

Even though Brussels and Belgrade came together to solve these problems, the solution was reached in 2011 through a dialogue process initiated between the two sides with the contribution of the EU's External Action Service (Economides and Ker-Lindsay, 2015: 1027). Within the scope of the dialogue, agreements were signed primarily on the protection of the right to life of the people, close cooperation in the Balkans and rapprochement with the EU, and an agreement was reached on integrated border management with the participation of Kosovo in the meetings of regional organizations. Although the Union declared that Serbia meets the Copenhagen criteria for accession, delayed its decision on the candidate country status should be announced in 2011 until February 2012 and left it after the signing of goodwill agreements by Serbia in dialogue process it conducts with Kosovo (Obradovic-Wochnik and Wochnik, 2012: 1159).

Subsequently, in April 2013, Serbia and Kosovo signed an agreement to normalize relations, and this diplomatic success echoed the international arena because it was highly regarded as a positive sign that Serbia no longer wanted Kosovo to be divided (Economides and Ker - Lindsay, 2015: 1028). Following the agreement, Serbians and Kosovans announced that they would not interfere with the integration of the other side with the EU, which indicates that Serbia would not oppose Kosovo's integration into the EU. However, the most important consequence of the normalization of relations between Serbia and Kosovo is the opening of Serbia's EU accession negotiations on 21 January 2014. The most likely reason for the major changes Serbia has made in its Kosovo policy is the fact that it changes its direction because of the EU's drawing power and its demand to reach full membership, which is its ultimate target, by Europeanizing its foreign policy within the frame of Union's values, standards and practices (Economides and Ker-Lindsay, 2015: 1028). The most important motivation and incentive for Serbia have been the embodiment of full membership target to the Union. The European Commission stated that this was the most concrete evidence of the EU's power and its role in healing the wounds with historical roots (European Commission, 2014).

Another example of the EU's soft power effect is observed in the EU's position in the Iranian Nuclear Crisis. Since 1992, the EU, in order to contribute to achieving international stability, has preferred, as opposed to the USA's Iran policy, to conduct its relations with Iran through diplomacy and negotiations, largely, on a largely constructive and balancing basis, however, it did not take Iran on. The EU has been a major actor in the prevention of Iran's nuclear program from the beginning, and the three major EU countries, Britain, Germany and France, decided for the first time in 2003 to pursue a compelling diplomacy against Iran (Sauer, 2007).



However, Iran's strong relationship with some member states and the desire to be accepted by the EU made the Union an actor capable of achieving results in the international arena in the eyes of Iran. The EU's Iranian policy is sometimes influenced by its relationship with the USA, but since it has no relationship with the United States, Iran only regards the Union (European Parliament, 2016). Between 1992 and 1997, the Common Foreign and Security Policy began to work for a constructive solution known as "Critical Dialogue" to influence the Iranian regime on issues related to the EU interests (Kaussler, 2012: 54). The international community feared that Iran would lead to a new military struggle in the region, already suffering from violence and instability, and Iran's nuclear weapons could be a dangerous example for the region and the world (Kutchesfahani, 2006).

The EU considered that the countries have the right to armament in order to defend themselves, but that Iran's armament should not pose a threat to international stability (Kutchesfahani, 2006) and, in order to influence Iran through dialogue and adapt it to the international system in the long term, opposed the American embargo (Kaussler, 2012). The EU's approach to the Iranian crisis was that it was impossible to ensure international stability and security by isolating Iran. The economic relations of Europe with Iran and its expectation that these relations will be strengthened further after Rafsanjani takes the office led the EU to engage in the said international crisis (Kaussler, 2012: 55).

On the other hand, the three major countries of the Union, Britain, France, and Germany, launched the EU-3 diplomatic initiative in October 2003 to fill the gap that emerged after the USA has ceased its diplomatic relations with Tehran since 1979 (Kutchesfahani, 2006: 5).

The said initiative has also provided the International Atomic Energy Authority with the principal authority position in the crisis with Iran and increased interest in foreign policy in European countries. Moreover, without the EU-3 nuclear diplomacy on Iran, it would not have been possible for the USA and Israel to accept the EU as a serious partner in the Middle East Peace Process and to give it delicate tasks in Gaza and elsewhere (Kutchesfahani, 2006: 5).

In December 2006, the EU supported the decision of the United Nations Security Council to ban the import and export of materials and technology used in the processing or reprocessing of uranium enrichment, or the systems of delivery of nuclear weapons (Kaussler, 2012).

After Barack Obama became the President of the USA, a tendency to soften relations with Iran began and new high-level negotiations were initiated in Geneva in October 2009 (Kaussler, 2012: 61). By 2012, Iran had demanded that the sanctions cease and continue the prospering activities, meanwhile, the EU had to pursue punitive measures, the only option to force Iran to



come to the table. Consequently, neither the EU's carrots nor America's stick was enough to solve the crisis, and how to deal with the crisis caused by Iran's nuclear program has become a problem for international policymakers (Kutchesfahani, 2006: 6).

The facts that Obama changed his attitude by realizing that it was unrealistic to require Iran to stop enrichment activities in 2012 and that Hasan Ruhani took office in Iran in June 2013 was a turning point in relations with Iran (European Parliament, 2016). In November 2013, the five permanent member states of the United Nations Security Council, together with Germany, agreed on a Joint Action Plan with Iran. The said Action Plan outlines the future of negotiations with Iran and envisaged a comprehensive agreement on Iran's nuclear program. On 1 July 2015, as a result of intense negotiations, by creating a Joint Comprehensive Action Plan, the steps of the plan for the termination of the sanctions imposed by the United Nations, the EU and the USA against Iran in 2023 for the termination of the nuclear program by the said country are included (European Parliament, 2016).

While trying to control Iran's nuclear power, the EU tried to force it to come to the agreement in the frame of the rules of law formulated by itself (Kaussler, 2012). As Iran is both a strategic actor in the Middle East and an important energy source for the EU and the US, EU-3's diplomatic efforts are based on the interests of their own countries (Kutchesfahani, 2006). Since the Union's Neighborhood Policy accepts Middle Eastern countries among the EU's neighbors, relations with Iran were very important due to geographical proximity, economic relations and the citizens of Middle Eastern origin living in the Union (European Parliament, 2016). Sustainable regional development for the EU and the development and availability of Iranian gas were of paramount importance because of the possibility that it would become a future energy source of the Union.

The fact that Iran needs to be reintroduced into the international system and their economic interdependence with Iran has caused the Union to fail in diplomatic ways and has often used its soft power against Iran. Furthermore, the EU felt that Iran was outside the international system and should be drawn into this system. The framework of multilateral negotiations set by the EU has been focused on bringing Iran, the EU and the United States together, addressing the problems, and obtaining multilateral results, because the Union knows that if it does not develop a long-term strategy based on sustainable dialogue with Iran by taking the initiative, China, Japan or another country will take its position both politically and commercially (European Parliament, 2016).

The Ukrainian crisis is another problem that the EU faces and which has not yet been fully resolved. This problem is not independent of the power struggle between the USA and Russia and Europe's energy resources from Russia. Energy resources have always led to wars in Europe, and therefore the foundations of the EU are based on the cooperation of European



countries on coal and steel resources (Alkan, 2015: 215). "Energy security is one of the largest political barriers that the EU faces today" (Goldthau and Sitter, 2015: 942). In this context, the EU has been involved in the crisis experienced between Russia and Ukraine in 2014 from the very beginning and exerted pressure when necessary. One can argue to what extent the EU has succeeded in managing the crisis, but in this crisis, the Union has not made its mistake in Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina and has not withdrawn. "The EU imports 35 percent of the oil it needs and 30 percent of the natural gas from Russia and the stability of the Eurasian geography is vital for European states in this sense" (Alkan, 2015: 221-222). These rates are much higher when some states are considered individually. The Ukraine crisis in 2014 made Europe felt the sufferings of the crisis in 2009 when 80 percent of the gas that Europe needed had to pass over Ukraine (Schubert et al., 2014). During the crisis in 2009, many European countries did not receive gas for two weeks. The North Stream pipelines now reach Germany from Russia, which significantly reduces the annual gas amount received from Ukraine by European countries. While the EU is dependent on Russia's gas and oil, Russia is dependent on energy revenues. Although the EU's dependence on Russian gas and oil continues in the short or medium term, Russia's poor economy will need the EU as soon as the Union finds a great and stable alternative (Schubert et al., 2014). In addition, energy security is a national security issue for the EU (Alkan, 2015: 216). Therefore, despite the different foreign policy objectives of the member states and the different levels of trade relations with Russia and the pressures made by the member states and internal actors on the EU, whose decision-making mechanisms are hard and difficult, the Union, by responding to the crisis between Russia and Ukraine at the supranational, national and international level, imposed economic sanctions on Russia and offered institutional and financial assistance to Ukraine and provided reverse gas flow to Ukraine through Europe (Kareloweski et al., 2016). In 2015, the EU started to impose economic sanctions on Russia for failing to fulfill its commitments and in June 2016, these sanctions were extended until 31 January 2017 (Karolewski et al., 2016).

The Union also changed its stance in foreign policy again in order to respond to the issues of Euromaidan<sup>39</sup>, Russia's annexation of Crimea, hitting the civilian plane of Malaysia Airlines, and entry of Russian soldiers into the territory of Ukraine (Kareloweski et al., 2016). The annexation of the Crimea and Russia's previous disputes with Ukraine regarding the gas indicates how risky the eastern transit route, on which the EU is dependent in energy, could be for the Union (Goldthau and Sitter, 2015). For the first time after World War II, a country was attacked because it strengthened its

<sup>39</sup> It is the name given to the mass protests that began after the Ukrainian government's rejection of the partnership agreement to be signed with the EU on 21 November 2013. The subsequent process continued until the Ukrainian revolution of 2014.



relations with the EU. However, the crisis between Ukraine and Russia increased confidence between EU institutions and member states; additionally, Russia's propaganda and misinformation campaigns during the crisis have led to unity and integration among member states with different attitudes (Karelowski et al., 2016). Nevertheless, the EU stated that it needed time to build consensus on sanctions against Russia and initially opted for more moderate measures than the USA (Goldthau and Sitter, 2015).

Moreover, due to its success in managing the crisis, EU foreign policy has proved to be reliable and has gained much value in the eyes of the large countries of the Union, in particular Germany, which has used economic relations to influence Russia on human rights and democracy until then (Karelowski et al., 2016). Russia's annexation of the Crimea, hitting a civilian plane, and the propaganda that it made caused Germany to lead the Union for economic sanctions, by influencing other member states and all member states to agree with the Union.

### Soft Power and Public Diplomacy Practices of Turkey

According to the Western point of views, the process from the establishment of modern Turkey until now is expressed as the alteration and Westernization that also means the transformation from an Eastern Islamic empire to a secular nation-state (Joseph, 2012). Westernization transformed to Europeanization that includes the adoption of the values, rules, and institution of the EU in the direction of Turkey's goal of accession to the EU. If Turkey reaches its goal, it will be the only Muslim country in the EU.

Considering the balance in the relations between the EU and Turkey, Turkey is an indispensable regional actor from both military&geostrategic and economic&commercial aspects. The EU is a center of attraction, representing prosperity, democracy and adherence to the rules of law. Turkey, which signed the Association Agreement (Ankara Agreement) with the EU in 1963, applied for full membership of the Union in 1987 and officially received the status of candidate country in 1999 (Joseph, 2012). In 2004, the EU announced the Copenhagen Criteria that must be met for the starting of EU accession negotiations, upon the fulfillment of these criteria by Turkey, 8 titles of the accession treaty are opened for negotiation as of the year 2009. However, the Union does not include an automatic membership by leaving open the end of the next step after the completion of negotiations (which is the first in EU enlargement) for Turkey. Even some members, particularly France, have stated they would make a referendum for the membership of Turkey. With the fact that Turkey obtained the candidate country status, the process that may be defined as the approximation of its foreign policy to the foreign policy of the EU started and one of the underlying reasons to refuse to act jointly with the USA in the Iraq war was that France and Germany, the large countries of the Union, did not support the USA's intervention to Iraq (Oğuzlu, 2010). Also, the fact that Turkey moderates in the matters



regarding Cyprus it traditionally defends indicates that it may shape its priorities in foreign policy in the frame of the foreign policy of the EU and demands that its problems in international platforms are resolved in the accession process to the EU. With the Europeanisation of the foreign policy as the candidate country, Turkey, in order to increase its security in its own geography, requested to create EU-like security communities with self-confidence arising from its enhancing regional economic, social and political power and reinforced institutions (Oğuzlu, 2010). Turkey's leadership in the Organization of Islamic Conference and the granting observer status in Arab League indicates that Turkey increases its influence in the international organizations. Likewise, it supports various regional initiatives to ensure security in the Balkans for purposes ranging from peacekeeping to stability and supports Balkan countries' accession to the EU and NATO (Oğuzlu, 2010). Turkey is redefining threats related to national security and working to achieve results through economic relations in foreign policy via diplomacy. Within this framework, it renounces to consider Greece as a threat, supported the Annan Plan on Cyprus, took steps to improve relations with Armenia and started to follow a more integrative policy regarding the Kurds of Northern Iraq (Oğuzlu, 2010). Also, the diplomacy performed between Israel and Syria to solve the Palestinian problem and the support in the negotiations between Iran and the EU can be given as the examples for mediation activities. Turkey's efforts were not left unrewarded in the country progress reports issued by the EU and its contributions to regional peace and stability were mentioned in praise (Oğuzlu, 2010).

As a result of the Europeanisation of the foreign policy as the candidate country to the Union, it can be argued that the foreign policy of the EU and Turkey's foreign policy in the regions of priority approached in various degrees, a much powerful approach does not seem possible due to NATO membership of Turkey (Joseph, 2012). Moreover, Turkey, by acting as an EU in its region, is trying to prevent the unstable and insecure environment of the Middle East effects it adversely: the fact that Turkey implements the approach of the EU that responding to the international crises and intervening to solve the problem in its own region may enhance its image and prestige in the Middle East and it can set an example for others by indicating that democracy, Islam and secularism is possible in this geography (Oğuzlu, 2010).

2002 and 2003 Harmonization Packages of Turkey contained significant changes to comply with the EU acquis and were carried out by different governments. We can say that with the signature of such changes, Turkey demonstrated its willingness and determination for the accession to the EU. The most obvious aspect of this is the progress made in the EU harmonization and negotiation process and that Turkey has made correspondingly many of its internal regulations brought into line with the EU acquis (Cohen, 2011).



Turkey has made a significant progress in meeting membership criteria of the EU in ten years, has taken the necessary steps for a globally featured trade infrastructure, the improvements in speech and belief freedoms were made, the minority rights began to be protected more, the necessary measures for the prevention of torture were taken, the education system was improved, the influence of the army on the government was removed and the quality of democracy has been increased (Cohen, 2011). Although all the steps, which are taken by Turkey for full membership, did not succeed or their positive effects are not seen in the short term, it is thought that they will probably improve the quality of life in Turkey in the future (Cohen, 2011). When the possibility for the EU membership in the immediate future appears, the public opinion in Turkey supported the realization of the reforms, however, since the spirit arising from the demand of some large countries of the EU for granting special status or privileged partnership to Turkey instead of full membership and the constant postponement of membership target spread to people and governments, they moved away from the EU target. It is thought that if the EU officially rejects the membership of Turkey to the Union, the current situation realized with democratic reforms may change back and Turkey, which abandons the hope, may be controlled by even extremists, who are now stronger (Phillips, 2004). The goal of the full membership to the EU is a very powerful motivation for Turkey to change its policies. The Union requested Turkey to meet as many criteria as it did not request from any candidate so far, nevertheless, the final date for the membership negotiations given to every candidate country has not been given to Turkey. In fact, the EU is the essential actor to make press on Turkey to develop and strengthen the democratic institutions, however, the fact that this pressure arises from its internal dynamics may make it more powerful, more democratic and stable country (Cohen, 2011). Although many things have changed in the last 10 years both in Turkey and Brussel, it is thought that Turkey and the EU should redress a delicate balance between hardness and empathy and between soft and hard powers (Volter's, 2016). The biggest challenge for the EU, in the long run, is to develop a worldview based on different religions and cultures, including Islam, and whether it will succeed to build its integrity on its differences as the relations between countries become increasingly interdependent nowadays (Phillips, 2012). However, the current situation indicates progress in the opposite direction. In fact, these evaluations and analyses make us think that the EU uses its soft power for holding Turkey on its own line and guiding it politically by pointing its high values as a target. The tides in this complex and multi-component relationships sequence put the relationships between the EU and Turkey at a completely different place. However, since this aspect of the issue will be the subject of a different study, it will not be mentioned extensively here. The issue highlighted and should be considered is that the EU used its soft power elements in its relationship with Turkey.



## Turkey's Practices

Turkey has attached importance to and started to use public diplomacy in recent years. In this context, public diplomacy has been applied in many fields by using soft power elements. The constitutional changes and economic reforms made under the leadership of the Justice and Development Party (the "JDP" [AK Parti]) has increased the attractiveness and soft power potential by making Turkey a "model country". Turkey, as noted by Kalın (2011: 10), has made use of its soft power well from Balkans to Central Asia by using its cultural and historical richness coming from the Ottoman heritage and the values it has. During this period, Turkey has come to the forefront in the international communities such as the G-20, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, NATO and OSCE. Turkey's rising soft power has also been accepted scientifically by Monocle index. Turkey, entering Monocle index in the twenty-fifth rank in 2010, raised to the twenty-third rank in 2011 and twentieth rank in 2012 (Karataşlı, 2016: 78). Turkey ranked 28th in the annual list of Softpower30 in 2015 with 42.55 points, ranked 30th with 45.35 points in 2017. In 2018, it could not enter the list (softpower30.com).<sup>40</sup>

The most important source of Turkey's soft power, especially until the early 2010s, is the "model country" status. Turkey's strategic and geopolitical position, historical and cultural heritage it has inherited from the Ottoman Empire, the success to be able to continue a secular and democratic system in the geography where it is, constitutional reforms it has performed and its strong economy, its intermediary way in the conflicts, and especially after September 11, its struggle for the peace of civilizations increased Turkey's reputation in foreign policy (Kılıçoğlu and Yılmaz, 2017: 151).

One of Turkey's soft power elements is that it is a donor country. The operative organization of this policy has been the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (the "TCCA"). TCCA's activities in Europe, one of the leading institutions of Turkey's public diplomacy, is concentrated more in the Balkans. The examples of its activities in the European continent include the renewal of the technical infrastructure of the Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the provision of equipment for physics, chemistry and biology laboratories in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the renovation and equipment project of the art class of the Mihaly School in Hungary, establishment of a fully equipped foreign language laboratory in the Obuda High School in Hungary, support for schools with disabilities in Romania

<sup>40</sup> In 2015, it ranked 21<sup>nd</sup> in digital index, 27<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 25<sup>th</sup> in education, 21<sup>st</sup> in culture, 25<sup>th</sup> in engagement, 27<sup>th</sup> in government, and 27<sup>th</sup> in polling. In 2017, it ranked 18<sup>th</sup> in digital index, 28<sup>th</sup> in enterprise, 25<sup>th</sup> in education, 26<sup>th</sup> in culture, 15<sup>th</sup> in engagement, 27<sup>th</sup> in government, and 30<sup>th</sup> in polling.



and building a park for the use of children with disabilities in Serbia (TCCA, 2016). Also, according to the 2015 report of the Development Assistance Turkey (TCCA, 2015), Turkey, by using 0.37% of the gross national product as charity, has become the "most generous country" of the world.

Another important institution in Turkey's public diplomacy practices has been the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (the "PTA"). The PTA has undertaken the task of coordination of the efforts regarding Turks living abroad, cognate and related (sister) communities, and students with international scholarship studying in Turkey (Kılıçoğlu and Yılmaz, 2017a: 143).

The PTA carries out and encourages the activities focusing on informing, raising awareness, legal support, and network building against discrimination, racism, hostility to Islam, social exclusion, violation of rights (YTB, no date). The institution also develops policies against Islamophobia-based practices (<https://www.ytb.gov.tr/yurtdisi-vatandaslar/genel-bilgi>).

As public diplomacy activities and related organizations increase, coordination between them has become an important requirement. We observe that the Public Diplomacy Coordination Institution (the "PDC") has been established for this aim. The Institution carries out university programs, political communication activities, and media promotion activities.

The aim of the Institution, within the framework of new, social, political and economic dynamics, is to introduce the role and activities of Turkey in the changing world geopolitics both in the region and in the global scale in Turkey and abroad. The PDC aims to become a platform that transforms civil-public interaction into action by involving non-governmental organizations into the foreign policy process (Yılmaz and Kılıçoğlu: 2015). The activities of the Institution remain in a limited area.

Today, Presidential Communication Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, established by Presidential Decree No. 14, assumes the public diplomacy activities and inter-agency coordination roles. One of the new Presidency's task is "to steer Turkey's foreign promotional activities, by using public diplomacy methods and tools aimed at informing the international community in international platforms, to the cooperation and coordination between public institutions and organizations and civil society organizations regarding strategic communication and promotional activities" (Presidential Decree on the Organization of the Communication Presidency). There is a Department of Public Diplomacy (the "DPD") within the institution. According to the Presidency Decree, the tasks of the DPD are as follows:

a) To communicate and promote actively the thesis and policy preferences that Turkey puts forward in the national and international area in a way to be effective on international public opinion within the strategic communications framework determined.



- b) To conduct researches, prepare reports, organize programs or supporting similar projects in cooperation with public institutions and organizations, universities and non-governmental organizations that carry out activities for the promotion of our country before the international public opinion.
- c) To carry out the activities such as panels, symposiums, conferences, project, and programs in order to provide the works supporting the interests of Turkey in the international arena, to ensure continuity of the relations of the circles in question with our country by making the necessary coordination with relevant agencies and organizations.
- d) To ensure that the institutions and organizations and persons, who have an impact on international public opinion and the studies about Turkey abroad are informed correctly through the various organizations.
- e) To implement the objectives and strategies regarding international promotion determined by the President.
- f) To cooperate with public institutions and organizations and non-governmental organizations and to ensure coordination between them about the strategic communication and promotion activities by using public diplomacy methods and tools in order to inform the international community correctly in international platforms.
- g) To prepare general and specific researches and projects and, when necessary, to commission expertise individuals and organizations to prepare them.
- h) To direct international promotion activities and to cooperate with all public institutions and organizations and private organizations for this purpose.
- i) To take and implement measures to facilitate the work of foreign media and its members and to establish permanent and temporary press centers for them.
- j) To monitor and assess the propaganda activities about Turkey, and to cooperate with the relevant public institutions and organizations and take necessary precautions.
- k) To monitor and evaluate the activities of the offices of press counselor abroad and present the results to the authorities
- l) To perform other duties assigned by the President

That internationally important sports, culture and arts events held in Turkey and the joint efforts of the public and the private sector to bring new ones to the country; that the security forces provide training to the military and police organizations of different countries; the foundation of mosques and Islamic culture centers in many regions of the world, especially in Western countries, under the auspices of the Presidency of Religious Affairs;



increasing the number of tourists coming to the country through private sector investments under the coordination of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism; that Turkish Radio and Televisions (the “TRT”) has a number of channels to be able to announce Turkey's theses in the target geography and the enrichment of their content; making movie industry of the country is distinguished in the international arena, thus, cultural values reaching all around the world and growing interest for Turkey are the issues can be considered within the public diplomacy (Kavoğlu, 2013: 121).

## Sport

As we mentioned in the related parts of the study, sport is also used as a foreign policy tool and a soft power element. Studies on the use of sports are made in Turkey as well. Some of these activities are as follows: 2004-2005 Champions League Final Match was played in Istanbul, hosting the events such as Formula 1, Moto GP and Red Bull Air Race; in addition, in the scope of the large-scale sports events in Istanbul, the UEFA Cup Final and the World Basketball Championship matches are played in 2009. The fact that European Capital of Sport 2012 is Istanbul<sup>41</sup>, provided great publicity mean for Turkey. Additionally, the UEFA European Under-19 Women's European Football Championship in Antalya in 2012<sup>42</sup>, the University Winter Games in Erzurum in 2011<sup>43</sup>, European Olympic Youth Summer Festival held in Trabzon in 2011<sup>44</sup>, Women's Volleyball World Championship in Ankara and European Athletics Teams Championship in Istanbul are hosted (Yıldırım, 2014: 170- 171).

## Education

Educational exchange programs, which can be considered as a form of strategic communication, are generally evaluated in cultural diplomacy, however, they can be easily used in different fields for various purposes. Exchange programs are a two-way form of public diplomacy because it allows dialogue and alternative views. Exchange programs have a high impact power as they provide access to first-hand information rather than secondary information in the new cultural environment in which one is involved (Yıldırım, 2014: 151-152).

The European Union uses the programs such as Erasmus<sup>45</sup> in university education, Comenius<sup>46</sup> for preschool, primary and secondary school periods, and Leonardo Da Vinci<sup>47</sup> for vocational education.

<sup>41</sup> <https://ab.gov.tr/45362.html>

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.tff.org/default.aspx?pageID=1143&ftxtID=15462>

<sup>43</sup> <http://erzurumportali.com/shf/4713/2011-Erzurum-Universiade-Kis-Universite-Oyunlari>

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.taf.org.tr/2010/04/19/eyof-2011-trabzon/>

<sup>45</sup> <https://www.erasmusprogramme.com/>

<sup>46</sup> <http://ua.gov.tr/programlar/erasmus-program%C4%B1/okul-e%C4%9Fitimi-program%C4%B1>

<sup>47</sup> <http://ua.gov.tr/programlar/erasmus-program%C4%B1/mesleki-e%C4%9Fitim-program%C4%B1>



Turkey, immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union, launched the Great Education Project for the Turkish world and has accepted many students to universities in Turkey. In this process, some disruptions have been observed and both the scope of the program and the way of implementation have changed. Today, students from all over the world can benefit from exchange programs.

Student and Faculty Exchange Program among Higher Education Institutions, which is known as Farabi program, is a student and faculty exchange program between higher education institutions that provide education at associate degree, undergraduate, graduate and doctorate levels within the universities and high technology institutes (<https://farabi.yok.gov.tr/farabi-degisim-programi>).

With the help of the Mevlana program<sup>48</sup>, which makes it possible to exchange students and faculty between higher education institutions providing education in Turkey and higher education institutions providing education outside Turkey and which is inspired by the Erasmus programme of the EU, the student and faculty exchange between higher education institutions abroad and higher education institutions in Turkey has been allowed (<https://mevlana.yok.gov.tr/temel-bilgiler>).

Scholarship programs are important for international students. Great Student Project, with the evaluation of the disruptions observed, has been brought into action as a more comprehensive project, Turkey's Scholarships (<https://www.turkiyeburslari.gov.tr/tr>).

Turkish students are using Erasmus programs effectively. Even this student mobility alone provides serious training mobility and standardization between Turkey and EU countries. Students from Europe and many countries in the world are studying in Turkey. This will allow people to get to know different cultures and civilizations more closely and to introduce themselves.

## Language and Culture

Another basis of public diplomacy is undoubtedly culture. As people's communication develops, intercultural exchange increases, which obliges different cultures to know each other better (Yıldırım, 2014: 239). Cultural elements for public diplomacy are valuable because they reflect the living cultural image of a nation. The main purpose of public diplomacy is to create a positive image among other countries and to gain the approval, sympathy, and appreciation of their people with this image. Turkey's use of cultural arguments such as "2010 Istanbul European capital of culture" in order to eliminate the negative image, one of the obstacles in the EU process, and prejudices pursues this purpose (Iser, 2012: 119).

<sup>48</sup> <https://mevlana.yok.gov.tr/en>



This project, which contributed greatly to make Istanbul a 'brand city', provided the cultural and historical richness of Istanbul to be transferred to the world within a different process and identity frame, and reinforced the efforts of the promotion of Istanbul and Turkey (Yıldırım, 2014: 254). It is also noteworthy that the events take place not only in locations where Istanbul has historical and cultural sites but also in many different districts such as Tuzla, Esenler, and Küçükçekmece. Prepared for the European Capital of Culture with the joint projects of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Governorship and 2010 European Capital of Culture Coordination Board, Istanbul has become a tourism city with congresses, fairs, and cultural, artistic and sporting activities in the world.<sup>49</sup>

The artistic activities performed by Turkey abroad raises important implications for a positive image of Turkey. One of the prime examples might be given in this context is the exhibition called "Turks: 1000 Years of Journey" at the Royal Academy of Arts in England in 2005. The fact that some of the 234 works in this exhibition were obtained from the St. Petersburg museum with the support and contributions of the Turkish republics makes the event even more interesting. Despite the limited number of contributions, this exhibition that arose great interest and admiration is important in terms of being a demonstration of the synergy that will be created by the cooperation with other states and communities with Turkish background. This exhibition emphasized the artistic side of the a-thousand-year deepness of Turkish history. These artistic works are original, exclusive and belong to the Turks. It is also a successful example against the mentality that limits the viewpoint of art within western sculpture alone (Yılmaz, 2018: 21).

As in many countries, the cultural products created by Turkey (shows, television channels, and the studies of music, literature and studies) reach to and receive the appreciation of many people in Europe and contribute to Turkey's reputation. However, before demonstrating the effect of these cultural products, Yunus Emre Institute (the "YEI") established to promote Turkish culture, art, and language in the world should be mentioned. In this sense, the YEI does not have a very different purpose than its European counterparts', such as the British Council, the British Goethe Institut, the French Institut Français, the Italian Instituto Cultura, and the Spanish Cervantes. It is carrying out activities to teach and introduce the Turkish language and culture. Indeed, the YEI was founded in 2007 and organizes cultural and artistic events, as well as the promotion of Turkey and is trying to spread the Turkish culture with cultural centers that have it has opened abroad. It is not possible in the near and middle term that Turkish becomes like English and is used with the purpose of having a global influence, however, Turkish can still be used as a tool for the closeness of Turkish-speaking peoples. Turkey Turkish, this aim can be served by increasing the

<sup>49</sup> For detailed information see <http://istanbul2010.org/>



number Yunus Emre Institutes and by increasing the number of Turkish language and literature departments globally by providing inter-university cooperation opportunities. (Yılmaz, 2018: 22).

The centers of the YEI in Europe include Amsterdam, Berlin, Brussels, Budapest, Cologne, London, Paris, Rome, Warsaw, Vienna, and Zagreb (<https://www.yee.org.tr/>). Cultural centers in the Balkans are in Belgrade, Bucharest, Foyunitsa, Silk, Shkodra, Constanta, Mostar, Podgorica, Pristina, Prizren, Sarajevo, and Tirana. In these cultural centers, activities are organized about Turkish culture, Turkish language, and Turkish art. The YEI has become the leading actor of the cultural diplomacy among institutions conducting public diplomacy in Turkey.

Turkey Radio and Television (the "TRT") Corporation is also one of the institutions performing cultural activities on behalf of Turkey. The TRT prepares programs in order to promote Turkish culture to the societies living in different parts of the world. TRT is working with the aims of the promotion of Turkey, the establishment of positive public opinion about Turkey, the announcement of Turkey's achievements (Gideon, 2015: 57-58).

## Gastronomy

The concept of Gastro diplomacy, which has been firstly used in the article titled "Food as Ambassador" written to introduce Thai Culinary strategy in the issue of the Economist journal (the Economist, 2002) published on February 21, 2002, gained value in terms of soft power. It is the field of diplomacy where national dishes come to the fore with the idea that the way to win hearts and minds passes through the stomach (Alaca, 2018: 498).

The institutionalization of gastro diplomacy realized when UNESCO, Education, Culture and Science Institute of the United Nations, adopted the "Convention on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage" at its 32nd General Conference in 2003. By including the national dishes of the states in the scope of this agreement, they have attached importance to branding in the field of gastro-tourism. National food culture, aside from its political consequences, contributes to the national economy through the tourism and export of foodstuffs (Alaca, 2018: 501).

Turkish cuisine, which is very rich with its cooking techniques and variety of dishes, is still not in its rightful place in respect to recognition, but it is still indicated and accepted by experts among 3-5 rich cuisines of the world (Yılmaz, 2018: 24). Only in the cuisine culture of Gaziantep, thirteen kinds of soups, whose different variations are available, eleven different meat dishes, eight different vegetable dishes, four different types of rice (we can also find nine more variations depending on the type of supplementary food used), eleven kinds of kebabs, eighteen different meatballs, eight kinds of pies, fifteen kinds of desserts and many other food types and various desserts are available. Only in this example, the richness of Turkish cuisine can be



revealed (Meydan, 1989: 21). Among the elements that enrich Turkish cuisine, it is also effective that the Turks blended what they brought from Central Asia with what they found in Anatolia. Thanks to the wide Ottoman geography and the trade advantage provided by *pax turcica*, the ingredients are enriched and cooking techniques were improved. Today, Turkish cuisine is Middle Eastern from one side, Mediterranean from one side, Middle Asian from one side and a Caucasian from one side, but it is still Anatolian. When talking about Turkish cuisine, not only individual dishes but also food groups are mentioned. The existence of hundreds of different types of rice under the rice group is a good example of this. While this wealth is not known, it is thought-provoking that the Spanish paella rice is widely known. A similar relationship can be established between Turkish *pides* and Italian pizzas or ravioli and *mantı*. Therefore, Turkish cuisine expects its potential to be revealed and presented to the global market. The results will be very tasty if successful (Yılmaz, 2018: 24).

There are controversies about the origins of some foods. A culinary war in the international arena will not be an exaggerated expression. States are in a race to add the foods to the above-mentioned UNESCO list. Turkey added "Turkish coffee" in 2013, "Traditional Ceremony Keşkek" in 2011 in this list, however, "lavaş as thin bread, pastry, katyrma" were declared in 2016 as common food of Iran, Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, and Turkish food (UNESCO Turkey's National Commission).

Greece is trying to introduce the Turkish foods of national cuisine, namely *baklava* (baklavas), *cacık* (tzatziki), casserole (giouvetsi), dolma with olive oil (dolmadakia), loukoumades, Turkish delight (Greek delight bites), Turkish doner (Greek Gyro), Turkish raki (national drink ouzo) and Turkish coffee (Greek coffee) as its own national cuisine foods to the world. The Armenians claimed that Kashkek was their own food and they added lavash to their list (Alaca, 2018: 501). Currently, they are conducting a similar study for Turkish pizza (*lahmacun*).

Turkey should make better use of its cuisine, which is its great richness. With the opening of "Turkish Culinary Culture Centers" in important cities of the world, many activities will be carried out in the fields of food culture as well as another cultural diplomacy (Kul, 2019: 179).

Turkey's one of the practices in this area is the Milan EXPO 2015 (<http://www.expo2015.org/en/>). Turkey participated in the program, in which 145 countries participated and which about 20 million visitors visited, with the theme of "Digging into History for Food of the Future" and the emphasis has been given to 12 thousand years of Anatolian history. Turkey pavilion at Expo was installed in the area of 4170 square meters that was the fifth largest pavilion. The pavilion consists of seven separate parts and pomegranate is used as the visual symbol. The inspiration for the construction of the pavilion was taken from the architecture of the dome and tower, arches, bridges, great plane trees, fountains and traditional Turkish



houses (Bilgici, 2015). As you can see, not only the food but the culture was introduced.

Another example is the "Mobile Turkish Coffee Truck" launched in 2008 in the USA. The project, which first started with the website "www.turkayfe.org", then was shaped in 2011 by a Turkish coffee company in the USA; with the inspiration of the Food Trucks that are common in the USA, it was started with the name of "Turkish Coffee has been the Name of Friendship for 500 Years" covering 5 states in the USA (Kul, 2019: 159). The Turkish Coffee truck has traveled to many cities and universities and has spread beyond the United States to the world. The tours promoting Turkish coffee in 14 cities of 6 countries such as the Netherlands, Belgium, and France continued in Canada (TRTHaber, 2016).

The existence of long-term gastro diplomacy of Turkey is questionable. Rather, it works as short-term projects with additional supports. Public diplomacy aims to tell states' "own stories". Gastro diplomacy policy of Turkey should also be compatible with this story and have the emphasis of "tasting the story" (Kul, 2019: 181). Thus, the policies supporting each other will increase the effectiveness and enhance the soft power.

## Tourism

Tourism is important for soft power and constitutes a pillar of cultural diplomacy. It is an area where you have the opportunity to directly influence the foreign citizens, who are your main target audience. Considering its contribution to the economy, it is a prominent sector. The concept of soft power is mainly about how well you are able to introduce your country and society to other countries and societies and how easily you can influence them. The potential of tourism to be a soft power factor comes to the forefront even when countries are biased towards other countries (Gür, 2014: 2).

Turkish tourism is growing and has a serious potential to grow further. It is an area can be diversified, besides sun, sea, and sand tourism called Three S, as culture, nature, health tourism.

According to data compiled by the World Bank, 7.1 million tourists in 1995, 9.6 million tourists in 2000 visited Turkey. These figures, when they are compared with the figures of the countries developed economically more, whose geographic and historical richness is not at Turkey's level, are much lower. The number of international tourists increased to 20 million in 2005 and 35 million in 2012 (Gür, 2014: 2). Although the international agenda-induced decline in 2018, Turkey, by being among the most visited countries with 46 million visitors at 6th rank, clarified that it is a tourism country in every sense. In this context, what interests us the most is that the majority of tourists were Europeans. Thus, the possibility of that a European person,



satisfied as a guest and culturally enjoyed, has a positive perception about Turkey is rising, or even if he/she is biased, this can be neutralized.

Behind this rise, good relations with countries in the region Turkey has developed exist. In addition, the increase in the popularity of Turkish TV shows in the international arena reflected in tourism as well (Kılıçoğlu and Yılmaz, 2018: 154). Many European tourists visited Turkey in order to see the locations, in which the serials they loved are staged, and the places they knew through the serials. (Nuroğlu, 2013: 2).

Making the country accessible in a way easier and more comfortable; direct flights from more countries were also effective in this process. In this context, the roles of modern airports opened in major touristic regions and Turkish Airlines flying to the most destinations in the world are very important. THY, which contributes to Turkey's 'brand diplomacy' with its success rates in recent years, received the title of "most global" Turkish brand (Autonomist, 2018: 393).

### Civil Society and Diaspora

One of the important differences of public diplomacy from classical diplomacy is the ability to use units outside the usual official diplomatic institutions and actors. Non-governmental organizations, diasporas outside their homeland and their organizations are also included in these new actors. As the level of democracy increases, the influence of these actors increases.

In particular, Turkey has a serious diaspora in some European Union countries. To orientate them appropriately will significantly increase the impact of the country's soft power.

There are also efforts of civil society organizations in the accession process carried out by Turkey with the EU. TÜSİAD (Turkish Industry & Business Association) is the leading institution that supports public diplomacy studies in the European public opinion. TÜSİAD, by lobbying in Brussels, contributed to Turkey's candidacy status at the end of the Helsinki summit in 1999. Additionally, TÜSİAD, which continues its lobbying activities rapidly in recent years, has created Turkey's expansion file in the website "www.euractive.com". TÜSİAD, which tries to reach European people through newspapers, televisions, and radios, aside from its activities in Turkey, establishes relations with the EU Commission, European Parliament and other EU institutions (Akçadağ, 2011: 6).

Another institution that stands out in the public diplomacy studies within the EU is the Economic Development Foundation (the "EDF"). In the process of harmonization with the EU, IKV carries out projects, which aim to inform the Turkish private sector and public as well as to strengthen the cooperation between institutions and organizations. In June 2002, IKV established a large platform called "European Movement 2002", therefore, at the first stage, over 175 NGOs gathered under the same roof, and it is



ensured that they give support to Turkey's EU membership and exhibit a common attitude (Akçadağ, 2011: 7).

Turkey Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB) has an office and permanent representation in Brussels. Through this office, it is aimed to be in direct contact with the decision makers.

Turkish Promotion Foundation (TÜTAV) carried out more than 850 performances in 37 countries on 5 continents (<http://www.tutav.org.tr/>). In these activities, which are organized as "Turkish Promotion" or "Turkish Culture Weeks", the activities and performances are staged such as folk dances, sema and semah mystic dances performed by TÜTAV Performance and Arts Group of 40 people with modern stage arrangements, fashion shows, original Turkish music, Turkish cuisine and traditional handicrafts, exhibitions, and conferences. All of the activities that we have carried out so far have been met with a great interest in all countries, taken place in the visual and written media with praise, and contributed significantly to the promotion of Turkey (<http://www.tutav.org.tr/tutav-genel-bilgiler/>).

The so-called Armenian genocide allegations is a problem, which damages the image of Turkey in the world and especially in Europe, and leads the organization of activities against Turkey. In many European countries, not recognizing the Armenian deportation as genocide has become punishable action. This leaves the people of Turkish origin, in particular, those living in those countries in difficult situation. In Europe, another civil society initiative has fought against the attitudes that prevent freedom of expression and revealing the facts and has achieved success in the framework of international law. When the civil initiative groups operating in Turkey contact with the equivalent groups abroad, the activities regarding the target country can be more effective. The concept of diaspora diplomacy also steps in here.

The process leading to the establishment of the Talat Pasha Committee began with the prohibition of saying "There is no Armenian Genocide" in Switzerland (Kılıçoğlu, 2018: 339). A criminal investigation was opened against Yusuf Halaçoğlu, the President of the Turkish Historical Society, in Switzerland on the grounds that "He denied the Armenian Genocide". In 2004, the investigation against Yusuf Halaçoğlu, who stated that there was no genocide in a conference he attended at the invitation of the Federation of Turkish Associations, was opened on the basis of Switzerland Penal Code, article 261 bis and he was asked to deliver his statement to public prosecutor office. Then, the leader of the Labor Party, Doğu Perinçek, went to Switzerland and delivered a speech, which can be summarized as "The Armenian genocide claim is a historical lie, an international lie, an imperialist lie" on the steps of the place where the Lausanne Treaty was signed in German on May 7, 2005 (Kılıçoğlu, 2018: 340). As a result of Perinçek's speeches, an investigation began against him and Perinçek



participated in these investigations and cases. Talat Pasha Committee created under the leadership of Rauf Denktash in Turkey, by performing various activities within Turkey and abroad, brought both Perinçek case and so-called genocide allegations.<sup>50</sup> Perinçek, who was sentenced by Swiss courts, applied to the European Court of Human Rights against the decision; in the first decision, it was decided that the Armenian deportation could not be legally genocide. Upon the application of the Swiss government appealing against this decision, the second decision saw the prohibition of not accepting so-called genocide allegations as an interference with freedom of expression. Aside from the decision itself, it has been seen how efficient results can be obtained when plain citizens, living both in Turkey and abroad, are organized.

When it comes to Turks living in Europe, another institution that operates seriously is the Presidency of Religious Affairs. The Presidency of Religious Affairs operates in cooperation with various non-governmental organizations in Europe on the basis of the countries. In Germany, the Religious Affairs Turkish-Islamic Union (DİTİB) is one of these organizations. The debate on DİTİB, which was criticized by the German public for its dependence on the Turkish government, increased with allegations of the institution's activities within the scope of the fight against Fetö terror organization members in Germany after the July 15 coup attempt and the officials of the institution were charged with espionage (Deutsche Welle, 2019).

Presidency of Religious Affairs took into account the concept of "heart diaspora" used by Ahmet Davutoğlu when he was the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Cankurtaran, 2015: 129) and continued his studies not only for those of Turkish origin but also for all Muslims. 2nd European Muslims Meeting organized by the Presidency of Religious Affairs in cooperation with the Turkish Islamic Union for Religious Affairs (DİTİB) is an example of this argument. From the representatives of the institutions and organizations of the Muslims living in Europe, in particular, the Secretary General of the European Fatwa and Research Council, the President of the Board of Imams and Mosques of England and the President of the Azzagra Cultural Foundation of Spain, 100 guests participated in this meeting held between 2 and 4 January 2019 in Cologne (DİB, 2019).

Religious Affairs and Religious Foundation of Turkey provides religious buildings, religious structures, and humanitarian aid in many regions of the World. It was one of the institutions that best represented the prominent values of Turkish foreign policy in the last period (Kılıçoğlu & Yılmaz, 2018). It has been an important actor of both the African expansion (Yılmaz and Kılıçoğlu, 2016) and the Latin American expansion (Kılıçoğlu and Yılmaz, 2017b).

<sup>50</sup> For detailed information about the case see D. Perinçek (2012), *Perinçek-İsviçre Davası: Ermeni Soykırımı Yalanı AİHM'de*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul 2012.



## Conclusion and Evaluation

It has become a generally accepted idea that public diplomacy is the prominent diplomacy method of today. In compliance with this change, Turkey has had to make use of this tool, in particular, in its relations with the EU. Nevertheless, despite the general belief that the effects of this concept are positive, it is controversial whether the soft power of Turkey, and accordingly, its public diplomacy activities have an impact on the EU. Because there are prejudices and lack of knowledge that have the roots and historical connections on the roots of the problems in the relationships between the EU and Turkey. Interestingly, the most effective way to overcome this situation is the correct and proper use of public diplomacy tools.

Turkey already shows its flag in the region with its soft power as well as the traditional tools of diplomacy. Several non-governmental organizations operate both in Turkey and the EU countries. Turkish TV serials are also being watched with interest in the countries where they are shown in Europe. Various cultural exchanges, the importance of economic relations, mutual training programs, working in the same international friendship organizations have not altered the outlook of the EU public opinion on Turkey yet. However, it should be remembered that this is a long run. For a lasting positive impact in Europe, public diplomacy activities should be continued without slowing down with diversification.

Turkey, which entered in a drastic transformation process after JDP's coming into power, has experienced significant changes in foreign policy with the impact of the end of the cold war. Especially after the September 11 attacks, the increase in the geopolitical and strategic importance of Turkey has contributed to this process. During this period, Turkey came to the fore in its geography and was considered as the "model country" with its legislative and constitutional reforms, strengthening and expanding economic structure, and participatory, proactive and order-making approach in the foreign policy it adopted. Turkey's "model country" place, was also reflected in the relations with the EU and the negotiations towards full membership with the EU also started in this period. Turkey has discovered the importance of using soft power in its relations with the EU and used successfully the numerous sources that it has by coordinating them for this purpose. Turkey has enhanced its attractiveness in the EU with its versatile and peaceful foreign policy, helpfulness exhibited in the moments of crisis, donations provided to countries in need, universities preferred by international students, television productions watched admiringly in different parts of the world, awards in the arts and sciences and commercial organizations successfully representing the country. During this period, it emerged that Turkey has very strong soft power potential.



Turkey, which has used its soft power resources successfully until the early 2010s, begun to experience significant difficulties in this regard after various developments. The relations with the EU have worsened, the solution of the Cyprus problem has become difficult, and Turkey was left alone against the Armenian allegations. In this period, Turkey has fallen short of telling the difficult situation that it is in, the freedom-security dilemma it has experienced, territorial integrity concerns and, in particular after the July 15 coup attempt, the efforts exerted to re-establish the security and stability in the country. The EU failed to show sensitivity to the sensitivities of Turkey and, especially in matters relating to security and terrorism, has approached with an attitude which lacks empathy to Turkey.

Turks living in European countries, that is Turkish diaspora, are the most predominant soft power source of Turkey in Europe and, however, this element is also regarded as a source of concern for some EU countries. According to the data of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, 4.6 million out of 5.5 million Turkish citizens living abroad live in Western European countries. Moreover, this figure does not include the 3 million people who previously returned and the Turks who became naturalized in the countries they live in. It is impossible for a population of such a high number to affect the society in which they live. Moreover, with their differences in belief and lifestyle, they often constitute a visible minority. Interestingly, some people coming from this large population are gaining admiration and appreciation in politics, culture, art, and business world, while a larger group increases reaction and anger in their community. Furthermore, this process has increased negatively in the last few years depending on Turkey's relations with these countries, Islamophobia growing in Europe has almost become Turcophobia. Such that in many European countries, the right-wing parties entered the elections in an attempt to gather votes upon the Turkish fear and danger in their election propaganda. This reveals an interesting irony. There is a serious soft power resource of the population and their success stories, on the one hand, a perspective of negative perception that has formed or has been created despite this fact, on the other hand. We think the dilemma and paradoxical situation of Turkey in Europe is that. But it still remains a fact that Turkey cannot use and coordinate the Turks in Europe effectively and this might be the subject of another study. The existence of the Turks in Europe and the influence of Turkey over them is worrying the members of the European Union at times. In particular, the activities of the Religious Affairs and related institutions constitute an obstacle for the implementation of an effective integration policy, which is the ultimate goal in European countries. There is this issue behind the problem with Germany arising from the allegation that the religious persons related to the DİTİB are spies.

Simon Anholt, who is an expert in national brand management, says that "if a country cannot manage its own perception and reputation, its reputation does not proceed with its natural rhythm, but becomes governed by others"



(Sanberk and Altnay, 2008). Although Turkey is very advanced, compared with the previous periods, in expressing itself and managing its perception and reputation, it has not realized its potential in this regard yet. It is of great importance for Turkey in this difficult period to carry out more coordinated and planned public diplomacy.

We must be careful to express ourselves correctly and to tell our story firsthand. The fact that the politicians use the expressions, which are far from science of politics and generally accepted political approaches, in tense situations causes, even if they are rightful, that the soft power to leave its field to hard power. Such attitudes can be applauded in domestic politics but serve only to undermine the public diplomacy strategy established with great difficulty.

The EU is widely defined as civil or soft power. So there is a joke that it is an economic giant but a military dwarf. The EU's ability to use harsh power is limited because the Union does not have harsh power tools, namely a strong army, a solid budget and direct control over its companies. Therefore, soft power is not an option for the EU but an obligation. It even uses its common market as a tool for its soft power and urges countries to act within the policies of its choice. In this context, the soft power of the Union leads to the major companies in the world to enter the European single market by accepting the rules of the Union and, likewise, to neighboring countries voluntarily adopt the values, norms, and standards of the Union and try to become a part of the Union. This practice shows that the EU fully emerge as different from Turkey's soft power and public diplomacy activities. Similar to the remodeling of Turkish foreign policy according to the new conditions after the cold war, the EU has also been affected by the changes in the international arena and started to pursue a more active policy. It is observed that the EU implements the award-punishment practice on the countries wishing to benefit from the EU economy and its commercial size. The fact that the EU is able to apply the "stick" as a punishment for the countries that fail to comply with its own norms and standards, and "carrots" as a reward for the countries that are able to act in harmony, through very wide and bureaucratic tools, makes it a unique power. This power element effects not only Turkey, which integrated its economy to the EU via the customs union, but also all third countries to varying degrees.

The EU defines its area of responsibility as building peace globally. Since Europe, through European Security and Defence Policy, reached civilian and military capacity large enough to engage in common action, it desires to promote democracy, protect legality and respect for human rights and resolve disputes beyond its borders by combining soft power and hard power. The EU's ability to achieve its objectives as a global power within the framework of the European Security and Defense Policy may be possible, either indirectly as a center of attraction, or by ensuring that they adapt



themselves to it. In other words, the power the EU has on other countries is not only its exemplary standing, which is democratic, respectful to human rights and adhered to the rule of law, but its ability to make them act in accordance with its own values, standards, and norms by attracting the attention of others. In this context, it is observed that Turkey reveals itself in a very different way as a power. The Turkish Armed Forces and other security members appear to have entered a completely different position in the last few years on the grounds of terror and civil war.

The fact that the enlargement of the EU is of the Western Balkans axis makes it confronts Turkey, which endeavors to become a regional power, because the geography of the Balkans is among the regions, to which Turkey gives priority regarding the implementation of its soft power and Turkey has historical, cultural and, with some of them, religious ties with the people in the region. While the EU approaching the region with its promise of wealth and high standards, Turkey is largely approaching by using historical and cultural parameters. While the example of the EU with respect to the power struggle in the region is its last member Croatia, Turkey was exerting effort to take the position in Macedonia, which has been marginalized. Though these two approaches are not perceived as direct competition, the fact that the countries started the EU accession negotiations has put Turkey to backseat may be regarded as an implication of unnamed struggle. In fact, it seems that if the EU and Turkey cooperate in the region they can be more successful for regional peace and integration. We believe that Turkey can invite the EU for its public policy activities by making this cooperation issue more technical and programmed. This issue is becoming more important for countries, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania and Kosovo, that will undergo a more difficult transition. Nonetheless, Turkey has made significant progress with respect to the EU standards and reforms and it is a reality that it, as a strategic, will contribute to accelerating the integration of the region as a strategic partner.

The EU is using its economic power to increase its political influence and, in general, its soft power. The EU, therefore, uses trade policy not only to achieve its economic interests but also to disseminate its own values and norms and to have a say in solving global problems such as security, human rights, climate change, poverty alleviation, fighting terrorism and regional stability. In this context, the fact that Turkey's economic power is not comparable with the EU and that it spends its power largely to protect itself from the problems in the region puts it in a completely different position from the EU. On the other hand, the ability to act independently and effective hard power that it has as a nation-state makes Turkey, unlike the EU, to able to use its hard power together with soft power, which makes Turkey is able to use smart power.

The fact that Turkey's entry into the different attitudes in terms of relations with the USA and Russia can be seen as an opportunity for the EU to compensate the USA. Even just in terms of energy security and regional



peace, Turkey emerges as a country that cannot be ignored. On the other hand, the fact that the EU, which wants to play an important role as a global actor, plays an active role as a whole, not through its members in international organizations, will be related to this change that it will make within itself.

Consequently, we can say that the Union should be motivating and encouraging in the path of the membership of Turkey to the EU, the applications otherwise will move Turkey away from the EU. Turkey's full membership will bring diversity and power to the Union. In addition, the full membership will not only contribute to the modernization of Turkey, but also will make a positive impact on the stability in the Mediterranean region. Historical and cultural ties and relations that Turkey has in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Middle East will strengthen the Common Foreign and Security Policy. We can state that it is essential that Turkey reconsiders its public diplomacy activities towards the EU and plans them in the context of effectiveness because otherwise will move Turkey from the block that is connected economically, commercially and even politically and make an adversary of them. Even in order to be efficient and effective, it is an obligation and requirement of Turkey to exert its soft power in this challenging region.



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