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Turkey in Global Governance: Searching for Alternatives Between the West and the Rest

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Article

Rising Powers, Global Governance, and the United Nations

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Abstract

The category of "rising powers"—along with other groupings of developing and industrialized countries—should be interrogated and not uncritically applied and assumed to make analytical sense. This article teases out why as well as probes two other topics, global governance and the United Nations, that mean many things to many people. The article pushes readers to question several convenient narratives: that the Global South has had little impact on universal normative developments, and that it was largely absent from the founding of the United Nations whose values came only from the West; that "rising powers" is a meaningful analytical category; that "global governance" is a synonym for international organization and law with some non-state actors now in the mix. Finally, the article challenges readers to move beyond the ahistorical character of much contemporary social science.

Keywords

Rising Powers, Global Governance, United Nations, Global South

The three topics in the title of this essay often generate more heat than light, accompanied by a customary "dialogue of the deaf" between representatives¬—governmental or academic—of the North and the Global South. The launching of this journal, *Rising Powers Quarterly*, provides a most welcome and necessary, refereed analytical space to interrogate honestly geopolitical developments rather than regurgitate familiar ideological tropes.

Let's begin with long-held positions about the Global South's role in the normative structures that circumscribe both global governance and the United Nations (Weiss & Abdenur 2014). Recent research shows the extent to which Southern agency has been a genuine but essentially ignored source of global norms (Helleiner 2014). The inputs consist not only of efforts to resist the imposition of western values but also to articulate genuine southern voices and perspectives. Whether or not the phenomenon of rising powers reinforces the North-South

divide or increases the diversity of plausible policies and alignments within the international system, however, remains open to debate.

As such and equally important for this journal's readers is the need to set aside the traditional and convenient narrative that the current UN system in particular and post-World War II international society in general were imposed by the West on the Rest. This is another topic that requires revisiting according to other recent research (Weiss & Plesch 2015; Weiss & Roy 2016). To be sure, deliberations occurred before rapid subsequent decolonization—50 states participated in San Francisco whereas today's UN membership is 193—and so it is tempting to simplify the founding narrative as the West without the Rest. However, the details of Imperial India's and China's contributions to early efforts to pursue war criminals and determine the post-war direction of assistance to refugees and displaced persons and of trade and finance, for example, complicate considerably this facile story-line.

More powerful countries, and especially the United States, had more say during international negotiations; that reality is always the case and hardly destroys the argument that multilateralism and international cooperation and perspectives mattered. Indeed, the wartime United Nations may have represented the "pinnacle" of global governance to date (Plesch & Weiss 2015). Other voices from countries in what is now called the "Global South" were on stage and not merely in the wings, including 19 independent states from Latin America and others whose independence was more recent: 3 from Africa (Ethiopia, Liberia, and South Africa); 3 from Asia (China, the Philippines, and Imperial India); and 7 from the Middle East (Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Turkey).

By the 1970s decolonization had proceeded apace, and two-thirds of UN member states were in the limelight as erstwhile colonies; but the stage was set in 1942-45. Throughout the war and the drafting and adoption of the UN Charter in San Francisco, less powerful states influenced the agenda and advanced their own interests and ideals. The Latin American emphasis on regional arrangements in Charter Chapter VIII was one such result; and Chapters XI and XII regarding non-self-governing territories and trusteeship reflected the widespread views of recently decolonized states and other advocates of self-determination (See for example (Raghavan 2014).

The shape and values of the wartime and immediate post-war United Nations were not simply dictated by the West even a generation before decolonization, although that view is conveniently trotted out when regimes in the Global South would prefer not to be bound by many universal human rights or security agreements. Indeed, rapid decolonization is hard to imagine in the form and with the speed that it took place without multilateralism during and immediately after

World War II.

Twenty-first century discourse in many rising powers as well as in poorer developing countries accepts the Anglo-American mythology, often as a facile justification for distancing themselves from uncomfortable aspects of the "old order" and its 1945 institutions. However, a clearer appreciation of liberation in the context of wartime deliberations might provide the basis for a new "internationalist"—perhaps even a "post-national"—approach in which the definition of narrowly defined vital interests would expand to include consideration of a perspective that went beyond borders. Certainly such an approach to global affairs is more suited to problem-solving than the us-versus-them template and predictable performances that characterize what customarily passes for international negotiations in various UN theaters (Weiss 2016).

Next, to what extent does the notion of "rising"—or "emerging"—powers actually make sense? Many analysts assume that it does. It may but also may not, depending on the context. Developing countries have joined forces at different stages in the international arena—including the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Group of 77 (G77)—to increase their voices. Over the past decade, a new twist has been added, the visibility of rising powers. This reality reflects their growing role as providers of development cooperation and their criticism of the existing architecture of global economic governance. Both individually and through new alignments such as the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), emerging powers are engaging more directly in key normative debates about how major institutions could and should contribute to today's world order.

It is unnecessary to exaggerate either the shadow cast by the West, or what Amitav Acharya calls the "hype of the rest," to see that the role of rising powers in global governance is changing the landscape. Whether or not we choose to toss aside the host of labels—including multipolar, a-polar, G-zero, and the list goes on—it is clear that his depiction of a "multiplex cinema" is an apt image with a choice of plots (ideas), directors (powers), and action (leadership) available to observers under one roof (Acharya 2014, pp.5, 6–11, 59–78).

The label of "rising powers" is neither carved in stone nor uncontroversial. The term refers to countries whose policy elites are able to draw on economic and other sources of power to project influence both within and outside their immediate neighborhoods, and that play a substantial role in the call for global governance reforms. This label and others—including "Global South" and earlier "Third World" as well as "North"—are problematic and should be contested. They reflect specific perspectives on development and historical experiences at specific moments in time. Despite their analytical flaws and misleading connotations, however, they matter in international politics and in essays in journals like this

one because they are assumed to make sense.

But rising powers encompass not only the BRICS but also a host of others including at least Indonesia, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, South Korea, Turkey, the Philippines, Thailand, and Nigeria. Andrew Cooper aptly comments that "No one acronym has the field to itself" (Cooper 2010, p.76). The BRICS seem an especially puzzling conglomeration that contains two permanent members of the UN Security Council, one a former superpower, and the world's second largest economy. Other mouthfuls include: BRIICS (BRICS plus Indonesia); BASIC (the BRICS minus Russia); IBSA (BRICS minus Russia and China); BRICSAM (BRICS plus Indonesia and Mexico); and MIST (Mexico, Indonesia, South Korea, and Turkey). And we should not forget the membership of several rising powers in the G20 (South Africa, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, China, South Korea, India, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey) (Cooper & Thakur 2013) or the 3G Coalition that exists as part of an informal variable geometry to get the G20 to be more inclusive of non-member views (Cooper & Momani 2014). These structures lend new weight to long-standing critiques of Western dominance over the global governance of economic and financial affairs including development, and perhaps provide a way to bridge the North-South chasm or the West-versus-the-Rest divide. But they also provide a confusing array of labels that confound as much as clarify, which allow many who brandish them to hide behind a convenient ideological mask rather than to ask and answer tough questions.

In focusing on the fluid category of rising powers, this journal seeks to single out mainly the more powerful countries that were once part of the conglomerate of the Global South—the "R" in BRICS is certainly the most puzzling inclusion. Indeed for other purposes, analysts and diplomats argue that these countries still are members of the grouping of over 130 developing countries, even if they have graduated from (or are close to doing so) from being recipients of official development assistance (ODA) to being net donors. Setting aside for the moment the questionable cohesiveness of any category, rising powers have been important players on the international stage. During the Cold War, configurations such as the G77 worked to address what all developing countries perceived to be an unjust global economic system, a view that continues to characterize their position, however anomalous. For instance, the New Economic International Order (NIEO) and other proposals in a variety of contexts that were supposed to address asymmetries now appear especially hollow as Chad and China are mentioned in the same breath. Earlier, the space available for the G77 was constrained by resistance from industrialized economies and bipolarity; those elements have been altered but now exist side-by-side with the vast disparities and any strained but remaining solidarity within the Global South.

While it has been the case for some time, it has become increasingly obvious—in

whatever label we eventually give to the post–Cold War period—that it is hard to generalize about the role rising powers for at least two reasons. First, the deep structural changes within the configuration of the international arena, and especially the reality of a more multipolar order, has renewed debates about the need to update the architecture of global economic and financial governance. Second, some rising powers have become sources of finance for South-South cooperation, which they insist is distinct in principle and practice from more traditional development cooperation. But is it really? While the relevance of rising powers to international development clearly has increased, their efforts occur mainly outside of the United Nations, the place that nurtured decolonization and advocated for policies to address the grievances of developing countries. The world organization risks becoming more and more marginal as a result of the effort to pretend that all developing countries are in the same post-colonial boat.

To state the obvious, the roles and positions of rising powers are anything except homogenous—their political regimes, levels of development, ideologies, and geopolitical interests vary and diverge. They point to differing motivations even when they manage to articulate shared rhetorical claims in press releases. Rather than treating them as an undifferentiated block, it is necessary to parse how their policies and interests vary, as well as how their approaches and strategies change over time and for concrete issues. We clearly require differentiation when we are speaking about small islands and climate change; or about the programs for least developed countries by the over 30 agencies, funds, and programmes of UN development system; or about the decision-making procedures in the Security Council or the Washington-based international financial institutions. In addition, contemporary thinking about global governance and the multi-stakeholders that has animated debates at the United Nations and elsewhere requires modification to reflect another analytical lens. It is necessary to consider the system of international organizations not only in terms of intergovernmental relations – the "First UN" of member states and the "Second UN" of international civil servants – but also the "Third UN" of non-state actors such as civil society organisations and private-sector firms (Weiss, Carayannis & Jolly 2009).

There have been other periods when many of what we now label "rising powers" played visible roles within the international system; and for broader structural reasons, these windows of opportunity narrowed or even closed. The G77-led NIEO resulted in proposals that floundered not only due to resistance by the industrialized countries, but also because the oil crisis and ensuing indebtedness and structural adjustment programs of the Washington-Consensus era constrained the policy autonomy of non-oil-exporting developing countries. They shifted agency away from the UN and towards the Bretton Woods institutions. The salience of the BRICS and other groupings of rising powers must be under-

stood in light of the specific historical circumstances of the post–Cold War period rather than treated as a phenomenon not subject to oscillations and reversals. Indeed, research suggests that in some instances – e.g., China in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Curtis 2013) – there may not be as clear a break as commonly thought from previous Western patterns of investment and exploitation. The interests of all investors converge around stabilization and market-driven economic activities. More truth-in-packaging is in order.

Rising powers have long desired to expand their participation in the rule-setting processes of global governance, unwilling to be mere "rule-takers" but aspiring to be "rule-makers." However, "emerging economies appear to have preferred the status quo and working within existing institutions created by Western states," write David Held and Charles Roger. "Yet, as they grown in power and seek to ensure that their needs and values are reflected at the global level, their assertiveness and dissatisfaction with existing institutions may rise" (Held & Rogers 2013, p.6). Robert Wade argues that "the standard narrative about an emerging new global political order shaped by 'the rise of the South' is misleading…the primary responsibility for mobilizing cooperation around those global commons problems remains with the Western states, which continue to hold the commanding heights" (Wade 2013, p.81). The participation by rising powers in normative debates can take a variety of forms, from blocking proposals viewed as promoted by developed countries – illustrated by the BRICS's resistance to the effectiveness agenda of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) – to altering existing norms and proposing new frameworks altogether.

In short, we should be interrogating and not taking at face value the representativeness, objectives, and impact of various groupings of rising powers—indeed of other groupings across the Global South as well. Although a coalition such as the BRICS is the parent of a strong rhetorical call to reform global economic governance, including making development cooperation more just and effective, the member states are also interested in opening up more space for themselves within the system. Their positions, even where they succeed in finding common ground, do not necessarily correspond to those of other developing countries, nor are they always willing or able to take on responsibility for claims by regional or sub-regional groups of developing countries. Other rising powers or emerging economies also may be more inclined to enter into a dialogue with traditional western donors, even if such actions mean participating in the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation led by the OECD and the UN Development Programme. More significantly, poorer countries may not perceive BRICS's positions to be aligned with their own interests. In addition, there is considerable political contestation of their claims to leadership roles, even within their own regions, suggesting that there are limits to which the grouping can mobilize sup-

port for its positions among other members, be they rising or falling, across the Global South.

Finally, and in addition to the problematic character of the accepted narratives about the nature of the international system and the impact as well as composition of the club of rising powers, it is also worth interrogating the meaning of "global governance" for this new journal. The term itself was born from a marriage between academic theory and practical policy in the 1990s and became entwined with that other meta-phenomenon of the last two decades, globalization. James Rosenau and Ernst Czempiel's theoretical *Governance without Government* was published in 1992, (Rosenau & Czempiel 1992) just about the same time that the Swedish government launched the policy-oriented Commission on Global Governance under the chairmanship of Sonny Ramphal and Ingmar Carlsson. Both set in motion explorations of what was dubbed "global governance." The 1995 publication of the commission's report, *Our Global Neighbourhood*, (The Commission on Global Governance 1995) coincided with the first issue of the Academic Council on the United Nations System (ACUNS) journal *Global Governance*. This newly-minted quarterly sought to return to the global problem-solving origins of the leading journal in the field, which seemed to have lost its way. As Timothy Sinclair reminds us "From the late 1960s, the idea of international organization fell into disuse … *International Organization*, the journal which carried this name founded in the 1940s, increasingly drew back from matters of international policy and instead became a vehicle for the development of rigorous academic theorizing." (Sinclair 2012, p.16)

These developments paved the way for a raft of works about growing global complexity, the management of globalization, and the challenges confronting international institutions (Cox 1994; Hart & Prakash 2000; Held & McGrew 2002)—all topics that will appear with regularity in these pages. In part, global governance replaced an immediate predecessor as a normative endeavor, "world order studies," which was viewed as overly top-down and static, although many of the fathers and mothers of that period undoubtedly support the emergence of a multipolar world and rising powers. Having grown from the World Peace through World Law movement, world order failed to capture the variety of actors, networks, and relationships that characterized contemporary international relations (Falk & Mendlovitz 1966; Sohn & Grenville 1958). It did, however, force us to think more expansively about how—as John Ruggie puts it—the world "hangs together" (Ruggie 1998, p.1) even if we overlook the lessons world order studies taught us about patterns of continuity and change, and of coherence and interconnectivity.

When the perspectives from world-order scholars started to look a trifle old-fashioned, the stage was set for a new analytical cottage industry. After his archi-

val labors to write a two-volume history of world federalism, Joseph Barrata aptly observed that in the 1990s "the new expression, 'global governance,' emerged as an acceptable term in debate on international organization for the desired and practical goal of progressive efforts, in place of 'world government.'" He continued, scholars "wished to avoid using a term that would harken back to the thinking about world government in the 1940s, which was largely based on fear of atomic bombs and too often had no practical proposals for the transition short of a revolutionary act of the united peoples of the world" (Baratta 2004, pp.534–535).

The term "global governance" is not only ubiquitous but also is used and abused by academics, pundits, and policymakers. While two decades ago it was almost unknown, Michael Barnett and Raymond Duvall quipped that a decade later it suddenly had "attained near-celebrity status… [having] gone from the ranks of the unknown to one of the central orienting themes in the practice and study of international affairs." (Barnett & Duvall 2005, p.1) Its omnipresence and marquee status means that global governance has become an alternative moniker for international organizations, a descriptor for a world stage packed with ever more actors, a call to arms for a better world, an attempt to control the pernicious aspects of accelerating economic and social change, and a synonym for world government. This imprecision also has undermined its utility as an academic endeavor, which more recent work has sought to overcome.

My own analytical quest—in cooperation with Rorden Wilkinson in a number of publications (Weiss & Wilkinson 2013, 2016, 2015, 2014a, 2014b)—has meant moving beyond rescuing the concept from a simple association with international organization and law, multilateralism, and what states do in concert with insufficient attention paid to the kinds of world order in which their interactions take place, and without reference to a host of other actors, principles, norms, networks, and mechanisms. In brief, our effort aims to understand better global complexity and the way that the world is governed. It also means that we take seriously the idea that global governance actors are not merely involved in the creation and preservation of the status quo; they are also agents of change. And getting a better understanding of the drivers of change is an essential, forthcoming analytical challenge along with how global governance is experienced.

Global governance sprouted and took root among academics and policy wonks in the 1990s to reflect the interdependence and rapid technological advances as well as the sheer expansion in numbers and importance of non-state actors, both civil society and for-profit corporations, which coincided with the end of the Cold War. The term came to refer to collective efforts to identify, understand, and address worldwide problems and processes that went beyond the capacities of individual states. It reflected a capacity of the international system at any moment in time to provide government-like services in the absence of world government.

Global governance encompassed a wide variety of cooperative problem-solving arrangements that were visible but informal (e.g., practices or guidelines) or were temporary formations (e.g., coalitions of the willing). Such arrangements could also be more formal, taking the shape of hard rules (laws and treaties) or else institutions with administrative structures and established practices to manage collective affairs by a variety of actors—including state authorities, intergovernmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations, private sector entities, and other civil society actors. Weaving persuasively together the various threads of global governance and the geopolitics of rising powers is a task before us.

A final word of counsel to future contributors to the journal is to move away from the largely ahistorical quality of much of contemporary thinking about rising powers and global governance. Thus, it is essential to jettison some of the "gee-whiz" character of contemporary theorizing. The ahistorical quality of too much social science and international relations is remarkable (Exceptions include; (Buzan & Lawson 2013; Buzan & Little 2000)).One reason may be the premium international relations scholarship places on parsimonious theories and simple causal explanations. History can appear to complicate this pursuit of parsimony and causality; but dealing with the messiness of history is preferable to achieving elegant theory at the expense of understanding. Done well, history should make fundamentals clearer (Williams, Hadfield & Rofe 2012). Andrew Hurrell reminds us to eschew the "relentless presentism" that afflicts political science and international relations, (Hurrell 2002, p.xiii) a sort of inverse Alzheimer's disease: short-term memory is retained while the contexts that crafted these memories have slipped away. Coming to grips with what constitutes continuities or changes requires the longest possible historical perspective.

"History" is something that we introduce to students in the opening lectures of an introductory international relations class, but we tend to carefully cite or circumscribe it (Weiss & Wilkinson 2015, pp.391–395, 397–406). We either cherry-pick illustrations to treat history as an empirical treasure trove wherein we can find examples that fit our theories and models, or can be made to fit the way that we choose to explain the world. Or else we concentrate so narrowly on concepts or particular issues that the lessons from studying broader historical phenomena are obscured.

As such, we need better to understand the dynamics of both inertia and movement. Debates about what drives change and what encourages continuity in global governance have typically been limited to privileging alterations in the distribution of relative power capabilities among states, identifying war and alternations in material power as markers of transitions, and perceiving intergovernmental organizations to be tenacious. We should not throw out the state baby with our global governance bath water, but we should conceptualize changes—large and

small, transformative and system-stabilizing—as a means to understand why systems endure or fade away, why they may change abruptly or not at all. Harnessing knowledge for thinking about more stable and just world orders is certainly my acknowledged objective.

Part of this exercise involves enlarging the boundaries of time and space. Global governance, if it makes sense at all, is not merely a descriptor for a post-Cold War pluralistic moment but rather a legitimate set of questions about how the world is governed and ordered at all levels and in every historical period.

A growing number of historians argue persuasively that the history of any epoch cannot be properly understood merely in terms of separate national or even regional narratives but necessarily must encompass a wider perspective and context even if the geographic coverage is less than planetary (Loth et al. 2014). It is time for social scientists to follow suit but with the same type of longer-term perspective and in-depth treatments that are prized by historians.

Elsewhere, Wilkinson and I have argued that analyzing global governance from the earliest of human systems to the present day has a utility in helping us understand how and why we have ended up with today's world order (Weiss & Wilkinson 2014b). This realization flows from the necessity of asking across time: "how is the world governed?" It is in seeking answers to this question that we could be positioned to understand how global governance has changed, and thus to situation the role of rising powers in context. Craig Murphy aptly notes that, "no social scientist or historian is yet able to give a credible account of global governance over those many millennia" (Murphy 2015, p.189).

It is, nonetheless, high time that we try. And thus, the impacts and possibilities—both positive and negative—of rising powers in global governance figure on the masthead of this journal. And hopefully the articles over the coming years will help clarify thinking—mine and everyone else's.

Bio

Thomas G. Weiss is Presidential Professor of Political Science at the City University of New York's Graduate Center and 2016 Andrew Carnegie Fellow. His latest authored books are What's Wrong with the United Nations and How to Fix It (2016); Humanitarian Intervention (2016); and Governing the Globe? Addressing "Problems without Passports" (2014).

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Article

Navigating in Strong Winds: Turkey Challenged

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Abstract

Turkey has been challenged to adjust to several global and regional developments in shaping its foreign policy: the end of the Cold War; secondly, a geopolitical shift in focus by the United States from Europe to the Middle East; and an troublesome uncertainty as to the nature of world order in view of neoliberal globalization, transnational terrorism, rise of non-Western states, and the emergence of civil society. The Turkish government has evolved into a more independent political actor during the fifteen years of AKP governance and Erdoğan leadership, shifting back and forth between an opportunistic foreign policy that contributed to economic development and political stature, and a more ideological approach that emphasized civilizational, ethical, and religious affinities. The article argues that in a regional setting of intense turmoil a global context of indefinite structure, and a demanding domestic agenda, Turkey will adopt a problem-solving and realist approach to the conduct of its foreign policy.

Keywords

World Order, Middle East, Turkey, European Union, United States, Russia

Introduction

There are three developments that have deeply impacted Turkey's search for sustainable political stability, rapid economic development, and higher international status in the last twenty-five years. First and foremost, the end of the Cold War gave rise to geopolitical confusion that is exhibited by an increasing fluidity of alignments and a partial reconfiguration of world order that reflects the global and regional power/authority structures that existed after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the rise of China, turmoil in the Middle East (see Huntington 1993, 1996).[1] Turkey has struggled during this period to find a compass that will fulfill

[1] Samuel Huntington articulated the most basic challenge. It was premised on the expectation that the rise of civilizational identities will supersede statist identities, and provide new fault lines generative of global conflict. If Huntington's conceptions had become dominant, then we would definitely

its foreign policy goals in a manner commensurate with its emergent stature as an important sovereign state with major engagements in the Middle East, Europe, and the rest of the world.

Secondly, the electoral dominance of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) since 2002 has supported the expansion of Turkish foreign policy ambitions and provided a continuity of leadership as best personified by the dominant role political played by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. It remains controversial to characterize the political identity of the AKP, which affirms secularism while being accused of increasing the public role of Islam in Turkish society and weakening the checks and balances of a republican polity. Regionally and globally, Turkey under Erdoğan has been a dynamic political actor, which is notable for efforts to resolve shifting tensions among principled commitments, ideological affinities, and pragmatic adjustments, sometimes accentuating its support of ethical and normative principles and at other times making pragmatic adjustments that seem to ignore or even contradict these principles. What is beyond controversy is the degree to which Turkey has become a more significant regional force and an innovative global actor during the period of AKP leadership.

Thirdly, and most elusively, the framing of world order can no longer be taken for granted and reduced to the interaction of sovereign territorial states (Kissinger 2014). The Westphalian framework of state-centric world order offers a first approximation for comprehending how power and authority are distributed, as well as how mutual interests are protected via the mechanisms of multilateralism.[2] The United Nations embodies this purely statist version of the Westphalian conception of world order, including a geopolitical component consisting of the permanent membership and right of veto vested in the five countries that prevailed in World War II (also known as the P-5).[3] This blend of statism and geopolitics no longer seems either descriptive of the geopolitical landscape or normatively consistent with the ethical and legal principles of the post-colonial era. The rise of non-state actors in the form of transnational extremist networks, market forces, and civil society organizations challenge claims of statist hegemony, while the geopolitical fix represented by the P-5 appears more and more anachronistic, hav-

re-describe world order as post-Westphalian.

[2] Although not discussed here, it is important to distinguish between Westphalia from 1648-1945 when it was primarily a European, Western framework, given a hierarchical character during the era of European colonialism and Westphalia since 1945 when the state-centric character of world order became universalized as a result of the collapse of colonialism. This has meant that geopolitics in the post-colonial Westphalia has not been as explicit as during the colonial era, but also that its West-centric character has shifted away from Europe, centered in the United States, then shared with the Soviet Union, then asserted in a unipolar format, and now confused by the rise of China, the emergence of the BRICS, and the reassertion of Russia.

[3] This embodiment of Westphalia in the UN Charter did not at the outset question the legitimacy of European colonialism, nor did it raise issues about the role and relevance of non-state political actors.

ing been established more than 70 years ago at a West-centric time when the global South was still subject to colonial rule. Westphalian notions of problem-solving are also under stress due to the difficulties of promoting *global* public interests or human interests as these are understood in relation to such issues as climate change, nuclear weaponry, and regulation of economic globalization. The absence of stronger central institutions, in the form of a more autonomous UN, makes it virtually impossible to solve such global challenges on the basis of multilateralism, that is, intergovernmental negotiations that are dominated by the interplay of *national* interests.

The underlying conceptual question posed is whether in view of these fundamental changes it would be better to think of the global setting as post-Westphalian rather than as the latest phase of Westphalian world order. Or, alternatively, given the renewed surge of nationalism throughout the world, might it be preferable to acknowledge the reasserted dominance of state-centrism by sticking with the Westphalian terminology or by choosing a hybrid label such as 'neo-Westphalian.'(Falk 2016, 2004, pp.3–44). In this respect, classical Westphalianism in the period after the collapse of colonialism was weakened more by the rise of neoliberal globalization, and the growing influence of private sector corporate and financial forces, than by post-colonial geopolitical manipulations.[4]

This article will first consider these three major developments as bearing upon Turkey's international profile, and then briefly assess specific dimensions of Turkey's evolving relationship with the United States, Europe, Russia, China, and the Middle East. In this sense, the outlook taken here is late Westphalian, acknowledging the role of non-state actors and identities, but still affirming the statist core of world order as still the best descriptive summary. The Turkish national situation, as well as the regional and global setting, is extremely uncertain and unstable at the present time making the future even more unknowable than in the past, which can be partly appreciated as the failure by political actors to find a sustainable and coherent post-Cold War geopolitical framework that accommodates a wider distribution of power and authority to non-Western political actors and takes due account of the rise of non-state economic and political actors, as well as civilizational identities, in settings of globalization and transnational terrorism. This quality of radical uncertainty has led most governmental actors of sovereign states to exhibit caution and flexibility in their various efforts to navigate the windy seas of global political life. Turkey after some adventuresome initiatives early in the 21st century is no exception as it again pursues arrangements aimed at promoting stability and balance, although in the context of *independence* rather

[4] By 'classic Westphalianism' is meant not only a state-centric world order, but also a West-centric world order.

than earlier during the decades of the Cold War through geopolitical *dependence* and alignment.

The End of the Cold War, the Rise of the AKP, and the Search for a New World Ordering Conception

During the Cold War the geopolitical dimension of international life was dominated by bipolarity, with each pole associated with the two so-called superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union. Alignments were remarkably stable, and when shifts were contemplated as when leaders came to power with a mandate of realignment, war and intervention were almost sure to follow. This was the experience of progressive leaders and movements in the West that dared to question the premises of the Cold War, and equally so for those in East Europe who wanted to leave the Soviet bloc.[5] The exceptions were extremely rare, such as Cuba and Yugoslavia, and these societies paid dearly over time for the audacity of asserting their independence.

Turkey was reliably understood as comfortable during the Cold War decades with its junior partner role as a respected member of NATO, even allowing its territory to be used by the West to make extremely provocative deployments of nuclear weaponry close to the Soviet border.[6] During the Cold War, Turkey pursued a passive foreign policy even within its own region, reacting to neighbors in keeping with Cold War logic, consistently deferring to the priorities of Washington, and accepting its strategic status as a frontline state in implementing the overarching geopolitical priority of the West to contain and deter Soviet expansionism.

Even after the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Turkey maintained its same stance as during the Cold War until the ascent to governing authority of the AKP in 2002. The various secular leaders during this pre-AKP interim period were preoccupied with national issues, including the control of political Islam, the counterinsurgent war against the Kurdish challenge, and the search for a resolution of the conflict with Greece and Greek Cyprus over the future of Cyprus. There was no significant questioning of deference to the United States or any exploration of the potential for a more activist Turkish foreign policy in the immediate post-Cold War years with the brief, partial, and contested exception of the coalition leadership role as enacted by Necmettin Erbakan, Prime Minister 1996-97, who controversially promoted closer Turkish ties with countries throughout the

[5] These premises included the ideological postulates of capitalism. US interventions in Iran (1953), Guatemala (1954), and Chile (1973) were directed at nationalist governments that sought to mobilize indigenous resources to benefit the domestic population at the expense of foreign investment. Cold War rationales for these interventions were invoked, but the better explanations of these events relates to the radical nationalist turn in domestic politics.

[6] Compared the political panic that the prospective deployment of Soviet missiles in Cuba caused in 1962 that brought the world uncomfortably close to nuclear war.

Islamic world, and was coerced into resigning from government by an ultimatum of the Turkish armed forces.[7]

Without any indication of disruptive intentions, Turkey embarked on a more independent line of international behavior shortly after the AKP assumed control of the governing process. In fact, Turkey at first accorded a high priority to gaining membership in the European Union while simultaneously reaffirming its NATO ties and overall relationship with the United States. At the same time, the AKP was eager to reestablish Turkey as a major influence and important presence beyond its territorial borders both for material reasons associated with economic development and for cultural and psychopolitical objectives associated with a revived motivation to assert a regional primacy reminiscent of its glorious Ottoman past. More than anyone else in the AKP, Ahmet Davutoğlu articulated this post-Kemalist approach to Turkish identity and its implications for Turkey's foreign policy, which was sometimes criticized by opposition forces as a form of overreaching, projecting neo-Ottoman ambitions and departing from the prudent Euro-American contours of Kemalist statism (Bülent Aras 2009; Davutoğlu forthcoming). Davutoğlu's own ascent to power from Special Advisor to become Foreign Minister (2009) and then Prime Minister (2014) was itself an indication that Turkey had become an independent international player in a manner that departed in some dramatic ways from geopolitical constraints operative during the Cold War. This departure was acknowledged in the West, and at first generally approved of in Washington as a congenial development that helped substantiate US claims that it could cooperate with a government led by devout Muslims.

Under Davutoğlu's leadership Turkey became increasingly active on its own within the Middle East and especially in neighboring areas that had previously been associated directly and indirectly with Ottoman Turkey, but also in new regions that were completely new for Turkish diplomacy. These included peacekeeping initiatives in the Balkans, Central Asia, and Caucuses, and a variety of more innovative outreach initiatives, especially in Africa, but also Latin America and parts of Asia. The independent line being pursued was dramatized for the West by shows of Turkish support for the Palestinian struggle that brought Ankara into direct conflict with Israel, and helps explain the increasingly critical attitude toward Turkey adopted by the world media.[8] This confrontation reached its peak, threatening war, in the Mavi Marmara incident in 2010 when Israeli commandos boarded in international waters a Turkish ship, under the control of a civil society organization, participating in a humanitarian mission to break the Israel blockade

[7] Turgut Özal, while prime minister in the period preceding the end of the Cold War (1983-1989) prefigured the kind of activism that Turkey embraced after the AKP came to power.

[8] It is notable that the spark that ignited Turkey's tensions with Israel occurred at the World Economic Forum in Davos when then Prime Minister Erdoğan had an angry exchange with Israel's President Shimon Peres about the recent Israeli attack on Gaza.

of Gaza, resulting in the death of nine Turkish nationals.

Even more telling was the American reaction to an attempt by Turkey in cooperation with Brazil to forge an arrangement for the storage of Iranian enriched uranium that would ease the crisis building in the region with respect to Iran's nuclear program. There is some ambiguity surrounding the question of whether Iran and Brazil were acting fully on their own or with prior covert authorization by the United States. In the latter construction of the events, the US expected Iran to be unwilling to reach any acceptable agreement concerning its nuclear program, and thus it was supposed, Iran's rejection of the Turkish-Brazilian proposals would strengthen the US-Israel advocacy of a more coercive approach based on escalating sanctions. When Iran unexpectedly agreed to an arrangement that seemed responsive to proliferation concerns, militarists and think tank strategists in Washington began voicing strong objections, claiming that Turkey and Brazil were operating 'outside their lane,' and thus inappropriately given the unspoken ground rules of geopolitics.[9] In effect, Ankara was being told that salient issues of regional diplomacy, despite the end of the Cold War were to be treated as belonging to a geopolitical agenda to be addressed by policies decreed in Washington.

In some respects, Turkish support for the insurgency in Syria fell in between poles of deference and independence. On the one side, Turkey felt betrayed by the Assad regime in Damascus that failed to live up to its promise of political reforms, and on the other side, it was being pushed to take the lead in organizing an anti-Assad campaign by the United States, especially during the tenure of Hillary Clinton as Secretary of State.[10] In any event, the Syrian policy five years later is seen on all sides as a costly failure of the Turko-American interventionary approach. In Ankara much of the blame for this failure is assigned to the United States, especially considering the failure of Washington to appreciate better Turkey's objections to the use of Iraqi and especially Syrian Kurds (YPG) to put pressure on ISIS and Damascus, as well as failing to do more to share the immense burden associated with upwards of three million Syrian refugees that have entered Turkey.[11]

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[9] Such a reaction presupposes the legitimacy of geopolitical criteria for determining the appropriate outer limits of foeign policy on the part of ordinary or normal states, that is, those lacking a global geopolitical status.

[10] This American anti-Assad push was part of its post-Cold War 'democracy promotion' geopolitics, centered in the Middle East, that contended that democracies are less inclined to fight one another and are more efficient participants in a neoliberal world economy. In the background, were political forces associated with Israel that seemed intent on breaking up anti-Israel authoritarian regimes in the region, starting with Iraq and Syria. For background see 'Clean Break' proposals. See neocon report prepared by a group working with Benjamin Netanyahu entitled "Clean Break: A New Strategy for Securing the Realm" (1996) http://israeleconomy.org/strat1/htm prepared for Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies in Jerusalem.

[11] There are indications that Syrians are returning to Syria from Turkey to areas that have been cleared of Daesh domination, but it is unclear how extensive this process will be.

The present period, which can be viewed as post-Davutoğlu, is one in which the Turkish government is intent on establishing a new set of diplomatic relations based on bringing Russia in from the cold while not disrupting its strategic, economic, and diplomatic alignments with Europe and the United States. Such equidistance diplomacy seems highly sensible from a Turkish perspective, but it does collide with the anti-Russian stands adopted by Europe and the United States in response to Russian moves in Crimea and the Ukraine (for an analysis suggesting that accommodation with Russia is increasingly favored by European political leaders and governments see: Fisher 2016). With Trump's election as the next American president it may be that Turkey and the US will be on the same page when it comes to accommodating Russia if Trump moves forward substantively with his apparent pro-Putin approach when in the White House and Moscow responds in a responsible fashion.

What seems definite, however, is that Turkey is pursuing a far more independent course of foreign policy than it did during the Cold War. Such independence has probably been further encouraged recently by the 'wait and see' approach taken by the United States and Europe to the failed coup of July 15, 2016, which were regarded as a major disappointment, if not betrayal, by Turkey's elected government. These adverse impressions were reinforced by the harsh criticisms of Turkish crackdowns on those suspected of connections with the coup perpetrators that have led to a freezing of negotiations with the EU over Turkish accession and a very hostile perception of the Erdoğan in the West. These developments have shaken the foundations of Turkish political identity, and have definitely given rise to speculation of a possible Turkish turn toward China as well as Russia, and even membership and active participation in Chinese led economic organizations that do not include the United States.

Without notable effect, Erdoğan's Turkey has for several years taken the lead in expressing objections to the kind of geopolitical structure operative within the UN, being particularly opposed to the privileged position of the P-5, proposing reform of the UN along more strictly Westphalian lines that respects the equality of states by abolishing permanent membership in the Security Council altogether (Sputnik n.d.). Such a stand is more radical than the more frequent call for an expansion of the P-5 to be more reflective of the present geopolitical hierarchy and more geographically and civilizationally representative, with calls to add India, Brazil, Nigeria or South Africa, Japan as permanent members of the Security Council with (or without) the veto. The Turkish proposed reform package challenges the geopolitical dimension of the UN structure in a more fundamental manner.

Another challenge to Cold War arrangements is the rise to prominence of the BRICS, seen as a deliberate geopolitical move to upgrade the role of non-West-

ern major states in directions at odds both with the UN structure, Cold War bipolarity, and neoliberal unipolarity. China has taken the lead here with such institutional innovations as the Asia Infrastructural Development Bank with 46 members (including Germany, France, Brazil, and Iran) established in 2015.

It seems evident that a new geopolitical order has not assumed a definitive shape as yet, although it also clear that the 'unipolar moment' that followed the Soviet collapse has passed, and that many countries now enjoy considerable space for political, economic, and diplomatic maneuver. There may ensue a period where there is no coherent geopolitical structure, with various tendencies present, ranging from a continuing global war on terror to a second Cold War to a new set of alignments and rivalries associated with a rising China and newly assertive Russia (Kupchan 2012). How Turkey responds in such an atmosphere of radical uncertainty will challenge the political imagination of its leaders, and is likely to encourage adherence to Turkey's turn toward pragmatism and away from ethical principles and ideological affinity.[12]

Legitimating a new world order depends not only on the actual relations of power and authority, but also on the degree to which such an arrangement is perceived as fair and reflective of existing power relations by leading political actors. Whether Westphalian type thinking that reduces order to relations among territorial sovereign states can adequately capture the present historical moment in which a wide variety of non-state actors and networked relationships strongly influence behavior seems problematic over time (for global implications of networking see Slaughter 2004, 2016).[13] It is also a period in which earlier democratizing and globalizing expectations are being modified, if not displaced, by the rise of right-wing populism and ultra-nationalism throughout the world.

Principal Relationships Reconsidered

United States. The possible repositioning of Turkey's relationship with the United States casts a shadow of uncertainty over any assessment of what to expect in the coming years. At one extreme is a rather radical triangular relationship between

[12] It can be argued that the Turkish approach to the Arab World after the uprising of 2011 epitomized a turn toward principle (anti-authoritarianism) and ideological affinity (sectarian support for the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Gaza, and Syria; solidarity with the Palestinian struggle). In the last several years Turkish has followed a more pragmatic line, including normalizing relations with Israel at the partial expense of the Palestinians and even making overtures to Egypt despite the crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood by the Sisi government. The pragmatic orientation does not pertain across the board. Erdoğan has recently reaffirmed his affirmation of the Palestinian struggle, and supported UNESCO's criticisms of Israel's failures to protect Muslim sacred sites in Jerusalem.

[13] Conrast Kissinger, who insists that there is no viable alternative at present to a universalized acceptance of the Westphalian framework with Falk, who argues that there is emergent for a variety of reasons, especially the declining historical agency of military power and the rise of non-state actors and transnational market forces, a 'new geopolitics' that cannot be usefully fit within the Westphalian framework.

Russia, the United States, and Turkey that strikes compromises on the difficult persisting challenges in the Middle East, especially as pertaining to Syria and Iran. With Trump's seeming flexibility and Putin's definite bid for a working relationship with the United States based on mutual interests, Turkey would be a natural partner in working out an arrangement that successfully achieves a ceasefire in Syria, coordinating efforts against both Islamic extremists and political transition, and agreeing on a plan to uphold the Iran P-5 + 1 nuclear deal (Higgins 2016). Such cooperative diplomacy would undoubtedly be opposed by some sections of the national security establishment in Washington, by the powerful Israel lobby, and by the dogmatically anti-Erdoğan Turkish diaspora. Whether such a diplomatic process emerges will be an indicator of how contradictory pressures toward Middle East security policy are likely to be resolved within the Trump presidency. Of course, efforts to move in such accommodationist directions could encounter obstacles as these three political actors view the contours of acceptable compromise in incompatible ways.

There is also a distinct possibility that the probable refusal of the United States to grant Turkey's request for the extradition of Fethullah Gülen could lead to serious tensions in the near future between the two countries. Especially, if Erdoğan and his associates are convinced that the US Government played an active role in July 15th failed coup, and the West continues to feature strident criticism of Turkish internal policies toward opposition elements, a real break in the alliance relationship would become a distinct possibility. If these tensions arise in a context where Russia, the United States, and China have moved in accommodationist directions, then a Turkish turn toward Asia, especially China and Russia could be expected. Yet there are reasons to believe that a recalibration of US and Turkish relations in the Middle East will yet be able to produce a coordinated approach. In an important interview, the Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu somewhat optimistically insisted that "..we can again become two allies motivated by a common vision."('FM Çavuşoğlu: Turkey, US can once again become allies motivated by common vision with Trump administration' n.d.)

Europe. Unless Europe's present posture toward Turkey, epitomized by official EU criticism of Turkish violations of human rights leading to the suspension of EU accession talks, is soon reversed, there is a strong prospect of a further deterioration of relations, although not a disruption of trade and investment that remains vital for both Europe and Turkey. This deterioration would be further aggravated if the 2016 migration agreement between Turkey and the EU collapses, and large numbers of migrants again cross Turkish borders to reach European destinations. As with the United States, there are strong strategic and economic reasons for the EU to do its best to avoid allowing strained relations with Turkey to be an occasion for a real break that would weaken NATO and worsen the economic

situation in Europe. At the same time, European hostility to immigrants, especially those from Muslim countries, could push the EU toward an even more confrontational posture with respect to Turkey.

Russia. It is possible that if the hardliners in Washington prevail, and US relations with Russia do not improve, Turkey would be in a stronger position to maneuver, possibly either seeking continuity with the US or cooperative problem solving with Russia. If relations with the US (and the EU) worsen, then it will be increasingly plausible for Turkey to think in terms of realignment, featuring Russia and China. Such a development would amount to a major modification in geopolitical structure even if no major rupture occurs. As Mr. Çavuşoğlu made clear, Turkey gains leverage elsewhere in the world to the extent that it establishes positive working relations with any of the major political actors.

China. If relations with the US and the EU deteriorate, a turn toward China by Turkey is quite likely, with important strategic, economic, and diplomatic consequences. A closer relationship with Turkey would help China make its own transition from being a regional power in Asia-Pacific to becoming a global power. From Turkey's perspective an upgrading of its relations with China would both give it more negotiating leverage in the West, and help fulfill Turkish ambitions to be more active internationally beyond its immediate neighborhood. It is possible that conflict patterns will lead Turkey to create positive relations with Iran as well as with China, creating a cooperative triangular set of relations among Ankara, Tehran, and Beijing. Such a scenario envisions a new geopolitical balance that is formed on the one side by the US, Russia, and EU, and on the other side by a reconfigured BRICS grouping with Russia dropping out by achieving a primary identity as its positive relations with the West, and several countries, including Turkey, being included.

The opposite dynamic is also possible, stemming from growing tensions between China and the United States, exerting pressure on Turkey to make a difficult choice. This kind of development has become more relevant given the Trump presidency, with its expected warming of relations with Russia and chilling relations with China over trade, monetary policy, and South Asian island disputes.

These speculations are admittedly highly speculative, but take account of the likely seismic changes in geopolitical identity brought about by the tsunami wave of right-wing populism sweeping the planet, climaxed by the electoral triumph of Trump. Such views reflect a belief that world order is almost certain to experience important discontinuities in the years ahead, although their precise character is impossible to predict with any confidence.

Middle East. Turkey seems currently to have three overarching objectives in the

Middle East: First, to rely on diplomacy to lessen turmoil, especially near its borders, giving priority to agreeing on a Syrian ceasefire followed by a political transition process; so far, the diplomatic sticking point, pitting Russia and Iran against Turkey and the United States, relates to the role and treatment of Bashar al-Assad; secondly, to work with both Russia and the United States to defeat the Islamic terrorist groups in Syria and Iraq without discrimination, which means for Turkey the inclusion of the Syrian YPG as terrorist adversary along with Daesh (ISIS), al-Nusra, PKK; here the obstacle relates to the US support for the YPG as aspects of its anti-Assad and anti-Daesh policies; and thirdly, to establish as strong economic, cultural, and political links throughout the Middle East, and to bolster its leverage in such other settings as Europe and Asia. Turkey's optimal foreign policy goal is to work out cooperative arrangements with all major players in the region, including Russia, the United States, and Iran, on the basis of mutual interests, that is, in pursuit of a pragmatic foreign policy that is seemingly devoid of ideological priorities. If Turkey succeeds in implementing this approach to the Middle East it is expected to have payoffs in other regions where it will be taken more seriously as an effective political actor.[14]

Conclusion

It seems fitting to end by again quoting from Çavuşoğlu's comprehensive interview. Mr. Çavuşoğlu asserts that Turkish foreign policy should be "..multi-dimensional, proactive, economy-dominated and based on strong humanitarian principles." The stress on economy and humanitarian concerns does seem to echo the earlier Davutoğlu approach of 'principled realism' as the most desirable orientation of Turkey toward the outside world. Of course, as always, the devil is in the details, and the test of such an approach will be its treatment of concrete policy challenges. Given the rise of populist autocrats throughout the world, it may be increasingly difficult to give real meaning to humanitarian goals if priority is accorded to evolving a maximum range of positive relations with political actors near and far.

Çavuşoğlu also stresses, with a certain originality, the interactive importance for Turkey of working out a multidimensional agenda in its relations with critical regions bearing on global policy: "The better relations we have with Asia and the Middle East, the more powerful we become in our relations with the EU. Similarly, the better relations with the EU mean a more powerful Turkey in the Shanghai Five." [15]

Of course, such guiding principles will have to cope with the radical uncertainty

[14] This is the central thrust of the Çavuşoğlu interview, stressing inter-regional impacts of establishing positive relations in any important regional domain. See Note 16.

[15] The Shanghai Five are China, Kazakhstan, Kirgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan.

of this period where there is renewed pressure on earlier expectations associated with economic globalization. The populist surge, with its nationalist form of identity politics, is skeptical about the present global economic and security arrangements, seeking a greater protection for high wage national economies and a smaller geopolitical investment in seeking to control the internal political development of foreign countries. If Trump follows through on his renunciation of interventionist diplomacy, it may lead to reduced political violence in the Middle East and elsewhere. It could also lead to a degraded willingness to help countries confronted by poverty or harms arising from global warming.[16]

Finally, Turkey has been slow to give attention to such issues as nuclear disarmament and climate change. In this sense, it has emphasized Westphalian logic that does not appear to have the capacity to address post-Westphalian global challenges. In this century, these challenges are integral to the foreign policy of a responsible international political actor, and it is to be hoped that the Turkish leadership will accord more emphasis to issues of what might be called 'global citizenship' as well as to the opportunities generated by the changing geopolitical context.

Bio

Richard Falk is Albert G. Milbank Professor of International Law Emeritus at Princeton University where he was a member of the faculty for 40 years (1961-2001). He is Chair of the International Board of Advisers of POMEAS. Between 2002 and 2013 he was associated with Global & International Studies at the Santa Barbara campus of the University of California, where he continues to direct a research project on 'Climate Change, Human Security, and Democracy' in his role as Fellow of the Orfalea Center. He was the Special Rapporteur on Occupied Palestine for the United Nations Human Rights Council between 2008 and 2014. He served as Chair of the Board, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, 2004–12 and is now its Senior Vice President. In 2008–09 he was appointed expert advisor to the President of the UN General Assembly. He has published more than 50 books. The most recent are (Re)Imaging Humane Global Governance (2014) and Power Shift: On the New Global Order (2016).

[16] Overall, Trump's 'America First' apparent withdrawal from present levels of global involvement would likely be first felt in the Middle East where the failed post-Cold War diplomacy of 'democracy promotion' and accompanying regime changing intervention has been most tested. One major shift in American management of geopolitics after the Cold War was a renewed strategic emphasis given to the Middle East as the region where energy resources, proliferation prospects, and Israeli security posed threat to vital interests of the West. In this regard, Europe, the former nexus of geopolitical commitment, was left to evolve on its own. This may change in coming years as the European Union seems likely to be confronted by a series of difficult challenges.

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Article

Turkey's Great Transformation: An Influence-Multiplier for the Future of Europe and Beyond

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Abstract

In the 21st century along with the BRICS countries including Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, Turkey has acquired a stronger global position as a rising power. In terms of its economic capabilities, unique geographic position and political significance, Turkey has become one of the most dominant actors in its periphery and beyond. Turkey's power is on the rise and there are a number of reasons for that. There are two main components behind Turkey's rise: activism in foreign policy and strong economy. These components together with Turkey's domestic political transformation have also reflections on Turkey's relations with the European Union (EU). This article aims to analyze the roots of Turkey's rising power and reflection of Turkey's rising power on Turkey-EU relations. In this context first activism in foreign policy and strong economy will be discussed to understand Turkey's increasing role in global politics. Then changing dynamics of Turkey-EU relations will be assessed.

Keywords

Turkish Foreign Policy Activism, Turkey as a Rising Power, Turkey in Global Governance, Turkey-EU Relations

Introduction

"The world is bigger than five", as President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan addressed several times at the United Nations (UN) General Assembly to remark five permanent members of the Security Council's decision-making system. This clear and unambiguous statement simply underlines the fact that the global order is changing and international system should adopt itself to present-day realities which are different than 70 years ago.

The global order is being reshaped in the 21st century by the erosion of prin-

ciples of sovereignty, territoriality, non-intervention, the increasing importance of democracy and human rights and more than ever the new actors such as non-governmental organizations, transnational companies, civil society organizations are shaping international politics (Parlar Dal & Oğuz Gök 2014, p. 3). Already, multiple and competing sources of power emerged around the world. The bipolar and unipolar structure of world affairs has altered by a much more complex tapestry of forces, alliances and issues (Stanley Foundation 2009).

Moreover, dynamics of globalization and end of the Cold War era have brought the systemic changes shifting the centers of power. Western world is gradually losing its attractiveness to be replaced by a new international system. As Hurrell puts it, power is shifting in global politics from the old G7 countries to new emerging powers (Hurrell 2013, p. 224). Moreover, this power shift has brought not only a change in the characteristic of economic and political power relations, but more importantly challenging the existing order of global justice on behalf of the "rest" of the world. Indeed, newly emerging actors position themselves as active players demanding the global transformation of center-periphery relations in order to create a more democratic and fair international system (Kalın 2011, p. 5).

In the 21st century along with the BRICS countries including Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, Turkey has acquired a stronger global position as a rising power (Müftüler-Baç 2014). In terms of its economic capabilities, unique geographic position and political significance, Turkey has become one of the most dominant actors in its periphery and beyond.

Turkey's power is on the rise and there are a number of reasons for that. There are two main components behind Turkey's rise: activism in foreign policy and strong economy. These components together with Turkey's domestic political transformation have also reflections on Turkey's relations with the European Union (EU).

Once on the periphery of the West, Turkey has gradually emerged as the center of its own world, which also encompasses the Middle East, the Caucasus and the Balkans and even areas further afield such as the Gulf and North Africa. After the Cold War period, in the absence of a bipolar world confrontation, Turkey has showed a great determination to work towards the emergence of a new international order thanks to Turkey's re-awakening of its assets rooted in its history, culture and geography (Yeşiltaş 2014).

The Justice and Development Party's (AK Party) fourteen years in power have played a big part in Turkey's rising power. Turkey has experienced a spectacular transformation process through further democratization, improvements in freedoms, an economic restoration in tune with the global economy and an active foreign policy since 2002. AK Party brought path-breaking changes in Turkish

domestic politics, such as the normalization of civil-military relations and democratization in the political sphere, as well as Turkey's foreign policy and national security doctrine (Kanat 2013, p. 1). Within governing institutions, political parties, civil society and the private sector, Turkey mobilized a powerful coalition of actors from different walks of life who united in propelling the country towards a distinctly higher level of democracy and economic development (Independent Commission 2014, p. 6).

The great political, social and economic transformation affected the process and prospect of EU membership. In fact, as argued by many observers, the decision by the AK Party to make accession to the EU one of its major objectives, the increasing global and regional role of Turkey and the increasing importance of civil society are together making Turkish modernity more societal, liberal, plural and multi-cultural (Derviş, Emerson, Gros & Ülgen 2004, p. 16). This transformation has put an end to former asymmetric relations between Turkey and the EU and placed the relations on a more equal footing.

This article aims to analyze the roots of Turkey's rising power and reflection of Turkey's rising power on Turkey-EU relations. In this context first activism in foreign policy and strong economy will be discussed to understand Turkey's increasing role in global politics. Then changing dynamics of Turkey-EU relations will be assessed.

Activism in Foreign Policy: Hard and Soft Power Clout

Leaving behind the single-dimensional and reductionist perspectives of the Cold War era, Turkey has reconsidered its strategic priorities and overcome the binary oppositions of the Cold War era. In fact, new multi-dimensional and active foreign policy doctrine is the most important asset of Turkey as a rising power. Today in every parts of the world, Turkey is fully determined to contribute to a new international order, which would be more representative of the current distribution of power capabilities across the globe (Oğuzlu 2013, p. 774). Turkey would like to put an end to global injustice, economic and social inequality, undemocratic representation and decision-making in major international institutions, and the geopolitical, geo-economic and geo-cultural marginalization of the Muslim world (Parlar Dal & Oğuz Gök 2014, p. 5).

Turkey's foreign policy agenda is shaped in a more confident and autonomous policy stance that has upgraded Turkey's regional economic and geopolitical position (Serbos 2013, p. 144). Turkey has been investing in its geopolitical and geocultural positions by taking a leading role in the establishment of regional organizations, making attempts to economically integrate the region, opening consulates in many countries, trying to become a hub for energy pipelines, culturally

presenting itself as a role model in the region, making attempts to promote democracy in the Arab world and improving ties with the rest of the world (Yuvacı & Doğan 2012, p. 10).

Indeed, Turkey has always pursued effective multilateral cooperation, as exemplified by its membership to various international and regional organizations (Parlar Dal 2016). Turkey has been a founding member of the United Nations (UN), Council of Europe (CoE), Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) as well as Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in 1945, 1949, 1960, 1969 and 1975 respectively. In addition, Turkey has been contributing to global peace and security as a NATO member since 1952. But particularly for the last fifteen years Turkey's global activism has increased tremendously thanks to its growing economy and multidimensional foreign policy based on Turkey's hard power but also especially on its rising soft power. As Falk (2013, p. 353) emphasized, "More than any country in this century, Turkey has raised its profile as a regional and global political actor".

The UN is a significant platform where Turkey's global activism can be clearly observed (Sever & Oğuz Gök 2016). Previously, Turkey had served as non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 1951-52, 1954-55 and 1961. After 48 years, Turkey once again became non-permanent member of the Security Council for 2009-2011 term. It is no coincidence that this membership came at a time when Turkey was following a more active foreign policy than ever. What is more, though not elected, Turkey ran as candidate for non-permanent membership for 2015-2016 term. This is a clear proof of the fact that avoiding responsibilities is not a preference for Turkey. On the contrary, Turkey is ready and quite self-confident to take on responsibilities in order to contribute to global order, peace and security. In this framework, Turkey became one of the co-founders of Alliance of Civilizations initiative under the UN, aiming to break down prejudices between West and Muslim societies. Recently, on 3 November 2016, the election of a Turkish academic as a member of the UN International Law Commission after more than 20 years by obtaining 75 % of the votes cast is another indicator of Turkey's increasing visibility under the UN umbrella.

Turkey, with the help of its multidimensional foreign policy drawing on its hard and soft power, has been making remarkable contributions to global peace and security especially through various operations under NATO framework. Turkey has the second largest army of NATO. In addition, according to Global Firepower Index (2016), Turkey has the 8th largest army among the 126 countries included. Turkey ranks 9th both in terms of total aircraft strength and tank strength. Among the EU candidate countries, Turkey is the only country that is also an active member of NATO. Indeed, Turkey is also actively engaged in the

EU's Security and Defense Policy through its participation in the EU's civil and military missions held in Bosnia Herzegovina, Macedonia, Congo, Kosovo and Palestinian Territories.

It is obvious that military might alone is not sufficient for an effective multi-dimensional foreign policy that would make an impact on global governance. It should be complemented with "soft power", which was firstly defined by Joseph Nye (2004) as "the ability to shape the preferences of others." Thanks to its geographical position, historical linkages, growing economy and proactive and multidimensional foreign policy, Turkey has been enjoying a considerable degree of soft power in its region comprising of the Balkans, Central Asia, Caucasus and Middle East. Turkey highlights the concept of "regional responsibility" in her efforts to contribute to the peace and stability of its region.

The Balkans bears a special significance for Turkey. Still being the most fragile part of Europe, it is the test case for lasting peace and stability. Turkey is a founding member of the Southeast European Cooperation Process (SEECP), which aims to deepen regional cooperation and integrate into the European and Euro-Atlantic structures. Turkey is also contributing to regional peace via trilateral consultation mechanisms, including Turkey-Bosnia Herzegovina-Serbia and Turkey-Bosnia Herzegovina-Croatia.

On the other hand, Central Asia is a significant region for Turkey as common ethnic, cultural, historical and linguistic ties are shared. These commonalities played a role in the establishment of the Cooperation Council of Turkic Speaking States (the Turkic Council) in 2009 by Turkey, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Being aware of the fact that a secure, democratic and market-economy oriented Central Asia will better serve the interests of the region and the world (Koru 2013), Turkey also intensifies cooperation with the countries in the region through a number of tools including, but not limited to, high-level strategic council mechanisms, joint economic commissions and cooperation councils.

Turkey has deep-rooted historical and cultural ties with the Caucasus region as well. Turkey is actively cooperating with the countries in the region through major energy and transport projects, such as TANAP, Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Crude Oil Pipeline, Baku-Tbilisi-Erzurum Natural Gas Pipeline and Baku-Tbilisi-Kars Railway. Trilateral meetings are held regularly between Turkey, Azerbaijan and Georgia to promote regional cooperation.

For the Middle Eastern countries, Turkey is a source of inspiration owing to its unique position as a democratic and secular state with a predominantly Muslim population (Parlar Dal & Erşen 2014, p. 262). It should be remembered that the launch of Turkey's accession negotiations in 2005 had been celebrated in the Arab

countries as if they would join the EU. Turkey is also playing an active role within the Organization of Islamıc Cooperation (OIC). The fact that a Turkish academic was elected Secretary General of OIC in 2004 through an election for the first time unlike his predecessors bears a symbolic importance, underlying Turkey's rising self-confidence as a projector of democratic practices onto the Islamic world (Warning and Kardaş, 2011). Just as Spain became a bridge between EU and Latin America and Denmark became a bridge between EU and Scandinavia, Turkey's EU accession could connect bridges between Europe and the Middle East by breaking down the prejudices and increasing mutual understanding. The stability of Mediterranean is dependent on the stability of the Middle East. In this sense, Turkey's EU membership might help to decrease the lure of fundamentalism in the region (Müftüler-Baç, 2008).

Turkey's soft power is well extended beyond its region. The dynamic and multifaceted foreign policy of Turkey makes it seek to create positive synergies on a much wider scale than her immediate neighborhood. In this framework, various trilateral cooperation mechanisms established by Turkey mainly with the countries in the Balkans and the Caucasus extended to South Asia as in the case of Turkey-Afghanistan-Pakistan Trilateral Summits. Turkey's opening-up strategies to Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and the Asia-Pacific geographies and the existence of 235 Turkish diplomatic missions worldwide is the most visible outcome of Turkey's multi-regional activism. The number of Turkish embassies in Africa increased from 12 in 2005 to 34 in 2013 as a result of Turkey's opening to Africa which gained a momentum since 2005 (Kubicek et al., 2015). Turkey was granted observer status within the African Union in 2005. Turkey also intensifies cooperation with Asian partners. The fact that Turkey became dialogue partner with Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in 2013 and recently, Turkey's chairing of the 2017 SCO's Energy Club as the first non-SCO country to do is illustrative of this fact.

Turkey rightfully takes pride in its policies that prioritize humanitarian concerns. In recent years, Turkey has become a leading actor in the field of humanitarian diplomacy. Ranking the second largest donor country in 2015 after the US, Turkey is also the world's "most generous" humanitarian actor, in terms of the ratio of its GDP allocated for humanitarian aid (Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2016). Turkey's contributions in the field of humanitarian assistance worldwide have gained international recognition as well. The first ever World Humanitarian Summit was hosted in İstanbul last May. The Summit provided a unique platform for the international community to discuss current challenges in the humanitarian system and initiate a set of concrete actions in order to enable countries and communities to better prepare for and respond to the needs of people who are affected by disasters and conflicts around the World.

Strong Economy

Another good reason of Turkey's rising power would be economics. Economic strength was always crucial but has become even more important in an age of globalization (Arda 2015). Turkey has a large and growing domestic market, dynamic private sector, liberal and secure investment environment, high quality and cost-effective labor force, as well as developed infrastructure and an institutionalized economy. Thus economic cooperation and integration has been in tandem with Turkey's policy of generating and sharing wealth.

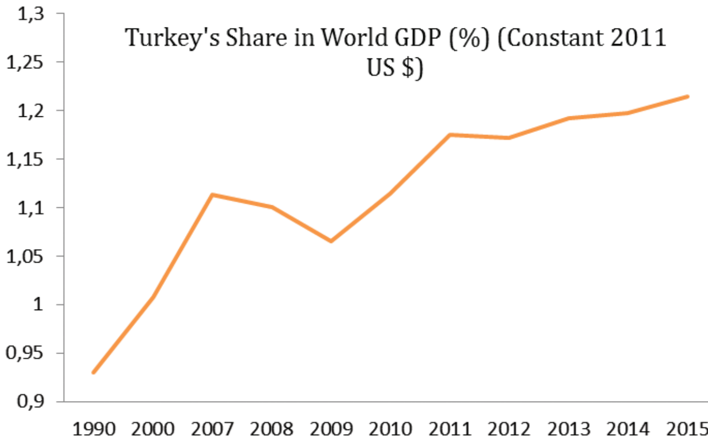
Turkish economy has evolved through a transformation process to restore the macroeconomic stability[1] and tackle with structural problems following the turbulent decade of 1990s. Post-2000 period has witnessed a social and economic transformation of Turkey with the vision to converge to economies of the developed world. In effect, the GDP growth not only resumed at a high level, comparable only to the growth rates of BRICS countries, but it was also accompanied by relatively low inflation rates, fiscal austerity and unforeseen levels of privatization and foreign direct investment[2]. Bank and Karadağ (2012) refer to this new model of transformation as "Ankara Moment" since Turkey has promoted a model with elements of pluralism and democracy, growing economy, religious and cultural authenticity, and an independent foreign policy. Boosted by the inclusion of "Anatolian tigers", Turkey had sizeable increases in production, exports and employment spreading all around the country.

Turkey's geopolitical position that combines the trade channels amongst the Mediterranean, the Middle East, the Asia, the Black Sea and the Caucasus regions remains the same. However, Turkey's role as a rising economic power and a major trade actor has grown in recent years owing mostly to the structural adjustment and stability. Being the 6th largest economy in Europe and the 18th largest economy in the world, Turkey is no longer referred as a big unstable economy in the economic failures of the Middle East, but is rather positioned at the heart of the global economic powerhouse (Figure I).

[1] See Öniş and Şenses (2009) for an elaboration of post-2001 economic reforms that led to structural adjustment and stability.

[2] Interested readers may refer to Öniş and Bayram (2008), Bakır and Öniş (2010) for an analysis of restructuring in Turkish economy after 1990.

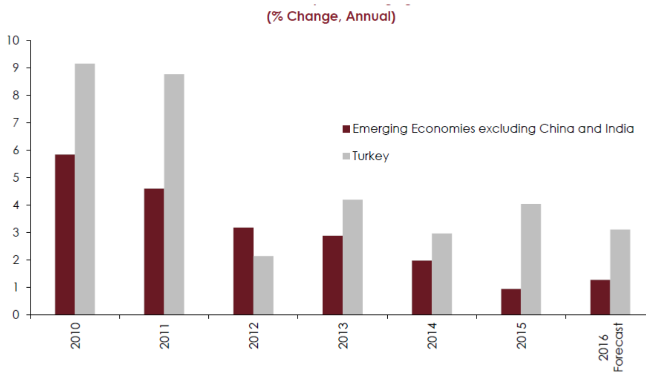
Figure 1: Turkey: an emerging power?



Source: Author's calculations, based on the data from the World Bank, World Economic Outlook Database

The growth rate in Turkey has outperformed emerging economies in recent years (Figure II) and Turkey became the Europe's fastest-growing sizeable economy. Turkey's GDP has increased from 230 billion USD in 2002 to 721 billion USD in 2015[3], with an average rate of 4.8 % per annum[4]. The economic success is particularly striking at a time when EU members are muddling through financial crises.

Figure 2: Growth Rates in Turkey and Emerging Economies (% Change, Annual)



Source: CBRT (Based on data from Bloomberg, Consensus Forecasts, CBRT)

[3] World Bank Data - Overview http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/turkey/overview

[4] Based on data from Turkstat.

However, macroeconomic stability and size are necessary but not sufficient conditions for an economic power with persistent prosperity. To this end, development strategies for the improvement of the physical infrastructure and research and development are being launched to boost the productivity. These strategies refer also to the priorities like environment, energy, transport, innovation, education, health and SMEs. As an economy neither endowed with rich natural resources like oil, nor having aggressive export-led strategies like the Asian tigers, the development story of Turkey may well be attributed to the "EU Convergence machine" (Gill et al., 2012). Thus, Turkey moves towards middle income to high income by applying the European economic model. Trade and direct investments being the mainstay, this economic model had paved the way for Turkey to foster innovation, productivity growth and job creation and reform finance and trade. Therefore, the restructuring goes hand in hand with the EU accession process.

With the Turkey-EU Customs Union, Turkey's trade boomed both in quantity and quality. It is visible from the product composition of exports that the EU has made Turkish trade more sophisticated. Atiyas and Bakis (2013) and Taymaz et al. (2011) show that Turkey's export sophistication and competitiveness have increased significantly over the last 20 years. Moreover, large and growing domestic market, mature and dynamic private sector, leading role in the region, liberal and secure investment environment, labor force, developed infrastructure, institutionalized economy and competitive tax system have become the main advantages of Turkey in attracting foreign investors. It is clear that to sustain growth, Turkey needs to deepen integration since via integration Turkey imports technology, knowledge and attracts more direct investments from the European Core.

On the other hand, one of the major strengths of Turkey lies in its young, dynamic, well-educated and multi-cultural population. There are over 25 million young, well-educated and motivated professionals in Turkey. Turkey's future prospects are wide open in terms of demographics but better use of this asset could only be made through increasing the skilled work force, i.e. quality of human capital.

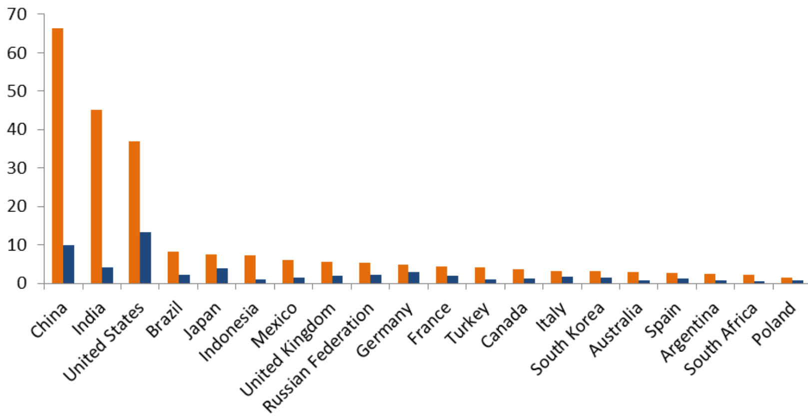
Despite the recent economic crisis in Europe, a deteriorating geopolitical environment in its neighborhood and the influx of Syrian refugees, Turkish economy seems to have proven its persistence. On the domestic front, Turkey managed to weather the storm over the challenges caused by the failed coup attempt in July 2016, making it clear that Turkey's position as a rising power is becoming robust in the Eurasia and Middle East region (Öniş & Kutlay 2013).

As a member of G-20, Turkey possesses some differences with respect to the economies in its region. Functioning market economy rules and institutions operate reasonably well in Turkey. The most developed private sector in the region is in Turkey. Turkey is the biggest exporter in its region compared to some of the

new members to the EU (like Czech Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania). Within three hours of flight, Turkey may reach a market of 1.5 billion consumers. Turkey's close and deep economic ties with the EU and other important actors of the region provide opportunities for all.

Prospects are far from blurry. According to OECD (2012), Turkey will be the second-largest economy in Europe by 2060.

Figure 3: A comparison of 2011 GDP with OECD Forecasts for 2060



Source: OECD (2012)

Turkey-EU Relations: Changing Dynamics

Turkey is a very different country today from what it was when it signed the Association Treaty with the European Community in 1963. Considering the fact that the world has changed, Europe has changed and Turkey has changed since 2002, the dynamics of Turkey-EU relations have also transformed. Before going through the changing dynamics in Turkey-EU relations, historical background should be overviewed.

Turkey-EU relations have deep roots emanating from a common history. European history is intertwined with the history of the Ottoman Empire, predecessor of the Republic of Turkey, through war, diplomacy, commerce or art (Tocci 2014). Sultan Mehmet II the Conqueror had Gentile Bellini, famous Italian Renaissance painter, made his portrait in 1480. A Franco-Ottoman alliance had been established in 1536 under the rule of Suleiman I the Magnificent. An alliance treaty had been signed between Ottoman Empire and Prussia in 1790. The first Ottoman Order of Crescent had been awarded to a British admiral in 1799, to

Horatio Nelson, owing to his victories in the naval wars against Napoleon. It was in the Treaty of Paris in 1856 that the Europeanness of the Ottoman Empire had been confirmed.

Following the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, Turkey chose Western Europe as the model for its new secular structure. It was indeed a continuation of a trend which gained a momentum in the 19th century's Ottoman Empire, where modernization and westernization movements had accelerated as a response to the decline of the state. In line with this policy, Turkey became member of various Western organizations. Thus Turkey's EU membership quest is an integral part of its historical efforts for further modernization and transformation.

In 1963, Turkey signed an association agreement (Ankara Agreement) with the European Economic Community (EEC). In 1970, an additional protocol to the Ankara Agreement was signed which established the framework and conditions of the transitional stage of the association. In April 1987, Turkey submitted its formal application for full membership in the EU. With the completion of the Customs Union, the association between Turkey and the EU, in accordance with the Ankara Agreement, entered its final stage and at the European Council held in Helsinki in December 1999, Turkey was granted candidate status.

When AK Party Governments came to power in 2002, Turkey's EU accession process has been addressed within a systematic framework for the first time and become integral to Turkey's political vision. As Öniş puts it rightly, AK Party pursued the EU related reform agenda with a far greater degree of consistency and commitment than previous coalition government (Öniş 2006, p. 9).

The EU membership objective has been a significant motivation in accelerating the political reforms, which served to further improve the living standards of the citizens and deepened the rule of law as well as democratization. Constitutional arrangements, judicial reforms and legal amendments introduced to align with the EU acquis have helped to strengthen the Turkish democracy. The Turkish Grand National Assembly adopted eight EU Harmonization Packages between 2002 and 2004. Significant steps taken in the areas of human rights, democratization, freedom of expression and civilian oversight of the military ensured the opening of negotiations for EU membership on 3 October 2005. Since then, in Turkey's EU accession negotiations, 16 chapters are opened whereas one chapter is temporarily closed.

Political, economic and social reforms carried out in the framework of the EU accession process have transformed Turkey, ensuring it to be a stronger actor in its region as well as in the global system. Socioeconomic transformation has gone hand in hand with democratization resulted with a growing, vibrant civil society

in Turkey. People with different issues openly claim their rights as a consequence of this enormous socioeconomic change. In this sense, failed coup attempt of 15 July 2016 was a clear demonstration of the resilience of Turkish democracy.

As a result of Turkey's grand economic and political transformation, today, the EU is facing a more and more self-confident Turkey which gives Turkey greater maneuvering room vis-a-vis Europe (Szigetvári 2014, p. 39). As Duran (2014) puts it rightly, "Turkey's relations with the EU reflect the notion of critical integration that represents a third way between complete rejection and unquestioning obedience". Turkey regards EU accession as a process of dialogue between equals not as parental control.

Major turning points of recent times have proved time and again the strategic importance of Turkey-EU relationship. Economic, political, security and identity related matters attest to the fact that Turkey is a key country for the EU in terms of stability and prosperity in the neighborhood. In recent years, Europe has experienced multiple and inter-related crises: The Euro crisis, the migration crisis, threat of terrorism and the Brexit. These are intimately linked to the three fundamental goals of the EU: peace, prosperity and security. Moreover, they together produced a crisis of confidence, undermining the trust of markets, citizens and global partners in the future of the EU. The scale of the challenges and the pace of events demonstrated that Turkey and the EU have to work together, to address the issues in true partnership for our common future.

Especially, the refugee crisis once more demonstrated the vitality of Turkey for the EU. The refugee crisis has severely tested the EU to its limits. In periods of crisis, most of the member states showed a tendency to go back to the basics of nationalism and protectionism and could not take a common European stance since member states were deeply divided. While EU's response to the refugee crisis is divided and ineffective, the only point that both member states and the EU institutions agreed on is the critical role of Turkey in managing this crisis.

In this regard, following the President Erdoğan's meetings with Donald Tusk, President of the European Council; Martin Schulz, President of the European Parliament and Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission in Brussels in October 2015; Turkey and the EU agreed to further strengthen existing ties and solidarity and adopt result-oriented action to prepare their common future. In this regard, the Turkey-EU Summit of 29 November marked a new beginning in Turkey-EU relations yielding concrete conclusions such as re-energizing accession process, fight against terrorism, accelerating of visa liberalization dialogue, burden sharing in migration management, updating customs union and high level dialogue in the areas of common interest such as economy, energy as well as international issues.

First and foremost, Turkey and the EU re-energized the accession process which constitutes the backbone of Turkey-EU relations. In this context, Chapter 17- Economic and Monetary Policy and Chapter 33- Financial and Budgetary Provisions were opened to accession negotiations. Besides, the preparatory work for the opening of the Chapters namely Chapter 15- Energy, Chapter 23- Judiciary and Fundamental Rights, Chapter 24- Justice, Freedom and Security, Chapter 26- Education and Culture and Chapter 31- Foreign, Security and Defense Policy started and has almost completed.

As another important development, Turkey and the EU decided to accelerate the visa liberalization process to lift the Schengen visa requirement for Turkish citizens. Once the visas for Turkish citizens are lifted, through increasing contacts between societies, there would be an immense positive effect in the public opinion towards Turkey's EU membership.

Turkey has made considerable progress in a short time especially in terms of legislative alignments and operational measures stated in the Visa Liberalization Roadmap. Now the ball is at the EU's yard to complete the process. Turkey rightfully expects the process to be completed as soon as possible and considers it as "litmus test" for the EU's credibility.

Besides, Turkey and the EU stepped up cooperation for support of Syrians under temporary protection and for migration management to address the crisis created by the situation in Syria. Turkey's game changer proposal of "one for one scheme" has been "a silver bullet" for managing the crisis which was agreed on Turkey-EU Summit of 18 March 2016.

According to the scheme, all new irregular migrants crossing from Turkey into Greek islands will be returned to Turkey and for every Syrian being returned to Turkey from Greek islands, another Syrian will be resettled from Turkey to the EU. This scheme is designed to break the business model of the smugglers and to end irregular migration. The scheme took effect on 20 March 2016 and the implementation has started on 4 April 2016. The figure dropped from 7000 in October 2015 to 104 in September 2016. The numbers demonstrate the success of the "one for one scheme".

Moreover, Turkey and the EU improved their dialogue channels both in terms of quality and quantity. In a short period of time, three Turkey-EU Summits were held, where all Member States took place. Besides, High Level Political Dialogue, High Level Economic Dialogue, High Level Energy Dialogue and Turkey-EU Counter Terrorism Dialogue meetings were held to explore the vast potential of Turkey-EU relations in the fields of common interest.

Last year's momentum in the relations is welcomed by Turkey but EU should not wait for crises to erupt in order to accelerate Turkey's accession process. Crises bring new opportunities with themselves that should be exploited but giving momentum to the accession process only in times of crises is indeed damaging the existing effective cooperation and diminishes mutual trust.

Turkey's European friends should understand that the futures of Turkey and the EU cannot be separated from each other. Referring to anachronistic clichés with respect to Turkey should not be an option. Instead, the EU should accommodate itself with the new reality that Turkey is a rising power of the 21st century and that it is not anymore what it was fifteen years ago.

Sharing a common future, with the same interests and the same desire for peace, democracy, stability and adherence to common values, full membership of Turkey in the EU is a win-win case. As Demiralp (2003, p. 7) argues, "Turkey's position at the hub of vital political, economic and infrastructural networks for the EU and its uniqueness as a country embodying the values of western and eastern civilizations not only by passively bridging but belonging to two worlds, would be in full harmony with the mission that the EU should define for itself for the next decades, that is, becoming a global actor and a center of attraction via openness and reconciliation".

Conclusion

The global landscape has changed tremendously in the recent years with the emergence of new powers, including Turkey. Turkey's geostrategic position at a critical juncture, considerable military might, growing economic power, increasing aid flows to developing countries as well as rising commercial links coupled with a determined government resulted in a more active and respected Turkey in the multilateral fora. Therefore, Turkey's visibility increased to a considerable extent. With the accession of Turkey to the EU, the Union's hard power and soft power will also be strengthened, which will consequently contribute to the Union's standing on the global arena.

Nevertheless, Turkey's accession process is delayed due to "outdated Turkey" perceptions, which does not reflect the realities of today. Turkey is no more a poor country knocking the door of the EU. Unlike its isolationist stance in the past, Turkey now strives to reach everywhere with its assets providing the necessary credentials, including its growing economy, robust democracy as well as geographical or historical linkages (Oğuzlu & Parlar Dal 2013).

Thanks to the fact that Turkey does not have a colonial past, it receives a warm welcome in Africa. Thanks to its unique structure blending secular democracy with a Muslim tradition, Turkey is a source of inspiration in the Middle East.

Thanks to its historical affinities and responsible policies, Turkey's visibility has increased in the Balkans, Caucasus and Central Asia in a number of areas ranging from energy to culture. Turkey's robust relations with other emerging powers including its strategic relationship with Russia are other indications of Turkey's quest for a bigger say in an increasingly multipolar world.

Turkey's global activism attests to the fact that Turkey has emerged as a new actor in the international politics. It does not mean that Turkey is drifting away from West as some commentators argue. Turkey has always been a part of the European family, drawing from a common history with Europe. There is a comprehensive level of cooperation ongoing between Turkey and the EU in many areas ranging from counter terrorism to energy, from commercial relations to tourism.

Indeed, today, the potential benefits of Turkish accession have become large and significant more than ever. Since the very early days of the Syrian crisis and more obviously from March 2016, Turkey has been the "life-saver" of the EU when stability, security and prosperity of the EU have been shaken by the migrant crisis. Thus it is only Turkey and the EU together that have the weight to influence the big picture. Contributions that Turkey and the EU could make to one another on a wide scale ranging from economics to politics, from culture to foreign policy are significant not only for the two, but also for regional and global peace, stability and prosperity.

Europe's founding fathers were convinced that their countries had first to define their common interests and shared perspectives if they were to overcome their culture of conflicts and mistrust. They made no reference in those days to religious beliefs or cultural notions, not least because the European project's motto, and its genuine ideal, was to make "unity in diversity" a reality. Today, it is looking more like a challenge. The first step towards meeting that challenge is arguably that the EU should reassess its handling of the accession talks with Turkey and adopt a firm but fair approach that demonstrates the Union is still capable of constructing a wider vision for Europe and for the world.

Bio

Ömer Çelik graduated from Gazi University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, the Department of Public Administration and got his master's degree from the same university, in the Department of Political Science. He is a political scientist and strategist. Mr. Çelik has been elected as the Deputy of Adana in the Turkish Parliament in 22nd, 23rd and 24th legislative periods. During these periods, he has assumed the roles respectively as the member of NATO Assembly of Parliamentarians Turkish Group, Turkish Grand National Assembly Commission of Foreign Relations and Commission of Environment. As well

as his membership to AK Party Central Decision Making and Administrative Committee (CDAC), Çelik was AK Party's Vice Chairman in charge of Foreign Affairs between the years March 2010 and January 2013. Mr. Çelik was also the Chairman of Turkey-USA Inter-Parliamentary Friendship Group. On January 25, 2013 he was appointed as the Minister of Culture and Tourism of the 61st Government of the Republic of Turkey. He also assumed the role of the Vice Chairman of the AK Party responsible for Promotion and Media as well as the Party Spokesperson. He's been appointed as the Minister for EU Affairs of the 65th Government of the Republic of Turkey.

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Article

Turkey's State-Based Foreign Aid: Narrating "Turkey's Story"

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Abstract

Recognizing the potentially substantial role that public diplomacy can play in managing its global image, Turkey seeks to employ this communication tool by strengthening and/or establishing state institutions. In doing so, Turkey turns to various tools of public diplomacy with an emphasis on foreign aid. This paper situates Turkey's foreign aid within its public diplomacy framework, and tries to unpack Turkey's understanding of public diplomacy. It highlights the objectives and purposes of its public diplomacy and analyzes the internal network of state-based foreign aid. This paper argues that Turkey's state-based foreign aid is employed as a public diplomacy tool to inform domestic and foreign audiences about its generosity, thus branding the country as a benevolent country that heavily draws from its Ottoman past.

Keywords

Public Diplomacy, Foreign Aid, Development, Turkey, Nation Brand, Image

Introduction[1]

Turkey has turned to public diplomacy practice in efforts to manage, shape and improve its global image that is utilized for a broader agenda to create a space for Turkey in global politics. In doing to, Turkey has strengthened or established state institutions to contribute to its public diplomacy practice. Public diplomacy in Turkey is an integral tool in exerting power and it disseminates an idealized image while simultaneously serving as a tool to consolidate domestic constituency of the AKP (Justice and Development Party) by narrating what is dubbed

[1] This paper heavily draws on the author's previously published work: Senem B. Cevik, Turkey's Development Aid: An Ecosystem of Conservative Grassroots and Progressive Foreign Policy (35-51), in James Pamment (Ed.), Intersections Between Public Diplomacy & International Development: Case Studies in Converging Fields, CPD Perspectives, Paper 2, Los Angeles: CA, Figueroa Press, 2016; Also please see the author's blogpost on University of Southern California Center on Public Diplomacy

as 'Turkey's story'. In that regard, public diplomacy in Turkey is interpreted as narration and publicity, geared towards a duality of audiences, both domestic and international. This style of informational public diplomacy, as exemplified by the Turkish practice, aims to counter lack of understanding and miscommunication which are broadly labeled as communication problems, thereby building on information transfer.

Foreign aid, humanitarian and developmental, is an integral strategy in Turkey's global communication efforts, which can be labeled as public diplomacy. In doing so, Turkey bridges its nation branding efforts with development aid; and communicates those efforts to both domestic and foreign audiences. Turkey's foreign aid efforts are grounded in its foreign policy formulation and are indispensable parts of its public diplomacy framework. As such, Turkey's foreign aid demonstrates a functional ecosystem of multiple actors, stakeholders and benefactors that channels Turkey to its current donor state position (Cevik, 2015). In fact, in the past three years, Turkey has been acclaimed as one of the most generous donor countries, which does reflect the outcome of the ecosystem.

State institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), AFAD (Disaster and Emergency Management Authority) and TIKA (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency) are key actors in the foreign aid apparatus, with Office of Public Diplomacy (KDK), Türk Kızılayı (Turkish Red Crescent) and Diyanet (Directorate of Religious Affairs) as supporting actors. These actors, with most being reshuffled under the AKP government, provide Turkey's state-based foreign aid apparatus. Except for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, all the other actors in the foreign aid apparatus are comprised of political appointees. The structural differences and rivalry between these institutions create an inconsistency in understanding and practicing public diplomacy. Consequently, these key public diplomacy actors not only help shape the foreign aid narrative but they are also direct outcomes of Turkey's regional aspirations acting as components of that narrative. Thus, the state institutions partaking in public diplomacy activities shape the information structure of Turkey's public diplomacy.

This paper looks at the informational framework employed by Turkey's state institutions that oversee foreign aid, how these institutions work together and the challenges that arise due to structural problems. The paper sheds light on the fundamental motivations behind Turkey's public diplomacy through foreign aid and the way in which that practice is interconnected with domestic politics, which in turn creates organizational setbacks.

This paper is composed of four sections. First, I provide an overall description of public diplomacy, focusing on the informational framework. Second, I situate Turkey's public diplomacy within the AKP foreign policy framework to assess the

objectives of Turkey's public diplomacy and the role of public diplomacy actors. Third, I provide an outline of Turkey's organizational structure that partakes in foreign aid analyzing the state-based network. Fourth, I conclude with an analysis of how Turkey's state-based foreign aid structure narrates its story to domestic and foreign audiences as *communication of development* by simultaneously partaking in nation branding activities and providing foreign aid.

Public Diplomacy: Understanding the Concept

Public diplomacy is contemporary terminology used for an old practice embodying the communication flow of state and non-state actors with foreign audiences. It is defined as 'complex communication initiatives aimed at foreign publics and governments by other governments or non-governmental organizations in pursuit of policy goals and mutual learning' (Leonard, Stead & Sweming 2002, p. 8). Scholars of communication assess public diplomacy in terms of building relationships and meaningful interactions that serve the mutual benefit of the involved parties (Zaharna 2007; Zaharna 2010). In summary, public diplomacy is a well-organized set of communication activities that has an end goal of changing external behavior while also altering one's own through mutual learning and listening (Cull 2008).

Nonetheless, public diplomacy is frequently used as a tool to aid nations in their international communication to build new narratives and craft a national image (Szondi 2008; Kaneva 2011). Therefore, countries turn to a rather traditional public diplomacy that rests on image projection and transferring information expecting to share a more desirable image. R.S. Zaharna (2009) argues that the information framework of public diplomacy stresses design and the dissemination of messages in response to communication problems and advances various political objectives. According to this understanding, communication problems are rooted in insufficient, incomplete or inaccurate information. In this regard, information is gathered, analyzed, produced and disseminated with the focus on message content as a counter strategy. Linear and direct messaging that contains ideas; knowledge or emotions are vastly conveyed through mass media. The Turkish definition of public diplomacy captures the information framework: 'Turkey has a message and story to share'. Similarly, İbrahim Kalın (2011), the first coordinator of Turkey's Office of Public Diplomacy and the current spokesman of the presidency, in an article reiterates this argument by discussing 'the new Turkey's story'. Kalın asserts that previously Turkey was unable to conduct effective public diplomacy due to problems with its image. Therefore, Turkey's public diplomacy understanding is grounded in the information framework utilizing information campaigns and nation branding.

Furthermore, Zaharna (2010) describes five key features of the information

framework as message design and delivery, control over communication, restricted or limited interaction between political sponsor and the public, channels of communication and finally measurement of information initiatives. According to this taxonomic message, design and delivery consists of the information transfer chain that entails the sender, message and the receiver. The second key feature of information framework, control, deals with the political sponsor controlling the time frame, channel and target audience of the crafted message. The messages are not only controlled and monitored but the public is also viewed as a target audience, which restrains the interaction between the political source and the audience. Nonetheless, the political source disseminates information through numerous channels such as print, audio/visual, broadcast media and electronic media. Information initiatives are utilized to achieve specific objectives such as advocating policies or enhancing image. Therefore, the political source uses measurements of information initiatives to assess the success of the strategies.

Although ideally public diplomacy should be aimed towards foreign audiences, some practices that can be categorized under public affairs are widely utilized by states to explain their narrative to domestic audiences and enhance the image that fits the foreign policy agendas. In that regard, there are studies that consider foreign aid, which comprises developmental assistance, a public diplomacy activity (Lancester 2007; Pamment 2015). Shah and Wilkins (2004) suggest that there is a distinction between communication for development, that is communication as an act that contributes to development; and communication about development, discourses within the institutions that conduct the work. Aside from these two layers, James Pamment provides a third layer of framework, which is communication of development that covers marketing and stakeholder communication. According to Pamment (2015) communication of development brands, markets and promotes the aid activities to domestic and foreign audiences supporting the actor's image.

An overview of Turkey's state-based foreign aid structure thus provides a detailed insight on how Turkey narrates and publicizes foreign aid to brand the country towards a dual target audience. Therefore, in the next section I first discuss Turkey's objectives and purpose of conducting public diplomacy by drawing from foreign policy narrative.

Turkey's Public Diplomacy: Objectives and Purpose

Turkey has been relatively more active in its foreign policy as a part of its growing economy and political ambitions in becoming a prominent actor predominantly in Muslim world. One of the ways to achieve this goal has been to look into soft power to gain access in foreign audiences and utilize public diplomacy tools such as foreign aid, international broadcasting and diaspora diplomacy to have a

broader global presence (Sancar 2015). In addition, Turkey has encountered problems pertaining to its image for quite some time, which also necessitated variety of communication methods to be employed in order to improve its global standing. Accordingly, Turkey's public diplomacy has had a dual global agenda, which consists of gaining global/regional presence and improving the country's image.

Public diplomacy in Turkey is oftentimes used as public affairs focusing on disseminating information to domestic audiences with the presumption that domestic audiences lack accurate information (MFA, interview, October 2015). In effect, public diplomacy in Turkey is rather understood and employed as a tool to share the dominant policy narratives and reiterate the nation brand in aims to consolidate the electorate (C. Haşimi, Coordinator of Office of Public Diplomacy, interview, October 2014).

As such, foreign aid and humanitarian aid have been integral to Turkey's public diplomacy in hopes to brand the country as a 'donor state' and 'benevolent country'. In doing so, Turkey's governmental and non-governmental actors are implementing this holistic vision via a network of business organizations, relief NGOs, educational partnerships, memberships in international organizations and international partnerships. Turkey's public diplomacy actors actively partake in communicating this brand and image.

Multiple factors such as relative economic progress, increased diplomatic presence, expansion of air travel routes have all contributed to and at times initiated foreign aid and increased Turkey's soft power capacity (Selçuk 2013). Nonetheless, the policies described as pan-Islamist by Özkan (2014) that are expressed in the foreign policy framework have been the driving force behind Turkey's public diplomacy structure. Kalın (2011) argues that Turkey's newly attained activism provides Turkey with the opportunity to offer new concepts and understandings in international relations. Furthermore, Kalın asserts that Turkey's soft power potential extends over the former Ottoman territories, representing the new geopolitical imagination. This articulation is represented in Ahmet Davutoğlu's foreign policy paradigm that imagines natural allies of Turkey in which Turkey is a central power (Özkan 2014, p. 127) and in which Turkey undertakes a strategic role in the global Muslim community (Murinson 2006). To illustrate, during a visit to Myanmar, Ahmet Davutoğlu, under the capacity of foreign minister, spoke about Myanmar's Arakan Muslim population: "Our trip to Myanmar and passage to Arakan will increase our visibility in ASEAN and in the globe. Turkey will reach a place where others cannot. Last year's Somalia has changed, it is not the same Somalia any more. This was achieved after our Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's trip to Somalia. Things changed there, psychology has improved in Somalia." (World Bulletin 2012, para. 12). As such, Turkish policy makers under the AKP government have argued that Turkey's foreign policy was grounded in moral

values drawing on historical responsibility frequently articulated by Davutoğlu (2012). This foreign policy discourse brands Turkey as a *regional power*, *center country* and *order instituting country* building on humanitarian responsibility that comprises foreign aid.

In short, Turkey's foreign policy framework required the tools to actualize, narrate and publicize this nation branding. Existing and new governmental institutions thus have been serving the purpose of dissemination information on foreign aid, while simultaneously synchronizes efforts in correcting miscommunication problems. These efforts build a close-knit organizational structure that interprets public diplomacy from an informational lens.

Organizational Structure: Harmony and Discord

Turkey's public diplomacy, which is coined under the catchphrase 'Turkey has a story to share' covers the areas of Turkey's domestic progress –political and economic- and the way in which this progress is applied.[2] As such, state institutions partake in crafting, narrating and publicizing this story, which in turn reinforces Turkey's nation brand. Foreign aid is part and parcel of Turkey's story that necessitates a synchronized organizational structure amongst various state actors. In this section I discuss the role of key state institutions in the information public diplomacy framework and assess the harmony and disjuncture amongst then.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

One of the most important but also underrepresented actor in Turkey's public diplomacy is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) which oversees promoting Turkey's interests abroad and advocating Turkey's policies. The MFA also assists in the coordination of Turkey's public diplomacy activities abroad. Due to the importance given to cultural diplomacy the Directorate General of Information was established under the auspices of the ministry in 2011. Although public diplomacy activities are officially supposed to be directed by the Directorate General of Information, the office issues press statements and directs information campaigns in regards to Turkey's foreign policy. To illustrate, the office allocates a significant amount of its time to respond to allegations in face of crises, thus is focused on crisis communication (MFA, interview, October 2015). For that reason, Ministry of Foreign Affairs' official public diplomacy is rather informative and one-way with the aims to improve Turkey's global image through eliminating miscommunication. In addition, the Ministry places utmost importance on Turkey's cultural promotion and practices public diplomacy under the auspices of the Overseas Promotion and Cultural Affairs. In doing so, the Ministry collaborates with other

[2] The Undersecreteriat of Public Order and Security's publication 'Silent Revolution', an inventory of Turkey's democratic progress from 2002 and 2014 is a case in point narrating the story to both foreign and domestic audiences.

relevant institutions and organizations in its public diplomacy activities.

In respect to foreign aid, MFA promotes Turkey's efforts but its most important task is to coordinate these efforts. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs oversees emergency humanitarian aid through the Department of Humanitarian Assistance, which coordinates aid efforts with Turkish Red Crescent (Kızılay), and The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) as well as the embassies. In doing so, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also coordinates its aid efforts with international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Food Program (WFP). The state-based foreign aid driven by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not have a communication network with non-state organizations unless non-state actors notify the ministry of their activities (MFA, interview, October 2015).

In times of emergency humanitarian assistance embassies and consulates coordinate with AFAD and Kızılay in efforts to deliver aid. For example, AFAD responded to the crisis immediately after the devastating April 2015 earthquake in Ecuador by way of the Turkish Embassy's facilitation. This facilitation involved logistical support as well as connecting AFAD with Ecuador's relief agency SETECI (Personal Interview with Turkish Embassy in Quito 2016). The embassy then became an interlocutor between Ecuador's SETECI and TIKA for furthering the cooperation efforts (SETECI, interview, August 2016). In summation, the MFA acts as a coordinating agency for foreign aid while reiterating Turkey's nation branding as a 'generous country' abroad.[3]

Office of Public Diplomacy (KDK)

Turkish Prime Ministry Office of Public Diplomacy (KDK) is the main institution in Turkey that officially has the mandate to coordinate public diplomacy initiatives. KDK monitors and publicizes Turkey's ODA amongst both domestic and international audiences by providing statistical data. As such, KDK measures Turkey's foreign aid efforts to reiterate Turkey's role as a donor state. To illustrate, KDK has put together infographics on Turkey's foreign aid (KDK Website 2016).

More importantly, KDK has been mobilizing most of its efforts on domestic public affairs, such as promoting Turkey's foreign policy objectives and positions to the domestic audience. For example, KDK's official website includes a link under 'Facts on Rising Turkey' (KDK 2016). Thus, the KDK website not only presumes and locates Turkey as a rising power; but it also narrates the story of Turkey as a rising power. Therefore, the message disseminated by KDK is controlled and monitored to reflect the narrative of 'Turkey's story'. To illustrate, information on expansion of Turkey's foreign missions, visa free travel, new destinations with

[3] They Had Faith in Turkey' exhibition was curated in 2006, 'Safe Harbour Turkey' was curated in 2014, both commissioned by the MFA

Turkish Airlines, Turkish as a world language, Turkey's role in assisting in the refugee crisis are all part and parcel of the aforementioned information framework that highlights nation branding and information campaigns.

There exists a contradiction of public diplomacy as a concept and a practice within KDK that stems from a variety of issues such as Turkey's interpretation of public diplomacy, the interconnectedness of Turkey's foreign and domestic policies and the partisan structure of the institution. KDK's establishment under the AKP government poses a series of limitations in public diplomacy practice that can broadly be defined as being obliged to promote AKP's policies and narrate those policies. As a result, KDK has been used as leverage to increase the popularity of AKP and the almost cult-like personality of President Erdoğan amongst domestic constituencies while trying to raise Turkey's presence abroad. In short, KDK rather became an apparatus of populist politics in Turkey emphasizing 'Turkey as a central country' and the slogan 'World is bigger than 5'. To illustrate, catchphrases such as 'Erdoğan as a world leader', 'Erdoğan as the man of the people', 'the conqueror of Davos', 'Chief', all feed into the 'New Turkey' discourse (Selçuk, 2016) and in turn into the foreign aid and public diplomacy narrative. In summation, despite its initial goals to be an agent of communication with external audiences, KDK rather communicates foreign aid by disseminating information through numerous channels such as print, audio/visual, broadcast media and electronic media to domestic audiences.

Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA)

Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) is the key agency that delivers and communicates foreign aid. TIKA's role in both delivering and narrating foreign aid is interconnected with Turkey's foreign policy aspirations. TIKA was established in 1992 following the political vacuum in Eurasia and Central Asia created by the collapse of the Soviet Union with the objective of assisting the newly independent Turkic republics. Murinson (2006) argues that Turkey's activism followed a neo-Ottoman agenda under the Turgut Özal leadership, which has been dubbed as 'strategic depth' under the AKP leadership. In hindsight, TIKA's establishment in the early 1990s was also a manifestation of policy objectives. Nonetheless, TIKA at that time was a technical aid organization that operated under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1999, TIKA was transferred to the Prime Minister's Office (TİKA Website 2016), which propelled the processes of TIKA becoming a partisan agency.

Under the AKP government TIKA has been transformed into a global aid agency in accordance with government policies. As an indirect result, TIKA is currently utilized in promoting Turkey's image both domestically and abroad. TIKA provides aid across the world and simultaneously contributes to the information

public diplomacy framework by way of communicating aid efforts. From TIKA's numerous social media accounts to its publications and news coverage the agency acts as a cornerstone of promoting Turkey's nation brand domestically.

A significant part of TIKA's aid delivery and promotion is done through TIKA's local offices, which have a certain degree of autonomy. However, as a government agency, TIKA is still represented under the embassies in accordance with diplomatic regulation, which at times creates complications in practice. In countries where TIKA does not have a local office, such as in Ecuador, coordination and cooperation processes flow slower than expected. As a result, the process of communication becomes complex and frustrating for both parties. More importantly, the pace of work then inevitably is dependent on efficient communication between parties. This also includes the issues that may rise in terms of jurisdiction. While TIKA enjoys autonomy in Turkey and its operations overseas it is still legally bound to operate under the diplomatic representation. This legal loophole creates tensions between the local TIKA office, counterpart agencies and Turkey's embassies (SETECI, AMEXID and TIKA Mexico Office, interview, August 2016)

More importantly, the tensions between bureaucratic appointments within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and political appointments within TIKA at times hamper Turkey's foreign aid efforts (Personal Interview with Turkish Embassy in Mexico City 2016; Personal Interview with TIKA Headquarters 2015). For instance, clashes between ambassadors and TIKA coordinators represent a substantial part of those existing tensions. Clashes between these representatives, can be counterproductive. On the other hand, dynamic and engaging communications between representatives are more fruitful because in that case both institutions can better coordinate their efforts. Nonetheless, TIKA's growing presence across the globe has been a marker of Turkey's public diplomacy narrative, building on the 'generous country' image and simultaneously operating as an instrument in building the nation brand.

The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD)

The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) is the main authority concerned with disasters and emergencies, and works as an umbrella organization in Turkey, collaborating with other organizations (AFAD Website About Us 2016). The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) focuses on post-disaster rehabilitation and works as an umbrella organization overseeing emergency humanitarian relief. AFAD has responded to disasters and emergencies taking place across the globe and carried out humanitarian aid operations throughout the Arab uprisings in Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, and Syria (Sancar, 2015).

Prior to its global engagement AFAD's work –its predecessor organization- was

based on rehabilitating the areas affected by the Marmara earthquake in 1999. In 2009, the organization was reshuffled and renamed as AFAD operating under the Prime Ministry. As a result, AFAD too suffers from the same partisan structure that TIKA suffers from. AFAD's coordinator has been replaced over the years as consecutive AKP governments instituted different cabinets.

AFAD has been the leading agency in Turkey's Somalia, Myanmar and Syria aid campaigns. As such, AFAD provides aid and promotes/markets the aid through various channels of communication. In doing so, AFAD joins efforts with other government agencies in creating and reinforcing Turkey's benevolent nation brand. To illustrate, AFAD President Mehmet Halis Bilden at the Habitat III conference held in Quito, Ecuador reiterated Turkey's efforts in the Syrian humanitarian crisis by employing widely-used concepts such as 'Turkey as most generous country', 'how to build a perfect refugee camp' and 'Turkey as the World's hand of conscience' (AFAD Website 2016).

Conclusion

Turkey's status as a donor state and generous country has been covered extensively in Turkish media and, to an extent, in global media. Nevertheless, Turkey's insurmountable efforts to aid Syrians fleeing the civil war and seeking refuge in Turkey have drawn interest. Global Humanitarian Assistance (GHA 2014) reports have been listing Turkey as a top donor country since 2013 and the United Nations declared Turkey as the largest refugee hosting country. Hence, Turkey does provide extensive efforts in relieving the Syrian refugee crisis and its benevolent image is predominantly defined by these efforts.

Although a significant proportion of Turkey's aid efforts go to the Syrian crisis, in this paper I focused on ways in which foreign aid is utilized as a public diplomacy tool to inform domestic and foreign audiences. In essence, public diplomacy in Turkey is interpreted as narration and publicity in which promoting Turkey overlaps with promoting government policies. Agencies, most of them reshuffled over cumulative AKP governments, are cornerstones of disseminating information in regards to foreign aid. State agencies not only narrate and brand Turkey as a generous country via sharing 'Turkey's story', but at the same time they actively partake in delivering aid. As a result, state agencies are both actors and narrators of Turkey's nation brand towards a dual audience, domestic and foreign. In doing so, Turkey aims to expand its sphere of influence predominantly amongst other Muslim countries, correct miscommunication and consolidate the domestic electorate base of AKP by utilizing rhetoric that borrows from a selective interpretation of Ottoman history. Hence, there are multiple motivations that factor in Turkey's communication with publics. Overall, with the aims to disseminate information, Turkey's public diplomacy practice fits the information framework

that provides a functional degree of coordination amongst state agencies.

The harmony amongst state agencies in delivering and promoting aid is crucial in reiterating Turkey's story. Although organizational harmony is critical, the structures of state institutions have direct influence on the efficiency of foreign aid as public diplomacy, thus creating a discord at times. Except for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the cornerstones of foreign aid TIKA and AFAD both function under the Prime Ministry. As a result, these offices are far more affected by party politics. The challenges, thus, stem from public diplomacy practice being linked to domestic politics. Nonetheless, broader political agendas help create Turkey's nation brand as a donor country and narrate the brand to a duality of audiences.

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Bio

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Article

The New Kid on the Block: Turkey's Shifting Approaches to Peacebuilding

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Abstract

An increased Turkish engagement in international peace operations over the last decade corroborates Turkey's new status as a "rising power." Turkey's high regard for the sovereignty of host nations, national ownership, inclusive processes, and beneficiary needs separates it from established actors and classifies Turkey with the other emerging powers like Brazil, India, China and South Africa. Yet, Turkey's utilization of "untied," "desecuritized," and "bilateral" humanitarian aid and development assistance as instruments of peacebuilding places Turkey in a league of its own even within the rising powers camp. This article hence examines whether Turkey's resort to these new practices can contribute new norms to the liberal peacebuilding discourse. It also outlines a number of challenges in the department of quantitative analytics, as well as monitoring and evaluation, with formidable potential to disrupt the momentum that Turkey's peace missions have gained over the years. We conclude that Turkey must apply complexity thinking and develop monitoring and evaluation programs to foster the longevity and effectiveness of its peace operations.

Keywords

Turkey, Peacebuilding, South-South Cooperation, Development Assistance, Humanitarian Diplomacy, Africa

Introduction

Security threats, financial crises, political uprisings, and collapsing regimes have been among the defining characteristics of the turbulent, post-9/11 world. An important outcome of this cataclysmic instability is the denigrated architecture of the post-war order. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the financial crisis of 2008,

the Arab uprisings and an accompanying migration of displaced people in biblical proportions, as well as the new non-state actors wielding sizeable military power and political influence, have instilled a new sense of urgency in the discussions over new global governance models that are rescued from the "monopoly of the Great Powers" (Kaldor & Stiglitz 2013). As the search for more inclusive, representative, and egalitarian models of global governance continued in the meeting halls of world-renowned think tanks and prestigious forums, throughout the first decade of 2000s a new strain of contenders such as Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa, and Turkey have risen to the task, staking their claim on global governance. Although they all hailed from different corners of the world, these new rising powers shared a few common characteristics at the time: they all achieved robust economic growth after decades of volatility; they were enjoying a period of political stability following extended periods of uncertainty and violent contestation for power internally; they have wielded a significant amount of influence over their respective regions via soft or hard power. More important, with the exception of Russia, these emerging actors were not only demanding a larger decision-making capacity at the influential institutions of global governance, but they were also willing to share more burden with the Great Powers, taking on entrenched global issues. Amongst these issues, peacebuilding has attracted the most commitment from rising powers, and it has been an area in which the impact of the contributions from certain new actors such as Brazil, Turkey, South Africa, and India have been most demonstrable.

This paper will particularly focus on Turkey's experience as a "rising power" in peacebuilding. It will highlight the characteristics of Turkish approach to this phenomenon, and evaluate the effectiveness of its efforts. It will juxtapose the core tenets of Turkey's peacebuilding practices with the strategies and practices of traditional donors. The article will use a number of indicators developed by both the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) (Birdsall & Kharas 2014), and the Network of Southern Think Tanks (NEST) as benchmarks of comparison. It will use examples from Turkey's various peacebuilding efforts in theatres such as Afghanistan, Somalia, Libya, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

New Global Trends in Peacebuilding

The conceptualization of "peacebuilding" can be traced back to the early 1990s. According to the United Nations Peacekeeping Fund [UNPBF] (1992), it was coined by the former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali as an "action to identify and support structures, which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict." However, international community's failure to prevent and resolve the most entrenched conflicts in the early 1990s, such as Rwanda and Bosnia, obscured the potential of peacebuilding. The

concretization of peacebuilding only came forth with the 2000 Report of the Panel on UN Peace Operations (Brahimi Report), which outlined among the core responsibilities of UN, the rebuilding of key institutions in an inclusive manner to prevent conflict.

The broad themes that the Brahimi Report touched upon – national ownership, inclusion, the importance of institutions, the relationship between conflict prevention and development, and tailored approaches - were elaborated in a number of breakthrough initiatives from the mid-2000s to this date. In 2007, the UN Secretary-General's Policy Committee emphasized the necessity to tailor peacebuilding "to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership" (UNPBF 2007). The 2009, 2010, 2012 progress reports of the UN Secretary General on peacebuilding identified "support to basic safety and security," "inclusive political processes," "provision of basic services," "restoration of core government functions," and "economic revitalization" as the five pillars of peacebuilding (UN Security Council 2010). The World Bank's 2011 World Development Report stressed that building strong, inclusive and accountable institutions, promoting livelihoods, justice and security, and moving towards inclusive practices would help combat internal stresses that led to conflict (The World Bank 2011, p. 145-174).

The most recent reviews and processes at the UN, such as the Report of the High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations [HIPPO] (2015), the Report of the Advisory Group of Experts on the UN's Peacebuilding Architecture (2015), the Global Study on Women, Peace and Security (2015) and the Secretary-General's Report on the World Humanitarian Summit (2015) have emphasized the need for a stronger focus on preventing conflict and sustaining peace to overcome the mounting costs of vicious cycles of conflict, response, and relapse. Secretary-General elect Antonio Guterres has recently stated that "the root causes of conflict, poverty, inequality, human rights violations, and even environmental destruction are interlinked," and attached "core importance" to the role of prevention (*UN News and Media United Nations Radio*, 12 April 2016). The 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda included a standalone sustainable development goal (SDG) on "peaceful, inclusive and just societies" (Goal 16), with seven of the other 17 SDGs including an aspect of peace, inclusion, or justice (Steven, 2016).

Peacebuilding is a comprehensive, multi-dimensional activity of a political nature that cannot be undertaken by any single actor alone. As a result, all the recent reviews and processes on peace and security issues, development, and humanitarian affairs highlight the importance of partnerships for sustainable solutions. As chronic conflicts and humanitarian crises continue to exert increasing pressure on the global system, and stretching the international community's response

capacities and resources to its limits, the role of different actors and innovative approaches will be more important than ever, creating new entry points for rising powers.

Turkish Perspectives on Peacebuilding: Principles, Approaches, and Shifts

There is hardly a unified definition of peacebuilding among the most-engaged actors from the Global South.[1] Turkey is no exception to this rule. As is the case with India, Indonesia, South Africa, there is no concept paper or strategy document that informs or constitutes Turkish government's approach to peacebuilding (Woods & Sazak 2016).

Despite the absence of a formal definition of peacebuilding, Turkish peacebuilding efforts mostly reflect a broader template of engagement in peace and development issues. Turkish embassies, consulates, and TIKA offices have been founded, Turkish Airlines commenced regular flights, humanitarian and developmental assistance programmes have been launched, commercial activities have begun alongside mutual high-level bilateral visits (Sucuoglu & Stearns 2016). In conflict-affected countries such as Somalia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Libya, and Afghanistan, these efforts are complimented by engaging in mediation activities, security sector reform and institution building, and contributions to peacekeeping efforts (Sucuoglu & Stearns 2016). Different interviews for past studies conducted with government officials separately by both co-authors disclose that from Ankara's point of view, a vast range of activities from development projects to humanitarian assistance and peacekeeping operations, and even private sector investments in conflict-affected countries, are considered as peacebuilding, as well as infrastructure projects, health care and education services, job creation, security sector reform, and institutional capacity building projects (Sucuoglu & Stearns 2016).

This approach to peacebuilding as a comprehensive and multi-sectorial exercise, ultimately aimed at addressing the structural reasons and root causes of conflict, is mostly in line with the global definitions of peacebuilding, explained in the previous part. However, Turkey's increasingly hands-on involvement in conflict-affected countries has been accompanied with a discourse on solidarity, brotherhood, horizontality and mutual benefit, which is often seen as part of south-south cooperation efforts. This discursive shift is highly visible in Turkey's former Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu's remarks in 2013, which elaborate on a new Turkish foreign policy that dismisses a "values-free realpolitik agenda, solely focused on

[1] Supported by the Norwegian Foreign Ministry, Carnegie Corporation, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, American University, "Rising Powers and Innovative Approaches to Peacebuilding" was a two-year project undertaken by a list of select think tanks from emerging powers. The project studied the peacebuilding contributions of Brazil, India, Turkey, Indonesia and South Africa, with a specific concentration on case studies from Somalia, Afghanistan and South East Asia.

advancing its economic and security interests," and places ethics, civil rights, upholding human dignity and integrity, as central pillars of Turkish foreign policy (Davutoğlu 2013). Building on these values, Turkish peacebuilding narratives emphasize the reconstruction of institutions and infrastructure that are critical for people in conflict sensitive areas to live in dignity, prosperity, and peace.[2]

Various interviews conducted by Istanbul Policy Center and the Center on International Cooperation with Turkish government officials, aid agencies, NGO representatives, and beneficiaries on the ground have revealed four elements that have consistently been used to define Turkey's approach to peacebuilding: a) an emphasis on non-conditionality, b) a shift towards bilateralism, c) direct delivery on the ground, and d) a multi-stakeholder approach that is slightly biased towards government-to-government cooperation. [3]

A non-conditionality emphasis

The application of clear political and economic conditionalities in aid and assistance to push for normative principles and values, especially in the area of human rights, is one area of divergence between more traditional donors and Southern providers. Turkey strongly adheres to the principle of non-conditionality, in its support for conflict-affected countries (Aydın-Düzgit & Keyman 2014). In interviews conducted in the context of a research done by NYU's Center on International Cooperation, several Turkish and Somali respondents concurred with this point, claiming that Turkey provides aid and assistance to anyone in need without any conditions or prerequisites (Sucuoglu & Stearns 2016).

This emphasis on non-conditionality for already precarious countries also differentiates Turkish assistance from that of traditional donors. Through adopting a non-conditionality approach, Turkey demonstrates that it is able to engage with recipient governments in a spirit of solidarity while not sacrificing effectiveness and efficiency. This "different" approach is visible in the narratives of Turkish offi-

[2] Various interviews conducted by IPC and CIC: The CIC project was in the scope of a Canadian International Development Research Center project 'Emerging Powers for Effective Governance in Fragile States' implemented in collaboration with the South African Institute of International Affairs. The IPC data have been compiled over the span of four years between 2012 and 2016 as part of the "Peace Capacities Network" and "Rising Powers and Innovative Approaches to Peacebuilding" projects.

[3] Senior representatives of the following state agencies and nongovernmental organizations have been interviewed periodically from 2012 to date: Turkish Foreign Ministry, Turkish Development Ministry, Turkish Justice Ministry, Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), the Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief (IHH), Doctors Worldwide: Turkey, Dost Eli Foundation, Türkiye Diyanet Foundation, Cansuyu Foundation, Yardımeli Foundation, Deniz Feneri, Gülistan Foundation. The data collected through the interviews supplemented and synthesized in Teri Murphy and Onur Sazak 2012, Turkey's Civilian Capacity in Post-Conflict Reconstruction, Istanbul: Istanbul Policy Center; Kathryn Achilles, Onur Sazak, Thomas Wheeler, and Auveen Elizabeth Woods 2015, Turkish aid agencies in Somalia: Risks and opportunities for building peace, London: SaferWorld, Istanbul: Istanbul Policy Center, Sabancı University. The interviews were conducted off-the-record.

cials. As the TIKA Director Serdar Çam (*Afronline*, 3 August 2012) underscores, "If we articulate this issue [conditionality] when dealing with any aid recipient, we would run the risk of punishing the people of that country in need of urgent help. Therefore, as an aid agency, our principle is not to interfere with the domestic policies of certain aid recipients." Non-conditionality also helps empowering the national government and strengthens government-to-government relations. By distancing itself from the conditionality approach, which often leads to resentment from recipient states, Turkey avoids the stigma of association with the development policies of traditional donors it criticizes in its narratives, and emphasizes a mutually beneficial and sustainable partnership between donor and recipients (Younis et al 2013, Murphy & Sazak 2012).

A shift towards bilateralism

Turkey is a member of several multilateral organizations with mostly Northern membership such as NATO, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), although it is not a member of OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC). Traditionally, and until the mid-2000s, it has preferred to deliver assistance through multilateral channels. However, a robust shift in this pattern has been more frequently observed since the second half of the last decade: multilateral ODA accounted for 2% of Turkey's total ODA in 2014, as opposed to 44% in 2004 and 60% in 2013 (*OECD Development Cooperation Report* 2005, "Turkey's Official Development Assistance" 2014). TİKA also reports that in 2014 Turkey's official development assistance reached $3.591 billion. Of this total, bilateral ODA accounted for $3.502 billion, whereas contributions through multilateral platforms were at mere $88.73 million (Füsun Gür et al. 2016). The multilateral to bilateral shifts are also visible in other areas of peacebuilding: In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Turkey's involvement until the mid-2000s was largely through multilateral channels such as the Office of the High Representative, NATO Stabilization Force (SFOR) and the EU-led EUFOR-ALTHEA. While these roles are still important for Turkey, which has assumed the duty of the NATO Contact Point Embassy in Sarajevo from 2011-2014, in the last decade, this engagement has evolved to include a bilateral focus, such as the Trilateral Consultation Mechanisms (Bosnia – Serbia – Turkey and Bosnia – Croatia – Turkey), increased cultural and religious investments, after Ahmet Davutoglu became Foreign Minister of Turkey in 2009 and started advocating for a "more active Balkan policy" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey 2009).

Bilateral engagement with the recipient countries has a number of indispensable advantages. It presents the provider with the opportunity to better understand, directly engage, and build relationships with the national and local actors on the ground. Turkey's increasing deference to bilateral arrangements dwells on the ef-

fectiveness of this model in expediting the process and delivering tangible results. For an emerging power with Turkey's aspirations of becoming an influential actor in the areas of humanitarian assistance, development aid, and peacebuilding in its region and beyond, bilateral delivery of assistance ensures more visibility than is otherwise obtained via multilateral modes of engagement.

However, multilateralism has its advantages over the bilateral engagement model too. Multilateral assistance leads to better coordination and a better use of comparative advantages of different actors towards collective outcomes, while preventing duplication. Although bilateralism cuts the time and red tape that delay the delivery of the donor's commitments, the limited exposure of Turkish agents on the ground to multilateral platforms curbs Turkey's positive contributions to burden sharing, in terms of humanitarian and development assistance. Furthermore, bilateral efforts from time to time lack a reliable monitoring and evaluation model, more available to multilateral mechanisms. For Turkey, as far as vague and qualitative evaluations of its success in conflict-affected countries like Somalia and Afghanistan are concerned, it has been more difficult to evaluate the impact of specific projects and programs. Cognizant of these shortcomings, Turkey is anticipated to develop a new foreign aid strategy. As of 2015, the talks of a new foreign aid bill in the parliament emerged. However, there have not been any concrete proposals advanced in the legislature to date.

Desecuritization of engagement: Presence and direct delivery on the ground

The rise in the number of active violent conflicts where international actors are present, the increased presence of non-state actors, trends of violent extremism, and attacks against humanitarian agencies, relief organizations and peacekeeping personnel have brought to the fore the valid concerns over the safety and security of civilian experts and aid workers in conflict zones (Duffield 2010). Targeted kidnappings and killings of aid workers have generated equally uncompromising precautionary and safety measures on the part of traditional donors. In the current modus operandi of many a conventional aid provider, representatives are nestled in a security bubble from their first day of training at the headquarters all the way to the fortresses of field offices in host countries. Duffield (2010) demonstrates that this "securitization" of assistance and heavily guarded compounds segregates development and peacebuilding actors from the populations whose needs and interests they need to prioritize.

By contrast, in high-intensity conflict contexts like Afghanistan and Somalia, Turkish government personnel and civil society organizations take pride in being present on the ground, and directly delivering aid without using secondary channels (a senior executive at the Turkish Red Crescent (Kızılay), interview, 26 August 2015). This "direct aid" approach, can be defined as aid "manned by Turk-

ish staff, who directly oversee the management of aid distribution on the ground, from its arrival…to its delivery to final beneficiaries" (Sazak, Wheeler & Woods 2015). In the same vein, it involves frequent visits of high-level Turkish leaders to conflict-affected cities. For instance, the repeated high-level visits of President Erdogan to Mogadishu and the direct delivery approach have contributed vastly to the visibility of Turkey in Somalia and beyond, helped draw international attention to the war-torn country, and given Turks the opportunity to explore the Somali market and aid dynamics first-hand. A more visible impact of the "direct aid" practice is that it reduces the cost of aid delivery by eliminating intermediaries, improves both the speed and accessibility of aid efforts, and facilitates direct contact with populations in these areas, leading to more needs-based solutions (Sazak, Wheeler & Woods 2015, 10). This does not mean that Turkey can operate in dangerous areas without any security considerations: Assistance efforts to Libya has been suspended due to the security situation on the ground since 2014; the Turkish Embassy and Consulate in Benghazi were closed the same year (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey 2016).

A multi-stakeholder approach

Turkey's narratives on its activities in conflict-affected states tend to reflect a long-term approach through various activities, which is invested in sustainable peace and development in the country. Turkish President Erdogan's words during a meeting with The Afghan President Ashraf Ghani Ahmadzai on 18 October 2014, that Turkey would continue to stand by Afghanistan after the drawdown of international troops through mediation, facilitation and support to the security sector, is a reflection of this approach (*Yeni Asır*, 24 December 2015).

Turkey's long-term multi-track and multi-stakeholder involvement in countries in various stages of the conflict cycle, such as Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Somalia, is in line with its framing of peacebuilding as a comprehensive activity that connects the peace and security, development, and humanitarian sectors. For instance, Turkey's engagement in Somalia, from the outset, has combined political, developmental, economic, and humanitarian support, and has brought together a variety of actors – government officials, aid agencies, civil society representatives, religious organizations, municipalities, and the private sector.[4] These organizations often build relations with their counterparts from the recipient country, turning peace and development processes in priority countries into a uniquely inclusive, participatory process. In Libya, Turkey supported the UN-facilitated political dialogue process throughout 2015, took part in institution building, security sector reform and economic recovery efforts, and provided humanitarian aid and assistance until 2014, when the security situa-

[4] TIKA's 2014 Development Assistance Report lists over 30 public entities that provide aid to partners and allow TIKA to use the comparative advantage of various sector experts from different institutions.

tion on the ground necessitated their suspension (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, 2016).

On the other hand, like several other rising powers, Turkey's assistance is still biased towards government-to-government cooperation. While several different actors participate in the implementation of the assistance projects, the overall direction and framework of the relationship is often determined during high-level visits between Heads of State or Government. Furthermore, joint analysis and assessments among Turkish diplomatic, humanitarian, and development actors from the government, civil society and private sector sectors is not the norm. Additionally, one must note that while Turkey has adopted this holistic, multi-track and multi-stakeholder involvement in countries it defines as high-priority, it has been sometimes criticized in other theatres for the ad-hoc and short-term nature of its involvement (Sucuoglu & Stearns 2016; Hausmann & Lundsgaarde 2015).

How Do Turkish Peacebuilding Efforts Compare to Those of Other Rising Donors?

In the previous section, we have demonstrated some ways in which the principal tenets of Turkey's approach to peacebuilding differ from those of established donors and traditional powers. Before assessing the effectiveness of Turkish mode of engagement, it is equally important to refer to the characteristics that set Turkey apart from the other emerging actors.

Brazil: A Reliable provider of security assistance in South America and Africa

Brazil draws an important contrast to Turkey and other rising powers with its steady contribution of military personnel to UN peace operations since 1948 (De Coning & Prakash 2016, p.11). De Coning and Prakash (2016) further demonstrate that for over half a century Brazilian contributions to peace operations around the world—from UNEF I in Suez to MINUSTAH in Haiti, which is still active to date—has mostly manifested in the form of troop and police officer deployments. Brazilian troops and police officers served in 50 missions and performed a variety of duties from force protection to patrolling, protecting authorities, escorting convoys and aid transports (De Coning & Prakash 2016, p.13). From the Brazilian perspective, although heavily vested in robust military missions, peacekeeping is only seen as an initial stage to "create the conditions for effective prevention or the definitive resolution of the conflict" (De Coning & Prakash 2016, p.16). Although the Brazilian missions so far have taken very little interest in the humanitarian and developmental facades of peacebuilding, Brazil also see peacebuilding as an integral part of effective peacekeeping. In the same vein, it shares Turkey's and other emerging actors' commitments to national ownership, gender mainstreaming, and inclusivity in peacebuilding.

China: A reserved partner in peacebuilding

China has been a reserved and quiet member of the rising powers in peacebuilding. While China is often perceived as unilateralist, it is the ninth largest troop contributor among the 124 troop contributing countries (TCCs) (De Coning & Prakash 2016, p. 20). China today has over 3000 active peacekeepers. Of these 2839 are troops, 37 UN Military Experts on Mission (UNMEM) and 169 police officers. On peacebuilding, China shows some similarities to Turkish mode of engagement in terms of adherence to the shared principles of "consent," "impartiality," and "non-use of force" in narratives (De Coning & Prakash 2016, p.20). Like Turkey, China also operates in conflict-affected countries in Africa, but seems to apply a more investment- and interest-driven approach in its engagement. An observation of Chinese operations in Uganda attests to this less idealistic and more self-interest driven approach: operating behind blast walls and on secured compounds, transferring Chinese labor from the mainland instead of using domestic human resources, limited interaction with local stakeholders (Interviews, Kampala, 10-14 September 2015). In fact, an eminent China scholar Marc Lanteigne (2009, p. 134-136) suggests that China's increased contributions to international peacekeeping has much to do to alter its prevalent image as a unilateral actor driven by its business interests, especially in the case of Africa.

India: A devoted provider of troops and technical assistance

India, compared to Turkey, is another veteran contributor to global peace operations since the late 1940s. Indian troop contributions are much more substantive though: It has deployed nearly 180,000 troops in more than 44 missions (De Coning & Prakash 2016, p. 39). It also has one of the highest rates of fatality, estimated 159 Indian peacekeepers. In addition, 7798 troops serve in 12 of the 16 current UN peacekeeping missions in the capacities of military observers, police personnel, and staff officers. From Southeast Asia to central and eastern Africa, Indian peacekeepers are deployed in conflicts with tremendous diversity in terms of political context and local drivers of the conflict. For example, while 4022 personnel serve with the MONUSCO mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), some 2187 personnel are deployed with UMISS in South Sudan, and another 898 serving in Lebanon under UNIFIL (De Coning & Prakash 2016, p.39).

As in Turkey's case, a transition from predominantly investing in multilateral peace operations to more bilateral and multi-track peacebuilding is also observed in India's approach, exemplified its involvement in Afghanistan. India has committed over $2 billion to the reconstruction of Afghanistan between 2002 and 2014 (Sinha 2016, p. 28-29). The distribution of this aid encompasses food assistance to primary school children and construction and rehabilitation of schools; supply of staple grains and foodstuffs, construction of power lines between Kabul

and other key outposts in northern regions; annual scholarships to study in India, various dam and road projects; as well as the construction of the parliament building (Sinha 2016, p.30). The majority of this technical assistance is geared toward the improvement of the key Afghan infrastructure. They are consistent with India's pledge to act according to local demands and needs, in terms of capacity development and institution building. However, when compared with Turkey's aforementioned programs, it becomes clear that the Indian programs are geared more towards infrastructure building than human capacity development. Compared against the rising powers cited above, the human-centric approach to peacebuilding that Turkey exercises places Turkey in a unique spot.

How Effective Are Turkey's Peacebuilding Efforts?

To evaluate the effectiveness of Turkish peacebuilding efforts, the first step is identifying what kind of an actor Turkey is, and where it falls in the traditional – non-traditional donor spectrum.

The OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) categorizes Turkey as an emerging donor – a country that has moved from being an aid recipient to providing increasing amounts of Official Development Assistance (ODA) and Other Official Flows (OOF) (Smith, Fordelone & Zimmermann 2010). Turkey, in many ways, carries characteristics similar to traditional donors: its voluntary reporting of data to OECD-DAC, its participation in various (Northern) multilateral institutions such as OECD and NATO, as well as its contributions to multilateral development efforts (United Nations Development Programme, 2011). On the other hand, while Turkey does not categorize itself as a member of the Global South, its narratives and ways of working are similar to those of Southern providers of assistance to conflict-affected countries (Sucuoglu & Stearns 2016). The main tenets of Turkish peacebuilding efforts, as explained above, have much in common with the principles of South-South cooperation: respect for national ownership, mutual benefit, solidarity, context-specific and demand-driven assistance.[5]

As Turkey does not neatly fall into the category of neither traditional donor nor Southern providers, a mix of tools to evaluate the quality and effectiveness of assistance can be used to assess Turkey's development and peacebuilding efforts. First, Turkey's peacebuilding via assistance shows some convergences with the central pillars of Development Assistance Committee's "four dimensions of aid quality": a) "maximizing efficiency," b) "fostering institutions," c) "reducing bur-

[5] All key SSC conferences in Bandung (1955), Buenos Aires (1978), Nairobi (2009), Bogota (2010) and Delhi (2013) have echoed the understanding that Southern providers, who underscore a partnership among equals for mutual benefit relying on their own experiences under a spirit of solidarity, might be uniquely equipped to foster sustainable development in developing countries.

den," d)"transparency and learning" (Birdsall & Kharas 2014, p. 2-3).

Maximizing efficiency refers to donor countries' ability to disburse its commitments to the beneficiary as horizontally as possible, leaving as few recipients as possible outside its coverage (Birdsall and Kharas 2014, p.2). From this perspective, one can argue that Turkey has fared mostly well. Its multi-stakeholder and comprehensive approach to peacebuilding and development, its ability to deliver aid directly and access communities beyond the reach of more traditional donors, its engagement with multiple local stakeholders ranging from national and local governments, civil society actors, community leaders, and private sector representatives have earned community support for its projects and ensured that they are more cost-effective, efficient, and stand a better chance to endure (Birdsall & Kharas 2014, p. 5). On the other hand, Turkish aid has been criticized in places like Somalia, of being too capital centric, prioritizing engagement with national governments, and not always being geographically inclusive.

"Fostering institutions," on the other hand, deals with maximizing the institutional capacities of recipient countries. Of all the four dimensions, "institution building" is where Turkey's peacebuilding contributions have made the most difference. As demonstrated in the Afghanistan and Somalia cases, Turkey's significant contribution of human resources, in spite of the severe security and safety conditions that barred the majority of traditional actors and rising powers from these countries, has revitalized the most essential institutions ranging from security and justice sector to education, health services to infrastructure projects (Sazak & Özkan 2016). Sazak and Özkan (2016) point out that solely in Afghanistan, Turkey's commitment to the revitalization of the country's fragmented security sector provided training for thousands of soldiers, police, and gender-sensitive inclusion of minorities in these sectors. In the same vein, Somalia offers even more examples of Turkey's contributions to restructuring of the central government and mediation between several regional governments such as Somaliland and Puntland (Sazak, Wheeler & Woods 2015).

Birdsall and Kharas (2014) also underline that "reducing burden" and "transparency and learning" are the two dimensions that necessitate high coordination among various donors and recipients for two reasons. First, multilateral coordination is an effective measure of reducing waste of resources, overcrowding, force multiplication that may emerge due to a lack of communication and cooperation between donors and beneficiaries. Finally, transparency and learning are two indispensable criteria that motivate donors to compile the necessary data to evaluate the scope, breadth, and effectiveness of their intervention. The learning segment of the transparency-learning dyad helps both the donor and beneficiary to make informed calls and choices on the sustainability of the ongoing projects. From these perspectives, Turkey's unique shift towards bilateralism, unty-

ing its development assistance, and desecuritization necessitate more thorough empirical analysis. The content analysis of the TİKA reports, as well as interviews conducted with officials and NGO representatives indicate that monitoring and evaluation has been factored very little in the effectiveness of Turkish aid (Keyman & Sazak 2014; Sazak, Wheeler & Woods 2015).

Another tool, aimed at assessing the quality of south-south cooperation (SSC), is the recently developed framework created by the Network of Southern Think Tanks (NeST).[6] The NeST framework defines the quality of SSC, based on a qualitative analysis on how actors performs on a number of issues: a) inclusive national ownership, b) horizontality, c) self-reliance and sustainability, d) accountability and transparency, e) development efficiency.

On inclusive national ownership, Turkish narratives and approaches indicate respect for non-conditionality, non-interference, and respect for sovereignty, as well as demand-driven assistance. As mentioned above, Turkish assistance in conflict-affected countries has a strong reach, are mostly formulated at a government-to-government level, while their implementation is based on multi-stakeholder community engagement. While there are several initiatives aimed at empowering women and youth, these do not always translate into a strategy to address the needs of different vulnerable groups in areas of engagement. Efforts in Somalia have been criticized for concentrate at the capital and big city-level. Turkey's investment in the renovation of Ottoman-era cultural heritage destroyed during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina has been geographically inclusive, encompassing several towns such as Sarajevo, Pocitelj, Banja Luka, Travnik and Mostar. However, these efforts have sometimes been perceived as empowering one community – the Bosniaks – while not always supported by the other two - Serbs and Croats, which don't share the same affinity with the Ottoman Empire as Bosniaks (Think Tank Populari 2014).

Horizontality can be translated as cooperation being mutually beneficial to both parties. A language of solidarity, trust, and "partnership among equals" does echo through Turkish narratives on engagement in conflict-affected countries. In practical terms, the extent to which each side benefits from cooperation is a matter of perception. Turkey's peacebuilding efforts, to a certain point, do reflect a desire to become more visible on the global scene, finding a space for its businesses and civil society to expand, and present itself as a model emerging donor. However, unlike many other traditional and emerging donors, Turkey's engagement in countries like Somalia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Afghanistan has never been perceived as a foothold for economic exploitation or furthering military ambitions, and a cordial relationship between the governments and peoples has been the norm.

[6] For more information on NeST see http://www.saiia.org.za/news/welcome-to-nest-africa.

Ending dependency and moving towards sustainable peace and development is the ultimate purpose of peacebuilding efforts. The NeST framework endorses this objective, underscoring the importance of capacity building, knowledge and technology transfer, using country systems and resources, and enabling domestic revenue generation. Fostering self-reliance and sustainability has been declared as one of the most important objectives of Turkish aid to Somalia in our numerous interviews with Turkish MFA, the development agency TIKA, and CSOs. They have pointed out to the focus on capacity building, the concentration on education through scholarships and building leadership skills, the manifestation of the long-term interest through building embassies and consulates, support to institutions and training of state officials, like diplomats, investing in Mogadishu city though roads, infrastructure, and employing local Somalis in several projects including private sector efforts. Turkey's efforts have really been remarkable in these areas, and in alignment with SSC principles of solidarity, capacity building and technology/ knowledge transfer, and use of local systems and resources.

On accountability and transparency, Turkey is one of the few rising powers that shares its development assistance data with OECD-DAC, including those pertaining to non-governmental organizations, and more sporadically reports to OCHA's Financial Tracking Services. Several Turkish NGOs and companies report data on the nature, scope, personnel, and budget of their projects to TIKA and the Ministry of Interior's Department of Associations, and they often publish project data on their websites (Doctors Worldwide, interview, Istanbul, April 2016). However, reporting is not always broken down geographically and by sector, and a standardized monitoring and evaluation model for projects on the ground is lacking. Developing indicators and quantifiable targets to measure progress is not common, and joint reviews and evaluations of projects together with stakeholders from the recipient country is not the norm, including the proper oversight of public–private partnerships.

Finally, on development efficiency, the presence of Turkish actors on the ground, "side by side with their counterparts" and local communities, has allowed these actors to be more adaptable to local conditions, needs, and wishes (Turkish civil society representatives, interview, Istanbul, April 2016). On the other hand, achieving coordination and coherence of efforts has proven to be a considerable challenge. Coordination efforts are especially difficult whence there are multiple agencies with independence and authority to negotiate their own intervention mechanisms with central governments and local administrations of host countries. For instance, a UNDP officer stationed in Ankara refers to the case while certain ministries run their own capacity deployment programs in far ranging places from Mexico to Somalia, they are not bound by law to inform TİKA, although they are encouraged to share their year's end foreign operations bud-

get with the latter (UNDP ANKARA, phone interview, 13 March 2015). In the Turkish case, the coordination efforts of the centralized development agency and the Turkish Embassy have not always prevented overlapping or duplication of efforts on the ground, or a balance of responsibilities among different Turkish institutions (Doctors Worldwide, interview, Istanbul, April 2016). Of course, coordination is also compromised by the shift towards bilateralism and a lack of true inclusivity in the planning phases of SSC efforts.

Conclusion: The Way Forward

Our analysis of Turkey's innovative approaches to peacebuilding reveals several best practices that can be emulated from Turkish experience, as well as some fundamental challenges to which Turkey must pay attention in order not to succumb to the failures for which established donors have always been criticized. In the same vein, it would also prove instrumental for Turkey and other rising powers to adopt certain practices from traditional actors. While rising powers show considerable promise to soon become norm entrepreneurs in powerful bodies of global governance, they could still benefit from resorting to multilateral schemes.

Turkey has already broken the mold by transforming its peace operations from robust peacekeeping, as illustrated in the Somalia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Afghanistan cases, to a more development- and humanitarianism-oriented, comprehensive peacebuilding—evidenced by its ISAF and Resolute Support Mission contributions in Afghanistan and post-2011 engagement with Somalia. Turkey has consequently come a long way from a unidimensional approach to peacekeeping operations to a non-linear, inclusive, and beneficiary-oriented peacebuilding. This enhanced understanding of peacebuilding can in fact factor in Turkey's transformation from a norm-taker to norm entrepreneur in global governance. As our study confirms, while Turkey is already applying key characteristics of complexity thinking (De Coning 2016, p.20), such as non-linearity and beneficiary-driven programs and projects (self-organization), its methods and programs can further benefit from implementing the following listed reforms:

Moving towards better data management and coordination

A look into the websites of various government agencies, particularly TIKA, as well as line ministries, Turkish Armed Forces and NGOs indicate that these organizations have stored and reported data on Turkey's humanitarian programs, development assistance, and peacekeeping operations. However, little evidence suggests that any analytical work has been undertaken with a view to measure, identify and improve the weaknesses and challenges by which Turkish peacebuilding efforts have been confronted so far.

This observation has both positive and negative reverberations. The downfall of a

lacking monitoring and evaluation (M&E) program is recurring costs, waste, as well as the resulting ineffectiveness of a duplicated interventions that may exacerbate the conflict sensitivities that feed into the clashes in a host country. On the bright side, the lack of an extant M&E program can motivate Turkey to incorporate the novel complexity thinking into its approach. If done correctly, Turkey may employ its sensitivity towards beneficiary-driven demands (self-organization), its moral obligation that springs from understanding and being bound by the ever changing local dynamics of the conflict (nonlinear), as well as its respect for all sides and determinants of the conflict—and not just being driven by its own agenda (whole-system approach). By adhering to these three fundamental elements of complexity thinking devised by De Coning, Turkey can refrain from making the mistake of established donor and simply avoid utilizing M&E as a mere accounting tool to sanctify the premeditated, and therefore limited, donor objectives.

Improving the inclusivity and people-centered nature of cooperation

One dimension of inclusivity is ensuring the participation of multiple stakeholders both from the provider and the recipient side, including governments, aid agencies, civil societies, community organizations, and the private sector, into peacebuilding and development processes. Turkey performs well on this dimension of inclusiveness. In Somalia, for instance, Turkish civil society organizations have been strongly involved in aid and assistance efforts from the outset, undertaking a wide range of humanitarian and developmental activities, conducted with the participation of Somalia NGOs. Involving these actors into a broader range of activities across the project cycle, and considering moving towards joint analysis and assessments, programming, and monitoring between the governments and other stakeholders can be one way to ensure better inclusivity. Once the investigations regarding the failed coup attempt are finalized, it could be useful to broaden the civil society space for the participation of different non-governmental organizations with various levels of expertise in peacebuilding efforts.

Another element of inclusivity involves ensuring geographical inclusion, across different areas, regions, and rural-urban divides. This understanding is fully in line with the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda's call to "leave no one behind" in development processes and adopting people-centred and inclusive approaches to development. As direct aid delivery and access have been two of Turkey's biggest comparative advantages in conflict-affected countries, it could show the way forward for the international community, by reaching out to people in more remote rural areas, as well as different communities and groups beyond the capital cities. The initiatives in Somalia to open a General Consulate and TIKA Office in Hargeisa as well as the operation of a General Consulate in Mazar-I Sharif and two Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Wardak and Jawzjan until

2014 in Afghanistan can be highlighted as best practices in this area. Similarly, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Turkey's closer relationship with the Bosniak community has sometimes been criticized (90-95% of project applications submitted to TIKA are from Bosniaks), Turkey has made cultural investments in the Visegard Bridge project in Republika Srpska (the Serb Republic - RS), and Turkish Ziraat Bank has opened an office in Banja Luka, the capital city of RS. These efforts should continue.

The inclusion of women, youth and vulnerable groups, and ensuring their empowerment and equal participation in peace and development processes is another important dimension of inclusivity. The visibly community-oriented nature of Turkish projects already helps empower populations that risk being left behind. For instance, a joint project with the Somali Banadir municipality on sanitation made a special effort to hire women and youth in the implementation phase, and capacity-building programs and trainings for women parliamentarians in Afghanistan coordinated by the Turkish Embassy in Kabul have been common. All these individual efforts could be expanded to form a broader and more structured strategy to address the needs of different vulnerable populations in conflict-affected countries.

Ensuring the sustainability of peacebuilding efforts

Many emerging donors, like South Africa in the Democratic Republic of Congo and India in Afghanistan, prefer to engage in neighboring countries where they have strong interests. Compared with traditional donors, who often engage in conflict-affected countries with a broad exit strategy in mind, the geographical and strategic proximity of recipient countries to rising powers guarantees the sustainability of engagement. Turkey differs from other rising powers in this area. Its increasing capacities and abilities to engage in peacebuilding efforts, combined with its increasing ODA, has encouraged its ambitions to look beyond its traditional sphere of influence and engage in countries like Somalia, Haiti, and Myanmar. Ironically, this approach might have repercussions on the sustainability of Turkey's efforts in these countries, if pressing developments in closer geographies like Syria and Cyprus directly affecting its interests require its full attention.

Emerging donors are, by definition, undergoing rapid economic growth and political changes, which bring with it domestic social changes as well as new dynamics with countries in their respective regions. On the domestic level, rapid economic growth can bring about institutional change, which in turn can foster uncertainty and a lack of predictability. At the global policy level, it is widely accepted that both peace and development are long-term processes, and require sustained engagement to successfully build self-reliance and address root causes of conflict (UN Security Council 2016). The ability of Southern providers to bring

longer-term development and peace might also rely on the sustainability, continuity, and consistency of their efforts and engagement over time.

As Sucuoglu and Stearn (2016) note, the challenges inside and outside of Turkey's borders continue to raise questions about the sustainability of Turkish peacebuilding efforts and the level of priority these efforts will receive. Like many other middle-income countries, Turkey might not have the institutional capacity to prioritize several foreign policy issues at once; if Somalia or Afghanistan loses their place among Turkey's top foreign policy priorities, the sustainability of its ODA might come into question. Additionally, a changing domestic policy terrain might also affect Turkey's ability to prioritize conflict prevention and peacebuilding in conflict-affected countries; developments after the failed coup attempt in Turkey on 15 July 2016 might signal a changed strategic direction and new partnerships for the country.

In sum, supporting full self-reliance in conflict-affected countries require investing in skills, knowledge, and technology that will be needed in the long run. This demands a more strategic approach to capacity building, beyond short-term capacities that enable recipient populations to carry out projects on the ground or engage in business transactions. Even in relationships based on long-term involvement and solidarity, enabling the country to stand on its own feet should be prioritized. Hence, more focus is needed on domestic revenue generation and combatting illicit financial flows, especially in efforts concerning Africa.

Bio

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Gizem Sucuoğlu is a Senior Programme Manager at New York University's Center on International Cooperation (CIC). Her area of expertise lies in the field of peacebuilding, conflict prevention, emerging donors, international and regional organisations, Turkey, the Balkans, Middle East and South Asia. Prior to joining the CIC she worked at the UN, supporting the 2015 Review of the UN Peacebuilding Architecture. She has spent 12 years working for the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and has served in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Israel, Afghanistan, and the Turkish Mission to the United Nations. Gizem holds a Ph.D. from the University of Kent in Canterbury.

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Article

Becoming Global Actor: The Turkish Agenda for the Global South

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Abstract

Interpretations about Turkey's strategic orientations in the post-Cold War had simplified the divide between the Western, and non-western orientations. The problematic relations with the European Union, the increasing discussions about the role of Turkey in the Syrian crisis, and the increasing rapprochement with the Russian Federation are lively examples of the tangled options of Ankara's foreign policy. Despite that, there is an proliferating literature about the growing role of Turkey in the Global South, especially related to the expansion of diplomatic networks, foreign aid, humanitarian assistance and quasi-interregional cooperation. This paper will address the southern dimension of the Turkish foreign policy by identifying the main international and domestic variables that have pushed for further activism in the Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. The main argument is that the political and economic emergence of the non-western world, next to the narrative promoted by the ruling JDP elite - especially connected to the quest for a global engagement and partially related to the identity nexus – helped to expand this strategic perspective formulated in the late 1990s.

Keywords

Turkish Foreign Policy, Southern Dimension, Middle Emerging Power, South-South Cooperation, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America

Introduction

As a matter of fact, Turkey is geographically interlocked between the European and the Asian continents, located at the crossroads of the Afro-Eurasia landmass. Despite the quest for security and autonomy has been a constant in the Turkey's

diplomacy, the country has been a witness of movements and counter-movements in multiple directions based on external and domestic inventive and constraints. In this sense, systemic changes at the end of the Cold War produced a new scenario which offered a possibility to empower Turkey's role beyond the general Atlantic alliance and the NATO membership. In line with the broader opportunities in the international political system, Turkey started to replace a traditional foreign policy (Davutoğlu 2013). While issues such as economics, development cooperation and humanitarian aid become increasingly relevant, a broader agenda emerged in the international context, characterized by the reduction of the value of military power and territorial defense. Simultaneously, the overemphasis on the security factors was slowly changing towards a more trade-oriented foreign policy at both regional and global arena. Turkey's foreign and security policy has moved toward a more Kantian approach, with emphasis on being active, cooperative and constructive (Chiriatti & Donelli 2015). Even if the security has continued to be relevant for the foreign policy strategists, its impact in the overall foreign policy agenda has decreased significantly, until 2013 where the spillover of the Syrian crisis began to affect seriously the national security.

The interlocking tripod of power, wealth and status helps to frame the Turkish foreign economic policy (Katzenstein 1978). In this tripod, the quest for wealth and status has required additional efforts in order to increase the engagement of new actors and non-traditional regions, leading beyond the regional limits of Turkey's foreign policy. Thus, Turkey has moved from her traditional 'threat assessment approach' towards an 'active engagement in regional political systems' (Kardaş 2012). As part of this new agenda, Turkey has expanded its diplomatic, economic and humanitarian networks toward different regions, including Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America, adopting a multi-directional approach. Turkey's multi-directionality is defined by the ability to project her influence and interests in different directions, while it is open to all regions around the Turkish cornerstone (Danforth 2008). These developments reflect a new stance toward the Global South – especially toward the Least Developed Countries (LDC) – after years of disinterest, opening a new window for channeling Turkey's interests in the global political economy.

According to the mainstream literature of her traditional foreign policy, Turkey has been focused on the "West" – and thus, considered to be close to the "global North" - due to the identity/security nexus their developmental profile was pretty similar to her southern peers (Hale 2000, p.1-11; Deringil 1989, p.1-12). However, late discussions about the "new" Turkish foreign policy incorporate non-western foreign policy approaches, reflecting the increasing tensions in the strategic orientations among Europeanization, Eurasianism and Middle-Easternism (Öniş & Yılmaz 2009; Öniş 2011; Kirişci 2012), highlightening the role of Tur-

key toward the global South (Bayer & Keyman 2012; Özkan 2010, 2012). In this sense, the "new" Turkey's activism in the global South has opened a new space to expand her interests: the southern dimension.

Considering the rising prominence of South-South Cooperation (SSC) in the foreign policy agendas of the emerging powers, this paper aims to enlighten the Turkish agenda for the global South. The assertion is that an interplay of external and domestic factors has shaped Turkish foreign policy's southern dimension. In the case of the southern dimension, the interaction between external dynamics - such as the translation of power the emergence of non-western powers, the consequences of 2008-2009 financial crisis-, and domestic variables -such as the dynamism of the Turkish economy, and the ideology of the ruling political coalition as status-seeker-, are central to provide a general explanatory framework.

These complex interactions should be addressed by the central research question of this work, why and how the southern dimension rise in the Turkey's foreign policy?. In order to answer this question, this paper postulates that the roots of the southern dimension should be found in the sizeable changes in the distribution of resources in the global political economy combined with the needs of the Turkey's economy and the ideological nature of the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party, JDP) government.

Dealing with southern dimension of the Turkish foreign policy, this paper is divided into three sections. In the first section, the main international and domestic variables that shape the political economy of the emerging powers in general, and Turkey in particular, are identified. This initial analytical framework is based on the state-centric understanding of the international political economy. The second section elaborates a theoretical scheme to compare four dimensions of the Turkish foreign policy. Finally, the third section explains the main features of the Turkey's southern dimension, through the analysis of two case studies: Turkey's opening toward Sub-Saharan Africa, especially the involvement in the Horn of Africa, and Turkey's approach toward Latin America. At the end, the goal of the present work is to describe the Turkish policy towards the global South, showing how the southern dimension can help the Turkey's ambition to become a rising power in a context of a shifting global governance.

Domestic and International Sources of the Turkish Foreign Policy Orientations

The second image reversed has a long tradition in IR and foreign policy studies. According to Gourevitch, the 'international system has powerful effects upon the character of domestic regimes: the distribution of power among states, or the international state system; and the distribution of economic activity and wealth,

or the international economy' (Gourevitch 1978, p.882-883). In middle emerging powers, the range of action for domestic factors to influence foreign policy is more limited than in advanced industrial states, therefore political and economic forces operating at home and abroad do not have the same conceptual weight. However, in a changing international system, the change in the distribution of resources can provide more space for the intervenient of domestic factors such as the ideology of ruling coalitions who define policy objectives. In the case of a declining hegemony of a certain economic international order, international and domestic forces intertwined shaped the foreign policy, both in terms of policy objectives (a choice of values) and the instruments of policy (means). At the same time, periods of hegemonic ascendancy and decline in which the structure becomes unpredictable and the relative weight of domestic factors increase (Katzenstein 1978). Nowadays, the rise of China is presenting a new cycle of great power ascendancy, affecting progressively global and regional dynamics, for example in Latin America (Schenoni & Escudé, 2016).

Although increasingly constraint by the distributional effects of the uneven world politics and economics and the growing role of societal actors that lies beyond the scope of the governments, states still are the most relevant actors of the international arena. These intertwined dynamics between domestic and international factors represent a serious challenge for emerging powers in their ambitious idea to climb positions without delegitimizing the existing liberal international order. Instead being caught in a semi-peripheral position in the hierarchy of global capitalism, middle emerging powers have given significant contribution to the international political economy showing their ability to serve as role models based on their soft power resources, their capacity identify niches, building effective coalitions on the basis of normative principles and applying self-aware governance capacity (Öniş & Kutlay 2015). Turkey – as other similar countries – has been a lively example of the strength and limits of these new range of actors.

This work focuses in the first building block of the middle power activismand the capability to serve as a role model both on a regional and global basis. According to Holsti, role conception includes the policymakers own definitions of the general kinds of decisions, commitments, rules and actions suitable to their state, and of the functions, if any, their state should perform on a continuing basis in the international system or in subordinate regional systems. (Holsti 1970, p.245-246)

Nowadays, Turkey has been redefining its international identity from being a passive to a constructive, and more independent, global actor. In this sense, her role in the world politics has been shaped by ruptures, alliances, tensions and realignments that can be interpreted in relation to her geographical location, the multiple geopolitical identities, or the state-building process.

From a strategic perspective, the literature about Turkey and their regional and global position has presented the country as a torn (Huntington 1993), pivotal (Fuller 2008), peripheral and, lately, as a central country (Davutoğlu 2008). According to the former Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, Turkey's unique geographic and geo-cultural position gives hert a 'strategic depth', therefore she should act as a 'central country' and break away from a static and single-parameter policy (Davutoğlu 2008). All of these characterizations have been related to the geographical location, but the quest for an identity and the state-building process on which these characterizations are shaped need to be taken into account as well. The Turkey's alternative geopolitical identities have been defined, according to Şener Aktürk (2015), in four senses – Pan-Islamism, Pan-Turkism, Westernism, and Eurasianism –, which reflect alternative interpretations about Turkey's national interests in the contemporary world. In this sense, Eurasianism have a pro-Russian orientation, Pan-Turkism looks for a greater role in the Turkic world - especially with the five Turkic 'brother states' -, Pan-Islamism goes in the direction of Arab-Islamic countries, and the Westernism calls for further integration in European and Atlantic institutions (Aktürk 2015, p. 54). A more practical account should be pull-out from the state-building process in which orientation changes are usually constant, although they are routed to strengthen the role of the state, domestically and internationally. Following this approach, this work identifies three ideal-types of foreign policy orientation: Western, Anatolian and Southern. The southern dimension is neither a primary intellectual interpretation about the Turkey's geopolitical identity, nor a natural outpouring from her geographical position, it is more of a practical consequence of the state-building process, in which there is an historical process of governmental agencies empowerment that creates incentives to become more internationalized.

Beyond the traditional links with Middle East and North Africa that are normally considered as a part of the "global South", Turkey has also improved her ties with other regions such as Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. At the same time, Turkey has begun to present itself as a developmental facilitator of the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and a supporter voice for their claims within international fora, thus adopting an intermediate position between the high-income economies and the low-income ones. This novel orientation followed a multi-directional approach stated first by Ismael Cem, and then developed more effectively by Ahmet Davutoğlu. According to this second, multi-directionality is defined by Turkey's ability to project her influence and her interests in different directions (Baudner 2014). This approach has overturned Turkey's national role conception, making it a hub of a wider region defined as 'Afro-Eurasia' (Donelli 2015).

In the state-building process, the foreign policy should be interpreted as a result

of both international and domestic forces. In relation to the first dynamics, distribution and changes in the economic and political power globally are central to locate the context and degree of autonomy of the Turkey's position while the national system of political economy and the ideology of the ruling governmental elite – Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party, JDP) – reflects the main domestic incentives for the foreign policy. In this case, the source of explanation are the trends in global distribution of resources, the nature of the Turkish political economy and the ideology of the JDP while the dependent variable are the dimensions of the foreign policy. In Table I, it is presented how these variables structured, and shape the three "ideal-type" orientations of the foreign policy. Following Lichbach, 'ideal-type taxonomy contains differentiations that facilitate comparisons (…) because a thing is best understood via contrasts with the available alternatives' (Lichbach 2003, p.16). As an ideal-type, it does not explain the overall reality, but it is useful to model general understandings of the phenomena.

Table 1: Domestic and International factors of Turkish Foreign Policy orientations[1]

Dimension / Variable	**Western**	**Anatolian**	**Southern**
International Economic System	Status-quo	Diversifier	Revisionist
International Political System	Status-quo	Revisionist	Normative
National System of Political Economy	Security Statis Integrated	Welfare Market Fragmentation	Equity Market Fragmentation
Ideology of Ruling Coalitions	Pro-Western	Conservative	Conservative Social-Democrat

In broad terms, the western dimension has been very conservative in terms of how to respond to international changes, heavily influenced by the ideology of the different political coalitions, that followed the secular principles established in the early Kemalist Republic. These ruling elite originally perceived that Turkey had a narrow space to move in the world politics because being a 'small country at the crossroads' do not allow excessively freedom of movement (Deringil 1989, p. 3-4). At the same time, initially the political economy has been thought as mercantilist. In such a context, in which a developmental state plays a key role

[1] The systemic variables have been borrowed from the Gourevitch's explanation of the international factors in domestic politics (Gourevitch 1978) and Robert Gilpin's work about structural change in world politics (Gilpin 1981) while the domestic ones are based on the Gilpin's explanation of national system of political economy (Gilpin 2001, p.148-195) and the Katzenstein's arguments about the role of the ideology of ruling coalitions to shape foreign economic policy (Katzenstein 1971).

intervenient in the national economy, the quest for security was the main aim and organizing the structure of the corporate sector and private business practices in an integrated manner. Nowadays, this approach has suffered changes due to the influence of the neoliberal reforms and the impact of globalizations, but we keep it for conceptual reasons.

The Anatolian dimension has taken the advantages of global political and economic changes since the Turgut Özal's reforms in early 1980s. Based on a self-confident understanding of their role, the conservatives' elites has tried to diversified the sources of strategic and economic ties beyond Europe and the United States while trying to promote an alternative agenda and gaining autonomy in her surrounding regions. The domestic political-economic setting is also different. This orientation is supported by a more liberal and welfare-oriented understanding of the national economy in which the private structure is divided by those who are more prone to take business risks abroad, especially in the non-Western world (represented by MÜSIAD) and the traditional industrialists who are mainly oriented to the domestic market and focus on Western economies (TÜSIAD). The more pro-market profile can be illustrated by the Turkish solution to the Mundell-Fleming "impossible trilemma" – that –Turkey shares with the others established and middle emerging powers – in which monetary policy autonomy and capital mobility dismiss a fixed exchange rate controlled by the state (Frieden 1991). Referring to domestic factors, it should be noted that political consolidation, as well as economic growth, have been influential in this change, both at the psychological level and in altering understandings of national identity. The reform process – that transformed the economy from a ISI model to a neoliberal one – favored the rise of a growing number of civil society groups, which influence on policy makers have grown progressively (Findley 2010). These socio-political changes weakened the power of the traditional military-bureaucratic elites over the state in favor of an emerging Anatolian Muslim middle class. This class has aimed at promoting progress and integration into the global market without neglecting Islamic values and dogmas. As such, foreign policy changes also reflected the increasing influence of this sort of counter-elite with different political view, and a different interpretation of the national interests. The internationalization of the 'Anatolian tigers' turned out to be the 'practical hand' of the external policies (Kutlay 2011; Atlı 2011).

Finally, the domestic sources of the southern dimension "ideal-type" are close to the Anatolian dimension, especially in relation to the political economy approach. An open, fragmented national economy but with economic goals more oriented to equity, beyond the power and wealth concerns. In this case, this dimension provides a meeting point with both the leftist and Islamic concerns about social justice and equity in the global economy. The Southern dimension is a not

new, but a secondary orientation in the foreign policy and it can be represented historically as the tactical moves to gain support by Bülent in the context of the Cyprus issue, the strategic perspective proposed by the then Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ismail Cem in late 1990s, and, finally, the JDP's assertive foreign policy over a wide range of regions and sectors. This orientation has reacted differently to external incentives, especially when there is a cycle of economic stagnation, or political crisis that impact the established powers, especially the hegemonic one. In this case, the orientation would search for a remodelling of the international economic institutions trying to empower the middle and less-income countries whereas attempting to expand the norms in relation to justice and equity in the liberal international order, searching for fairer treatment in world politics. Compared with the Anatolian orientation, this one is less revisionist, but paying more attention to the normative elements in the context of a quest for global justice.

An interesting metaphor that reflects the relative weight in the overall foreign policy of each of these dimensions is the isosceles triangle with vertical axis of symmetry. This geometrical figure should have two of the sides and angles of equal length, while the remaining side is, not only of different size, but also smaller, thus reflecting the degree of opening in relation to the opposing angle. The Western and the Anatolian represent the two similar and expanded sides while the southernism represents the narrow side. As ideal-types, these orientations neither operate in a void nor are watertight compartments, they are mutually bonded and intertwined. In each of the foreign policy actions or decisions, there is a trade-off among the "ideal-types" that may change the balance of the overall orientation of the foreign policy. For example, Ismail Cem stated that Turkey is both European and Asian and thisdoes not constitute a dichotomy, rather a most valuable asset (Cem 2001, p.60). One of the main argument of this paper is that Turkey has also a southern dimension, that shall not be discarded as an extra asset, neither as an alternative orientation to traditional one, but, rather, a complementary feature, useful for the country to become a global actor.

Turkey's Southern Dimension: a new post-crisis orientation

The trajectory of the global South has been widely discussed since the Cold War by emphasizing the South-South cooperation (SSC). During last three decades, many non-DAC (Development Assistance Committee) countries have begun to redefine their role in the global governance by intensifying their efforts to support various development activities undertaken by countries in the global South. As a result, the world has witnessed an unprecedented growth of what can be called 'South–South' aid, promoting horizontal cooperation based on the principle of equality, partnership and mutual interest (Quadir 2013, p. 322-323). The philosophy behind the SSC emerges from the notion of mutual growth, the underlying principle is to support each other for a win-win partnership on all sides. Nowa-

days, emerging powers, particularly of the Global South, are perceived to become the agents of change (Chaturvedi, Fues & Sidiropoulos 2012), even if there is evidence that emerging powers have not always a common vision of development and orientation to the Global South. They often pursue an active agenda based on their distinct conceptualization of development, which pays attention to such values as social justice, environmental sustainability, democracy and human rights. In other words, as Quadir (2013, p. 324) vividly argued, 'new donors place emphasis on different sets of issues and themes that do not necessarily revolve around a core ideological premise'. Foreign aid and development cooperation constitute a relatively small element within the global change, but it is an arena that is revealing of wider patterns and trends in political, economic and cultural power (Woods 2008). Emerging powers behave systematically different from traditional ones, refusing to use the dominant language of official development, which tends to rationalize the hierarchical relationship between North and South (Dreher, Nunnenkamp & Thiele 2011). However, within agendas of the emerging powers there are important differences, that some authors (Zimmerman & Smith 2011; Walz & Ramachandran, 2011) have categorized in three different groups or three distinct models: the DAC model, the Arab model and the Southern model. Even if Turkey is considered by Walz and Ramachandran (2011) as part of the first group, her current agenda shows the simultaneous presence of traits relating to all three models.

Until recently, the literature about the strategic orientation of Turkey has paid no attention to this southern dimension. Indeed, a review of the key textbooks about the central events of the Turkish foreign policy, shows that the "Third World" or the "Global South" is almost absent. Instead, the participation in the famous Bandung Conference (1955) – in which Turkey received strong criticism because of her pro-NATO position from Zhou Enlai and Nehru –, Turkey did not take part of the "Third World" network organizations such as the Non-Aligned Movement and the G77. These failed initial movements toward these alternative blocs provoked a sense of distance and mistrust with the nonaligned countries. As a result, during the international crisis in which Turkey was involved - such as the one in Cyprus in 1974 -, these countries generally took positions unfavorable to Turkey (Arıboğan 2004, p.410). Another interesting indicator of this general sense of distance between Turkey and the so called Third World can be find in the United Nations. In the UN Regional Groups, Turkey is member of both Western European and Others Group (WEOG) and the Asia-Pacific Group – formerly the Asian Group -, but electorally it only counts for WEOG.

Similarly, there is only a couple of publications that explore the relations of Turkey with the Third World in the midst of the Cold War (Bölükbaşı 1988; Sönmezoğlu 1994, p.441-481), and - after of the Cold War - the global South

(Apaydin 2012). Actually, there is very little information about the Turkey's position toward decolonization process, the links between Turkish social and political leftist movements with national liberation movements in the non-Arab world and the Turkish multilateral policy toward main topics of the global South's international agenda before the JDP years. However - as a positive trend - there is an increasing literature of comparative perspectives with the global South – particularly with Latin America - in terms of developmental trajectories, crisis and neoliberal reforms (Öniş 2006; Bailey 2007), migrations (Escobar, Hailbronner, Martin, & Meza 2006), banking sector (Marois 2012), the role of the military (Pion-Berlin 2011), democratization (Wiltse 2015), and populism (Öniş 2014).

Nonetheless, in the last years there has been a novel interest for the increasing ties of Turkey with the global South in different regions and policy areas. Turkey's new policies towards Africa (Hasan 2007; Özkan 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014; Mbabia 2011; Wheeler 2011 Abdirahman 2013; Akpınar 2013; Baçik & Afacan 2013; Rudincová 2014; Donelli 2015; Kadayıfcı-Orellana 2016), East Asia (Çolakoğlu 2012) and Latin America (Gonzalez-Levaggi 2013; Gonzalez-Levaggi & Ferez 2016; Akıllı & Donelli 2016) has gained the attention of experts and analysts while the significant developmental and humanitarian efforts in such diverse places as Somalia, Kyrgyzstan and Haiti have raised the role of Turkey as a responsible partner in the world efforts to achieve more effective results in the quest for regional and global governance.

The general orientations of the foreign policy are affected by local-global nexus (Keyman & Gumuscu 2014), which has been channelized by the process of state-building. In the case of the southern dimension, it became empowered after two major events, the 2008-2009 financial crisis and the troubled aftermath of the Arab uprising. In this sense, Turkey has responded in two different ways. First, trying to present herself as a regional order builder in the surrounding region, trying to revive – at least ideationally – the historical and cultural boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. This strategy, heavily influenced by the JDP conservative identity nexus, tries unsuccessfully to profit from the redistribution of political power in the region since the reluctance of the great powers to intervene – initially – at a great scale. Second, Turkey tries to expand her weight as a global player, taking advantage of the crisis in the established powers and of the need for new partners in the global South, especially among the Least Developed Countries.

Regional and global process prompted the policy makers to search for alternative path in world politics, focusing their attention to other regions such as the Latin America, the Sub-Saharan Africa, and Southern Asia. The impossibility to become a regional hegemon in the post-Arab Revolution scenario, the constraints of the traditional – and the new Middle Eastern - markets in addition to the stoppage in the EU membership process led to invest more seriously time and

resources in alternative regions and deepen the good practices in policy areas such as foreign aid, humanitarian assistance, peacekeeping operations, and cultural co-operation, among others.

This southern route posits a normative and responsible stance as a middle emerging power by taking a more global and accountable approach of world politics emphasizing the ways to overcome global inequality. By using a set of soft power tools - such as the use of peacekeeping troops, developmental aid, humanitarian activities and public diplomacy - Turkey increased her role in regional and world politics reflecting a concern for justice with an 'ethical foreign policy' (Bayer & Keyman 2012, p.85). Even if this dimension tries to avoid actions that could undermine the set of international norms, it underlines the changes in the distribution of economic resources, especially those related with the likely impact in their national economy. In an attempt to portray herself as a crucial partner for LDCs, Turkey hosted the fourth UN Conference on the LDC (UN LDC) in May 2011, and framed this involvement conveying that 'Turkey as a developing country has much success and experience to share with LDCs' (Korkut & Civelekoglu 2013, p. 194).

Besides the regional and global factors, ideological preferences of the political coalition – grounded on conservative principles with pragmatic implementation -, has defined this different route for the Turkish foreign policy. The increasing involvement in Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America portrays examples of the Turkish novel orientation toward the global South.

Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America in the Turkey's Global South Agenda

Sub-Saharan Africa

In the era of globalization, Africa has become a key area where emerging powers aspire to raise their international relevance. The main reason is the transformation of the global economy that has generated an unprecedented demand for mineral and energy resources, which make Africa a geoeconomic and geopolitical competitive arena (Korkut & Civelekoglu 2013, p. 191). In the last decade, Turkey earned a special place among the so called non-traditional partners driven by two main factors: diversifying her economic relations and maintaining her re-orientation in global politics (Özkan 2012). Historically, Turkey has always found an exclusive place for relations with the former Ottoman lands of North Africa but only since the last two decades she has started to look towards the African countries geographically located below the Maghreb. Traditionally, Turkish authorities look at these regions as secondary and peripheral for their interests. Since the end of the 1990s Turkey's relations with Africa have shown an increasing revival, especially towards Sub-Saharan African countries; the progressive openness of the economy, the increasing global financial and commercial interconnection and

the search for new opportunities in the non-Western world provide a basis for the establishment of the Action Plan (1998). Turkey's opening to Africa gained momentum under the JDP government with the approval of the Development of the Economic Relations with African Countries strategy in 2003. Since 2004 Turkey has significantly increased her relations with the countries of the Horn of Africa through economic and trade agreements and bilateral projects of development and emergency aid (Donelli 2015). However, the real turning point was 2005 designated in Turkey as the Year of Africa. It was also the beginning of Turkey's involvement through a greater diplomatic activism both bilaterally and multilaterally. In recent years Turkey has multiplied her diplomatic offices[2] and the number of honorary consuls who are working on the continent as intermediaries.

From a Turkey's perspective, the basic drivers have been a mix of identity closeness, the search for new markets and the quest for status as global actor. Turkey has tried to portray herself as an active partner for development assistance, emphasizing the SSC. Compared with traditional DAC countries, Turkey has two favorable features in her relations with African countries: the absence of a colonial past that makes possible a 'clean slate' approach (Abdirahman 2011; İpek & Biltekin 2013)[3], and the existence of historical (Rudincova 2014)[4] and religious ties (Özkan 2013; Abdurrahim 2015).

Nonetheless, beyond the significant role of the JDP elite's preferences and interests, both political and economic dynamics at the international and societal level shape these uncommon interest in Africa. Literature about the topic agrees that there are varying causes behind Turkey's opening to Africa: firstly, difficulties in the European Union (EU) accession process; secondly, searching for new markets for Turkish products; thirdly, looking for greater operating autonomy from traditional Western allies; fourthly, gaining political visibility and support inside international fora and, finally, fostering sustainable economic development by imparting Turkey's managerial skills and technological know-how (Özkan 2010, 2014; Wheeler 2011; Donelli 2015; Eyrice Tepeciklioğlu 2015). The nascent role of middle and great emerging powers in the international political economy, next to the increasing presence of non-western actors such as China, India and Brazil in Africa provide some clues about the state-to-system linkages. At the same time, the political economy progressive changes since the 1980s, towards a more open and profit-oriented economy generated extra incentives to search new market beyond the traditional ones. Since 2008, Turkey has pursued material gains, such

[2] The number of Turkish embassies in Africa has risen from 12 of 2009 to 34 in 2013.

[3] The term has been quoting by former President Abdullah Gül during a visit in Africa. By "clean slate," Gül was presumably alluding to the crucial fact that Turkey has never been a colonizing power in the region.

[4] Turkish leader emphasizes these historical ties: 'You are home, Turkey is your motherland, sixteenth century Ahmed Gurey fought occupying forces with Ottoman support'. 'Opening Remarks by Foreign Minister of Turkey Ahmet Davutoğlu', Somali Civil Society Gathering, Istanbul, 27 May 2012.

as increased trade opportunities and investments, by convincing African states of their shared values and goals with Turkey (Korkut & Civelekoğlu 2013).

In order to change the mutually negative perceptions and to foster new relationships useful meetings have been organized by the Turkish public and private institutions on specific issues such as health, agriculture and the media. In particular, in the field of economic and trade development private organizations are cooperating with state agencies including the Foreign Economic Relations Board of Turkey (DEİK) and the Turkish Exporters Assembly (TIM). Turkey joined the African Development Bank (2008) and strengthened her relations with the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in East Africa and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Turkey's investment in Sub-Saharan Africa region pays: trade volume between Turkey and Sub-Saharan Africa increased from $742 million in 2000 to $17 billion dollars in 2015. According to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, trade volume with Sub-Saharan Africa is projected to reach $50 billion in 2050.

Among the private actors, the conservative-based business associations such as MÜSİAD (Association of Independent Industrialists and Businessmen) is active through the promotion of forums between Turkish entrepreneurs and their African counterparts. These agencies were, and are, fundamental actors not only in the implementation of the Turkey's African policy but also as prime movers.

At the same time, this Africa sub-region is relevant for the increasing Official Development Assistance (ODA) provided by the official Turkish aid agency, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) (Cemalettin 2014). Between 2005 and 2015, aid has been one of Turkey's strongest foreign policy elements in general and in her Africa policy in particular (Özkan 2016). Besides the activities of TIKA - that currently has operations in over 40 African countries -, Turkey has also provided aid to Africa through international organizations; for example, through the World Health Organization, World Food Program, and the Red Crescent (Korkut & Civelekoğlu 2013).

Furthermore, compared to other emerging powers that are active in Africa, Turkey gives a religious dimension to her assistance and following the Arab model of development aid, concentrates on African Muslim communities. However, religion appears as a tool rather than the driving force in most of the Turkish initiatives. Additionally, it is perceived as a legitimate basis for Turkey's involvement (Özkan 2013). Indeed, most of the works carried out by faith-based NGOs[5] are promoted as Islamic duties (Abdurrahim 2015). The active role of the Turkish

[5] Turkish humanitarian NGOs are faith-based organizations. They are formal organizations whose identity and mission are self-consciously derived from the teachings of one or more religious or spiritual traditions (Berger 2003, p. 16).

'pro-Islamic'[6] civil society is another distinctive feature of Turkey's presence in Africa (Donelli 2015, p. 41). The involvement on the ground of civil organizations has allowed access to local channels and agents that the State cannot or does not want to reach. The NGOs' ability to build a mutual trust on the field leads to the inclusive approach of all conflicting parties during talks and negotiations (Achilles, Sazak, Wheeler & Woods 2015).

Finally, the Turkey's African dimension involves a normative element, in behalf of a more equalitarian world politics. During the 2015 Sustainable Development Summit, the former Prime Minister Davutoğlu brought the Sub-Saharan Africa Turkey's policy as an example of the positive outputs resulting from combining humanitarian and development assistance programs within a collective strategy. According to him, 'Turkey has become deeply concerned with all forms of human inequality that exist in the world, especially those forms that impact upon the dignity of the individual and the community' (Davutoğlu 2012, p.3). This is connected to the conservative approach of the JDP elite, which consider humanitarian crisis and underdevelopment a test for Turkey's new role.

All efforts promoted by Turkey led to the appointment as *observer status* in 2005 and *strategic partner* of the African Union in 2008. During the same year, Turkey organized the First Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit which was considered to be the beginning of a steady and sustainable co-operation process (Bilgiç & Nascimento 2014, p. 2). Initially, Turkey operated in Africa like the other non-western emerging powers (China, Brazil, India) in the field of economic development and humanitarian aid with minor concern for political issues (Özkan & Orakçı 2015). Later, the role assumed by Turkey in Somalia pointed to a shift in its focus towards the political aspects of the sub-region's problems. Indeed, since 2011 with her active involvement in the Somali crisis, Turkey has assumed more political responsibilities in the Horn of Africa, rather than being merely an economic power or donor country (Donelli 2015, p. 40). This shift has made Turkey a hybrid non-traditional actor because it combines the traditional political-stability perspective of western powers with the economic-trade perspective of emerging ones. As a result, Turkey revised her foreign policy agenda for opening up the Horn of Africa, and in 2014 a new phase was launched under the rubric Turkey-Africa Partnership initiative. This new strategy would further facilitate the consolidation of African ownership of African issues under the motto 'African issues require African solutions' (Çavuşoğlu 2014). Nowadays, Turkey works to promote her own interests in Africa but, at the same time, is engaged in finding long term solutions for the continent's problems through southern orientation as evidenced by the Turkey-Africa Economic and Business Forum (2016) held in Istanbul.

[6] Anne Solberg (2007. p. 432) uses 'pro-Islamic' as an umbrella term for a variety of organizations and movements that are grounded in Islam and therefore can be distinguished from the dominant secularist ideology in Turkey.

Latin America and the Caribbean

The Latin American connection seems to be a novelty for both Turkish decision-makers and societal actors. The new economic environment, in addition to the high rates of economic growth in Latin America, gained the attention of JDP officers, which started to perceive Latin America as the new space for economic engagement, even if the cultural and religious ties were almost non-existent.

Since the early days of the Republic, but especially during the Cold War, Latin America and Turkey could be understood more as distant cousins, with scattered contacts (Sochaczewski 2015). In spite of the fact that Turkey's relations with the region had roots in the late Ottoman Empire, geographical and cultural distances posed too high of a barrier for bonding (Gonzalez Levaggi 2012). In addition to the geographic realities, social and political unrest during Turkey's transition from a world empire (Ottoman) to a republic state (Turkish), also weakened Turkey's relations with the region. Turkey has been present in the major Latin American countries since the first decades of the Republic, but bilateral and regional ties were fragile until mid-1990s. This type of low profile relationship prior to the 1990s, known as a consent to resignation, was due to Turkey's dominant Western state identity during that period (Akıllı & Donelli 2016).

In 1992, Turkey received the first Latin American high-level visit from the Argentine President Carlos Menem. After that, the then-President Süleyman Demirel visited Argentina, Brazil and Chile in 1995 opening a broad space for cooperation in several areas from defense to trade including educational and technological cooperation, energy and drug trafficking, among others. These moves were then incorporated into the Action Plan for Latin America and the Caribbean in 1998. This trend was strengthened during the first years of the new millennium, when the high economic performances of several countries - Chile, Brazil, and Mexico - made Latin America more attractive to Turkey. Therefore, the region gained significant importance for Turkey, creating the conditions for further cooperation on different levels. As a middle emerging country, Turkey saw economic opportunities in the region, initially related with purchase of primary resources and, then – not so successfully - with the intention to exports low and medium-technology products and develop investments (Gonzalez-Levaggi & Ferez 2016). Moreover, Turkey's role and membership in the Group of 20 (G20) in which three Latin American countries - Argentina, Brazil and Mexico - are present have improved opportunities for strategic alliances beyond the Atlantic bloc.

A new wave of activism started in 2006, declared Year of Latin America by the JDP government as an effort to create links with the Americas to boost economic, social and cultural relations. After that, several factors indicate that Turkey's relations with Latin America and the Caribbean have improved significantly: inten-

sification of mutual official visits, increased mutual diplomatic representatives, and the growing number of mutual inter-parliamentary friendship groups in Turkey's Grand National Assembly (TBMM). The number of high-level visits and contacts increased between Turkey and Latin America and the Caribbean countries (Gonzalez-Levaggi 2013). Under the flag of South-South relations Turkey and Latin American policy-makers embarked on a flurry of cross-regional travels.

Another strategic incentive to being more engaged with Latin American and the Caribbean has been the ambition of the JDP government to become a regional power with global appeal. To do so, Turkey has rapidly expanded the official representation network, organized quasi-interregional meeting with the CARICOM, opened the first TIKA and Anadolu Agency (AA) offices in the region, and finally Turkey became observatory member of the Pacific Alliance, the most dynamic economic regional organization in the Americas. Nowadays Turkey holds *observer status* in the Organisation of American States (OAS), CARICOM, MERCOSUR and the Rio Group. The increasing presence of Turkish interest in the region have catapulted the Eurasian country in the second ring of extra-regional powers in Latin American next to India, Indonesia, South Korea and South Africa.

In line with the goal of developing economic and trade relations, Turkey has signed Economic and Trade Cooperation agreements with 13 countries, in addition to other agreements covering economic cooperation, technical assistance, infrastructure development and other topics. The trade volume between Turkey and Latin American countries reached almost $8 billion in 2015, and expanded up to 800 percent over the past decade. Moreover, Turkey signed her first Free Trade Agreement in 2009 with Chile and has begun FTA negotiations with Mexico, Ecuador, Peru and Colombia, aiming to reach a trade volume of $20 billion with Latin America by 2023, the Republic's centennial. Nowadays, these figures seem too optimistic since trade has been stagnant since 2012.

As in Sub-Saharan Africa, but to a lesser degree, the main economic, societal and state actors that has been an active part of the overall Turkey activism, are present in Latin America. The presence of Turkish state and non-state agencies has increased only recently, for example Anadolu Agency started their regional activities in 2015 and Turkish Airlines flight to four destinations in the region (Buenos Aires, San Pablo, Bogota and Panama). At the same time, TİKA opened two offices in Latin America (Mexico D.F. and Bogota), and it seems that it would play a pivotal role in Turkey's opening towards the region, thanks to several activities and assistance projects in the fields of agricultural, health and education (Akıllı & Donelli 2016). Another economic actor that has been involved is the Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEIK) that has organized trade missions, binational trade councils and round table meetings.

Finally, the more normative stand of the Turkey's Southern dimension in Latin America is seen in her relations with the Caribbean countries in which Turkey has offered humanitarian and developmental help not only to increase her regional leverage but also to acquired greater weight in the global governance. In Turkey's perspective, the rise of a human-oriented diplomacy represents the beginning of a more enlightened foreign policy. According to Davutoğlu the global system requires an approach based on a 'critical equilibrium between conscience and power', and Turkey is determined to be a leader in establishing such an understanding on a global scale (Davutoğlu 2013, p. 866). This approach, which can help move beyond the hard-power versus soft-power dichotomy, has reinforced a broader vision of the Turkish government, and signifies growing presence of Turkey into a multipolar world, boosting her role into the global governance.

Conclusion

During the last two decades, Turkey has undergone major transformations. While the world's geopolitical balances are constantly changing, Turkey's has become more global than ever. Opening of official representations worldwide, a new wave of investments and atypical developmental and humanitarian aid, far from the range of middle emerging powers, has marked the times of Turkey's global activism. Given the importance of international and domestic variables that has pushed for Turkish activism following unusual routes, such as Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa, this article aimed to understand Turkey's agenda for the Global South. In this, it tried to argued that the advent of a post-Cold War political and economic scenario, summed up to the novel narrative promoted by the ruling JDP elite, helped to expand Turkey's strategic perspective formulated in the late 1990s. The case studies presented in this article – Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America - suggest that Turkey reconsidered its priorities in regional and global policy. This change symbolizes the shifting preferences from meeting the expectations of Western partners to securing Turkey's own national interests and ambitious as a rising power. The conclusion here is that Turkey's southern route is not alternative to Turkish traditional one (Western) and post traditional (Anatolian), but it is complementary, aiming to acquired importance in global governance.

The Turkish southern dimension and her activism in the global South have had two consequences. First, the Turkish new orientation intends to be a bridge between the developed and developing world. The southern dimension has opened a new route for strategic projection, putting particular emphasis in soft power policies. Turkey's soft power has gained importance, thanks to the gradual involvement of new state and non-state actors along with the adoption of novel frameworks, such as cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy and humanitarian diplomacy. Second, the Southern dimension does not come without criticism, such

as the overemphasis of identity over economy in certain countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, an overinvestment of resources in some unattractive African countries, doubts about the long-term sustainability of the spectacular growth of official representations, and replication of a "developed" attitudes toward developing states. Other factors beyond the Turkish intentions, such as the increasing tensions with the European Union, the United States and the aftermath of the Arab uprisings, can explain better this diplomatic setback but it seems that the expectations of the southern dimension has not yet reached their optimum. It seems that the southern dimension is still too narrow to transform the foreign policy from an "isosceles" triangle into an "equilateral" one.

Bio

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Article

Transforming Habitus of the Foreign Policy: A Bourdieusian Analysis of Turkey as an Emerging Middle Power

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Abstract

Since the end of World War II, the infamous structure-agent problem in studies of International Relations has perhaps never been as complicated and multidimensional as it is today. The popular phenomenon of the emerging middle powers (EMPs) has led to further conflicts—particularly in investigating the agent dimension. EMPs have also presented a new challenge to the conventional theoretical attempts. Employing a Bourdieusian understanding of structuration, this study aims to reveal the gap between theoretical expectations from and practical limitations of EMPs. The three chosen cases concern Turkey's increasing foreign assistance, its mediation in Iran's nuclear swap deal, and its involvement in the Syrian civil war. Selecting these cases has implications and affects projections for an EMP's policymakers with regard to discourse and actions within a boundary that the structure has plotted to halt other agents' potential threats against the international system's functioning. The distinction between high-politics and low-politics is also highlighted here as an important factor that determines the limits and positioning of EMPs in the international order.

Keywords

Emerging Middle Powers, Bourdieu, Habitus, High-Low Politics, Turkey

Introduction

An increasing number of scholarly articles have debated emerging middle powers (EMPs) and their potential in the international system. Along with their aggregate gross domestic product, EMPs' robust institutionalization processes, includ-

ing the BRICS, the MIKTA, and their subsidiary organs such the BRICS Bank, have led pundits to consider the idea that the EMPs and other non-Western powers, including Russia and China, are possible candidates for transforming the international structure.

Referring to an agent or a group of countries as contenders to a great power, or even as a game-changer in the international system, without considering the agents' multi-dimensional internal aspects can be problematic. This is especially true in terms of inferring future implications from the visibility of rising power(s). Here, we offer a study that applies the structuration theory of Pierre Bourdieu to discussions of the EMPs. By integrating the low and high political concepts into these discussions, we can begin to understand the EMPs' positions in the current international order. What we argue is that, similar to human beings, states also develop what Bourdieu calls *habitus*, which emerges in relation to the structural determinants. Habitus is both unifying and generative, i.e., although it reinforces what the international structure expects from the states and thus clusters their behaviors, it simultaneously provides the states with the capability to challenge this structure on some ends. We extend this argument by stating that habitus remains in line with the hegemon in high political issues; whereas in low politics it searches for discontinuities to step up further. In this respect, we utilize the case of Turkish foreign policy (TFP) to show how the change in habitus affects a country's position in the international order.

Although Jeremy Youde (2016) offers an example of transition from the realm of low-politics to high-politics, the visibility of this occurrence does not prove effective enough to change the so-called international common sense, which says that the tolerance of international structure against the apparent emerging and reformist powers is not constant. In other words, the structural constraints upon the states are not exactly the same in every policy domain. Instead, the agents, especially the EMPs, can find extended boundaries, within which they can pursue relatively independent foreign policies, particularly if the case is considered low-politics. Thus, the power relations between the EMPs themselves and between the EMPs and the established powers vary within fields.

Bourdieu and Foreign Policy

At the center of Bourdieu's reflexive sociology is the concept of relationality, which states that an individual's practical behavior should be understood on three interrelated dimensions: individual dispositions (*habitus*), social positions (*capital*), and the current state of a social environment (*field*). With these three conceptualizations, Bourdieu aims to show how structure and agents, society and individuals – or, in our case, international system and the states – have mutual impact on one another, shaping the social reality "relationally" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992,

p. 96). "Any explanations of attitudes, discourses, behavior, etc." of a social agent towards four forms of accumulated capital – economic, cultural, social, and symbolic –, therefore, "must draw on an analysis of both structural position (within the field, the field's position vis-à-vis other fields, etc.) *and* the particular historical trajectory by which an agent arrived at that position [meaning,] habitus" (Benson & Neveu, 2010, p. 3). The agent's practices are described under the term *doxa*, which implies that within a given structure, agents take their actions for granted or natural, although these actions might be strictly conditional per the rules and regulations (i.e., the structure). "Which choices we choose to make… depends on the range of our past options available at that moment…, the range of options visible to us, and on our dispositions (habitus)" (Maton, 2008, p. 52).

However, referring to the structure and agent duality, Bourdieu asks, "How can behavior be regulated without being the product of obedience to rules?" (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 65). This duality is a socialized subjectivity in the sense that the constitutive dialectic unites the agent or individual with the structure or social rules-regulations-modes (Pouilot & Mérand, 2013, p. 29). This unification occurs via the concept of habitus in two ways: as structured structures and as structuring structures (Christoforou & Lainé, 2014, p. 26). Whereas the internalization of systematically ordered rules, regimes, and regularities implies the existence of the former, the capability of an agent to go beyond the structural limitations to provide with novel practices, feelings, or beliefs for the system is associated with the latter (Maton, 2008, p. 51).

In a society, individuals have dispositions originating from their experiences and class inheritance. It is undoubtedly hard (if not impossible) to literally transfer such social implications to the international level. However, following Immanuel Wallerstein's (1974) class-based analysis of states in the capitalist world-system, it is further possible that states are also open to develop such dispositions as based on their (economic) foreign relations history and the position they hold in the international system. Simply put, states being located in the center, the periphery, or the semi-periphery of the world-system are entitled to a sense of their place in the world and of their "natural" prosperity – in Bourdieu's terms, habitus. As the states go through "internalization of [this] externality" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 55) via habitus, the world-system secures its capitalistic structure and makes the international order overtly predictable.

International Relations (IR) is one of the most receptive disciplines in social sciences to interdisciplinary studies and frequently borrows terminology from other fields (Buzan & Little, 2001). The IR literature has been open to Bourdieusian interventions as well. Symbolic power, doxa, habitus, field, capital and reflexivity are among the key Bourdieusian concepts that IR utilizes, although they are originally developed to offer a solution to the agent-structure problem in daily life

or societal relations. Bourdieu's sociology helps evade mistakes such as "essentialization and ahistoricism; a false dualism between constructivism and empirical research; and an absolute opposition between the collective and the individual" (Bigo, 2011).

A number of studies attempt to connect Bourdieu's sociology with IR. Rebecca Adler-Nissen, for example, is a leading scholar who conceptualized that IR theory needs Bourdieu, in the sense that he provides IR literature with a clear understanding of the effect of the relationality of symbolic and material resources on state sovereignty (Adler-Nissen, 2012). Richard Ned Lebow further explains this by pointing out historical instances of a king's diminishing sovereignty when losing his symbolic power (Lebow, 2009, p. 21). On the other hand, Christian Lequesne (2015), in his study on the European External Action Service, regards habitus as a way to reveal the logic behind how rules are created in a newly established institution. Incorporating habitus into IR, he argues that "actions [of agents] depend mostly on their background knowledge based on 'the acceptable, the possible and the normal'" (Lequesne, 2015, p. 13). Alongside that of the states, even the foreign policy of an international organization like the EU might be said to have habitus. For instance, the Copenhagen Criteria, thanks to their established values and principles, could be considered a habitus-generating norm employed by the process of European integration (Lucarelli & Manners, 2006, pp. 210-214).

Emerging Middle Powers, Habitus, and the Level of International Politics

If we are to apply the Bourdieusian habitus to IR, it will thus suggest that the international structure is neither immune nor immutable to the dispositions or behaviors of its actors, although this structure is also mostly responsible for constituting those behaviors. In fact, the structure is exposed to continuous relations developed around the behavior of states, regardless to their stance vis-à-vis the international order. Even the most indifferent or neutral states are capable of causing interruptions in the how the system functions, albeit unintentionally. States may construct their strategies and policies with regard to their past experiences and future expectations as based on those experiences (Pouilot & Mérand, 2013, p. 29). This leads us to consider the habitus of a state.

It is important to note that habitus does not predetermine the way states behave all the time. When there is an unexpected change in the structure, i.e., the rules and regulations of the international system, states make an extra effort to relocate and have stronger positions. As the structural pressure is relieved, non-habitual efforts come to light and independent foreign policies become visible in the international scene. However, the problem is that no matter the amount of relief experienced or how independently a state has constructed its foreign policy, the nature

of the issue that it remains an integral element to this habitus-breaking behavior. Say, for instance, in a relatively loose international structure, where core countries cannot or do not impose highly-regulated constraints on those in the periphery, the peripheral states still follow the structural restrictions—remain bound to their habitus—with respect to the matters of high-politics, such as regional war-making, nuclear weapons, armament, etc. They, on the other hand, find more room to be vocal when it comes to matters of low politics, such as environmental issues, human and minority rights, and international institutions. The capability of a state to get rid of its habitus is determined not only by a change in the international structure but also by the nature of the issue on the table.

Table 1 offers a conceptualization of the extent to which a state is able to have an impact on the structure under the consideration of both the classification of agents, or their habitus and identity, and the nature of the issues. Here, the terms, "easy", "medium", and "high", refer to the levels of capacity that states possess to transform structure in a given level of politics; i.e., either high-politics or low-politics. Following Gilpin (1984), the hegemon here implies the state that has established the existing structure of the world politics and maintains its power as the regulator and the monitor of it; i.e., keeping the habitus of other international actors in check, either as beneficiary or not harmful to the exiting relations. Wannabe hegemons, on the other hand, are those countries whose rise into the position of international decision-makers is seen as threatening to the status quo. That said, their unique material capabilities in regard to production, demographics, etc., make them important agents for the continuation of the world order. Therefore, getting rid of them would also be damaging to the hegemon, although their habitus of foreign policy might be regarded as potentially threatening for the existing structure. Furthermore, the Established Middle Powers are those countries whose international positions are established by the hegemon, and the continuum of the status quo is their habitual *raison d'être* (Jordaan, 2003, p. 167). Finally, the EMPs represent the reformist agents in the system. These agents lack the necessary means to be threatening to the hegemon and therefore act within the constraints constituted by the structure. At the same time, they are also pushing to loosen constraints in their targeted policy fields and eager to transform their traditional habitus.

Table 1: The extent to which an agent is able to transform the structure with respect to the level of politics

State / Issue	Low Politics	High Politics
Hegemon	Easy	Easy-Medium
Established Middle Powers	Easy-Medium	Medium-Hard
Wanna-Be Hegemons	Easy	Medium
Emerging Middle Powers	Medium-Hard	Hard

In fact, the current IR literature provides us with a clear distinction between middle powers as "established" and "emerging" (see Jordaan 2003; Scott, et al., 2010; Öniş & Kutlay, 2016). Sandal, for instance, argues that "the foreign policies of the new middle powers like South Africa, Indonesia, Turkey and Brazil cannot be explained by the same tools that were utilized to study Canadian, Australian and Swedish foreign policies" (Sandal, 2014, p. 695). The EMPs differ from the established powers for having an especially highly unequal distribution of domestic wealth, an elevated level of regional influence and orientation, and unstable democracies (Jordaan, 2003, p. 168). The most prominent characteristic of an EMP is to pursue reformist and independent foreign policies by which the EMP also tries to amplify its voice (Sandal, 2014, p. 695).

Turkey as an Emerging Middle Power: Transcending Habitus

Turkey's entrapment between the East and West as well as the pressure of being located in a turbulent geography has made its foreign policy considerably calculative and impassionate all throughout the twentieth century. However, contemporary popular discussions position the country as an EMP in the post-hegemonic world-system, and its policy-makers have apparently embraced it, as many instances also suggest. We argue here that Turkey's new turn to be a proactive interest-seeker, especially in the Middle East, can be considered a deviation or a hiatus in its foreign policy habitus. After Ahmet Davutoğlu was appointed as the foreign minister by the ruling Justice and Development Party (JDP) in 2008, this turn has fully come into view (Hursoy, 2011; Inbar, 2011; Öniş, 2011).

In order to analyze whether this turn has proven successful, i.e., whether Turkey has become a full-fledged EMP, we study three recent instances to provide support for the habitual change in Turkey's foreign policy direction. However, before that, there needs to be elaboration on its foreign policy habitus for almost eighty years prior to the JDP.

Turkey's founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, famously stated, "Peace at home, peace in the world!" This notion has been a national doxa for the practice of TFP during the twentieth century, although Turkey employed coercive means in some cases, such as Turkey's involvement in Cyprus and the cross-border operations against the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in Northern Iraq. The most important aspect in those years was the social and political alignment of the country with the West, especially with Europe. In that sense, Turkey might be called a developing semi-peripheral country "trying to establish a certain distance from some of its Islamic neighbors, countering Western Orientalism so as to enable greater association with the EU" (Jordaan, 2003, p. 178). The Middle East is "structured by power relations, objects of struggle and the rules taken for granted" (Pouilot & Mérand, 2013, p. 30), and was therefore regarded as if Turkey was not neighboring the

region. More specifically, it was simply sufficient and rational enough to pursue a limited foreign policy for Turkey with no further ambition of getting involved in the Middle East.

Approaching the mid-2000s, we witnessed a different country that was perceived as an EMP attracting a high level of foreign direct investment, cash flow, and tourists from a wide variety of countries. Turkey has also been appreciated for its mediator roles between Afghanistan and Pakistan in South Asia, and between Israel and Syria in the Middle East (Kirişçi, 2009, p. 32). Based on the arguably idealistic worldview of Davutoğlu and the JDP as a political movement, Turkey started deepening its economic and political relations – initially as a soft power – in the Middle Eastern region (Oğuzlu, 2007). TFP has since been in the middle of confidence and over-confidence, and assertiveness and over-assertiveness (Öniş, 2011, p. 63), and encountering a number of international states and institutions involved in the region (Larrabee, 2007).

In order to discuss this shift from the Western-oriented tradition to the Middle East, the following cases need to be explained. The foreign assistance activities of Turkey represent the first case, where symbolic power outweighs realistic implications. The second case includes the failed nuclear swap deal in Iran, initiated by the cooperation of Turkey and Brazil, and shows how the US and the US-led structure were reluctant to accept a guarantee promised by even two assertive EMPs. Finally, the third case is Turkey's involvement in the Syrian civil war, which provides us with a chance to discuss the agent–structure mechanism that challenges EMPs in regard to the collided interests of agents, high-politics, and structural limitations.

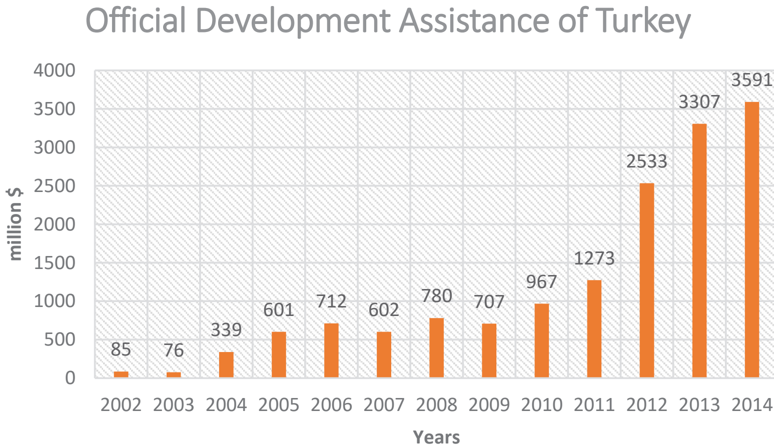
Turkey as a normative power

Until the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency's (TIKA's) increased engagement with the Balkans, Central Asia, and Africa, Turkey pursued a lower profile in humanitarian aid, which can be considered a continuation of habitus. Sustaining political and bureaucratic consolidation, the JDP has accelerated the projects based on humanitarian diplomacy with the support of humanitarian non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as the Humanitarian Relief Foundation and the Diversity Association. Figure 1 illustrates the dramatic increase in the official development assistance (ODA) that Turkey has given away during the period of 2002–2014. In 2002, the assistance was mostly directed to the technical cooperation. By 2014 most of the assistance was provided for the alleviation of humanitarian crises.[1] In addition to the state-level foreign assistance, on the sub-state level a number of Turkish NGOs gave Syria, Palestine, Somalia, Bosnia-

[1] The categorical distribution of foreign assistance over last decade is available at: http://www.tika.gov.tr/tr/yayin/liste/trky_raporlari-24?page=1

Herzegovina, Iraq, and Chad about $370 million (US currency) in 2014 (TIKA, 2014, p. 14). As a part of the EMP group, Turkey adamantly offers an alternative humanitarian assistance paradigm to the current system, which is traditionally and mainly controlled by Western donors under the rubric of international organizations such as OECD and DAC.

Figure 1: ODA of Turkey between 2002-2014



Source: TIKA's Report for 2014 Official Development Assistance, p. 9 http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/publication/KYR%20%202014.PDF, Accession date: 28.11.2016

For almost a decade, Turkey has been an aspired humanitarian agent not only in the Middle East but also in certain regions of Africa and Central Asia (Bilgin & Bilgiç, 2011). Its traditional position, habitus, in the international system as being at the receiving end of donations has evolved into the position of a donor. This aspiration stems from Turkey's three idiosyncratic characteristics: a non-bureaucratic foreign assistance structure, complementarity between the state and the NGOs, and its discourse constructed against the imbalances of the current world order, such as the inefficient aid policies of the IMF and the World Bank or the internal structure of the UN.[2]

The normative dimension of the TFP in this field has been in transformation especially after Turkey started an initiative. The Africa Action Plan in 1998 was a consequence of the foreign policy diversification method. Regarded as an issue of low-politics, the field of maneuver for humanitarian aid has been relatively larger.

[2] For a conceptual review on the bureaucratic problems in foreign aid institutions: William Easterly (2002). The Cartel of Good Intentions – The Problem of Bureaucracy in Foreign Aid. CGDEV

Furthermore, at the receiving end, the grantee welcomes help coming from an EMP rather than the hegemon or international organizations. Mohamed Nur, the mayor of Mogadishu, stated, “If I request computers from the UN, they will take months and require a number of assessments. They will spend $50,000 to give me $7,000 of equipment. If I request computers from Turkey, they will show up next week” (Westaway, 2013). In that sense, bilateral assistance has obvious superiorities over multilateralism, because high administration costs and bureaucracy are problems of international organizations where big donor countries lead (Westaway, 2013).

Another characteristic of Turkey is the heavy role played by the NGOs when providing assistance. For instance, the recent Syrian conundrum caused inflow of millions of refugees to Turkey’s southern provinces. In addition to the Turkish state’s billions of dollars’ worth of aid it spent in refugee camps, the NGOs also provide educational, cultural, sanitary, and alimentary aid for refugees from both southern provinces and big metropolitan cities like Istanbul. [3]

Turkey’s sui generis foreign assistance also stems from its discourse aimed at criticizing the established powers and current world order. As an EMP, Turkey aspires to have a new, perhaps reformist identity in the international system (Davutoğlu, 2013). The rhetoric, “World is bigger than five!”[4] is a clear illustration of the discontent in the Turkish politics with the current international system (see Dal, 2016). To this end, while donating large sums of money and aid to the recipient countries or hosting millions of refugees in spite of the economic turbulences in the region, Turkey also discursively portrays itself as a powerful actor, a remedy to the “global injustice” established by the hegemonic structure (Haşimi, 2014, p. 129).

Turkey as a mediator

In 2010, as a consequence of its demanding nuclear program, Iran tried to make lucrative negotiations with regard to its long-time endeavor for uranium enrichment. However, Iran’s stance on the international order and the suspicious treatment by the Western countries made it impossible to finalize the negotiations in favor of the country. The negotiations were based on a uranium trade between Iran and the West, projecting that the former would obtain 120 kilograms of highly enriched uranium to build a medical nuclear reactor at the expense of waiving 1,200 kilograms of low-enriched uranium (Reinl, 2010). Although the Iranian policy makers had been insisting they would benefit from highly enriched uranium in the health sector, this claim did not suffice for the Western counter-

[3] For a visualization of the NGOs dealing with the Syrian refugee crisis, please follow, https://graphcommons.com/graphs/0711e621-a8c5-4651-a1d6-33106c7bb3f1

[4] In this slogan, “five” refers to the permanent members of the UN Security Council, namely China, France, Russian Federation, the UK, and the US.

parts (Kaplan, 2010). In between, Turkey and Brazil, two EMPs, attempted to mediate these negotiations.

For Turkey and Brazil, such mediation was regarded as a chance to have an impact on an issue of high-politics at the global scale, which would mean expanding their limits of international impact and a break from their habitus. Brazil's mediation resulted in adherence from Russia. Russian Prime Minister Dimitri Medvedev perceived this initiative as a final chance before the so-called fourth sanctions were to be implemented over Iran (Barrionuevo & Arsu, 2010; BYE, 2010). The uranium trade would mean that the probability of a further sanction might diminish, therefore a possible deal with the international institutions or societies would have meant a lot more for Iran.

On the other hand, Turkey, the co-moderator of the deal process, would be both a mediator between the parties and a provider of a geographical space for realizing uranium trade in a safe manner, according to a May 17, 2010 summit organized by Brazil, Iran, and Turkey. Moreover, based on a prospective deal between the parties, the foreign minister at the time, Davutoğlu, emphasized the unnecessity of a further sanction over Iran on the eve of the US's announcement of a new sanction bill to pass the Security Council (BBC, 2010; Güvenç & Egeli, 2012).

There were a couple of reasons why the negotiations failed and the involvement of two EMPs did not make much difference. First, Brazil's close relations with the Latin American leaders, whose political discourses were mainly based on anti-Americanism, irritated the US (Seale, 2010). Even though the US had offered almost the same deal with Iran eight months prior, after the mediation of Brazil and Turkey, the US repudiated it (Buchanan, 2010). Second, the US accomplished to bring other EMPs and Wannabe Hegemons (including Russia and China) around the idea that the fourth sanctions upon Iran should pass. In addition to the presence of the US, the lack of a robust institutionalization led by the non-Western actors also hampered the unification among the EMPs, as well as Russia and China, around the swap deal.

This case illustrates what Bourdieu calls a structuring structure, in which the individual interests of agents could be modified to get in line with those of the hegemon, and the maintenance of the status quo usually outweighs risks to be taken by the EMPs especially in high-politics. Perhaps the statement made by the then-Brazilian foreign minister Celso Amorim after the rejection best explains this practical limitation: "We will help whenever we can, but of course there is a limit to where we can go" (Hareetz, 2010).

Turkey as a game-changer

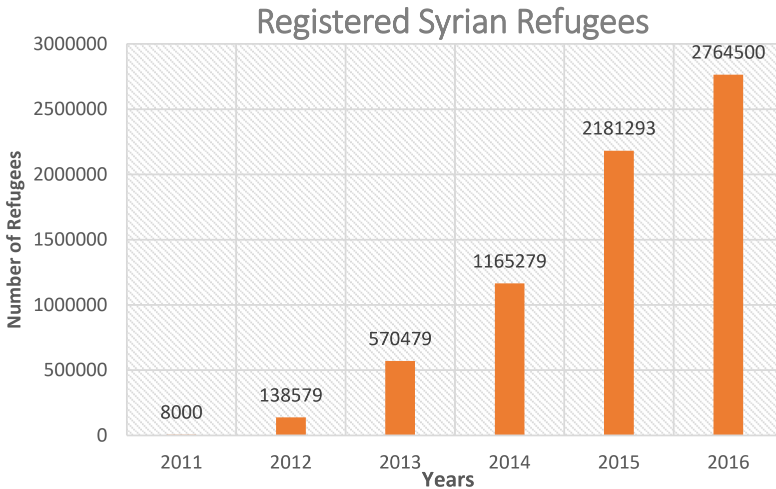
The turbulent structure of the Middle East assisted the transformation in the

TFP after the Arab Spring, especially when it comes the conundrum in Syria (Islam, 2016). Different groups, including the US, the Kurds, Russia, the Syrian government, the Syrian rebels, and Turkey, are willing to play a role in this particular situation, where both discourses and the balance of power change rapidly and unexpectedly. Turkey wishes to be a game-changer in Syria, at times confronting the US, Russia, and the UN, by using material, economic, cultural, and symbolic powers (Sayarı, 2015, p. 134). Turkish involvement in the Syrian civil war has also become an issue of domestic politics. This is especially true as the major political figures are said to bring down the Assad regime and replace the authoritarian rule by promising a more inclusive and democratic government (Hinnebusch, 2012).

The change in the discourse against Assad in Turkey's domestic politics and TFP, which helps the Syrian dissident rebels, might be regarded as two concrete examples to what extent Turkey has been trying to change the habitus following "the Westphalian understanding of state sovereignty" (Öniş, 2014, p. 208; Gunter, 2015, p. 107). Here, we witness a habitual departure where intervening in the Middle Eastern region with actual material power is at odds with the founding doxa of the country. For instance, Turkey's proposal for a no-fly zone in the Syrian border was significant because it was one of the historically rare confrontations with the West, especially in high-politics (Üstün & Cebeci, 2012). The proposal was rejected by the US and the NATO powers (except for Germany), although Turkey regarded it as reassurance of its EMP position in the international order. Russia also interfered with the process by recapitulating the fact that the no-fly zone proposal did not belong to Germany but to Turkey. To reverse or stop Turkey's efforts in Syria, Russia suggested consulting with the government in Damascus and the UN Security Council (DeutscheWelle, 2016) . The situation is further complicated by the involvement of the Islamic State (IS) and the Kurdish groups into Syria (Gunter, 2015, p. 108; Hawramy, 2016). This resulted in even further dimensions where the interests of Turkey and especially of the US collided (Ahmad, 2015).

As social and financial repercussions of deadly clashes between the Syrian regime and the opposition forces, as well as among the opposition forces themselves, continue, millions of Syrian citizens have flowed into neighboring states or to Europe. By July 2015, Turkey had spent about $6 billion and hosted nearly two million refugees (TCCB, 2015). Just after three months, the expenses jumped to $7.5 billion, which averages to $500 million a month (Çetingüleç, 2016). The fact that from 2015 to November 2016, the influx of refugees has risen to 2.7 million (UNHCR, 2016) indicates the incremental financial burden of hosting refugees living both in and out of the refugee camps (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Registered Syrian Refugees in Turkey after 2011



Source: UNCHR, Syria Regional Refugee Response, http://data.unhcr.org/syrian-refugees/country.php?id=224, Accession date: 29.11.2016

Conclusion

In this article, we first introduced Pierre Bourdieu's theory of structuration within the realm of IR to understand the rise of the EMPs in the current international system. We argued that the degree of interaction between the EMPs and the international structure was highly dependent on the character of the issue in question. Then, we described three cases that presented Turkey's arguably successful donorship, its mediatory activities in the nuclear swap deal between Iran and the UN, and its endeavors in Syria. These cases were discussed to illustrate the extent of the capabilities of a state with regard to the issues of both low politics and high politics.

No matter how many names are given to its agents—be it the periphery countries, developing countries, or EMPs—the defining characteristic of the world structure and market economy remains to be the polarization between the hegemon(s) and its (their) dependents. The currently growing literature that has been mentioned in this study and the name of the EMPs better imply the differences between dependent countries, although it does not track any changes in the direction of the flow of capital from the former to the latter. Among wannabe hegemons, established middle powers, and the specific EMPs presented in this study, the EMPs at the bottom of the capital flow face the most difficulties when desiring to play a decisive role in the structure, especially in the context of high-politics. All three cases taken from the TFP provide evidence for our general argument

and demonstrate that departure from habitus is particularly hard for the EMPs. As represented by the Syrian crisis and the Iran nuclear deal, the new Turkish activism has made some progress in the country's foreign relations with non-Western countries at the low-political level, such as with humanitarian aid and foreign investments (Altunışık & Martin, 2011). That said, Turkey is still lacking the necessary material conditions and international position to become the main actor, and seems to be bound by its founding habitus.

Bio

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Article

Mass Migration and Images of State Power: Turkey's Claim to the Status of a Responsible Rising Power

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Abstract

This article investigates the symbolic role that mass migration can have on the power status of the hosting country. It posits that receiving large number of refugees can either enhance the perceived power of the host by creating the image of a strong state that attracts these populations for all it has to offer; or weaken perceived power by generating the image of a weak state unable to control its borders. By using the case of Turkey's reception of millions of Syrian refugees since 2011, this article argues that the Turkish government is careful to use the refugees as a means to craft an image of responsible power, however such an effort can be undermined by other material and strategic advantages sought by the Turkish government, which challenges the credibility of Turkey's generosity and responsibility as a rising power.

Keywords

Turkey, Mass Migration, Syrian Refugees, Power Status, Responsibility, Virtuous Power, Instrumentalisation

Introduction

The international system is in constant flux, with eras of relative stability and eras of more changes. As powers rise and fall, the community of state need to recognize the changing reality. Such recognition is based, dialectically, on both actual *capabilities* to wield power or influence and the *perception* of a new power status (Jones 2014, p.602). While weakening states may have an interest in delaying the perception and recognition of their dwindling power, rising states seek to have their new status recognized and are often quick to claim discursively their rising power. To do so, they start signaling their claimed higher power status by behaving according to a set of standards and expectations associated with this new power status. This article argues that Turkey, as a rising power, is using mass migration, in particular its hosting of millions of Syrian refugees, as a means to

display an image of power and responsibility, in order to gain recognition of its new status as a "regional power".

Two concomitant facts are indeed largely undisputed. Turkey has taken on the responsibility to host a large share of Syrian refugees, who constitute the largest humanitarian refugees crisis since the end of the second World War (Kirisçi 2014). Turkey is also a rising power, whose status in the international power hierarchy has changed tremendously since the end of the Cold War: both empirical facts and Turkish government self-perception confirm this general trend (Oguzlu & Parlar Dal 2013; Cagaptay 2013; Öniş & Kutlay 2016). What is less clear, however, is the relationship between Turkey's Syrian refugee population and Turkey's power status.

While both the literature on immigration and on foreign policy are largely silent on the connection between movement of population and power status, this article advances that, in the 21st century, mass migration can impress marking images challenging common perceptions regarding states' strength. More specifically, it questions the concept of state responsibilities as well as the relevance of international borders. On the originating end of mass migration, the country of departure is usually suffering from a hindering image: the country is seen as unable to provide a hopeful and satisfying future, and its citizens are choosing or constrained to seek better opportunities or even bare protection abroad. But on the receiving end, the country of destination can fall on either side of two distinct and conflicting images. One is an image of power: a strong state, that attracts populations for all it has to offer, from protection to liberties and economic opportunities. The other is an image of powerlessness: a weak state unable to control its own border, passive victim of an overflow of individuals who came here by lack of choice.

The present article argues that Turkey is currently engaged in a discursive battle to ensure that it is exulting a powerful and positive image of itself, and not the weak alternative. It is therefore an experimental exercise in understanding how the government of Turkey conceives of the relationship between power status and mass migration, and then evaluate this discourse by looking both at empirical data and the normative arguments contained in some of the statements. It will also look at the core contradictions of the discourse and the limits of Turkey's claim. Accordingly, this article does not focus so much on Turkey's objective and material trajectory as a rising power, as it is on the discursive claim made by Turkey to be recognized as a power because of the responsibilities it is already (and voluntarily) carrying.

The Politics of Immigration, Immigration Policy, Foreign Policy and (Soft) Power

When looking at the relationship between power status and migration, it is difficult to identify a relevant literature. Political science was a latecomer to the study of migration, movement of population and human mobility (Hollifield 2013). But even then, most of the focus has been domestic, looking either at immigration as a public policy, or looking at the domestic political components of the issue of immigration. Immigration and foreign policy became a topic of study with the early works of Mitchell and Teitelbaum: they have highlighted how foreign policy affects international migration (i.e. a military intervention triggers mass migration) and how past migrations impact foreign policy (i.e. how population of foreign origins play a role in the complex foreign policy decision making) (Teitelbaum 1984; Mitchell 1989). But the insight that has attracted the most subsequent attention from the scholarly community is the extent to which international migrations can be used instrumentally as tools of foreign policy (Teitelbaum 1984, p.437-439).

This particular aspect has been developed most comprehensively by the masterful works of Kelly Greenhill: Greenhill also focuses on the instrumentalization of migration for foreign policy purpose, in particular when migration flows are engineered purposefully to pursue certain political goals. She calls this phenomenon "strategic engineered migration," and within this category, she distinguishes between "dispossessive engineered migration" ("in which the principal objective is the appropriation of the territory or property of another group or groups), "exportive engineered migration" ("migrations engineered either to fortify a domestic political position or to discomfit or destabilize foreign government(s)"), "militarized engineered migrations" ("those conducted, usually during armed conflict, to gain military advantage against an adversary (…) or to enhance one's own force structure, via the acquisition of additional personnel or resources") and "coercive engineered migration," which is the real focus of her work. "Coercive engineered migrations" are cross-border population movements, that are created intentionally in order to coerce another state into providing specific advantages (whether political, military or economic) (Greenhill 2010, p.13-14). Out of the 56 main cases covered in Greenhill analysis (from the period 1953-2010), she found that challengers (state that exercise coercive engineered migration) achieved their foreign policy objective by employing migration as a tool in 73 percent of the cases, which is a high rate of success.

Greenhill herself mentions Turkey in her work. Two of her cases feature Turkey as a challenger/coercer: in 1991, when Turkey used the cards of Iraqi refugees to pressure the United States to create a safe heaven and no-fly zone in Northern Iraq (p. 316-317); and in 1998, when Turkey may have used asylum of its

own citizens as a means to influence Italy's support of Turkey's EU bid (p.323). While the first case was a success according to Greenhill's analysis, the second was however, indeterminate. More recently, Greenhill has also mentioned Turkey's discourse pressuring European countries in the midst of the 2015 refugee crisis as an additional case, proven successful given the subsequent deal reached between the EU and Turkey in November 2015 and March 2016 (Greenhill 2015). Other researchers have delved deeper in Turkey's nexus between foreign policy and immigration. In a previous work, I had provided a historical background to that relationship going back to how foreign policy considerations had impacted some decisions regarding movements of population from the beginning of the Turkish republic until the 21st century. That work also provided a narrative as to how, among other things, changes in foreign policy priorities under the AKP government could explain the changes in migration policy that were brewing in 2009-2011 (Tolay 2012). Other works have covered more specific issues of Turkish foreign policy, such as the 1991 refugee crisis (Kirisci 1994), visa policies (Aygül 2014), or the role played by Albanians in Turkey on Turkish policies towards the Balkans (Özgür Baklacıoğlu, 2013). Finally, Ela Gökalp-Aras and Zeynep Şahin Mencütek (2015, 2016), as well as Gökay Özerim, have looked at ways to explain Turkey's policy towards Syrian refugees in the light of its foreign policy goals towards Syria and the European Union (EU).

Studies of the instrumental role that migration and migration policies play in foreign policy are very important. However, that relationship tends to be looked at in strategic terms and focuses on specific material gains to be drawn. Rather, the present analysis is interested in a more diffuse form of instrumental use of migration, one that serves as a way to signal where a state stands in the power hierarchy of states. What is therefore missing from these analyses is an understanding of the relationship between state power and migration, and more specifically, how a state's attitudes (policies and/or discourses) towards migration affect the external perception of its power status. While there is a flourishing literature on "rising" or "emerging" power (in connection to the concepts of "regional" or "middle"), the idea of "status-seeking" i.e. using means to gain recognition of a higher power status during the "rise," is often referred to without much considerations for the actual mechanisms that underlie it (Welch Larson & Shevkenko 2010). The existing scholarship on public diplomacy, branding and soft power has highlighted the importance of intangible and discursive assets for a state to exist as a power: material and objective power need to exist alongside subjective and inter-relational power. In other words, reputation matters (van Ham 2001). However, within this literature, only scant references have been made on the role played by immigration or immigration policies. Joseph Nye himself, who coined the concept of "soft power," has defended the idea that immigration strengthens a state's power, as is illustrated in the case of the United States. Not only does immigration brings

economic and demographic advantages, but

> *"equally important are immigration's benefits for America's soft power. The fact that people want to come to the US enhances its appeal, and immigrants' upward mobility is attractive to people in other countries. The US is a magnet, and many people can envisage themselves as Americans, in part because so many successful Americans look like them. Moreover, connections between immigrants and their families and friends back home help to convey accurate and positive information about the US. Likewise, because the presence of many cultures creates avenues of connection with other countries, it helps to broaden Americans' attitudes and views of the world in an era of globalization. Rather than diluting hard and soft power, immigration enhances both." (Nye 2012)*

In a similar vein, Kemal Kirisçi has explored the idea that a liberal visa policy can help build up "soft power" by incorporating new zones into "security community." He argues that the abolishment of borders within the European Union has strengthen the union's soft power, but that it could be enhanced further if an external "friendlier" visa regime is put in place (Kirisçi 2005, p. 363). Besides these positive associations, Jan Melissen has mentioned a negative case: an announcement in 2004 by the Dutch Ministry of Justice regarding the expulsion of 26,000 asylum seekers did wield "negative branding" and hurt the reputation of the Netherlands (Melissen 2005, p. 11).

Of particular importance for the argument presented here is an article by Oktav and Çelikaksoy, who had looked at the relationship between the Syrian refugee challenge and Turkey's quest for normative power. They had found that Turkey's policy towards Syrian refugees had important flaws that challenged Turkey's ability to be seen as fully benevolent (Oktav & Çelikaksoy 2015). The current analysis builds on their approach and adds that Syrian refugees do not only hinder the normative claim, but are also used instrumentally as a means to - tentatively - portray an image of virtue and power.

Accordingly, this article posits that in the case of mass movement of population, the state on the receiving end can be projecting either of two images. One is an image of "positive branding", enhancing reputation and soft power, as a strong, powerful state, a magnet, which can actively provide a safe heaven for individuals in search of protection and a brighter future. It attracts populations for all it has to offer, from protection to liberties and economic opportunities; and it has the capabilities to afford these arrivals. The other is more an image of weakness, hence "negative branding" and lower power status, where the state lacks the capabilities to control its porous border and ends up appearing as a passive victim of the circumstances: individuals come there by lack of choice. Similar images of distressed population can be seen on either side of the border, giving the perception of the

continuation of the conflict in the host country. It is important to notice that in both cases, the policies of the receiving state may be the same (i.e. receiving the refugees), however the way it is portrayed by different stakeholders may generate these contrasting images. Which of these two images is prevalent when external actors perceive Syrian refugee populations in Turkey?

Turkey and Syrian Refugees: Acts and Discourses

In order to understand the potential impact of the Syrian refugees crisis on Turkey's power status, it is necessary to first analyze the policy choices adopted by Turkish leaders. In the Spring of 2011, as the popular demonstrations in Syria evolved into a full-fledged military conflict, and the first Syrians started to leave Syria for neighboring countries, Turkey adopted an "open-door" policy, meaning that it was providing access to Turkish territory to any individual coming from Syria, even in the absence of required documentation (identification, passport, visa, etc.). This initial choice of open door policy, in the context of little numbers of refugees and the then-expectation of a swift return upon the imminent end of the conflict, is not particularly remarkable in itself: both Jordan and Lebanon adopted similar policies at the time. More surprising however, is the continuous commitment of the Turkish government for the open-door policy, despite, the exponential increase in the number of refugees (from a few thousands in 2011 to close to 3 millions in late 2016) (Kirisçi 2014). Jordan and Lebanon have indeed abandoned their open-border policy. And in Europe, countries that had once prided themselves in opening their arms to refugees, mainly Sweden and Germany, had to increasingly put limits to refugees' entrance into their territory once the numbers started to grow.

In addition to the open-door policy, Turkey invested massively in its role as host, initially mainly by setting up a number of camps alongside the Turkish-Syria border. These camps have been appraised very positively by the international community for the level of amenities and comfort it provides to refugees. But the camps would soon prove insufficient given the growing numbers (by 2016, only 1 out of 10 Syrian refugee lives in a camp), but "urban" refugees could still count on some of the benefits included in the status of "temporary protection" granted to them in Fall 2011, and officialized in 2014 with the implementation of the new Law on Foreigners and International Protection. Under this status, Syrian refugees have access to free healthcare, free education, to the Turkish labor market (since January 2016) and to additional monetary or in-kind assistance provided by local and international NGOs. Overall, the Turkish government claims to have spent an impressive 10 billion dollars to accommodate Syrian refugees, a number that can be doubled if contributions by Turkish organizations and local authorities are added (Cetingulec 2016).

This overall approach, far from being perfect - there are indeed serious concerns regarding the limitations of temporary protection - can nevertheless be qualified as generous towards the Syrian population, especially if compared to the efforts done by other neighboring countries, or by other powerful countries. Different explanations have been proposed to shed light on this generous Turkish approach towards refugees. Some have advanced a value-based approach, indicating that the Turkish leadership truly care about the fate of Syrian refugees: both proponents of a cultural/religious argument (the Islamo-conservative values of the AKP leadership) and of a socialization argument (the adoptions of liberal values as expressed in European and international human and refugee rights instruments) are in this category. Another set of explanations is instrumental, and emphasizes the willingness of the Turkish government to gain material advantages from this Syrian refugee policy: arguments have been advanced that the AKP government has used Syrian refugees as a trump card to secure its voice in the design of the post-conflict Syria, or to pressure the EU into leniency towards Turkey, or even (although more speculative as an assertion) to create a pro-AKP population within Turkey (who may eventually become voters if naturalized). Often mentioned, but never fully analyzed, is also an alternative - or complementing explanation - regarding Turkey's intention to wield a prestigious image of a strong, responsible, benevolent, reputable and "virtuous" Turkey. There is indeed evidence that early motivation to put in place a comprehensive policy of welcoming Syrian refugees was to avoid the public diplomacy disaster of 1991, when the mismanagement of Iraqi refugees had led to strong international criticisms and had traumatized the then Turkish authorities. This would also explain why initially, Turkey wanted to handle the Syrian refugee crisis on its own, without the intervention of the international community, in order to both prove its ability to be successful on its own, but also to shield itself from the potentially critical scrutiny of external observers. But hearing from Turkish rhetoric, there seems to be more to the explanation that goes beyond saving face. Indeed, state officials have articulated that Turkey may not have been able to handle the refugee situation in 1991, but now that it has risen, it can.

By paying attention to the discursive tropes used by different Turkish leaders and high-level state officials, one can detect the intention to portray Turkey as powerful, responsible and virtuous. "Turkey the virtuous" is a discourse often heard. It was first articulated by Abdullah Gül when he was president:

> *"What matters is not to become a world power. What matters is for a country to have its own standards raised to the highest possible point, enabling the state to provide its citizens with prosperity and happiness [...]. [Then] you become an inspiration for [other countries]. And once that happens, what matters is to combine your hard and soft power and translate it into virtuous power – for your*

> *immediate environment, for your region, and for the whole world." (Gul in Tepperman 2013, p. 7)*

As this "virtuous power" becomes an inspiration, it also becomes attractive to foreigners who will be embraced by that state. Turkey, in this case, is then interested in providing humanitarian assistance to aspiring populations (Gilley 2015) or to welcome them unto its own territory, hence acting as a "savior." As Ahmet Davutoglu, then Prime Minister, stated: "As an island of stability, Turkey has become a sanctuary for people escaping from terrorism and violence in the region" (in Lepeska 2015). By doing so, the AKP government engages in public diplomacy, by displaying a transnational discourse that goes beyond a domestic public, and also talks to an international audience.

However, this discourse does not simply elevate Turkey's responsible power in an empty power hierarchy, rather it situates Turkey in relative terms to the traditional powerful actors, in particular "Europe" or the "West". Ibrahim Kalin, the Presidential Press Secretary, affirmed on Twitter: "Turkey is not the world's richest country but the largest refugee hosting country. Carrying the burden of humanity" (Kalin 2016a). Or, quoting President Erdogan: "The West may not admit refugees. We will continue to welcome them. Because we are human beings... #ErdoganVoiceoftheOppressed" (Kalin 2016b). So not only is Turkey doing the works expected of responsible powerful actors, it is also doing it better than them. I had identified this thought mechanism in a previous work on "critical Europeanization," whereby Turkish actors find pride in advancing that they are "more Europeans than the Europeans" (Tolay 2011). Given the EU fall out of favor over the last couple of years in Turkey, the normative referent "European" may have switched to a more neutral referent ("virtuous") but the (post-colonial) thought mechanism is the same: there is a need to value oneself in relative terms where the imaginary referent remains the powerful West.

Hence implicitly, Turkish leaders have articulated a narrative whereby there is an assumed relationship between the reception of large numbers of refugees and being a responsible power. What exactly is that relationship and the rational behind?

The Empirical Argument: a Link Between Power Status and Mass Immigration?

The Turkish discourse surrounding refugees and state power rests on the common assumption that "great powers involves great responsibility," in this case, the great responsibility is to host large numbers of refugees. This argument can be understood, and hence evaluated, both at an empirical and normative level.

To what extent do powerful nations actually receive and host large number of refugees? Data from the UNHCR for the end of 2015 shows the following list of

major refugee-hosting countries in 2015 (Table 1).

Table 1: Top ten refugee hosting countries in 2015 (UNHCR 2016 - data excludes Palestinian refugees)

1. Turkey	2. Pakistan
3. Lebanon	4. Islamic Republic of Iran
5. Jordan	6. Kenya
7. Uganda	8. Democratic Republic of Congo
9. Chad	10. Ethiopia

None of the traditional great powers appear on that list. If we look at aggregate data between 2000 and 2014, the list is as follows (Table 2).

Table 2: Top ten refugee hosting countries in between 2000 and 2014 (UNHCR 2015 - data excludes Palestinian refugees)

1. Turkey	2. Lebanon
3. United States	4. Jordan
5. Ethiopia	6. Kenya
7. Uganda	8. Chad
9 Sudan	10. Canada

And looking at benchmark years since the creation of the Geneva Convention on Refugees in 1951 (1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000 and 2010), only five countries systematically ranked each year among the top ten. They are: the United States, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Germany, Jordan, Lebanon, the Palestinian territories and Syria (Migration Policy Institute 2015 - data includes Palestinian refugees). In these lists, only the United States, as well as Germany to a lesser extent, could apply to the status of great power. Other great powers, such as China or Russia, France or the United Kingdom appear only in more extended versions of these lists. Rather, receiving refugees seem to be more the purview of relatively weak countries, whose commonality seems to be their geographic proximity with countries of origin. The United States may actually be an exception to this. This quick overview of the data seem to challenge the assumption that powerful countries should be more open to refugees.

The Normative Argument: a Challenging Connection Between Power and Norms

But even if powerful countries are not more likely to hosts large refugee population, it may still be the case that a normative argument can be made, namely that

powerful countries *should* admit more refugees. The rational here is that powerful countries have the capabilities to admit refugees, in particular the economic resources necessary to accommodate these new populations and eventually integrate them into the labor market, maybe even the security/bureaucratic capabilities to manage the incoming of this new population in an orderly manner.

However, having the capabilities to do something is not sufficient to call for an obligation or an ethical call to do it. Expecting that powerful state should do something is based on the assumption that there is a commonly shared norm regarding the need to address the demands of refugee populations. It is based on the assumption that powerful states should not solely look to keep and expand their powers, but also have a duty to look out for the common good and other altruistic goals. While it can be argued that this is indeed the (partial) practice and expectation of the current international order, it should also be recognized that this is the result of the current "liberal" international order, that has been socially constructed by the dominant liberal powers of the 19th and 20th century. This is not to say that welcoming refugee populations is necessarily a liberal norm but rather that the idea of a responsible great power and the content of these duties have been articulated around international liberal norms (Brown 2004, Jones 2014). For instance, there is evidence that China, as the latest power joining the club of "great power" is being "schooled" or "socialized" by other powers into taking a responsible role in the world: China is indeed facing a set of expectations regarding its behavior on many issues, from it role in the world trade and financial system to its involvement in humanitarian situations such as Darfur (Loke 2016). The centrality of the liberal norm in the definition of great power responsibility may also explain why the US, as the quintessential liberal power, is a power that has prioritized the welcoming of refugees. The same can be said for other European countries. However, the same liberal values also present unique challenges to liberal states, which face contradictory demands regarding humanitarian migrations. This issue was termed as the "liberal paradox" of migration policies and it also explains the inconsistent approach (including both inclusive and exclusive elements) towards migration of powerful liberal states (Hampshire 2013).

In any case, these liberal norms create a challenge for Turkey. Even as the AKP leadership tries to present an alternative to the current liberal order where it plays a peripheral role, in practice, rather than replacing it, it simply adopts it by placing itself at the center of if. But more fundamentally problematic for the Turkish government is the fact that the normative aspect of the normative argument (a power ought to be responsible, hence welcoming to refugees) may actually hurt Turkish call for recognition. First, claiming that a powerful state should be responsible does not necessarily call for the reciprocal argument: that a responsible state should be powerful (or recognized as such). There are many states in the in-

ternational system, with "principled foreign policy," but relatively small power capabilities, who may have gained respect by other powerful states as a result of their benevolent approach, but not necessarily influence. And as shown in the previous section, there is no evidence that the countries that host the most refugees are consequently being perceived as responsible *powers*. It is therefore unclear that upon demonstrating to be a responsible state, said state would be consequently deemed more powerful.

Second, claiming that powerful state ought to behave responsibly towards refugees is a "liberal" normative argument that does not coexist well with other pragmatic or strategic considerations.

In the words of then President Gül further discussing his understanding of a "virtuous power":

> *"A virtuous power is a power that is not ambitious or expansionist in any sense. On the contrary, it is a power where the priority lies with safeguarding the human rights and interests of all human beings in a manner that also entails the provision of aid to those in need without expecting anything in return. That's what I mean by virtuous power: a power that knows what's wrong and what's right and that is also powerful enough to stand behind what's right." (Gul in Tepperman 2013, p. 7)*

Gül himself highlights the need to separate "power" from "virtue." Expansion or ambition does not have its place in the foreign policy of a virtuous power. Material gains would be seen with suspicion, as the possible evidence of the use of a "virtuous" cover to pursue more traditional power grabbing goals.

In that context, the instrumental use of the AKP government of Syrian refugees, that may be working concomitantly with the praiseworthy and generous goal of welcoming refugees, in practice, risks annihilating the process of building an image of being a rising and responsible power. The early goal, by the AKP administration, to use Syrian refugees as a means to assert Turkey in the resolution of the Syrian conflict and, in Ahmet Davutoglu's words, to "be in the center of the table where the new global order is formed" (Harte 2012/2013 p.29, see also Gökalp-Aras & Şahin Mencütek 2016), reflects on a strategic rather than a humanitarian goal. While such a strategy may helps building political capital, it does not contribute to the image of a reputable rising power.

In addition, the deal stroke with the EU in Fall 2015 and Spring 2016, is illustrating in even sharper terms the instrumental role played by refugees in Turkish foreign policy. By using the refugee crisis as opportunistic leverage to extract unrelated benefits from the EU (the promise of visa liberalization and the restart of the EU membership accession process), Turkey undermines its parallel discourse

of being the savior of refugees and defender of their basic human rights. Not only does it raises doubts regarding its motives all along, but it also displays an image of powerlessness. Using movement of population as a (veiled) threat to obtain other goal is a (common) tool of foreign policy use mostly by weaker power to influence stronger powers. Greenhill had shown that, in 49 out of her 56 cases, coercive migration was indeed a "weapon of the weak" trying to challenge a stronger state (Greenhill 2010, p. 32). While this foreign policy tool might be efficient in reaching its goal, as demonstrated by Greenhill and the EU-Turkey deal, it does not help communicate an overall image of power.

Conclusion

This exploratory article explored the idea that the act of receiving mass movement of population (such as a mass influx of refugees) can play a role in the way the power of a state is perceived abroad. The intention of this article was to show whether the mass influx of Syrians into Turkey contributed to Turkey's image of a rising power. The main finding of this short analysis is that mass migration can project two different images of power, and hence could either enhance or weaken a state's power status. While discursively, the Turkish leadership is really careful to craft an image of powerfulness out of the arrival and management of millions of Syrian refugees, in practice it is walking a fine line, especially when other strategic foreign policy decisions are made that discredit this message of Turkey as a "virtuous" power, and may actually reflect on Turkey's lack of power. If that is the case, Turkey remains seen solely a weak neighbor, who inherited a spreading humanitarian disaster. Such an image is far off Turkey's *rêve de grandeur*.

Power status is a social construct, an "image" that is agreed upon explicitly or implicitly by the different actors composing the community of states. While this article shows that Turkey is using its welcoming of Syrian refugees as a way to claim a great(er) power status, it remains to be seen whether this claim is being acknowledged and recognized by external actors. Preliminary evidence seems mixed with a number of Western state officials and other prominent civil actors praising Turkey for its efforts with Syrian refugees, but also a number of more critical coverage of the conditions of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Even the praiseful comments done towards Turkey can seem paternalist at times, and/or a meager consolation for Turkey to gain good press in lieu of aid to help the refugees. It is therefore unclear whether the efforts put towards Syrian refugees is making Turkey more powerful, but it is clear that the AKP leadership will continue using Syrian refugees as an argument to raise Turkey's power status. Behaving like a responsible power can help gain recognition of its rise as a power, but such recognition is done holistically, based on a wide range of issues beyond the welcoming of mass migration, and Turkey needs to behave consistently on all these aspects, including on democratic norms. At least this is the case with the current liberal

world order and until non-liberal powers rise to dominance or current liberal powers loose their commitment to liberal values.

Bio

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Article

Democracies' Discontents: Where Do We Go From Here?

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Abstract

The international order founded on principles of democracy and human rights is facing renewed threats from a declining West, rising authoritarians and ambivalent swing states oriented more to traditional concepts of sovereignty and noninterference. Five middle powers – Brazil, India, Turkey, Indonesia and South Africa – once stood out for their potential as examples of democratization and economic expansion at home and as responsible stewards of global governance. Recent trends, however, are troubling. A renewed effort to find common ground among established and rising democracies on an international democracy and human rights agenda would help stabilize current setbacks, but it will take time.

Keywords

Rising Powers, Democracy, Human Rights, Global Governance, International Order

During the heyday of the global South's rise from autocracy and dictatorship to democratization and prosperity, optimism grew that countries like Brazil, India, South Africa, Turkey and Indonesia would become active defenders of the international liberal order. Experts and diplomats from North and South (this author included) had good reason to be sanguine: these states, and others like them (Mexico, South Korea, Poland, Chile), had emerged from closed repressive systems and rocky transitions to a decent measure of democratic peace, economic growth and human development, progress that signaled a clear break from the past. They proudly brought their newfound credentials as middle power democracies to the world stage and leveraged this status for other campaigns like a seat on the UN Security Council or hosting of the Olympics; they also used their hard-won progress to elevate their role as regional leaders and to attract foreign investment. Their development as diverse societies from every region of the world, organized around the core principles of democracy and human rights, served as powerful symbols of the universal appeal of the international liberal

order. It also gave rise to projections that these states could buttress this order through greater leadership at the United Nations and other international bodies as advocates for a more balanced approach to protection of human rights.[1]

More recently, however, the varnish of democratic progress has worn thin and the foundation on which these hopes were based has cracked. Why have these rising democracies fallen off track from their earlier, more positive trends? Can they recover enough momentum of progressive change to propel them toward being net contributors and reformers of an international order that seriously tackles the most pressing human rights and humanitarian crises facing the planet? If so, is the political will and capacity, in government and civil society, strong enough to update their foreign policies to meet the competing challenges of a declining West, a resurgent China and Russia, and a global democratic recession? With the alarming spread of illiberalism and nationalism in Europe and the United States, alongside the rise of Putin, can these states help fill the gap to sustain the hard-fought gains of the post-Cold War era? Finally, are there a set of priority issues in which South and North democracies can work together to effect meaningful progress toward respect for human rights?

The Power of Examples, Good and Bad

When India, the world's largest democracy with 1.2 billion citizens, 122 languages and hundreds of recognized castes and tribes, organized another round of free and fair elections in 2014, voters decisively chose the opposition coalition led by Narendra Modi of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). As Prime Minister, Modi was quick to address the pressing demands for economic growth and employment for its 800 million citizens under the age of thirty-five, proclaiming India as an inevitable success story worth betting on. In foreign policy, Modi embarked on a frenetic pace of globe-trotting, particularly in India's immediate neighborhood, as a messenger of the multicultural values, democratic principles and economic dynamism that would position India as "a leading power, rather than just a balancing power…willing[] to shoulder greater global responsibilities," according to his Foreign Secretary Subrahmanyam Jaishankar (Jaishankar 2015).

Indian leaders of various stripes recognize that their quest for greater leadership on the world stage depends on addressing their deep and complex problems at home, from widespread poverty and endemic corruption to discrimination and violence against women and "untouchables." Under Modi's pro-Hindu orientation, however, religious-inspired violence against Muslims and other groups has gotten worse while nationalist fervor has unleashed crackdowns against secular and internationalist actors. A joint letter to Modi from 144 NGOs in May 2015

[1] For a collection of related essays on this topic, see SUR: International Journal on Human Rights (2013), and Carothers and Youngs (2016).

accused the government, *inter alia*, of freezing funds, using intelligence reports to denigrate NGOs and stoking "an atmosphere of State coercion and intimidation in India's civil society space" (letter, 8 May 2015). In August 2016, a complaint of sedition was filed against Amnesty International India by a right-wing student group offended by so-called "anti-India" signs at an event protesting human rights violations by Indian security forces in India-controlled Kashmir.[2] Ongoing concern about the impunity Indian law allows its security forces engaged in Kashmir and in putting down other insurgencies in northeast India further diminish India's credibility as a voice for fundamental rights.

These problems, however, are not insurmountable obstacles to India's growing aspirations for global leadership. With strong institutions, competitive multi-party elections, independent media and activists pressuring government officials to improve their rights record at home, India has the hardware and software gradually to close the gap between its domestic and foreign policies in a way that would allow India to punch at rather than below its weight. The Modi government's decision to accelerate India's insertion into the global economy and assert leadership in its near abroad also point in the direction of more responsible stewardship of the commons. The question remains, however, whether India will emerge as a responsible global stakeholder willing to uphold universal values of pluralism, tolerance and rule of law – values that its own "unity in diversity" credo reflects – or will hew to a more realist line with no serious regard for either the intrinsic or instrumental values of human rights and democracy in its foreign policy.

On the other end of the spectrum sits Turkey, once heralded as an inspiring model of the compatibility of political Islam and democracy. For nearly a decade, Turkey made steady progress under the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi or AKP) led by then Prime Minister (now President) Tayyip Erdogan. Erdogan rose to power on a campaign to end corruption and poverty and delivered positive results after his party won an absolute majority in the National Assembly in 2002. With an eye on future European Union membership, the AKP government passed laws relaxing restrictions on freedom of expression and dramatically cut down the role of the military in politics. A rigorous economic stabilization program, aided by strong political support from a more stable parliamentary majority and assistance from the International Monetary Fund, reduced public debt and inflation and raised the fiscal surplus. For the next decade, the Turkish economy grew by an unprecedented 253 percent, lifting millions of Turks into the middle class with improved access to health care and better education. Turkey also began positioning itself as a leader in its neighborhood willing to spend political capital to speak out for democracy and human rights. This more

[2] In an unrelated case, the Supreme Court of India reiterated its view that strong criticism of the government is neither defamatory nor seditious if it does not incite violence or is intended to create public disorder (Anand 2016).

activist approach reached a peak during the turmoil of the Arab spring when then Foreign Minister Davutoglu declared that "long-term stability [in the region] will be granted only if there is a new consensual relation between leaders, state and citizens," and decried the short-term thinking that favors authoritarian stability over democratic change (Davotoglu 2013, p. 14-16).

Over time, however, Erdogan's autocratic tendencies got the better of him as evidenced by ongoing and successful efforts to centralize authority, weaken checks and balances, politicize the judiciary and take harsh measures against opponents in the media, civil society and the military. More recently, Erdogan effectively used the July 2016 attempted military coup (apparently inspired, at least in part, by the Gulenist movement (Filkins 2016)) to rally both his supporters and opponents around the principles of civilian-led democracy. He also seized the opportunity to clamp down even further against suspected "collaborators" in and outside of the military and renewed state repression of the Kurdish political opposition which he earlier had accepted as legitimate negotiating partners. As a result, Turkey's once lauded if inflated potential as a democratic example for other Muslim societies has been badly if not irreparably tarnished. These developments dramatically have derailed its ambitions to be a force for positive change in its near abroad. Through a series of avoidable missteps and events out of its control, Ankara has maneuvered itself out of any position of real influence when it comes to its mission to build a more stable and democratic neighborhood. Faced with a rise in terrorist attacks on its own soil, a devastating war along its border with Syria, a determined Kurdish opposition gaining ground politically at home and territorially in Syria and Iraq, and riven by its own civil-military-religious divisions, Turkey can no longer claim to play a leadership role in matters of supporting the international liberal order.

In between these two emblematic cases of developing democracies' aspirations for international leadership sit several others that on balance are discouraging, if not exhausted, examples of this genre of middle power actors. Brazil stands out for its sadly diminished state of affairs. In just the last four years, Brazil has fallen from being one of the world's fastest-growing economies with impressive drops in poverty rates and a growing middle class to a country mired in deepening recession and unemployment, rising inflation and interest rates and a slew of scandalous corruption trials against its economic and political elite. The dubious impeachment of its elected leftist president, Dilma Rousseff, in August 2016, and elevation of her business friendly and unpopular number two to the presidential palace, was the crowning thorn in this soap opera tragedy. That said, Brazil may yet recover its footing if one considers the solid role played by its increasingly professional judiciary and the handling of Rousseff's impeachment through constitutional rather than extralegal proceedings. Either way, it will take some time

before Brazil can climb out of its domestic morass and restore its luster as a major player on the international stage willing to continue to express a clear preference for some if not all principles of the international liberal order.

South Africa, sub-Saharan Africa's largest economy, is facing similar if less dire challenges on the home front, leading to a declining reputation both regionally and beyond. The highly praised transition from apartheid to multiracial democracy in the 1990s under the leadership of Nelson Mandela fed expectations that South Africa could become not only a beacon of peaceful change on the African continent but an activist leader encouraging other African leaders to reform. More recently, however, the dominance of the African National Congress has slowed down real political change in the country and corruption charges against President Jacob Zuma and members of his cabinet have accelerated the slide toward democratic despotism. Voters frustrated by the country's declining economic fortunes, crony capitalism, rising crime and declining public services have started shifting their sights to other vehicles for change, which may help to revitalize South Africa's political competition and lead to better governance results. In foreign policy terms, South Africa has made a clear move away from Mandela's human rights-oriented approach toward downplaying any real concern in this regard, preferring instead to improve relations with China and Russia as a member of the BRICS and to play the role of mediator in settling African conflicts. It is also quick to sidestep or oppose initiatives at the United Nations that would expand international action on human rights, whether on thematic issues like protection of civil society or LGBT rights or country-specific matters like Myanmar and Zimbabwe.

A slightly more hopeful case can be found in Indonesia which, like India, offers a compelling example of a large, diverse and modernizing society committed to governing itself based on principles of representative democracy, pluralism and moderation. As the world's largest Muslim-majority democracy, its appeal is particularly attractive in an era of profound turbulence within the global Islamic community. With economic growth rates holding steady between four and five percent a year since 1998, an expanding middle class and a vibrant social media environment, Indonesia has proven to be a positive example of both economic and political liberalization in an otherwise stagnant southeast Asia. Its influence in building a stronger international liberal order, however, is limited by a host of domestic and external factors that may ultimately position Indonesia as a constructive but underwhelming player. These include widespread corruption, rising inequality, questionable reliance on torture and the death penalty and an entrenched reluctance to take sides internationally when democracy and human rights are threatened, even in dire cases like North Korea and Iran. Its own violent extremism linked to radical Islam, though mainly contained, has dampened any

overt effort to get involved in the post Arab spring turmoil, holding close to its traditional noninterference doctrine. President Jokowi, who rose from outside the traditional elite to win election in 2014, so far has demonstrated little willingness to build on his predecessor's more internationalist policy gains, choosing instead to focus on maritime security and "people-centered" issues like migrant workers.

What Do Middle Power Democracies Want?

Where does this mixed picture leave us when it comes to evaluating the fate of the international liberal order? This question is not an academic one: with Europe in economic and political crisis, the United States in turmoil over its dysfunctional political system, and China and Russia exploiting opportunities to defend and advance their own anti-democratic positions, the role of middle power democracies has a direct bearing on whether the democracy and human rights progress of the last several decades can continue. In the current climate of rising terrorist violence; metastasizing civil wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Ukraine and Syria; growing instability in the Asia-Pacific region over China's claims in the South China Sea and nuclear North Korea's provocative actions, the need for international cooperation among a core group of capable democratic states invested in strengthening a system of law, peace and diplomacy is greater now than in decades. Will these and other emerging democratic powers step up to meet these challenges, which are at root problems of democratic governance and human rights? Or will they turn further inward as they tackle their own compelling demands for change at home?

Other than perhaps India, which has articulated a clear desire to expand its role in its region and beyond, most of the middle power democracies will be preoccupied for some years to come with their own domestic problems. In part, this is a natural consequence of their dual status as both developing countries and as democracies. Democratic leaders, if they want to get re-elected, don't have the luxury of ignoring their constituencies at home to engage in risky and potentially costly adventures abroad. And their ability to play leading roles internationally does depend on the health of their economies and societies generally.

This argument, however, only goes so far. After all, it was the wave of globalization that these countries rode to make such dramatic progress in their own development. And they remain heavily dependent on the network of international trade agreements, unimpeded energy flows, foreign direct investment, migration and remittances, and other features of the global order for their continued success. It is in their self-interest, therefore, to protect their investments in a more open and rules-bound global order. It should come as little surprise, then, that charges of free-loading get tossed about, even from the usually gracious outgoing occupant of the White House (Goldberg 2016). There is some merit to the allegation.

Other than a solid contribution toward troop contributions for UN peacekeeping operations on the part of India, Indonesia, South Africa and Brazil, these states are underperforming as contributors to other aspects of the international order, for example in the area of international humanitarian and development assistance. They also have seriously underinvested in their own diplomatic and educational infrastructure needed to build and sustain a credible presence on the world stage.

Turning to the specific theme of support for democracy and human rights, these countries too often have chosen the path of least resistance when it comes to making choices for or against the very values and principles they so enthusiastically have adopted for themselves. This is primarily an ideological and historical problem. Their own national experiences with apartheid, dictatorship and colonialism, propagated and supported by the West, incline them against schemes of intervention in others' internal affairs. They also oppose external audits of their own deficiencies. As a matter of history, however, there is another side of the story: when it served their interests, many of these countries played critical roles in the early years of the post-World War II era in supporting the building blocks of the modern international human rights system, including the key principle of UN monitoring of domestic human rights situations (Jensen 2016). Similarly, countries like Brazil and South Africa have played leading roles in constructing regional mechanisms to defend and protect democratically elected governments from military or other unconstitutional seizures of power. The dominant historical experience, nonetheless, has crystallized over time into an ideology of nonalignment and noninterventionism, particularly for India and Indonesia. While the grip of these doctrines is loosening in the face of globalization and an awakening consciousness of the healthy role international activism can play at home and abroad, it will take more time to shift the balance toward a less rigid interpretation of sovereignty.

As this shift unfolds, a number of deliberate steps should be taken to consolidate the transition to a more balanced approach to the international liberal order. First, the foreign policy thinkers and practitioners in these countries should expand their own definitions of national security to put a greater value on the kind of stability, prosperity and peace that come from democratic governance, the rule of law and respect for human rights. They need look no further than their own transitions to democratic rule, constitutionalism and political pluralism to know the benefits of such an approach. They also can learn from the important progress made by other democracies that once were riven by conflict and despotism to become more stable states, from Germany and Japan to Poland, South Korea and Chile. Empirical evidence is strong that these states have not only become more secure and prosperous but also positive contributors to the international liberal order. We also know from experience that democracies tend to avoid internal and

external conflict, do not experience deadly terrorism, do not spawn refugee crises or famines, and have better records of human development and citizen security.

Second, this more evidence-based approach to national security decision-making should be taught in universities, diplomatic academies and military institutions as a requirement for graduation. Politicians, legislators and their staffs also need to be schooled in the benefits of a longer-term approach to national security policy. Third, these countries should get more engaged in the soft multilateral diplomacy and assistance that creates the environment for other democracies to grow. This includes voting for UN resolutions that respond to gross human rights violations in the dispiriting number of states still mired in conflict (Burundi, Central African Republic, Eritrea, Somalia, Yemen, Venezuela, etc.), making contributions to international institutions that build democracy and human rights (UN Democracy Fund, regional human rights bodies, Community of Democracies), and incorporating a greater concern for democracy and human rights in their own bilateral diplomacy.

Finding Common Ground

When we in the West look at the evolution of middle power democracies as a snapshot in time, we lose sight of the significant if uneven progress they have made from their watershed turning points toward democratic governance. We also miss out on their own histories as both victims of bad behavior by other powers and as early leaders in helping to establish the international democracy and human rights order after World War II. We are now entering a new and in some ways more dangerous post-Cold War era in which that order is under intense stress and in great need of political and material support and innovation. It cannot happen without the active participation of Global South democracies, which have the potential to bring their more recent experience with democratic transition and consolidation to other countries interested in reform. The question is: are they willing and capable of stepping up to this challenge?

Reform, however, is a two-way street. More established democracies have their own cleaning up to do, both at home and abroad. The election of Donald Trump to the White House in a combative campaign that directly attacked core principles of tolerance and civility and even revived the idea of torture as a legitimate tool against terrorists poses a particularly thorny challenge for this traditional coalition. Unsustainable military and nation-building strategies, aggressive interventions in internal affairs, and lack of accountability for egregious human rights violations demand a major re-think of how to conduct an effective and principled foreign policy. This re-think also demands a concerted effort to expand the network of players, including from the global South, willing to support reforms that promote greater transparency, accountability and participation. Workable coali-

tions of democracies require a willingness to find common ground on approaches that are action-oriented but realistic, deploying a range of soft power tools and exercising strategic patience for the long-term efforts necessary to establish genuine democracy.

One way to build such common ground is to identify a handful of priority thematic areas on the increasingly crowded human rights and democracy agenda for concrete action by key stakeholders in North and South democracies. The following list of ideas has the advantage of including some that are considered "lifeblood" or tree trunk issues on which so many other worthy causes depend. It also includes items that are a balance between traditional priorities of more established democracies, e.g., freedom of information and of the internet, and priorities of developing democracies, e.g., economic and social rights, regulating businesses' impact on human rights and controlling corruption. Finally, it builds on the established global consensus on the Sustainable Development Goals to advance the unfinished business of integrating the development, governance and human dignity agendas.

Lifeblood issues

The international human rights community has achieved real success in expanding the scope of human rights over time and building an architecture to defend them. Yet it may be reaching a tipping point in which the ambition of turning every issue into a human rights cause dilutes the core principles and concepts that give effect to all other rights. Limited resources are also a constant challenge. The goal, in my view, should not be to shrink the agenda but rather to ensure that advocates have the strongest possible tools to advance their specific causes. This means focusing on the lifeblood issues that make all other progress possible.

There are three areas in particular that require priority attention. First, defending the space for civil society's work on human rights and democracy. The evidence of repression, harassment and pressure against civil society activists grows every day, a trend prevalent in both authoritarian and democratic states. Without sufficient space for freedom of association and expression, and protection of cross-border funding for such work, NGOs of every stripe will have a harder time monitoring elections, delivering social services or defending vulnerable populations. Good work is already underway at the UN level through the work of the UN Special Rapporteurs on freedom of association and on human rights defenders but the most important work is on the national and local levels. Meaningful recognition of the voice, participation and expertise of civil society should be a *sine qua non* of any national and multilateral consultation process, whether on issues of domestic or foreign policies. Ongoing education of international human rights norms and mechanisms at the local level is critical. At the UN level, democracies should lead

reform of the UN's process for accreditation of NGOs aimed at depoliticizing the process.

Related to protecting the environment for civil society are the lifeblood issues of right to information and freedom of the Internet. Without information on the state of human rights and government performance, policymakers and activists are incapable of identifying deficiencies and devising strategies to address them. It is also critical to pursuing broader goals of more open governance, accountability and freedom of the media. Developing democracies like Brazil, Mexico and India have significant experience on these issues that make them important players in any broader effort to move this agenda forward. Digital freedom for all is another area of growing concern due to the increasing pressure from security and law enforcement quarters to regulate and control the availability of information transmitted and stored digitally. Cyberspying and cyberwarfare, invasion of privacy, and censorship are just some of the manifestations of the turmoil underway and likely to worsen. The starting point for consensus should begin with understanding the Internet as a public good which is accessible, affordable and neutral. Democracies, working closely with nongovernmental and business sectors, should take the lead in ensuring human rights underpin Internet governance principles.

Right to quality of life issues

For too long, the international community has been divided on how to address the fundamental elements that make up the quality of a decent and dignified life – adequate and nutritious food, safe water and sanitation, emergency shelter and access to quality health care for all. The ingredients of a rights-based approach to these basic elements of survival are there but strategies are scattered and under-resourced. The biggest challenge is the financial and logistical demands of delivering such public services in societies starved for resources. Even in wealthier societies, progress is erratic as governments are either unable or unwilling to negotiate with powerful interests opposed to the reallocation of resources required to implement adequate services for the neediest in society. Nonetheless, movements are building at the national and transnational levels, in both developed and developing countries, to enforce these rights through courts, parliaments and executive action, and several democracies that have invested in expansion of such public services have made great strides across multiple indicators of human development. Wealthier democracies should reach out to developing democracies like Brazil, India and Indonesia to build a program of international cooperation in this arena, which could be tied to the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals.

More broadly, a post-Cold War convergence is slowly taking place in support of a rights-based approach to development that recognizes that good outcomes

depend on principles of accountability, transparency, participation and inclusion. The Sustainable Development Goals adopted at the 2015 UN General Assembly offer a window of opportunity to validate and deepen the emerging consensus on the links between governance, rights and development. But much more work needs to be done to translate language in Goal 16 and elsewhere into measurable targets and sustainable financing. [3]

Within this broad category of economic and social rights, there is one group that deserves special attention: the rights of women and girls, particularly to education. This "empowerment" right is low-hanging fruit for the international human rights community and for good reason: Evidence is overwhelming that states with high measures of gender equality are less likely to encounter civil war, interstate war, or widespread human rights abuses than states with low measures. We also know from years of social science research that an investment in quality education for women and girls directly contributes to improved family living standards, reduced poverty, higher incomes, better health, more civic participation, less corruption and less violence (Legatum Institute 2014, p. 21-22). Despite the broad recognition of the universal right to education, millions of children and adults are still deprived of their right to a quality education. To cite just one statistic, less than one half of countries have achieved universal primary education as of 2015 and only 70 percent are expected to reach gender parity in primary enrollment (UNESCO 2015). The SDGs contain tangible goals for addressing these deficits and should mobilize a grand coalition of stakeholders from both developed and developing democracies to increase dramatically the resources and capabilities for achieving them.

New actors, old issues

Two additional cross-cutting issues – one old, and one new – are proving to be important agents of political reform and mobilizers of civic activism. Corruption of public resources for private gain, which has existed for centuries, may never be eliminated, but certainly can be controlled better than it is currently. Not only is it central to the quality and legitimacy of democratic governance, but it also implicates a wide range of human rights, especially the delivery of economic and social rights, and threatens public and national security in myriad ways.

In response to the growing public demand for greater investigation and punishment for corrupt acts by government officials, institutions are taking dramatic action to root out corruption at even the most senior levels of political power. A mix of judicial, law enforcement, media and civil society actors are taking action in Brazil, Guatemala, India and South Africa, among others, to prosecute grand

[3] Goal 16 states: "Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels."

corruption schemes. There is plenty of room for international cooperation in this field. The UN Convention against Corruption requires signatories to cooperate to prevent, investigate and prosecute offenders, including mutual legal assistance in gathering and transferring evidence for use in courts. Voluntary schemes like the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and the Open Government Partnership are serving as useful vehicles for creating the habits of information-sharing and transparency that are the prerequisite for holding corrupt officials accountable. Much more should be done, however, at the global level given the vast and complex network of laws, regulations and practices that govern cross-border financial flows. A UN high commissioner on the rule of law could become a key focal point for coordinating and promoting legal tools to fight corruption.

One of the many actors in facilitating corruption is the business sector, both national and international, and they too must be held to account for their role in bribery, tax avoidance and bank secrecy for kleptocrats. But corporations also have responsibilities in the broad arena of human rights, especially large transnational companies whose annual income exceeds that of dozens of countries,[4] not to speak of their political influence in national capitals.

After years of rancorous debate, UN member states adopted the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights in 2011, a strong starting point for setting minimum international standards for state regulation of corporations, corporate responsibilities for protecting human rights, and access to effective remedies when violations occur. States have agreed to produce national action plans to ensure their implementation. Meanwhile, dozens of national and international NGOs have begun working together to produce better reporting of corporate performance and to pursue other judicial and nonjudicial avenues for redress. For many others, however, this is not enough. A treaty-writing process is now underway, led by South Africa and Ecuador, that would create a binding legal obligation on states to hold corporations accountable across a spectrum of human rights problems. To date, this has been a contentious development dividing both advocates for greater corporate social responsibility and states and businesses intent on avoiding more binding commitments with unproven effect. A quiet coalition of interested states from Europe, globalizing developing democracies and business and human rights experts could help close the gap and identify the most important areas for cooperation as the treaty talks slowly unfold.

Conclusion

In the current context of a return to nationalism and geopolitical spheres of influ-

[4] For example, Amazon's gross revenue of $474.45 billion in 2013 was larger than the gross national income of 150 countries. The value of Tata, the Indian conglomerate, of $113 billion as of September 2015, would make it the world's fifty-second largest gross national income if it were a country.

ence, proxy wars and rising authoritarian powers, it is important to underscore that democracies, given their inherent nature as governments accountable to their citizens, have a special role to play in fostering a more stable and secure democratic peace. The way forward requires cooperation among both established and rising democratic powers with a stake in that kind of global order. If they don't act, the vacuum will be filled quickly by other revanchist powers bent on a more self-interested, nationalist and closed approach to global governance. This void is already being filled by hostile interventions in cyberspace, heavy investments in state-subsidized propaganda, and trade and investment schemes that favor lowest common denominator rules for transparency and rights. The priorities set forth above are just some of the areas in which democratic states, civil society, businesses and concerned citizens can coalesce behind to ensure the international liberal order survives well into the 21st century.

Bio

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Rising Powers Quarterly is a peer-reviewed non-profit free-access journal dedicated to the study of the growing role of rising powers in global governance. It aims to explore the political, economic and social processes through which the states regarded as "rising powers" in world politics interact with other states as well as international and transnational organizations. This journal also aims to fill the academic lacunae in the literature on rising powers and global governance related themes since there is a growing need for a journal specialized on rising powers in parallel to their increasing importance in world politics.

Published four times a year, Rising Powers Quarterly is particularly interested in original scientific contributions that analyze the operations and policies of regional & international organizations, international groupings such as the BRICS, IBSA, MIKTA and G-20, as well as their member states around the main themes of international political economy, global governance, North-South relations, developing world, changing international order, development, rising/emerging/middle/regional powers, development cooperation, humanitarian assistance, peace, peacekeeping, security, democracy and international terrorism. Country-specific case studies with regard to their interrelation at the global level are also of particular concern of ***Rising Powers Quarterly***. One of the main objectives of the journal is to provide a new forum for scholarly discussion on these topics as well as other issues related with world politics and global governance.

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