

**THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
ANTALYA BİLİM UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF POSTGRADUATE EDUCATION
GLOBAL POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**AN ANALYSIS OF INTERACTION BETWEEN TOURISM
AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN THE CONTEXT OF
MANUFACTURED SOFT POWER: THE CASE OF TURKEY**

MASTER THESIS

**Author
Sait YERSİZ**

ANTALYA-2020

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ABSTRACT

This study emphasizes the concepts of "soft power" and "public diplomacy" which have gained importance in today's global political system, especially in recent years. After the bi-polar Cold War era, the multi-polar and crowded international atmosphere have emerged in the liberal world order. The new order has begun to force nation states to restrict the use of hard power capabilities in a traditional way. New concepts and factors, which are the outputs of globalization and digital age, have required the use of new generation methods and tools in international relations. Thus, it is intended to ensure that interstate relations are performed in a sustainable framework without the risk of destroying life on earth, with its high destructive power, military technologies and without undermining commercial dependencies.

In this study, the concepts of soft power and public diplomacy, shaped in a country's image and perception, is examined closely in the particular case of Turkey with its interaction with tourism. Especially in recent decades, tourism has become a significant sector of the global economy. Turkey, with its high potential for tourism, is being investigated in the study and as to whether tourism itself is used effectively in its strategies.

The study evaluates state policies implemented in practice, by conducting in-depth interviews with people in suitable positions to ask, without relying solely on related literature. Additionally, the strategic approach and coordinated policies are being tracked by interviews with tourism operators, based on common beliefs and benefits.

Turkey claims to be applying effective public diplomacy. This study conducts surveys and interviews with people from Norway, England and Germany, to test the success of Turkey in these areas. Interviews and survey groups are selected according to their interaction with the country and provide an evaluation of Turkey's public diplomacy and promotional activities in different categories and levels. Overall, it is aimed to measure the country's success and capability in reaching out to the target audience regarding Turkey's image and perception abroad.

Keywords: Soft power, public diplomacy, tourism, Turkey.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma günümüz küresel siyasal sisteminde özellikle son yıllarda oldukça önem kazanan ‘yumuşak güç’ ve ‘kamu diplomasisi’ kavramlarını vurgulamaktadır. İki kutuplu Soğuk Savaş dönemi sonrası liberal dünya düzenin çok kutuplu ve çok aktörlü karakteri, ulus devletlerin sert güç kapasitelerini geleneksel şekilde kullanma konusunda kısıtlamalar ortaya çıkartmıştır. Küreselleşme ve dijital çağının çıktısı olan yeni konsept ve faktörler yeni nesil metot ve araçların kullanımını gerekli kılmıştır. Böylece devletler ticari bağımlılıklarını sarsmadan ve yüksek tahrip gücüne ulaşan askeri teknolojilerle dünya üzerindeki yaşamı yok etme riskini almadan uluslararası ilişkilerin sürdürülebilir bir çerçevede yürütülmesini sağlamaya çalışmaktadırlar.

Bu çalışma ülke imaj ve algıları üzerinden şekillenen yumuşak güç ve kamu diplomasisi kavramlarının turizmle olan etkileşimini Türkiye özelinde incelemektedir. Özellikle son yıllarda küresel ekonominin önemli bir sektörü haline gelen turizmin, yüksek potansiyele sahip Türkiye tarafından stratejik bir araç olarak kullanılıp kullanılmadığı araştırılmıştır.

Çalışma sadece literatüre bağlı kalmadan devlet politikalarının pratikteki işleyişini doğru konumlardaki kişilerle yapılan derinlemesine görüşmelerle değerlendirmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra, ortak fayda üzerinden beslenen turizm işletmecileri ile yapılan görüşmelerle stratejik yaklaşım ve koordinasyon politikalarının izi sürülmüştür.

Etkin bir kamu diplomasisi yürütme iddiasında olan Türkiye’nin bu konudaki başarısı Norveç, İngiltere ve Almanya kamuoyu üyeleriyle yürütülen anket ve derinlemesine görüşmelerle test edilmiştir. Görüşme ve anket grupları Türkiye ile olan etkileşimlerine göre seçilmiş olup ülkenin kamu diplomasisi ve ülke tanıtım faaliyetlerini değişik kategorilerde değerlendirme olanağı bulunmuştur. Bununla beraber, Türkiye’nin yurt dışındaki imaj ve algısı üzerinden ülkenin hedef kitleye ulaşma kapasitesinin ölçülmesi hedeflenmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Yumuşak güç, kamu diplomasisi, turizm, Türkiye.

Annem, babam, Esram, kızlarımız Sema ve Melek'e...

Sevgi ve minnetlerimle...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD	: Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency
AK Party	: Justice and Development Party
BSEC	: International Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation
CIMER	: Republic of Turkey Presidential Communication Center
EU	: European Union
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
IDEA	: International Development and Environment Association
KIZILAY	: Turkish Red Crescent
MASİAD	: Manavgat Industrialists and Businesspeople Association
MATSO	: Manavgat Chamber of Commerce and Industry
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
THY	: Turkish Airlines
TİKA	: Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency
TRT	: Turkey Radio and Television Corporation
TSK	: Turkish Armed Forces
TUIK	: Turkish Statistical Institute
UNWTO	: The United Nations World Tourism Organization
YEE	: Yunus Emre Foundation
YTB	: Foreign Turks and Relative Communities Presidency

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INTRODUCTION

The world political order made a great transition to a 'liberal order' at the end of the Cold War bipolar era after the collapse of the Soviet Union. With the neo-liberal approach turning into dominant international policy, the globalization process has accelerated and caused the emergence of new non-state actors in global policy. The most important consequence of this was erosion of nation states which have been the dominant actors in international politics since seventeenth century. Non-state formations, which have gained the ability to act in large areas, started to play important roles in global politics. This new condition has led to international relations being adopted and practiced on a much more complex platform.

As it is generally known, because of the lack of trust, and not having a higher authority above them in international relations, states perceive each other as threats. Nation states develop different methods to protect their national interests and security; in an anarchical environment. Traditionally, balance of power politics, perused through military and economic means, are assumed to contribute to peace and stability in international politics. However, these instruments have begun to lose their effect in the era of globalization. "Soft power", which entered the International Relations literature in the early 1990s, has become one of the key topics of international politics with many states increasing their efforts to build up their soft power potential.

The approach of searching for ways to gain more power against their rivals in international relations is generally accepted. Perhaps this approach is one of the rare issues where international relation theories can be a consensus. Along with the changing dynamics in global and national politics, the concept of power is also changing. Although "hard power", "soft power", "smart power" and "sharp power" are conceptualized in different ways, "power" is actually a tool that has been used for the same purposes by states from the very beginning. This study aims to underline

the importance given by states to the notion of soft power while protecting their national interests and national security.

The concept of soft power has gained importance, especially in the last two decades, and has become indispensable. In this context, this study evaluates the importance of soft power formed on two assumptions. The first one is the globalization process triggered by the neo-liberal approach in the 1980s, states needed each other in an intensive, dependency relationship. Thus, every country in the world has become a link in the global economic chain, or a gear of the global trade wheel; such that, even countries that have hostile feelings towards each other make a high degree of effort in maintaining commercial relations. This dependency has made countries sensitive in establishing and protecting a suitable and safe ground for conducting global issues, trade and commercial activities.

The second assumption is that destructiveness has reached an unacceptable level in regard to military technological developments. In this context, the new generation of atomic and nuclear weapons, with high military destructive power, has the ability to disrupt all balance and even destroy life on earth. In addition, each country is included in binding groups with many alliances and cooperative agreements. This situation allows even a country with the lowest attacking power, to challenge larger states. Even if the use of coercive military instruments continues to remain quite vital to states' foreign policy success, it is no longer an action to be taken as decisive as it once was.

In the frame of these two assumptions, a great war would mean at the very least a loss of trade and impact welfare and could even lead to the consideration of destroying the entire world. These facts are using statistics to utilize soft power to attract others to achieve the preferred outcomes. In order to attract others requires self-acquainting, which in turn needs public diplomacy to present the country to others and to their people. Public diplomacy is the most effective tool for states to express themselves outside their borders, to promote themselves and to demonstrate what their true intentions are. Nowadays, high-level units and strategic evaluation departments of all countries are engaged in public diplomacy activities.

The study analyzes this subject, by examining Turkey in particular. Turkey is a very good example because it has had a hard-military, power-based policy at the heart of the country. This tradition in Turkish history has produced a negative image in the eyes of liberal western countries. Nowadays, Turkey struggles with a lack of foreign support from its long-allied western liberals. Never ending procedures with the European Union, fragile relations with the United States and skeptical, distrustful approaches of its neighbors is rooted in not effectively utilizing public diplomacy and soft power in its past. Changes and new requirements in world politics have also led Turkey to develop new strategies and pushed it to integrate in the world political system. Public diplomacy in Turkish foreign policy gained momentum in the first period of the AK Party government era. Since then, Turkey has thought a lot about public diplomacy as well as soft power. With an understanding of public diplomacy as being interaction with the foreign public, this draws attention to the high capacity of tourism that Turkey has. The interaction between public diplomacy and tourism is considerable, since both activities support each other. Moreover, both elements serve the appeal of the country which is related to the level of soft power. Therefore, tourism is worth studying and analyzing in this context. Using this example of Turkey, public diplomacy and tourism are relatively new notions in Turkish foreign policy. Consequently, tourism has not yet taken its rightful place in Turkish foreign policy and is not being used strategically as a tool of public diplomacy in order to increase its soft power. In this framework the research question of the study formed as: How do public diplomacy and tourism relate to each other in the context of manufactured soft power? This dissertation seeks to reveal this relation in light of Turkey's experiences.

'Soft power', 'public diplomacy', and 'tourism' are three important elements which depend on the promotion of each other. Empowerment of one element contributes significantly to the rise of the others. This means successful public diplomacy would increase the number of tourists visiting the country. Consequently, more people will interact with the country which would contribute greatly to its public diplomacy and depending on their level of satisfaction each tourist becomes a promoting element for the country. Therefore, the study chose real dynamics as a source of data collection and aimed to collect data directly from the field. The study was not based on literature alone but used interviews with people

who have an important place and function in actual practice. With this in mind, it was aimed to examine state and non-state formations in order to analyze soft power and public diplomacy activities in practice, especially in tourism. Further, different levels of interviews were held with people who are in dominant positions. These actors, who have an important function in this field, give significant clues about the implementation of politics in “real” practice. State officials provide information about the government’s actions, while private sector managers test whether these responses are met. In the context of a country’s promotion, the government and private sector are as one in the unity of interest. Therefore, successful public diplomacy is an important issue and is desirable to both sides. In this framework, evaluation of the opinions and thoughts of the two parties provided important contributions to the study.

Based on the principle of *‘to be responsible for the message being correctly perceived’*, the success of Turkey’s public diplomacy and its promotional activities were evaluated through the perception of foreigners. The basic principle of this study is that every country is responsible for their own external image. In this way, each country should introduce itself through an accessible and clear public diplomacy to other states and to their people, thus avoiding having an image that does not reflect the truth. A perception that does not reflect the truth is an important indicator of the failure of the country in public diplomacy. In other words, as long as the image of the country does not reflect the reality abroad, either positively or negatively, the country’s promotional policies should be questioned.

To measure the success of Turkey’s efforts to build soft power through tourism and public diplomacy surveys were held with three groups of foreigners who have different status in the case of their interaction with the country. Group A consists of people who have bought property in Turkey, Group B consists of people who have been to Turkey at least once and Group C consists of people who have never been to Turkey. The different interaction levels of these three group members with Turkey determines their interest level in the country. Continuing with this idea, people who are more interested in Turkey are easier to communicate with for the state to conduct public diplomacy, because they are open to receiving messages and information from Turkey. On the contrary, it is much harder to communicate with people who are less

interested in the country. This fact provided an opportunity for this study to examine the issue at three different levels. The expectation is that members of Group A tend to follow the news and incidents in Turkey because they may even be affected themselves eventually. The members of Group B are also expected to have an interest in Turkey to some degree, due to having knowledge from their experience. However, the members of Group C are expected to be neutral, even if they don't have any reason to have a negative perception. This would mean that Turkey is an ordinary place for them, and it would require a special context to draw their attention to the country. Finally, in-depth interviews were held with second homeowners about the issues raised in these surveys. Since members of this interview group have been familiar with the country for a long time, they provide significant data, comments and contributions to this study.

A qualitative approach was chosen in order to analyze the aforementioned dynamics from real practice. A series of surveys and interviews were conducted as the data collection method. The research was focused on an exploration of practices of the Turkish states in the field, and to trace the possible impacts on foreign people. The methodology was functional in order to allow the participants to express their interpretations as contributions to the study. In order to examine the practices of the 'Culture and Tourism Ministry' and the 'Foreign Affairs Ministry', in-depth interviews were held with the Antalya Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with the Antalya Provincial Director of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Besides this, to analyze where the private tourism sector stands on the promotion of the country, in-depth interviews were held with five tourism business managers and the chairman of the Manavgat Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

On the other hand, to test the success of Turkish public diplomacy, three survey groups and ten in-depth interviews were conducted with foreigners who were from Norway, England and Germany. The total number of participants in the surveys was 55 and there were 10 in-depth interviewers; 31 of them were women and 24 were men. Group A had a total of 21 participants; 11 of them were women and 10 were men. Group B had a total of 20 participants; 10 of them were women and 10 were men. Group C has a total of 14 participants; 6 of them were women and 8 were men. In-depth interviewees were 10 in total; 4 of them were women and 6 were men.

Most of the questions of the survey were intentionally composed and not too detailed, while also trying not to influence or persuade participants. This seems to be a weakness of the study, but the purpose is to lead the participants to express whatever they think straight away. In this way, the study aimed to reach the pure perceptions and intentions of the participants.

During the evaluation, details outside the scope of the research were removed. The results of the interviews and surveys were converted into data by coding and finally interpreted.

The population and samples were selected for analysis from three European countries - Norway, England and Germany, which constitute an important part of the country's target audience in tourism. The interviewees and participants were selected in a manner that complied with the socio-economic status and gender representation of the countries in which they are located.

The strengths of the study are that it was conducted using research results without relying on literature alone and that the data utilized in the research was collected from real dynamics and from the field. In addition, since the author is an experienced entrepreneur within the tourism sector the study had a wide network and reflection of practices. A weakness of the study is that the representation criteria for data collection were not fully met.

As it is processed in the first chapter, the study explains the meanings of the concepts 'soft power', 'public diplomacy' and 'tourism' and emphasizes the importance of them in today's world political system. In the second chapter, the general approach pointed to giving examples from Turkish foreign policy practices and examples of institutional initiatives of increasing soft power in purpose. Through in-depth interviews with people in power in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and with private tourism sector players, the practical functioning of the previously mentioned concepts was examined. Finally, in the last chapter, the success of Turkish public diplomacy and promotional activities was tested and assessed in surveys and in-depth interviews with foreigners.

CHAPTER 1

A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS of SOFT POWER and PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

1.1. A Theoretical Analysis of Soft Power and Public Diplomacy

Over many centuries, an international political system has existed through different periods in time. It may commonly be divided into three marked stages. Firstly, the imperial world system whereby one imperial power ruled most of the world. A clear example of this system is the Roman Empire. The second system was the feudal system. Feudalism was common in Europe for a long period after the Roman Empire, taking its place in history in mainly the 10th to 13th centuries. This system is best described as a social, military and cultural hierarchy, based on political administration. Lastly, the world International political form is the anarchic system of nation states. This system has been shaping International politics since the age of revolutions, especially after the French Revolution. However, the system can be traced back to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648; thus, the present form of the International System is referred to as the “Westphalian System.” Sovereign states are the main principle players and there is no accepted higher authority. This fact drives international politics in a self-help system. Since states are unequal in terms of power, they work against each other for preferred outcomes and status. The lack of a legitimate participant having a monopoly on using force in international politics, does not enable the creation of a mechanism to regulate interstate relations. This situation leads the system to rule in a mistrusted and suspicious atmosphere (NYE J. S., 2014, pp. 6-12).

Observing the world’s political picture, it is clear that pure military power with the support of economic capacity had determined the balance in the system until

the stage of globalization. It doesn't seem possible to define this era of globalization, triggered by neoliberalism, either in terms of borders, or its scope. The most obvious thing is that nation states are no longer the only actors and strong players in the international political system. This means that the international playground is more crowded, and the rules are more complicated, to the point, with the new players and the new technological international environment, that new strategies and methods are required to achieve goals in foreign policies. Power has its aims and objectives divided into hard and soft dimensions. These new strategies are mostly addressed to soft power, which is dependent on the increase of public diplomacy.

It may be seen that the concepts examined by this thesis are being subject to and analyzed in many other studies. In general, these concepts are being examined in more detail and with their functions in international relations. However, there are very few studies which inspect the links between tourism and soft power, together with public diplomacy. For instance, N. Gur has examined the potential Turkey has in tourism and the impact on the country's soft power capacity (GÜR, July 2014). However, the study did not put emphasis on any strategic relationship network focused on tourism. In general, the contribution of tourism to soft power and its development is being studied.

W. Hunter et al have examined tourism and its impacts in a wide constructive perspective. The research is being conducted in a viewpoint of taking tourism as a form of soft power. Tourism is being conceptualized as 'smart tourism' which brings a different assessment to the subject (HUNTER, March 2015). However, in many other studies the term 'smart tourism' indicates the attempt to improve sustainable tourism. The study examines tourism as part of soft power and not a tool or autonomous element.

O. A. Bunakov et al emphasize the impacts of both soft power and tourism on each other and focus the support they provide for advancement (BUNAKOV, 2018). The study is being carried out specifically for Russia and its regions, while the importance of concepts is being examined.

Honggang Xu et al examined the Chinese exercise of using outbound tourism as a tool for increasing soft power. The article emphasizes the importance of tourism

for the host country, and the function of tourism in order to support the soft power of the country (XU, 2018).

1.1.1. What is Power?

“Simply put, power is the ability to affect the outcomes you want, and if necessary, to change the behavior of others to make this happen.” (NYE J. S., 2002, p. 4).

Aside from the concept of power having different meanings in the literature, this study focuses on the capacity of power. In other words, it conducts the research through measuring the capacity of power, not the influence of it on the other party. *‘Capabilities do not automatically translate into influence.’* (OĞUZLU, 2020)

Before emphasizing the definition of power, it needs to be highlighted so that it can be divided by its direction as *“power of destruction or power of producing.”* A country which is generally known and accepted as a powerful state doesn’t necessarily mean that it has both equal power of destruction and power of production. For example, Russia is able to compete with the USA and China in the power of destruction, yet it is far behind in the case of power of production. This issue needs detailed research on its own, and this particular study analyzes power in the international arena.

First of all, it is important to note that power is a notion that could be flexible to determine matters, depending on the physical conditions and the effect of instruments to hand. In the logic of power meaning changing the other party’s behavior to serve the power holder’s interests, a state would be considered powerful as long as it can have influence on the others, to act in the direction of its own interests. In this sense, according to Machiavelli the main goal for a state is to gain power and influence. While doing so the methods and the instruments that have been chosen don’t matter. The only purpose is the response that the state gets for its demands (MACHIARELLI, 2001, p. 16). If the state achieves its goal as a result of its position, then it is powerful; if not, then it is not yet powerful enough to do so. In

this again, a state can be called powerful as long as the state has influence over others and able to change the others' behavior towards its own political interests.

In contrast, if the state cannot gain the desired outcomes, then it cannot be considered a powerful state. For example, Napoleon Bonaparte and Hitler had very powerful and strong armies in terms of quantity, with the support of economic opportunities and having the masses backing them. However, when it came defeating the Russians, they both failed. Physical conditions and environment can determine and affect the means and instruments in this sense. For example, having a force of sharpshooters and heavily armed troops in a forest like Vietnam wouldn't necessarily provide superiority as in the case of the USA in the Vietnam War. Having a well-equipped Army with armored vehicles operating in the geography of Afghanistan might not work as it is planned. Indeed, having a highly advanced navy in Gallipoli opposing dedicated soldiers might not bring the expected result.

Mearsheimer asserts that states have no other choice but to obtain power to survive. This has been ongoing throughout history. Thus, fear forces the states to gain a position to provide self-help and the maximization of power. The international order doesn't have any higher authority to conduct a mechanism to determine the relation between states. This structure compels states to feel under threat from each other and forced to seek any possible ways to obtain the ability to protect and maintain their existence (MEARSHEIMER J. J., 2001, pp. 29-54). This ability is commonly called "Power" in the literature. It is a highly debated subject; there is not a clear and agreed definition of power. However, in general, it can be defined as 'the ability to make others to do what the power holder would have them to do'.

The mainstream international relation theories have different approaches and understandings of power. It is important to analyze these approaches in order to have a better perspective and understanding of the topic. Realism keeps power as the core of the theory. The main scholars of Realism, Niccolò Machiavelli and Hans Morgenthau assert that power is the primary goal for states to provide national security. Machiavelli advised the Italian princes to conduct severity, persecution and military methods to remain as power holders. Power, which is required for national security and survival, is mostly considered as a military and economic capacity by realists. Morgenthau defines power as a kind of relation, an essential goal of

international politics and a tool for achieving a purpose. But Holst criticizes this approach for self-contradiction at the point of power being the essential goal, and a tool for achieving purposes as well as for the unclear definition. According to Holst; power is the ability of a country to use its capacity by various strategies as reward, punishment, convince and coercion to influence and orientate the behavior of other parties toward its self-interest (AYDOĞAN, 2011).

According to J. Nye, power is the ability to affect the others' behavior for getting the desired outcomes. There are three ways to do so "*coercion with treats, payments or attract or co-opt.*" (NYE J. S., 2008, pp. 27-29). Or in other words, it can be described as such; '*Power is the capacity to influence other actors and shape their preferences through the possibilities in hand.*' (OĞUZLU, 09 March 2007).

Traditionally, the understanding of power is the superiority of military resources, military abilities and military capacities. Nevertheless, in the information age, it is also important whose story wins. It does not mean that military power is unimportant, but some of the new issues in this age can no longer be solved with pure military power alone. Nye explains his assumption with a different dimension of power. Thinking that there are three chess boards in the international relation arena; the top board is the military relationships among the states which means that military power still remains the most important element. The top board is unpopular with the American majority. The middle board relates to economic relations among the states. This board is multipolar with strong economic actors like the European Union, China and Japan. The third board is a chaotic dimension, with many transnational actors out of nation states control. Hence, it will not be correct to categorize this board as either unipolar or multipolar because power distributed is not in order. Here is where states need to cooperate with non-governmental actors. Again, the information age leads power to be redistributed, but this time non-governmental international players become involved too. Looking at the historical background of states, it is common to observe that power changes hands between states. A feature of the new age is that there are non-governmental actors which are also trying to gain power in the international arena. Nye calls power changing hands as "*power transition and power diffusion.*" (NYE J. J., 2011, pp. 10-18).

Power transition means power transferring from one state to another, but power diffusion means power transferring from states to non-state organizations, rather like terrorist organizations or transnational companies. According to Nye; there are three faces of power: - the first one is the ability to get others to do what you want them to do. The second one is the ability of agenda-setting, which provides the opportunity to choose the issues to be placed on the table. The third face is to influence set preferences which would lead the other party to want the same outcome as the power holder (NYE J. J., 2011, pp. 10-18).

Military power is, indeed, a very important element for the states and most likely has a large proportion of influence on interstate relations. In realist literature it is termed "*high politics*," which gives priority to the "*stick*" because it is related to International relations and it concerns national interests. "*Carrot*" is also an element of hard power which provides the power holder the ability to buy the desired outcomes. In addition, a "*carrot and stick*" understanding has been the major method of conducting foreign policy in a "*cost and benefit*" manner in the current international order (OĞUZLU, 09 March 2007).

Whether states are enemies, rivals or friends, it is obvious that each and every state focuses on the self-interest and national security which requires having enough power in its hands to protect itself. It seems that nation states are confused at some point about how to influence the others on the complicated, chaotic chess board. It seems that implementing traditional approaches in international relations does not serve national interests as much anymore; in globalization the states need each other for trade and for cooperation in global issues.

1.1.2. Hard Power

The term hard power can be defined in short as "*Hard power is the use of coercion and payment.*" (NYE J. S., July/August 2009). In basic logic hard power is the physical ability, capability and capacity to influence others. From a hard power point of view, power is a countable and measurable element. In this sense, comparing

countries with their military units and capacities, economic accumulation, defense budgets, geopolitical locations, population, the number of atomic and nuclear weapons and their ranks as a total, can determine their hard power. Depending on this logic it is not very difficult to make a list to categorize countries and put them on a line. Comparing each country would determine their place on the list by counting the resources of the states. Nowadays, this list would only be called “*military strength ranking*,” but it does not mean that the one on the top of the list can rule the rest. A Power index of countries is published on the website www.globalfirepower.com (globalfirepower, 2020). But does this list really determine who is dominant on international issues?

According to Nye, power can be relative depending on the circumstances at the time. For example, having many tanks in a desert would be important as superiority, but it might not bring success in a place like Vietnam. Despite the United States being far more powerful than Vietnam in military and economic means, it did not change the result and the United States did not achieve victory in Vietnam. Additionally, al-Qaeda attacked America in 2001 while the United States was the only superpower in the world. At the end of the day, the world’s most powerful army could not prevent the September 11th attack coming from miles away from a terrorist group (NYE J. S., 2004, p. 3).

A highly significant security consideration in the information age is cyber-attacks for today’s world. It is not possible to prevent these kinds of attacks with traditional hard power weapons. The result of these cyber-attacks can cost a lot more than using traditional means of conflict. Again, a cyber-attack prevention capacity requires being well-organized which would also be tied up with technological and economic development.

1.1.3. Resources of Hard Power

Economic resources, as it is mentioned above, hard power is related with “*coercion and payment*.” It is obvious that the main element of hard power is the

economic sources, because economic resources allow the country to create, develop and maintain a strong military back-up.

Military resources and the use of military force is the main element for implementing threats and enforcing policies. Even though military power is losing its traditional place in international relations it still remains the most important factor on the board.

Geopolitical resources and geopolitics are another important issue for hard power. For example, the geopolitics of America played an essential role for this country to rise. America's location provides security to the country and gave the government the chance to isolate from the rest of the world when it comes to getting involved with wars. Such a geopolitical location also allowed America to become a global power.

Population can also be counted as a resource for every stage and dimension of states. Since population is a resource for economic activities, military and technological advancement, it has always been a vital element and played an important role in the fate of countries.

Technology has been a critical factor which can provide supremacy against countable resources. For instance, having the technology to prevent any type of air strikes would eliminate enemy air capabilities, even without having a competing air deterrent. A technologically equipped army does not necessarily have to be equal with its enemies in terms of numbers.

1.1.4. Soft Power

The term soft power was developed by Joseph Nye after the very first time he used it in his book, *"Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power,"* published in 1990. Soft power is related to a changed World Order after the Cold War era; the transmission from a bipolar to a unipolar World Order and with dramatically developed technology. In world politics there are different methods for states to obtain their preferred outcomes. Traditionally, in the realistic political

approach, coercion and economic elements have been the first options that states have considered using to gain the preferred outcomes. Soft power, however, provides the possibility that a country can achieve its wanted outcomes, without using military or economic means. Not long ago, thinkers chose to separate hard and soft power from each other. In literature it is defined as, “*Soft power is the ability to get what you want by attracting and persuading others to adopt your goal.*” (NYE J. S., January 10, 2003). Pursuing this theory further, soft power means not using pure military and economic means (which is called hard power), while obtaining the preferred outcomes. Basically, it is the idea of being followed by other countries for its values, emulating its example, aspiring to its prosperity and openness. Framing soft power like this would place it in a strong position and make it as important as threatening or using military force or economic elements to change others’ behavior. If one country is attacked by another, it will begin to do its requests spontaneously. Thus, a country having power does not need to spend effort to gain any desired outcomes. Nye asserts that influencing others by using soft power instead of hard power would cost a lot less, because the power holding country would save by not using “*carrot or stick*” (NYE J. S., 2004).

Indeed, observers of world politics support the idea of the importance of soft power in practice. The main hard power element of military force has been utilized less and less in recent years. The new age structure does not allow pure hard power to be utilized as easily as in the past. (GRAY, April 2011).

Since the term soft power emerged in the USA, the study applied the case to examine American soft power in order to illustrate certain points. Colin S. Gray also asserts eleven reasons for the USA’s policy and strategy which make utilizing hard power – alone - useless to some point and also fallible, as well as emphasizing the ability of soft power and sides to it. Colin S. Gary focuses on the popularity of respecting universal humanitarian values growing among countries. This makes the use of hard power difficult. However, it does not mean that hard power is less important in world politics. Using force cannot offer guidance to the future. “*History is not reliably linear.*” Hard power is not a “*fixed metric value.*” Its results can change, depending on the culture and circumstances which makes the utilizing force uncountable. Using military power is an indicator of displaying how desperate the

policymakers are, which is not a desired reputation. War and military force have violence which contrasts with liberal values. The USA shouldn't see soft power as an instrument of policy directly because America is what it is. Trying to explain it might end up with "*blow back*". Soft power cannot be a "*substantial alternative*" to using hard power. Soft power is dependent upon foreigners' uncoerced choices which can be different to ours and even very unlikely. Soft power can be very easily used to influence others as well as being too difficult because of local interests or culture or maybe both. Soft and hard power should be complementary, but it cannot work this way all the time because of the nature of the soft power. The issue is not "*coercion versus attraction*." The two kinds of power are facilitators to achieve the goals. (GRAY, April 2011, p. Summary).

Indeed, soft power has emerged as an element that countries needed in the information age. Although this term has been used frequently in the literature recently, it is possible to see its traces in the past. However, since the concept has started to take place in international relations, countries are developing strategies through soft power to get the results they request. Thus, increasing soft power capacity has become an important issue for states. The best way for a state to do so is to demonstrate and promote itself with successful public diplomacy.

Developed technology allows the public to reach information as fast as the states can. This means that people can follow domestic and foreign events very easily today. Any event, anywhere in the world, could have potential effects and consequences on everyone's interests without any limitation of distance. As a result of this, everyone keeps an eye on domestic and global politics. As a simple example, a political statement by the President of a country could affect exchange rates or trade relations, meaning someone can lose or gain financial benefit miles away. For this reason, a globalized world has become a clear screen to be watched by sensitive and selective audiences. The same audience has some economic and political power at hand as individual actors. Each of these audiences get together and combine to create a public which turns them into a significant playing actor in domestic and global politics (DEBORAH, 2015).

The people have a forcing and influencing role on the decision makers, because the decision-makers somehow need to have the legitimacy from their own

people, no matter where in the world they are. This then, creates the opportunity for a population to become an interesting element able to provide influence and to serve its own interests. Nowadays, it is common for a leader to give a speech to a foreign nation about a debate between the governments. It could be said that this is a new age strategy for governments. Every country has departments and knowledgeable staff to conduct these kinds of activities in the name of “*public diplomacy*.” In addition, an outstanding practice in international politics as another method is to defame rival countries by showing itself better in competition. This is nowadays defined as ‘sharp power’ in the literature (WALKER, July 2018).

1.1.5. Differences Between Soft Power and Hard Power

There are several ways to utilize hard power instruments in order to increase soft power, for example, by using armies to help in humanitarian activities or by having soft power influence on the others allowing justification of the use of hard power. The interaction between soft and hard power needs to be analyzed on special occasions. It is clear that both types of power support and back each other when needed.

The main difference between soft power and hard power is that hard power uses coercion, threat or payment as a method, while soft power reaches the outcome without any demands and effort. For the reason that soft power holders have influence over others to attract them, so they would want the same thing anyway. On the other hand, utilizing hard power means calculating the costs and benefits of actions that have a strategy of ‘*twisting arms*’ or driving others into a corner. These kinds of actions can be irrevocable in time. If threats don’t solve the issue, then action would. However, soft power is an element that does not require its use. The soft power holder country reaches the desired results spontaneously with the admiration it awakens without doing anything.

Whether soft power needs hard power or not, it is obvious that both powers utilize the advantage of having each other. In the way that having a strong army could serve its soft power by using it for humanitarian issues, soft power could also support the hard power. The level of soft power in hand provides legitimacy for using hard power (KALIN, 2011, pp. 05-23).

1.1.6. Soft Power Critics

Soft power rapidly received notoriety in literature and is used in politics as well. The problem in this situation is that the terminology doesn't have a clear definition; as well as politicians, academics use the term soft power like a "*buzzword*." Observing samples in political life it is not possible to have success in attracting others without having some of the main hard power resources. American science and technology, for example, is greatly admired and attracts others; it is clear that to achieve this high level of hard power, resources need to be invested. Accordingly, the values and norms of a leading state can be taken as negative since the attraction of the leading country is based on the perceptions of the targeted country. Another fact to be considered is that a state must have success in attracting others to its ranks. This obviously means the state would rise with all its resources it had. However, in a political environment such as today's world order, a state like this would have been seen as a threat more than being an attractive proposition. The rise of China as a major political and military player is a good case in point (KEARN, 25 November 2014, pp. 66-68). Similarly, power shifting worries other states which feel under threat with the rise of new powers (MEARSHEIMER, 2001).

Nye also mentions that after the Tsunami in Indonesia, help from the American army increased the sympathy for America. In effect it served the American soft power (NYE J. , 2020). Despite this event being related to obtaining soft power, using an army which is the main resource of hard power begs the question about the dimension of power, rather than a strategy of hard power.

Foreign Aid is also a strong and influential strategy which serves soft power. To be able to use this method, a state would definitely need considerable economic power. At the end of the day it ties up and links with the capacity of hard power. There are those who think soft power is needed to justify the hegemonic power relation because of the structure of the information age. Is soft power just a new, but also a different version of the traditional power of exploitation?

As a result of these arguments, one can conclude that soft power can only emerge and grow with the support of the provision of the security of hard power. This means that to be able to attract others, a country must have hard power elements to obtain soft power. From this point, soft power is only a product of hard power. Soft power can be evaluated as an embedded element of facilitating legitimacy for any political decisions and hard power related actions. The higher the level of soft power a country has, the easier it becomes to be accepted by the international community.

1.1.7. Resources of Soft Power

Some resources within soft power are involved with economic activities to a high degree. At this level, it can easily be mixed up with the relationship between each other. It is true that the elements of soft power generally have a commercial or costing side. However, the main approach is that the behavior must not change, as it is directly paid by the power holder. Paying to change the behavior would mean the result being bought which is a “*carrot*” strategy of hard power. For instance, education exchange programs can cost a lot of money and investment to the receiving country. With such spending, the hosting country is not buying a result of a specific issue which is demanded but is investing in the generation of a positive attitude towards itself from the sending country, regarding any topic related to itself in the future. In effect, the investment has a pay back in other ways.

According to Nye, the main resources of soft power are based on ‘*culture, political values and foreign policies.*’ Pursuing this further, culture must be attractive

to the other, political values must be regarded as at home and abroad, and finally foreign policies must be seen legitimate with having moral authority (NYE J. , 2004, p. 11).

In general, political values and institutions, culture, foreign policy, trustworthiness, story, moral values, ideologies and practices, education, knowledge, respect, business and innovation are the resources of soft power. These values overlap in all respects to form one entity.

1.1.8. Smart Power

At first glance soft power and hard power seem to be in contradiction with each other because of the two different approaches and how they are implemented. Hard power mainly applies to force or paying others to change their movement for a specific event. Contrary to hard power, soft power aims to “*earn hearts and minds,*” as a way of persuading and attracting others to the same end. Of course, it requires some good effort to maintain and hold status as a powerful country in soft power. There are some clear examples in history of losing soft power in a relatively short time. The Soviet Union lost sympathy in the eyes of Europeans by their ideology, fighting and standing against fascism alone. Even more recently, the USA lost respect in the eyes of Eastern people with its aggressiveness and infringement of liberal values in US Foreign Policy. At the end of the day, both soft and hard power are strategies to protect national self-interest and security. Because of their purpose, they address the same direction and it might be possible to combine both hard and soft power to back each other to achieve the goal. Yet, is it possible to do so in reality? According to Nye it is, and it is crucial to combine hard and soft power against global terrorism which is pretty strong with power diffusion (NYE J. S., July 2009, pp. 1-9).

Referring to the questions: why do the states need different dimensions of power? Is power flexible and able to adapt, depending on the current political environment? It is obvious that hard power is the strongest tool that states ever have to fall back on. Within the globalized world order of things, every actor has a role to

play and each state is needed by some others to trade and cooperate with. This situation forces states to have an economic interdependence relationship which neglects and negates them using pure military power against each other. On the other hand, achievements in weapon technology gives self-confidence to threaten another country as well as to challenge one, albeit a great power. There are two reasons behind this approach. One of them is the cooperation system, established to utilize the "*balance of power*," which could equate the measurable power for both sides and make it unlikely to predict the consequences of any hard power related action at a high level. Of course, such an action would be contradicted with a cost and benefit calculation. Secondly, the self-confidence comes from the capability of a second strike in response to the attacker with its own resources or alliances, which ensures that it would cost the attacking country a lot in return.

At this point, using unlimited hard power would be a necessary avoidance strategy. In this case, the economic dimension of hard power becomes softer and results in economic aid and sanctions. Still, strategies cost directly or indirectly, by virtue of the economic interdependent systems in this kind of preventative damage in economic activities, to at least some degree. On the other hand, soft power is cost free, which makes it worth taking into account and utilizing as a tool and benefit.

It can also be said that soft power encourages countries themselves to advance and develop soft power elements, because it is a transparent screen and has greater benefit by having more. This way, the system triggers the dynamics, not to appear more attractive, but to become even more attractive. In addition, soft power can be considered as an active phenomenon which serves the countries in self-development.

One of the main points in the perspective of soft power is how it is perceived by other countries and foreign people. This fact makes the need for soft power to be clearly transparent, so that it gains much needed attention and recognition. At this level, public diplomacy, as a relatively new instrument, is being utilized to reflect the target groups.

1.1.9. Soft Power is Related with Welfare and Prosperity

Whether soft power is a product of hard power, antiquity and promises or not, it is clear that soft power comes into full bloom where there is attractiveness in abundance, happiness, justice or where there are promises for it in real life or the next one. Continuing this idea, a rich country attracts others by providing opportunities. People who do not have this opportunity in their homelands can only admire the attractive country. As a result of this attitude, they would feel the need to replicate this country, because trusting in the country would be the right thing - at least it's better than their own. This situation would also make them want what the attractive country already has.

There is another way that soft power influences people to act when it comes to ideology itself. Ideologies and beliefs can be very attractive to their believers. Even the fervent believer can happily choose to sacrifice their own lives to such a cause. This also can be a dimension of soft power because of what the ideologies and beliefs promise to grant, if not in this life, then definitely in the next one.

1.1.10. Does Soft Power Need Hard Power?

Having a large army and strong economy can definitely help immensely in building a potent, positive image if it is desired and desirable. There are some examples of small hard power countries which relatively have more soft power: Norway, Holland, Singapore and South Korea. Again, there are some examples of strong hard power-holder countries which have less soft power like China and Russia. As a result of this, it can be said that hard power can help to increase soft power, but it is not sufficient on its own, without having a story behind it. For instance, if America didn't have such a strong economy and powerful army to defend and protect itself throughout the centuries it would not have the appeal, nor even a story backing it up to support it. At this point, the attractiveness of the story plays a significant role. China has been putting a huge effort in rising its soft power capacity

(AYDEMİR, 2019). Using the example of China; the Chinese story is not particularly attractive to others, despite the rapid development and a huge budget being spent on increasing soft power. It does not seem to have worked very well so far.

Consequently, hard power is an element that could serve to increase soft power if it is the target. But the power holder has to have all the resources of soft power too, in order to attract others. Again, being a strong hard power holder may well attract others to some degree. At the very least, hard power is required in order to have a secured position and provide a ground to implement admired practices.

1.1.11. Manufactured Soft Power

In fact, manufactured soft power and public diplomacy are two concepts which have the same purpose. Both concepts move in the same parallel to serve the interests of a country. The study analyses the concepts under different headlines to be able to make more appropriate definitions.

According to Nye; there are two types of soft power. The first one is '*bottom up*' which is the American way, and the second one is, '*top - down*' which is used by others. Nye asserts that only the USA has the first type of soft power and it emerged itself. It is not the case for the rest of the world because they had to put some effort in to increase their soft power. Professor Oğuzlu uses '*manufactured soft power*' to address the second type of soft power. The study doesn't specifically focus on the roots of the soft power. Whether the USA has a different type of soft power or not, it works in the same way as others, depending on attraction. Hence, the term "*manufactured soft power*" is used in the study, referring to desired soft power.

Today's global political structure and real actors make having soft power essential and useful. For this reason, this concept is frequently emphasized by both policy makers and academics. *'The increasing interconnectedness among different nations, the rise of non-state actors in global politics, the growing attempts at regional and international integration and the decreasing appeal of traditional hard*

power instruments appear to have led many pundits to argue that soft power would now become the new lingua franca of global power politics.' (OĞUZLU, 7 April 2014).

This feature of soft power demonstrates why states attach importance to increasing their soft power in the international arena. Another situation which should be kept in mind, is that the soft power level provides legitimacy in the use of hard power in foreign policy (KALIN, 2011).

1.2.Public Diplomacy

The word diplomacy comes from Ancient Greek, "*diploma*" which meant a folded document at the time. The diploma was given to some elderly people (diplomats as we would say nowadays) by the authority representing the ruler inside and outside its territory. It is generally accepted in the literature that the foundation of modern diplomacy as described today was built with the "*Peace of Westphalia*" in 1648 which ended the "*Thirty Years War*" by the independent states (BLACK, 2010, p. 45), (SIRACUSA, 2010, pp. 15-19).

Since then, diplomacy has been a way of interstate communication. The next stage was public affairs, by which governments informed their domestic population about the activities and policies being conducted within the country. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, world order became reformed by Liberal principles. Under these conditions non-governmental organizations, transnational companies, individuals, civil societies (in other word populations), began playing important roles as determinative factors in politics and socio-economic dimensions. The need to inform people about public affairs became vital to public relations as was pursuing comprehensive communication including non-governmental organizations, which are also international actors in the new world system. This reality guides the governments to establish effective institutions in conducting public diplomacy. The main purpose is to promote the national interest by communicating openly with other countries. Owing to the fact that public diplomacy is characteristically transparent, this provides clear communication and interaction between the publics and states. In

this sense, public diplomacy has two functions as a tool of diplomacy. The first function is making contact with the individuals who are a part of governments or states. The second one is the rest of the potential elements and the people in the countries. Therefore, public diplomacy shows interest in activities like educational exchange programs, international participation with visitor programs, radio and television broadcasting, cultural promotion, displaying events locally as well as supporting large companies.

Public diplomacy has come increasingly into prominence with the development of communication technology. This technology allows everyone to access information very easily and inexpensively (DEMİRKIRAN, 2019). These great opportunities have made the news easy to follow, but at the same time, have opened a door to spread disinformation. In the age of information, disinformation and manipulation by states and governments can cost a country political and economic prestige. For this reason, states step in to inform foreign states and their people as well as its own people. This is important in maintaining national interests and preserving security.

Public diplomacy is not only about providing information. It has its roots back to the Ancient Greeks and Roman times, as a way of developing a positive image, propaganda and national identity. Furthermore, using radio as a propaganda machine during the second World War proved to be very persuasive. The Americans success in deeply influencing lifestyle by promoting “Rock N Roll,” Hollywood, Blue Jeans and Coca Cola are examples of more modern attempts on the world stage. Nowadays, there are two ways of conducting public diplomacy. One of them is a method of propaganda which is not preferred, much because of its negative impact and the second one is called the flexy approach which uses elements like culture, art and sport instruments (YILMAZ, 2018, pp. 14-17). Public diplomacy differs from propaganda, by reason of its aim alone. Whereas propaganda is based on disinformation, public diplomacy aims to connect with communication based on true information and objective facts. Therefore, successful public diplomacy requires being accepted by world communities which means sticking with international standards of morality, justice, the universal rules of law, respecting human rights and sovereignty of others (ULLAH, 2018, p. 248).

Furthermore, it can be said that public diplomacy is a policy which focuses on any activities which may contribute to improving the country's reputation and its perception in the eyes of a receiving country.

1.2.1. Twitter diplomacy

This term is generally known as the communication used by people to people, country to country. This is a good indicator that the world is in a new stage in the globalization processes. This stage does not allow the nation state to control the transfer of information. Thus, this situation makes it more difficult, indeed, almost impossible for states to control everything within its borders. The most important issue here is communication which states cannot prevent or control how people communicate and exchange information (OVALI, 2020, pp. 23-45).

States remain as the principal actors in international politics, but there are many other non-governmental organizations, actors and individuals which play effective roles in politics and policies. This situation has led international relations to become a more complex stage for states. It forces these same states to discover and explore new methods and ways of resolving matters they meet whilst conducting inter-foreign policies.

In addition, decision makers use twitter effectively for political purposes. In today's global political atmosphere, leaders communicate with their counterparts and the public by sending messages through their social media accounts (KORKMAZ, 2019, pp. 37-47). This direct communication method has rapid impacts in international politics. The way president Trump uses the function of twitter is a very suitable example for the matter.

1.2.2. Public Diplomacy and Promotion Elements

It is important to choose the right elements for the people. For instance, promoting local food will have negative impacts on others if there is dog or cat meat

in the mix. It is much more efficient if the elements chosen to promote the culture in public diplomacy is somehow attractive to people and influences them to enjoy the presentation offered. In general, features such as local foods, films, art, music, dance, clothes, games, architecture, natural beauty and historical places are beneficial and worthy of promoting. These elements can become a part of people's lives, leading to the welcoming of the features permanently; rather like the American culture around the world that it can evidently be seen today.

Nowadays, it is obvious that states want to maximize their soft power by focusing on public diplomacy. Yet there is another dimension which is believed that contributes directly to economic hard power, allowing soft power to develop and helping to promote the host and sender countries as an automatic public diplomacy tool. This dimension is tourism, which is not being analyzed in this perspective very much in literature. This fact has inspired the present study to research and analyze tourism.

1.3.Tourism as a Public Diplomacy Tool

Human beings have been travelling around for different purposes from the very beginning of the time. These purposes can be categorized broadly as commercial issues, scientific exploration, health, personal curiosity, religion, researching for opportunities, etc. The main common theme in order to determine tourism is that the travelling has a limited time period, no matter what the purpose is, the travelers return home after their stay.

The word tourism originates from the Latin word, "*turnus*" meaning "*to turn*". The word represents turning, turning around, returning and also moving in Latin. In this sense tourism covers two movements which involve leaving a permanent place, moving to a temporary place and then returning to the place of origin. This movement could basically be defined as travelling and accommodation for a limited time, which would end with returning home after all (SEZGİN M. O., 2001, p. 13).

It is very clear that with technological and economic development people are travelling more. In some cases, in the globalized world, travelling has become a necessity for meeting with others and to update self-identities in many sectors; joining seminars, following developments, meeting up with interest groups, educational purposes, etc. Nowadays, tourism mainly expresses an image of holidays/vacations, seeing different places, meeting different people from different cultures, observing different cultures and business meetings, all of which lead people to an interactive relationship with others.

This thesis is focused on the results which happen as a consequence of tourist activities in the sense of soft power and public diplomacy. It is believed that interaction with tourist activities reveals different dimensions related to people's perceptions which need to be analyzed academically. In this case, there is a multifaceted interaction. This multifaceted interaction is between locals and international tourists, locals and domestic tourists, domestic tourists and international tourists. Further, on the basis of this assumption, because tourism is an element able to change people's perception, this would mean that it can also have a political element and has some impact on soft power capability as well as the public diplomacy element.

At the present moment, there are broadly many kinds of tourism, however, this study doesn't enter into the deep complexities of these notions. This study aims to reveal the interaction between foreign people which is formed or even reformed as a result of touristic activities. Thus, it will be sufficient to analyze international tourism and domestic tourism to some degree. Domestic tourism doesn't seem to have a direct significant impact, but domestic tourism provides a platform where people of the host country can meet international tourists and share the local perception with them. This context suggests domestic tourism must be included as a factor within this thesis.

1.3.1. Domestic Tourism

Domestic tourism is to join tourists in activities by the citizens of a country within its borders. Basically, the consumption of domestic tourism has no impact on

the outsourced foreign currency revenue of the country, but it provides a ground for regional income distribution (KOZAK, 2014, p. 13). In this study domestic tourism was analyzed as a method of displaying more about the culture of a host country to some degree, and the mutual effect and influence of domestic and international tourists.

For instance, an international tourist coming from the UK to Antalya in Turkey would be able to see a southern Turkish tourist city feature. This tourist would most probably see no other city during the holiday. Owing to the characteristics of tourist towns, there is inevitably a variety of people originating from different parts of the country there. Many people move to tourist areas for better business opportunities and now live there permanently. The unavoidable detail here is that people who had moved later on would not represent their own culture in their new homeland. They would adapt some extent to the regional cultural environment. This fact would make it very unlikely that the international tourist would notice the different original cultures there.

At this point, it is believed that domestic tourism plays a role in making it possible for different parts of the host country to have an interactive relationship with international tourists, albeit perhaps, on a limited scale. This interaction has a few dimensions. A tourist from the UK would have an opportunity to meet people from different part of Turkey and to see more of Turkish culture. Owing to the fact that tourist places anywhere in the country have an appeal and therefore attract people, it would make domestic and international tourists wish to stay in similar areas. Further, such touristic appeal of the area determines that business opportunities, hotels, places of accommodation and restaurants, etc. gather in close proximity. With this assumption in mind, it can be strongly asserted that domestic and international tourists would have a high probability of meeting during their stay. This fact makes it possible to see what mentality domestic tourists would have in shaping the perception of the British tourist. On the other hand, domestic tourists would also have an opportunity to meet British tourists as this would be less probable in their homeland.

1.3.2. International Tourism

International tourism is generally defined as a citizen pursuing his/her tourist activities in a foreign country. International tourism has risen rapidly and has become a huge industry in the world market with all its technological advancements. The economic dimension of international tourism is a considerably significant economic issue for most nation states, as it allows states to gain outsourced income to serve self-growth and rise to become a stronger rival. International tourism has become a field to be monitored by all governments. This is because economic abilities and opportunistic development would also allow the hosting states to develop their hard power especially by funding their military power with the revenue from international tourism. This possibility would be considered as a risk of rising threat levels for nation states with the increased scenario of a pessimistic conflict between states.

At the beginning of the concept of tourism, the market intention was working to send the people of rich countries to poor exotic, historical countries. At that time, this situation was interpreted in various approaches explaining the new kind of relationship between developed and undeveloped countries. The skeptical and optimistic dilemma was sourced in historical roots and the promises of a new liberal world order. According to Lea, there are two major schools of thought and they have different approaches about tourism and development in third world countries. One of them is based on a political economy approach. This makes a linkage between the historical way of colonialism and economic dependency. This approach counts the relations regarding international tourism between “*core and periphery*” as an advantage taken from the circumstances. The second approach is more optimistic about this relation and takes a look at tourism in terms of functional parts whilst avoiding the historical experience (LEA, 1988, p. 9).

From the early 1990s, international tourism has become a greater and developing industry worldwide with transnational companies offering, with the principles of the neo-liberal order, capital to search for more profit globally. As result of such activities tourism has expanded throughout countries and continents. As long as the destination is safe and secure, it would mean a just and sound investment for

capital growth in a new sector. Despite the sector looking very private and only self-interest orientated, it has always been influenced by states and governmental administrations. This fact turns international tourism into a political tool and not the one that is always a reliable source of income.

“Tourism in general is a fragile business depending on many internal and external factors, therefore, a regional economy based on tourism only will never be sustainable. International tourism, which is subject to fashion as well as to politics, is especially susceptible to changes (SECKELMANN, 2002, p. 88).

International tourism has both positive and negative impacts. Positive impacts are economic growth, technology advancements, democratization, building friendly relationships, employment and new trade opportunities. Negative impacts are to be found in changing culture, a melting of the popular cultures leading it to become under the spell of other soft power holders. Another consideration with international tourism is spying on rival states. The idea is to send an intelligence agent as a tourist, with the purpose of gaining information about the country. North Korea’s tourist policies are an example in this assumption. North Korea has very restrictive conditions and controls over tourists entering the country in order to try to avoid being spied upon (GÖKSEDEF, 2020).

Tourism also has an interactive relationship with the forwarding country. The tourists play a role in representing their country, consciously or unconsciously. The concept is that tourists would lead the local people in building a perception. When local people meet tourists, they perceive them as a part of their culture, and thus have a general idea then about the nation itself. As a result of getting to know tourists, the locals would also be encouraged to visit the sender country as a tourist themselves.

Stemming from international tourist activities, strong relations can be built between tourist and native; it might lead to tourists giving serious considerations to things such as buying a holiday home abroad. Certainly, at the very least, they may consider returning for regular holidays out of habit to the same place most of the time. For instance, 23.1% of tourists who have visited Manavgat had visited it four times or more before (Manavgat Chamber of Commerce and Industry, July 2019).

Hence, a strong relationship is formed, which has an influence on different dimensions in daily and political life for both the sending and receiving countries.

1.3.3. Tourism in International Relations

Tourism provides a platform for people to relate to each other and build friendly relationships. Both people from the sending and receiving countries would want to continue these good relations so that politicians and decision makers could become involved in some circumstances. Sectoral actors would have a mechanism to influence the governments in keeping good relations. The people would also have a positive interest for the interstate relations overall. As an impact of this factor, there will be another issue whereby tourism becomes part of a government's foreign policy.

Another possible impact is the effect on domestic policy. People in both sending and receiving countries would have some expectations from politicians when it comes to the interacted country in terms of tourism, because they would have some relations with each other at a personal or/and commercial level. This situation would influence the decision makers to some degree. Turkey receives nearly five million tourists from Russia, three and half million from Germany and two million from the UK (Turizm İstatistikleri, 2020). These are serious numbers and have many personal and commercial factors behind them. Therefore, the governments must consider this fact when conducting inter-state relationships with each other, since any decision might have a political consequence in return.

Transferring technology and ideology is also a possibility in international tourism. Consequently, interaction between two foreign nations results in both sides knowing each other's values, technologies and ideologies. These phenomena would gather admirers from other nations, depending on the level of its attractiveness.

Above all, international tourism has become an important tool to be used in international relations over the last decade. As mentioned earlier, the economy is also vital to each and every country. An economy provides facilities to develop any

element to support the country's national security and interests. In this perspective, international tourism is an economic factor and it is a significant booster for advancement in competing with rival states. It can be seen that governments always try to find new opportunities to increase outsourced income. As international tourism is an outsourced economic income, it makes it a crucial sector for states to utilize in order to achieve the goals they have in serving their national interest.

1.3.4. Tourism as an Economic Figure in International Relations

International tourism becomes a tool of international sanctions and aids because of the economic outcomes it provides. Tourism is an activity related to rising economic value. Therefore, whenever it comes to the point of implementing an economic sanction upon a country, the implementing party would evaluate every possibility and effect. At this point any economic activity becomes a political subject, including tourism. For example, the Russian government stopped its people purchasing holidays in Turkey after the crises with a combat aircraft (Sputniknews, 2020). And again, due to various disagreements, Germany and Turkey began to experience political conflict. As a result of this, Germany implemented a policy of categorizing Turkey as a "*not safe zone*" to deter German tourists from going to Turkey. As a result of this policy travel insurance costs rose dramatically and most German tourists went elsewhere. Another example is that the Chinese government banned its citizens from visiting South Korea for touristic purposes. It was a decision taken as a retaliation against the THAAD air defense agreement with the United States (Sabah, 2020).

These sanctions are usually to prevent tourists from going abroad and tourism from even beginning to be considered in the country at all; a strategy to damage the economy of the host country. Again, international tourism can also be on the negotiating table as an economic aid or a commercial issue. This is why ministers of tourism are in the teams at international negotiation meetings, so advice is on hand at all times. A good example for this issue was seen in the Turkish and Chinese summit

where President Erdoğan made Zhang Dejiang promise to send Chinese tourists to Turkey in 2006 (SonDakika , 2020).

1.3.5. Tourism as a Tool of Manufactured Soft Power

It is clear then, that tourism encourages people to travel more and get to know foreign countries through actual experiences. These same experiences help shape their perception about the country which is the main element of soft power. In human nature, people are curious to find out what there is around the corner and to get to know the environment. From this point, it can be expected that tourists are attempting more and more to get to know and acknowledge the region where they are. Despite all the facilities the tourists have in the hotels where they are staying, it doesn't restrain them from leaving in order to gain interactive relationships and further understanding. According to a survey which was conducted by the Manavgat Chamber Of Commerce and Industry (MATSO) in the region of Manavgat, 45,9% of the participants stated that the reason they leave their hotels is to spend time outside and get to know the region and the culture (Manavgat Chamber of Commerce and Industry, July 2019).

For a country aiming to increase its soft power rate, it is significantly important to promote its culture to foreigners. Tourism promotes the country naturally owing to its very structure. When a tourist travels to a country they are exposed to learning at first hand its popular features. This is mostly a strategy for hotels to consider when making the holiday more interesting, enjoyable and satisfying to their guests. Tourist companies use many cultural features to attract and entertain tourists. These companies pursue these kinds of activities for commercial purposes. This brings a question to mind; they might be trying to display the real culture in an exaggerated manner in order to make the events more exciting. Even if this is a fact, tourists still get opportunities to become more familiar to the culture to some degree. Examples of such events are Turkish nights, Dervish shows, city and village tours, historical tours, hammams, and local food, etc. At the end of the day, tourism is an amalgam of events all designed to create a positive image about the

country and a good experience. The role of hotels and tourism operators is to try very hard to please their guests as they are the actual clients in residence at a given time.

1.3.6. Tourism is Building Interdependency Between States

As an impact of globalization, financial capital travels freely around the world to find safe harbors to grow. Capital can invest in any business sector. Tourism is also a business which is based on profit orientation. The difference between tourism and other sectors, is that the hosting country must have some attractions like natural resources, an impressive culture, religious roots or historical ruins and backgrounds. These elements make the country more or less attractive in the case of comparison with other options. Some transnational companies become involved and later become main actors in carrying tourists around the world. These companies need specific places for specific groups of tourists. For example, tour operators cannot offer somewhere like Norway to tourists who want to holiday in a warm climate, with a warm sea and sandy beaches. This means that companies need to have business arrangements with suitable countries for such tourists and needs. This situation leads transnational companies to build up interdependence relationships between countries.

There are some cases that choosing the place to travel is not optional. For instance, planned religious visits cannot be in a position to choose one above another, since visiting some specific places can be a kind of religious duty. For example, a Muslim will have to go to Mecca to meet the religious task of pilgrimage (YAZICI, 2014, pp. 165-170). Indians visit the Ganj river, Jews Jerusalem, Christians Jerusalem and Rome as a religious obligation (SEZGİN M. , 2014). These kinds of factors can make the place unique, as well as distinguish it among other countries.

This situation contributes to the host country receiving greater respect and leads to an increase in its soft power to some degree. Essentially, an interdependent interaction emerges between the two parties which can be developed and benefits the country and its tourists.

CHAPTER 2

AN ANALYSIS OF MANUFACTURED SOFT POWER IN TURKEY DURING THE REIGN OF JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT PARTY

2.1.An Analysis of Soft Power in Turkish Foreign Policy

It is very important to note that the Turkish state has the intention of conducting its foreign policy legitimately in the frame of rules of international law and international treaties. Hence, Turkish foreign policy is oriented to protect the status quo which was determined by international agreements (AYMAN, 2012, pp. 11-21). Turkey has not been trying to take any advantage from having a great empire in its historical roots because the Republic of Turkey accepts the world order which was established after the wars. As it bears with the loss of the heritage from the Ottomans, there is a strong expectation built for others to stay loyal to the agreements. It is believed that this manner has led Turkey to conduct a very aggressive foreign policy against revisionist approaches.

Turkey has the desire to integrate into the western world for a long time. Despite the ups and downs of its relations, Turkey is trying to expand its partnership with the western world. Turkey has established its external relations on the basis of balancing with great powers. Due to the inability in recent years to move relations to the desired level, Turkey has formed new comprehensive relations with Middle Eastern countries. This can be regarded as a new strategy (OĞUZLU, 08 Feb 2020), and these strategies can define Turkey's status as a rising power with its different historical background and its long western allied relations (OĞUZLU, 20 Dec 2013, pp. 617-636).

Hard power is the first option when any issue occurs which is related to or can be related to national security in any degree. In this study Turkey refers to the Turkish

Republic which was established with Kemalist ideology. The source of the Turkish Republic is based on a military way of thinking and the Turkish army has assumed itself as the protector of the secular republic. As a result of this whenever the army feels that the secular system is under any threat, it takes action as a matter of priority. Therefore, there are many cases that the Turkish army got involved with politics and attempted military coups. This kind of close relationship between army and government had a strong influence on shaping domestic as well as foreign policies in Turkey. Thus, many issues automatically got related with national security and became issues behind the red line which makes the subject closed to negotiation. The Turkish republic with its historical military background has had many different events in its past where hard power-oriented strategies have been applied.

With president Erdoğan being in charge, there has been some unusual approaches in Turkish foreign as well as in Turkish domestic policies. It can be observed that civilianization policies started replacing military oriented policies. With Erdoğan's discourse long rooted from Şeyh Edebali who is one the founders of the Ottoman idea "*Let people live so the state will live*", there is a new perspective taken, a part of which diverts from the traditional Turkish state mentality (akparti.org.tr, 2020). Hence, the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) policies started to take a more human-oriented point of view when compared to the traditional republican approach. Therefore, public diplomacy has an important place in AK Party policies when conducting the foreign affair policies of the country.

In today's increasingly complicated world, the role of public diplomacy and the new way of conducting foreign policy is challenging the traditional ways. This fact encourages, or even forces, the Turkish government to have more regard to public diplomacy and the implementation of soft power-oriented policies. In general, Turkish authorities define public diplomacy as a strategic communication tool supplying understanding, informing, and influencing policies (KALIN, 2011).

Turkish public diplomacy changed dimension with the AK Party's policy based on using the Ottoman heritage. Further, the task of public diplomacy in Turkish foreign policy is to inform the world about "*the story of new Turkey*." The aim being to increase Turkey's respectability in the international environment (KALIN, 2011).

From the beginning, Turkey has attached importance to applying legitimacy to international policies. This might mean that Turkey is willing to use soft power while conducting relationships in the international arena. Turkey has carried out its foreign policy approach for a long time without going beyond this mentality. The changing world order is compelling Turkey to attach importance to the concept of soft power as a strategy in its foreign policy as it forces the rest. In other words, the changing of rules in the international arena has forced Turkey to try to comply with these new rules.

The AK Party has paid much more attention to public diplomacy, the image of the country and its soft power than the previous governments. However, the image problem that Turkey has from the past such as geographical location, demographic structure and the instability of its neighbors has provided a difficult ground for Turkey to conduct strategic policies with this purpose. The elements can be analyzed as follows;

The geographical location of Turkey does not help to conduct a smooth public diplomacy. The disadvantage is of being neighbors with countries which are suffering with security problems. This makes it compulsory for the state to spend its energy on ensuring its own security. For this reason, it has become very difficult for Turkey to compete with other countries in the field of public diplomacy, in which they mostly become more advanced. Countries in competition with Turkey in the case of tourism and commerce, especially Italy, Spain and Greece can use the issues arising sourced from Turkey's neighbors to gain an edge over the competition. Despite everything, Turkey has wanted to establish good relationships with its neighbors.

The '*Arab Spring*' that broke out in 2010 caused the AK Party to leave its '*zero problem with neighbors*' approach, which was accepted as the new foreign policy strategy. In this framework the condition of the region has become even more complex and challenging to maintain in a good manner. In this case, Turkey needed to develop new methods and strategies in its foreign policies (OĞUZLU, December 2011, pp. 8-16).

Religious factors are affecting the success of promotion and public diplomacy. The security concerns raised on the basis of religious elements make the promotion of the country difficult. Organizations such as ISIS, Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda and Hezbollah which have been carrying out terrorist acts in recent years and which have no limitation of borders, have solidified prejudices against Muslims. Turkey takes its share in this situation as a country with a mostly Muslim population.

The demographic structure of the country and its diverse ethnic origins have led to long-standing debates, struggles and conflicts. While this is perceived as a threat to the unitary structure of the state within the country, it is perceived by other actors as basic human rights violations. Kurdish, Armenian and minority subjects are the issues that occupy the country the most.

Turkey has been harshly criticized over matters related to human rights and democratic values. New regulations and new laws were not sufficient to reduce criticism. Internal and external security concerns have made it difficult to resolve the issue. Bad grades in Turkey's human rights record lead western countries to have a skeptical point of view and negative perceptions in the background also cause a biased approach towards the country.

Animal rights have also caused intense criticism for many years. Legal regulations made in recent years have brought the issue to a new level. Turkey has new regulations about treating animals while criticism about condition of the animals was going on. New regulation provides for prison sentences to those who torture animals and treat them badly. Although animal lovers are pleased with this improvement, it is not considered as sufficient. At the same time, according to the results of the survey, these developments were not sufficiently transferred to the foreign public and developments did not help to change the negative image.

Environmental pollution issues cause intense criticism of the country as well. Environmental pollution has become a prominent subject related to the perception of the country as it was also observed in the surveys of this study. This perception has also a huge impact on serving others who are skeptical towards Turkey.

On its own, Turkey has a malign image in the eyes of a considerable part of the foreign public. This fact brings a question to mind; is Turkey not good enough at

public diplomacy to explain itself or is it that negative preconceptions don't allow others to receive the messages? Turks are related to Seljuks, Atilla, Timur and finally to Ottomans. The conqueror identity in history is the reason that Turks are known as '*barbarian Turks*' by Westerners for a long time in history. Because of this negative background perception, it requires more effort via public diplomacy in order to earn hearts to increase its soft power.

Somehow, public diplomacy is not working as well for Turkey as it is for other western countries. All public opinions had some warm feelings when seeing a handsome policeman playing with a little Syrian refugee girl in the middle of a road somewhere in Denmark (BBC Trending, 2020). The world watched the event with sympathy. It seemed very civilized. What made it this important that it was carried to all the headlines? Was it because it was unexpected or because it was only a cover to hide the facts? In reality according to The United Nations Refugee Agency, Denmark accepted 47,586 refugees until the end of the year 2018. In comparison, Turkey has accepted at least four million refugees (UNHCR, 2020). Even then, Turkey never received such a compliment from the international community like Denmark had. This example can be proof on its own, in the case of perception, that the way it is said what has been done is more important than what has actually been done in reality. The question is that does this attitude count in public diplomacy or is it disinformation?

In the face of all these negative and compelling factors, the Turkish state had to apply new public diplomacy methods and strategies.

2.1.1. Public Diplomacy Methods and Institutes in Turkish Foreign Policy

The AK Party government has given importance to the concept of public diplomacy more than ever before and included it in its policies. During the AK Party period, some serious changes were observed in the country's traditional domestic and foreign policies. This may be due to the AK party's government programs and plans. However, the change in global policies of the New Age, and the decrease of the functionality of traditional political approaches have offered new methods within

international relations. These new methods have made interactions based on public diplomacy, persuasion and attraction more useful. In this context, the AK Party government has been willing to use communication channels required by global policies more than any previous Turkish governments. Perhaps the AK Party's synchronization in the context of global politics has contributed significantly to its long-term power in Turkey to some degree. Especially in recent years, the seeking of soft power in Turkey's foreign policies has created some effective institutions. The purpose of these institutions is to increase the reputation of the country through a strategic interaction with foreign policies.

2.1.2. Turkish Airlines (THY)

The Republic of Turkey holds 49% of Turkish Airlines (THY) which means it is only on paper that it is not a public economic enterprise. However, the state is dominant in its decision-making processes. THY is a means for Turkish foreign policy to be used by the government to build mutual business and tourism relations with other countries. The company is also contributing to Turkey's perception in a positive way too. Istanbul has become a major transfer hub for regional countries and is building a perception of a geographical center. Being sponsor to world-wide, well-known sport clubs and organizations, leads to not only promoting THY, but also Turkey's name as well (SELÇUK, September 2015).

The historical background of THY goes back to the 20th of May 1933. The first international flight was to Athens in 1947. With the rapid developments in recent years THY today flies to more than 120 countries as the airline that flies to the most countries in the world (Turkish Airlines, 2020). Besides, its high-quality standards and success in the sector contribute significantly to the promotion of the country.

2.1.3. Turkey Radio and Television Corporation (TRT)

Turkey has many ethnic groups in its society. This fact can channel Turkish foreign policy to a given country. Turkey has been building with people of a similar lineage in other countries because of its roots, trying to carry its communication to a higher level with other Muslim countries, and attempting to replicate western developed countries in order to serve its journey of democratization. Maybe because of this complex structure, implementing public diplomacy and foreign policy is established on a balanced, but cumbersome approach.

TRT was founded in Ankara on the 31st January 1968. In accordance with article 121 of the Constitution and its 2nd article, TRT's task is determined as follows; helping education and the Turkish culture, making educational and instructive publications, implementing impartial and accurate publishing and introducing and presenting Turkey to the foreign public. TRT has 15 channels to reach a large range. TRT 1, TRT HABER, TRT 3, TRT 4, TRT DIYANET are aimed to reach the people in the country. TRT Kurdi is for the Kurdish speakers in the country as well as abroad. TRT AVAZ covers Albania, Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan which are Turkic countries. TRT TURK mostly aims to keep a bridge between Turkish originated people living abroad to hold a national tie. TRT WORLD is in English and serving the news all the time, hence it expresses the political environment from the eyes of Turkey. TRT EL ARABIA is in Arabic and tries to build a good and sustainable relation with Arabic speakers abroad. TRT BELGESEL aims to display Turkish history, nature, culture, art and science events to the world in many of the most common languages. TRT MUZIK familiarizes Turkish music to foreign people as well as aiming to keep Turkish culture alive through this means. Finally, TRT SPOR keeps Turkey connected with sporting events (KILIÇ, September 2015).

TRT seems to be a strong element in order to conduct public diplomacy and to inform about foreign policies, to promote the country and present its varied culture. Interactive relations and communication with foreign media actors, has led Turkey to have a dynamic, updated and forward-thinking reach to happenings all

over the globe. In addition, Turkey makes an effort to sustain good relations with all its citizens including those with ethnic differences. Within this framework, TRT founded the first non-Turkish broadcast TRT KURDI in 2009 (TRT, 2020). Since then TRT strives to reach different ethnic groups through channels broadcasting in different languages.

2.1.4. Yunus Emre Foundation (YEE)

Public diplomacy is related to cultural diplomacy. Many scholars believe that public diplomacy is being implemented through culture. The Yunus Emre Institute was established by the AK Party government in 2009 to present Turkey to the world. The institute conducts publicity using culture, art, history, and language and its task is to introduce these aspects of Turkish culture in an accurate and proper way. The institute mainly opens education centers through teaching Turkish language and organizing cultural events abroad (EKŞİ, September 2015). The Foundation of Yunus Emre has 58 activity centers in 48 countries, being connected to more than 100 Turcology institutes in universities abroad. One of the main components of soft power is culture and building open and honest civil relations. The institute serves Turkish soft power in international relations (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Faaliyet Raporu 2018, 2018). Yunus Emre Foundation continues its activities as a unit Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü, 2020).

2.1.5. Turkish Red Crescent (KIZILAY)

Kızılay was set up in 1868 and took its final and present form in 1947 after reforms in 1877, 1923 and 1935 in its history. Turkish Kızılay was founded for the same purpose as the Red Cross, to help soldiers as well as civilians of both sides in war and to conduct humanitarian diplomacy with regard to moral and conscience values. Kızılay is the first humanitarian element in Turkish foreign policy and remained the only one until the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency

(TİKA) was established in 1992 (DAĞDELEN, September 2015). Because of the hard and difficult time period that Kızılay has been through, it was not entirely visible in the international arena until the beginning of the 2000's.

Today, the Red Crescent collects donations which are delivered to many parts of the world and contributes to the soft power of the country. In the last 10 years, it has conducted aid campaigns to 138 different countries (Türk Kızılay, 2020). Continuing to help different nations regardless of language or religion, contributes positively to the country profile.

2.1.6. Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA)

With the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, many new independent nation states emerged and took their places in the international arena. These mentioned states are mostly located around the neighborhood of Turkey. Because of its proximity, Turkey felt the need to build good relations with the new actors. It was a good strategy to help the new countries during their hard time while they were establishing sovereign governments. Hence, Turkey started to support, give assistance and provide aids to these countries. Compared to these new states, Turkey has a long rooted and experienced historical background. Therefore, Turkey was seen as a model which made its support more valuable. TİKA was established in 1992 to coordinate the assistance of the political, military, economic and technical issues. Later on, TİKA started to reach other developing and less developed countries elsewhere in the world. Conducting all these activities abroad contributes to representing Turkish values and its language. The events TİKA implements also covers telling the foreign public about what TİKA and Turkey are doing, which is a good and effective way of conducting public diplomacy. (ERDAĞ, September 2015) TİKA is qualified as a public legal entity and has a special budget and continues its activities under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (TİKA, 2020).

2.1.7. Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD)

One of the most effective ways to become a notable actor in the international community is to donate international aid and to provide support and assistance. It can be observed that American foreign policy has been very successful regarding this. Turkey could only join the list of donating countries after the 2000's. In the beginning, Turkey reached other countries through TİKA and Kızılay only. With economic development under the government of the Ak Party, more non-governmental organizations became involved with foreign aid and played a role in Turkish foreign policy. Turkey was utilizing TİKA and Kızılay to help in the event of any natural disaster abroad. After AFAD was established in the year of 2009, the Turkish government intervened in any natural disasters at home and abroad. The bitter experience of the 1999 earthquake in Turkey led the ideas to be taken into action and sensitive feelings were shown about natural disasters. Despite there not being a long time since AFAD has been established, it has attracted attention with the missions it has accomplished and through its helpful support to many countries in need. (KALAYCI, September 2015). AFAD continues its activities as an institution within the Republic of Turkey's Ministry of Interior (AFAD, 2020).

No matter what the purposes of foreign aid are, whether they are political or humanitarian, it is obvious that being a donor country contributes a positive perception to its image and increases its reputation within the international community. This is directly related to the country's soft power capacity.

2.1.8. Turkish Armed Forces (TSK)

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the world order stepped out from a bipolar balance. Turkish foreign policy has also transformed to deal and compete in the New World order. The main aim of Turkish foreign policy is to become an important, respected, and influential actor in its region as well as within the international community. Turkey implemented public diplomacy mainly with the

Foreign Affairs Administration, the Public Diplomacy Coordinator, TİKA, some non-governmental and civil organizations and the media. On one hand, all these institutions perform their duty to serve Turkey's national interest by increasing its credibility, respectability and soft power. Yet, in the main element of hard power, the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) is also trying to contribute to Turkey's soft power, by participating in peace operations with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the United Nations, whilst also helping civilians abroad and assisting with technical, educational and military support (DOĞAN, September 2015).

2.1.9. Turkish Cinema and Tv Series

Over a hundred television series are produced in Turkey every year. 3 of every 4 series produced in Turkey is exported to 103 countries. Turkish TV series are broadcast all over the world, especially in the Middle East and Balkan countries. The estimated number of viewers is around 400 million people. Turkey has become the second highest exporter of TV series after the United States (ÖZTÜRK, 2016 fall, pp. 66-82).

There is no doubt that the rapid growth in the sector is contributing to the promotion of Turkish culture and assets to many countries and their people. As a result, one can easily say that Turkey gains admiration and status to a greater degree.

2.1.10. Water Wars

'Water Wars' is a television program broadcasted on TRT. Water Wars is a donation campaign of the IDEA Universal Association (International Development and Environment Association). This association uses teams and the facilities it has to hand in helping people in poor African countries. Up to the present time, the association has provided sustainable and permanent water, food, energy, income and education for 125,000 people in Tanzania, Madagascar, Nepal, Zanzibar, Senegal

and Gambia (DAĞLI, 2020). Such an initiative is an organization that increases the country's prestige and contributes to its soft power.

2.1.11. Think-Tank Organizations

Countries that claim to steer world politics attach importance to think-tanks. Turkey has also come up with similar organizations to support their studies. These organizations can be listed as follows: The Center of Strategic Research (SAM), the Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research (SETA), the Center for Middle Eastern Studies (ORSAM) and the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV).

2.1.12. Strong Passport Policy

President R. T. Erdoğan has stated in his many speeches that he gives full weight to the reputation of the country. As a result, the number of visa-free access countries has more than doubled since 2006. According to Henley Passport Index, Turkish passport holders could travel visa-free to 111 countries in 2020; it was 52 countries in 2006 (Henley and Partners Passport Index, 2020). New Turkish passport books are also beginning to be produced to similar standards of developed countries with images of famous Turkish places on its pages.

Turkey also increased the number of its representations abroad from 163 to 246 in 17 years between 2002 and end of 2019. With the present number of representations, Turkey has become the 5th country among the most represented countries abroad (YÜZBAŞIOĞLU, 2020).

2.2. How to Build Soft Power Trough Tourism as A Public Diplomacy Tool

One of the main purposes of this study is to reflect the real dynamics' practices connected with public diplomacy and soft power in the case of tourism in Turkey. Therefore, the essential data collection method is interviewing people who are fit for purpose and representatives positioned in touristic sectoral departments. Firstly, the appropriated departments were selected as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and private and semi-official organizations. Secondly, an interview was conducted with the questions prepared in advance with each interviewer. It was discussed with each interviewer with the approach of revealing their personal experiences as well as revealing the policies of represented institutions.

2.2.1. Analyzing the Activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the crucial body for administering the relationships, conducting public diplomacy and communicating with other states. Besides that, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs represents the Turkish Republic in the international arena in the first instance (T.C. Dışışleri Bakanlığı, 2020).

The person interviewed was Mr. Avni Aksoy. He is a very well experienced Ambassador who has been representing The Republic of Turkey for 35 years abroad and in Turkey. Mr. Aksoy is able to highlight the issues related to foreign policy and enlighten the matters and questions with his many years of experience. He is also authorized to deliver speeches on behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is actively involved in serving as the Representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Antalya. His position in Antalya is very beneficial for this study, as it is the major tourist city in Turkey. Antalya is called, "*Tourism's Capital City of Turkey.*" Therefore, Mr. Aksoy is in a perfect position to be interviewed for the topic of the thesis.

The duties of the ministry can be briefly described as; the mission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is to represent Turkey abroad and at home when it is found necessary. One of the main tasks is to work on possible alternative options for foreign policy to suggest to the elected government (T.C. Dışışler Bakanlıđı, 2020).

In the historical background of public diplomacy in Turkish foreign policy, there has always been implementation of public diplomacy. In the times of only one channel radio and television, the state used to communicate with its audience with public statements, public information, and press releases. The main difference at that time was that the state was not communicating in an active way. The communication was in a reactive manner. That means the state would speak only if there was an event to explain how, why and what had been done. It became a necessity for the state to become involved in interactive communication with its interlocutors after rapid technological development in communication. Mr. ambassador calls this development a “*digital revolution*.” At this point, it is a new page in the history of state to public, and conversely, public to state communication.

There is a specific department in the ministry for conducting public diplomacy, in fact, the whole Ministry of Foreign Affairs conducts public diplomacy abroad. Every representative has already had their own web site for a long time. Social media has become used very commonly with technological advancement, so the Ministry approved every department to open social media accounts, to communicate and inform foreigners. All computers and electronic devices within the ministry are restricted to reach the networks, but it was decided to release access to social media. Twitter is a very significant social media to communicate policies by. Because most of social media platforms require a search, every department opened Twitter accounts which provides an easier platform to access. All members in the Ministry are knowledgeable about issues and speak a good level of foreign languages. This situation provides active public diplomacy on personal and official social media accounts. The Ministry works in coordination with the Directorate of Communication and the Spokesperson of the Presidency. Every state has a similar mechanism to communicate with people and send-receive messages (AKSOY, 2020).

With the ministry's particular "country promoting" activities and the features of Turkey being foremost in promotion, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been promoting the country since it was established. These activities were being conducted even before the term of "*public diplomacy*" became an important concept in international relations. Culture, Turkish cuisine, traditions, languages, religion, music and lifestyle are the features being promoted alongside artistic and cultural events (Diplomasi Akademisi, 2020).

There is solidarity between the ministry and the private sector to develop tourism and promote the country. In particular, co-ordination with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in any activities regarding the promotion of tourism abroad is one of the Ministry's missions. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs contributes to and organizes the participation to any tourism fairs abroad. Beside this, in some specific cases the organization goes further than just contributing; it can be called "*country landing*," because the Ministry uses all its facilities to gain maximum effect. That being the case, Turkey became a "partner country" for important tourism fairs, with intense participation in cities such as Berlin, Moscow, London, and Milan. The state supports, encourages, and assists all activities abroad through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Tourism is a serious source of income for the country. There are many public, professional organizations promoting the country abroad and the Ministry supports all these initiatives at every stage. In other words, the ministry contributes actively to any initiatives being conducted regarding the issue. There is no direct mediation on how to promote the country since the actors in the private sector and professional organizations know their job. Therefore, the state mainly prefers to prepare suitable ground for them to conduct their tasks. In some cases, the state advises about awareness of opportunities, which might help the sectoral diversity and improve the national interest. Even these opportunities may not have any instant return but will in the future. The state also aims to create new opportunities for tourism, by encouraging the sector with new ideas for developing alternative tourism like belief tourism, ski tourism, winter tourism, health tourism, thermal tourism, highland tourism, trekking tourism and rafting tourism, among other ideas. The state also tries to contribute to tourism by providing some subsidies, as well as making the sector more attractive, and thereby more profitable. Besides all this, the Ministry tends to attach importance to raising the reputation of the country in general, in its

approach to raising the profile of the country (AKSOY, 2020), (T.C. Dışışleri Bakanlığı, 2020).

Essentially, tourism is a part of economic activities, but it is an economic activity directly oriented to people so in this way it differs from others. The Ministry prefers the guests not only to visit the country as accommodating guests, but to experience the country. The government is trying to encourage the sector in this direction to host its tourists. However, the sector has its own priorities and the dynamics of free market practices does not allow the creation of full harmony between the state and the private sector. The government desires tourists to be well treated and persuaded to return and to advise their relatives and friends to visit Turkey. Each tourist establishment has a unique capital structure. This structure causes some difficulties in focusing on considerations of service and long-term national interest. It is obvious that a mechanism is needed to stop malicious touristic businesses taking advantage of tourists, who sometimes by not knowing the prices and qualities of goods are able to be swindled. This situation also leads to the impairment of the reputation of well-intentioned traders as well as the country itself, but taking these measures is not the duty of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry is only obliged to reduce the effects of this situation abroad and to gain satisfaction by making corrections with the right authorities. The policy of the government in this sense, is to provide quality at reasonable prices to compete with other rivals (AKSOY, 2020).

With tourism being utilized to create positive perceptions for the country, the nature of a good business is to be a sustainable and continuous business. Therefore, thinking logically, everyone would benefit from a long-term tourism strategy. In addition, it would automatically serve to create a positive perception. From this point of view, every tourist is also an investment opportunity for advertising the whole country and developing the sector. It can be seen that tourism is desirable to utilize for the purpose of creating a positive perception for the country, but in practice, it has not sufficiently achieved a successful level yet.

Government uses tourism to contribute to public diplomacy, the reality of a good service in tourism contributes to the national interests, bringing the government and opposition together in the field. This fact makes tourism a good and functional

tool for public diplomacy. It is not being used strategically, but it is being used naturally. A good indicator is the observation that opposition and government councils are working in harmony. It is obvious that a few bad events disrupt hundreds of positive perceptions in the case of tourism. On account of this, as it was mentioned earlier, only acting together with the same purpose would serve for the benefit of all (AKSOY, 2020).

The place that tourism has in meetings with representatives of other countries and if tourism becomes a bargaining issue or a political tool, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is not authorized to deal with these kinds of issues. The institution authorized in this matter is the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The Ministry of Tourism may conduct negotiations about tourism. Despite the capacity of tourism, its effect remains a considerable matter; it is not a trump card on the table, while the ministry is performing its duty. In some special cases, like China, its citizens cannot travel around without the government allowing them. In such cases it is possible for the authorized ministers to bargain on regarding issues (AKSOY, 2020).

The level of tourism has an important impact between countries on foreign relations, as tourism leads to the building of new political and commercial opportunities. There is also the fact to consider that diplomats, statesmen and decision makers also go on holiday, which affects their perception. Developing commercial relations also contributes in practice to the progression of political relations.

The practices being carried out by the ministry to increase the soft power of the country are mostly based on conducting promotional policies. The Ministry considers it important to organize student exchange programs, because the impact of these kinds of programs are invaluable for public diplomacy and promote the country. On one hand, the students act as a good advert for the country for a lifetime. As a result of this, the perception of the country starts positively, and, if it is already not positive, then it becomes so. Yet, on the other hand, the aforementioned students in the following years are in a good position in their home country with the advantage of being educated abroad. This situation builds a friendly relationship between states which also leads people to admire the country (AKSOY, 2020).

There are many examples of the sight of Turkish soft power during discussions with representatives of other countries. One can easily observe that mostly African and Turkic countries' citizens have an admiration of Turkey. Especially people who have never seen Turkey before are very surprised, amazed and impressed about how advanced the country is. They are also very fascinated to witness how tolerant and democratized Turkish society is in comparison with other Islamic societies (AKSOY, 2020).

On the awareness of tourism in order to contribute to public diplomacy and soft power, it is significantly important that the tourists are satisfied after they leave Turkey. They must be satisfied enough to want to come back, recommend and advocate the country to their loved ones.

Apart from sectoral actors, tourism also needs to be supported and protected by state mechanisms and local councils. The hotel satisfaction of tourists should be continued outside the hotel to embrace the satisfaction for the whole country. The number of tourists increases if your public diplomacy and country promotion are good. The more satisfied and attracted tourists are means that there is more contribution to the promotion of the country and public diplomacy.

Another very important matter that should be expressed is that although there isn't any shortage or weakness of laws in Turkey to serve its purpose, there is a big problem of not following the rules in the community. The constitution and laws are in a position to meet all the needs. Turkey has structures that are in line with the European *acquis*, laws and court decisions. Unfortunately, it looks like that not following the rules will remain as a problem for a while. Of course, this condition makes it very difficult for institutions, Ministries, the government and the majority of citizens, artisans, tradesmen and businesspeople who desire and deserve to have a better reputation. Therefore, the solution of this problem is top of the priority issues (AKSOY, 2020).

Before analyzing the interview, briefly looking at the background would help in having a better understanding about Turkish public diplomacy. Globalization has turned the international relations platform into a more complicated one than it was earlier. This fact has forced Turkish foreign policy to transform to the New World

order to be able to compete with other countries. The transition to European compliance laws may be seen during the period of the 56th and 57th government of Turkish Republic. It is obvious that reforming and integrating the New World order and leaving the traditional way of dealing with international issues was not easy. For a long time, Turkish foreign policy was based on balancing greater powers. After building a strong and high dependency on outsources and relations with the United States, Turkey played a passive role in the international arena, as well as in its regional area.

“Turkish foreign policy is being implemented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The main task of the Ministry is to represent the Republic of Turkey and to conduct public diplomacy from the beginning.” (AKSOY, 2020). However, not until 2009 was an official department established under the name of the Coordination of Public Diplomacy. This change of title became the Directorate of Communication on the 24th July 2018, with the Presidential Government System. Public diplomacy has always had a place in Turkish foreign policy since the Republic was established. At the beginning it was conducted as a way of informing people about the activities being made by the state and government. With rapid technological development, the Ambassador Mr. Aksoy describes this development as a “*digital revolution*,” every member of domestic and foreign policies has the possibility to access interactive communication with the state. As a result of this ability, disinformation and false information could spread easily, sourced from anyone who has the true information or not. The best way of protection from this kind of disinformation pollution was disclosure of facts. In time these activities started being called as public media and they all declare the events and happenings from the first source” (AKSOY, 2020).

It is important to understand that the departments of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs conduct strategic public diplomacy to increase soft power-based promotion. As an important requirement of the modern age, developed countries value Public Diplomacy a lot. It may be evaluated that they carry out public diplomacy successfully, to achieve their goals. It is obvious that there has been progress in Turkish foreign policies in this regard as well. Pursuing this further, according to Mr. Ambassador, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is mainly focused on raising the profile

of the country which also would mean that it is based on increasing Turkey's soft power.

Tourism may not be an issue on the table when the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of countries are leading the meetings. But one can easily say that when there is a political dispute between Turkey and a tourist sender country, tourism is one of the very first sectors which suffers the most. The example of Russian-Turkish relations after the so called "*Aircraft Crisis*," can illustrate similar happenings because after the event, the number of Russian tourists decreased by 84 % in the tourist season of 2016 (ÇINAR, 2016).

As Mr. Ambassador stated, many people who see Turkey for the first time are greatly surprised. This means that they do not know Turkey, or they do not have the correct information about Turkey. This study suggests that the extent of knowledge in a foreign country's public is a measurement of the success in Turkish public diplomacy. In this example, it is apparent that Turkish public diplomacy is somehow not able to reach the mentioned countries to present itself well enough to demonstrate a realistic perception of Turkey.

The experiences of Mr. Ambassador reveal that organized action contributes to public diplomacy to a high degree. In a foreign country, Turkish businesspeople helped the local people after a flood, but it did not draw any attention in the media until they got together in organizing financial aid. It is a positive impact of perception which was oriented by members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and being appreciated encourages these kinds of actions to happen more. Therefore, in the same country, one Turkish businessman voluntarily accepted to finance all the costs for repairing a High School. As a response to this generous and kind approach, the school was named as Atatürk High School, after being asked by the sponsor. This example demonstrates that being helpful is not enough for building a reputation without also demonstrating in foreign policies (AKSOY, 2020).

An interesting anecdote to be shared; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs employed a well experienced Ambassador to deliver lectures at universities located in the city, on request from the universities (AKSOY, 2020). This approach is an indicator that the Ministry is willing to promote itself publicly, since universities

have many foreign students, as well as foreign participants in programs, exchange programs and lecturers. This approach is another successful method of conducting public diplomacy.

It is clear that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the primary and main actor in the context of public diplomacy. It aims to raise the country's profile, reputation, legitimacy and its soft power through foreign policies. Its task is to prevent situations that may cause negative perceptions or to minimize its effects if the negative perception already exists. Tourism and public diplomacy trigger each other. They both support each other and act as soft power elements for the country. It is obvious that Turkey has a great potential in tourism. Despite all the negative events around the country, Turkey still welcomes many tourists and has become the sixth most tourist receiving country in the world. This is a very strong indicator of the touristic features Turkey has. Indeed, Turkey is very suitable for tourism due to its geographical position, historical roots, ancient ruins, climate, sun, attractive beaches, natural beauties, culture and hospitality.

2.2.2. Analyzing the activities of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism conducts and administers the tourism policies of the Turkish Republic. It is the main institution responsible for tourist policy being conducted strategically and aims to serve Turkish soft power and its promotion in the case of tourism. Therefore, the information and data provided by the Ministry of Tourism is extremely important in this thesis. Tourism Provincial Directorates are establishments that represent the Ministry and carry out its policies. In this respect, the Antalya Culture and Tourism Provincial Directorate is a suitable department for this study, since Antalya is the most “intense” place in Turkey in regard to international and domestic tourism. Mr. Ibrahim Acar is the Director of the Antalya Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism. He has held high positions in the Ministry for many years and has been in charge of Antalya since 2005. Eight Ministers have changed since Mr. Acar took office, and each new Minister has preferred to continue working with him. This is a clear indication of how successful

and experienced Mr. Acar is. With these features, he made extremely valuable contributions to this study in respect of expressing policies of the Ministry, as well as self-experiences.

The duties of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism are determined with “*Law No. 4848 on the Organization and Duties of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.*” The duties of the Directorate of Antalya are clearly determined within the framework of the “*Regulation on the Duties, Authorities, Responsibilities and Working Principles of the Provincial Culture and Tourism Directorates of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism*” (ACAR İ. , 2019).

Accordingly, the duties of the Ministry are determined as, to research, develop, preserve, sustain, evaluate, disseminate, promote, adopt national, spiritual, historical, cultural and touristic values, thereby contributing to the strengthening of national integrity and economic development. To direct public institutions and organizations related to culture and tourism issues, to cooperate with these organizations, to develop and collaborate with local administrations, non-governmental organizations and the private sector; providing financial aid to projects to be realized by local theaters, private theaters, associations, organizations and foundations whose main purpose is culture, art, tourism and promotion activities. To protect historical and cultural assets. To evaluate, develop and market all the facilities of the country suitable for tourism in order to make tourism an efficient sector of the national economy. To direct all kinds of investment, communication and development potential in the fields of culture and tourism. To provide “immovables” related to cultural and tourism investments, to nationalize them when necessary, to conduct their projects and construction. In the presence of all the tourist activities in all areas of Turkey to allow the handle to promote and carry out services related to culture and tourism. To perform other duties assigned by law.

The duties of the Antalya Directorate are within the framework of the relevant regulation, plans, organizers, promoters, controllers, developers, promoters, executives, etc. for all kinds of cultural and touristic values and activities within the borders of Antalya. It is tasked with performing duties related to administrative and financial affairs and representing the Ministry at the provincial level.

The departments assigned to promote the country, Promotion and Hosting Branches within the Provincial Directorate of Antalya: In the central organization of our Ministry, the General Directorate of Promotion carries out the duties and activities for the promotion of the country. In addition, with the Law of 7183 dated July 15, 2019; related to the ministry and its legal personality, it began the Promotion and Development Agency of the Republic of Turkey. Among the agency's fields of activity are “achieving the tourism targets of the country and carrying out strategy planning and promotional activities for the promotion and marketing of these in the tourism sector.” (T.C. K lt r ve Turizm Bakanlıđı, 2020).

The activities carried out for the promotion of the country at the level of the Ministry are as follows; by utilizing all kinds of opportunities, to promote and make the country's national, spiritual, historical, cultural, artistic and touristic values in Turkey and abroad. For this purpose conducting seminars, symposiums, colloquia, congresses, fairs, exhibitions, festivals, organizing competitions, shows and similar activities or participating in organized ones, supporting and directing local or foreign, public or private institutions, organizations, communities and people operating in this direction and providing necessary cooperation between them, encouraging such activities to be carried out in the country and giving awards. To develop joint projects with domestic and foreign travel trade organizations at home and abroad, to assist their activities, in order to ensure that the world travel trade is directed to the country. In order to facilitate and develop the activities that are mentioned above, to be in close contact with the mass media or transportation institutions that conduct and direct these activities, and to invite and host individuals, institutions, communities or their representatives who are in a position to affect the foreign public. To prepare, purchase and distribute the necessary publications, documents and materials for domestic and international promotion. To make or have all kinds of studies and research done in the country and abroad, to compile the statistics data, in order to evaluate the tourism demand for the country and to create appropriate policies. In order to increase the demand for tourism for the country, to purchase goods and services related to promotional activities such as press and broadcasting abroad. To achieve the tourism goals of Turkey and the promotion of tourism opportunities in the world and develop strategies for marketing and conducting promotional activities (ACAR İ. , 2019), (T.C. K lt r ve Turizm Bakanlıđı, 2020).

The activities carried out at the Directorate level are as follows; to promote and make Turkey's national, spiritual, historical, cultural, artistic and touristic values in Turkey and abroad. Organizing activities or participating in seminars, symposiums, colloquium, congresses, fairs, exhibitions, festivals, competitions, shows, etc. and also supporting, directing and ensuring the necessary cooperation between them. Providing enlightening information about the province to domestic and foreign tourists; To make correspondence related to the business and operations of tourism information offices in the central provinces and districts, to monitor and supervise their activities and to provide necessary coordination with other public institutions and organizations related to these activities. To carry out fairs, introductory publications, ALO 176, ALO 179 Tourism Hotline, Crisis Desk business and transactions. Carrying out the works and procedures regarding complaints and similar issues with CIMER (Republic of Turkey Presidential Communication Center) applications received by the Directorate. To help the foreigners who come within the framework of the Culture and Tourism agreements, on the subjects falling into the service area of the Ministry, also helping them while they are conducting their trips and inspections within the province. Within the framework of the hospitality operations carried out by the Ministry and the Directorate; Welcoming the guests and communities coming to the city from home or abroad (ACAR İ. , 2019).

The aspects prioritized while promoting the country are being conducted as a monitored road map for the promotion of the country in the eyes of the Ministry. Turkey's Tourism Strategy 2023 is determined mainly in tourism master plans, development plans, strategies and action plans. The promotion of the country is line with tourism strategies and plans determined by considering the 2023 goals of the country in tourism. Focused on destination, the product superiority and total quality will be emphasized, and branding provided on the basis of country, region and point. It will ensure that Turkey's difference and relative superiority to other destinations in the Mediterranean dish are connected to the brand with effective promotion and marketing tools. It will emphasize contemporary values by staying faithful to different, original and national values. Products will be highlighted for the target group. In parallel with the change in the world population, the promotion and advertisements suitable for the third age group will be emphasized. To benefit from

the people who make praises about the country by signing international successes. To increase its market share in European countries with the promotion of sustainable tourism products. It will attract high income groups to the country through product diversification and diversify the promotional activities and channels and arrange them separately for suitable target markets. Emphasis will be on the less discovered or developing tourism regions for domestic tourists. A sustainable and effective promotion approach will be adopted by utilizing technological developments (ACAR İ. , 2019).

In this sense, in order to target new focus markets and qualified tourists, it can be said that a sustainable and environmentally friendly tourism understanding, the spread of tourism to 12 months with alternative tourism types and destination-oriented promotions have gained importance. As a matter of fact, in the year 2020, a new advertisement film will be used and form the basis of the promotional campaign emphasizing both the current face of the country and its cultural richness and depth.

Public diplomacy is also utilized in parallel with the 2023 tourism strategy of the country in promotional activities carried out by the Ministry. In this context, the notions being used in the promotion of the country are as follows. Effective use of public relations tools to ensure publicity and image continuity. Carrying out a 360-degree communication campaign consisting of public relations studies, new generation digital applications, online and printed publications, fairs and special events, as well as films published for target markets abroad, to benefit from the people who have gained international achievements, using the cinema industry as a promotional tool. Using cultural diplomacy and public relations tools such as cinema, TV series, music and sports, which contribute significantly to the effective promotion of the country abroad in target markets. Prepare the ground through international organizations for cultural dialogue projects and for the events and benefiting to the maximum extent of promotion in order to strengthen the brand image. Using images from inside life and element of humans in promotional images. By shifting global promotion and marketing activities to digital platforms; realization in digital media, travel media and social media. Increasing the number of cultural events such as opera and ballet performances, film festivals, biennials, improving their quality and

increasing the accessibility of event calendars for visitors. Promoting Turkish culture to the world with traveling exhibitions (ACAR İ. , 2019).

Solidarity with the private sector is important in order to develop international and regional tourism. It is inevitable for the Directorate and Ministry to co-operate and likewise with non-governmental organizations and the private sector in order to develop national and regional tourism. In this context, cooperation and solidarity with the private sector is being carried out on the subjects of tourism development, investment, organization, education, employment, support, incentive, supervision, promotion and marketing. A very clear example of cooperation between the state and private sector is the '*Turkish Tourism Promotion and Development Agency*'. Strategic plans are being implemented in order to increase the image, prestige and positive perceptions of Turkey. In addition to all of the mentioned strategies for the promotion of the country and the operation of public diplomacy in promotional activities in the coverage of Tourism Strategy 2023, as included in the Ministry's strategy and action plans and development plans are as it follows, preparing image building oriented promotional activities to reduce the impact of negative events occur in close countries and the ones which directly affect the tourism in Turkey. Preparing perception and image researches abroad, especially the main and emerging target markets, and preparing management plans within this scope. Developing cultural activities for the purpose of increasing positive images of Turkey among the world public. Introduction to the accumulation of scientific and academic background of Turkey abroad. Conducting research and studies for reducing the negative impacts of the events which may directly affect the tourism in Turkey like terrorist activities, negative publications in the foreign press regarding issues such as human rights, image problems caused by wars and political instability experienced in the neighborhood of Turkey (ACAR İ. , 2019).

The activities such as directing, informing and training private sector actors in this context, in line with the strategic and action plans of the Ministry, the aim is to contribute to the development of tourism, the image of the country, building prestige and positive perceptions, both at the level of the Ministry and the Directorate. The ministry conducts events information, education, seminars, meetings, publicity programs, etc. for the private sector and society. In addition, the following activities

are carried out in cooperation with relevant public institutions and organizations, civil society and private sector organizations. Conduct education programs for the private sector with universities, in order to put the tourism activities on a sustainable basis in the example of successful practices. Organize education programs and various activities in order to develop the awareness of tourism in the society, to revive domestic tourism, to ensure the participation of the people in tourism movements and to create a more sensitive society in the protection of tourism values. Implementing short-term job training courses of the people working in the accommodation and catering businesses in the tourism sector, home boarding training course, home boarding awareness training and personal development seminars for the improvement of the skills and qualifications. Improving the quality of service by improving the professional qualifications of the staff working in accommodation and cookery facilities. In addition, various free tourism education programs at national and international level in order to create tourism awareness in the society. Regular training programs for drivers working in tourism sector transportation. Various activities in schools to raise awareness for tourism. Information meetings and non-formal education programs aimed to diversify alternative tourism types and spreading to the whole country, developing and improving the quality of the sector throughout the year. Traditional handicrafts and Turkish decorative arts courses within the scope of non-formal cultural education in order to increase the quality and efficiency in the production of touristic handicrafts, which is an important factor in the tourism sector (ACAR İ. , 2019).

The Ministry considers tourism as an important economic activity for the country. At the same time, it predicts that tourism will rise to a higher level with effective and sustainable promotion. The Ministry is an institution that is aware of the vital role that stable and constantly developing tourism plays in the promotion of the country. Therefore, the Ministry carries out the following obligations among other duties as well. To explore, develop, preserve, sustain, evaluate, disseminate, promote and adopt national, spiritual, historical, cultural and touristic values, thereby contributing to the strengthening of national integrity and economic development. To evaluate, develop and market all the facilities of the country suitable for tourism to make tourism an efficient sector of the national economy (ACAR İ. , 2019).

The place of tourism revenues in the country's economy is significant. According to Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK) data, Turkey and the Ministry, in 2018, there was an increase of 21.84 percent compared to the previous year when 39 million 488 thousand 401 foreign visitors were entertained. 6 million 624 thousand 191 Turks residing abroad, if added into the number of tourists coming to Turkey makes the total 46 million 112 thousand 592. In the tourism sector, one of the building blocks of Turkey's economy, in 2018, 29 billion 512 million 926 thousand dollars income was obtained. Income in the first 9 months of 2019 was calculated as 26 billion, 635 thousand Dollars. In 2018, the average expenditure per capita was 647 dollars, the average expenditure of foreigners was 617 dollars, and the average expenditure of citizens residing abroad was 801 dollars. 81.8% of the tourism income was obtained from foreign visitors and 18.2 percent from citizens residing abroad. According to data from 2018, Turkey is 14th in the world ranking in terms of tourism revenues obtained, and 4th in Europe. Again, Turkey is ranked 6th in the world and 4th in Europe regarding tourist numbers visiting the country. The share of income from tourism in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2018 is stated as 3.8% (ACAR İ. , 2019).

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, which gathers the country's cultural, humanitarian and development diplomacy under its roof, carries out very important activities that contribute to the increase of the soft power of Turkey with its units working within the central and provincial organizations, as well as the Promotion Counselors within the international organization. Organizations such as 'Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency Presidency' (TİKA), 'Foreign Turks and Relative Communities Presidency' (YTB), 'Yunus Emre Institute' (YEE) and 'General Directorate of Foundations' are active figures in public diplomacy, which play a serious role in the promotion and teaching of Turkish language, culture, and values with implementation of people-oriented policy, protection of the rights of Turkish citizens abroad and to eliminate the need. During the last year, TİKA has been involved in more than 1,500 projects and activities in 120 countries, in different sectors from health to education. On the other hand, YTB continues its activities for more than 6.5 million Turkish citizens living abroad, fellow communities and international students. TİKA, domestic and abroad, with Turkey scholarships in the academic and cultural guidance title, has carried out 97 projects and activities in the

last one year. The monetary amount of these works is 140 million liras as project and direct financial support. Yunus Emre Institute has carried out 821 activities in 25 different areas in 65 cities in 52 countries in the last year (ACAR İ. , 2019).

During this period, 43 Turcologists were appointed at 23 universities, and provided teaching Turkish language to 10 thousand, 545 students in 194 schools. In addition, the Institute added Madrid, Melbourne, Seoul and Dublin to its field of activity during the 2018-2019 period. The “General Directorate of Foundations,” continues its works on behalf of 52 thousand foundations established during the Seljuk and Ottoman periods. So far, 5,250 foundation works have been restored. It currently has 50 projects in an enormous geography from Montenegro to Cyprus, from Serbia to the Crimea, from Macedonia to Yemen. The international communication and relations established by the ministry's organization during these activities have great impact and provide significant success in every topic of public diplomacy, from perception management to cultural dialogue, spreading the right information, directing foreign policy and shaping the country's image (ACAR İ. , 2019).

The Ministry is in an intense promotion, tourism and cultural activity in order to continue its success in Europe, in the Middle East, Arab geography and especially in Asia, with its changing and renewed tourism understanding. On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Gallipoli Campaign of 2015 "Turkey-Australia Mutual Culture Year" was celebrated. "Turkey 2017 - Mutual Korean Culture Year" within the scope of culture, arts and tourism activities in more than 20 were carried out (ACAR İ. , 2019).

The foreign units of the Ministry prepare market reports. According to the reports, visitors who come to Turkey state the following features for the reason of their decisions to choose Turkey. Temperate-sunny climate conditions, blue flag beaches, facility and service quality, natural beauty, a rich historical and cultural heritage; shopping, gastronomy and entertainment opportunities; sports-outdoor activity opportunities. It is also understood from the reports that features like health tourism, faith tourism and other alternative tourism opportunities and hospitality are also attracting the foreigners (ACAR İ. , 2019).

While evaluating the interview, it should be noted what '2023 goals' means. '2023 goals' or '2023 vision' is the action plan that the AK Party aims to reach by 2023 (Ak Parti, 2020).

'*Turkish Tourism Promotion and Development Agency*' in general, promoting the country abroad. One of its tasks is to coordinate the cooperation between private sector in tourism and public institutions. The Ministry aims to realize the promoting country and public diplomacy together with its policies because, both elements are supporting each other.

In the soft power context of the ministry, its prominent activities are to take measures, focusing on improvement of negative perception from sourcing neighbors, terror events and security problems. In addition, it spends effort to create a positive perception on sensitive issues such as human rights, democracy, women's rights, animal rights and environmental protection policies of the country, which have a negative outlook in general (ACAR İ. , 2019).

It is observed that the will of increasing soft power level has important contributions on the subjects which are mentioned in the earlier paragraph. This situation is especially important in terms of questioning, developing and protecting the country's practices about the important values for the modern world. Turkey's practices at framework of these values are scrutinized and, if any, glitches come to light. It is expected that a volition will arise for naturally seeking solutions to the defects that are exposed. This can be explained as motivating of soft power for the countries in search of upgrading.

The support and assistance provided by the state in tourism is aimed to increase the mobility of the private sector. Units within the Turkish representatives, consulates and embassies in foreign countries help to support all commercial activities. Another indication that the state attaches importance to tourism is the appointment of Mehmet Nuri Ersoy as the Minister of Culture and Tourism. Because Ersoy has been a manager with 33 years of tourism experience since high school (T.C. KÜLTÜR VE TURİZM BAKANLIĞI Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı , 2020).

It is observed that the tourism ministry's activities are aimed at reaching people abroad in general. However, there isn't such a strategic approach aiming to conduct public diplomacy on millions of members of the foreign public in the country as tourists.

2.2.3. Practices of Private and Semi-official Organizations

In this section, non-state actors in the country are analyzed to understand what kind of functions these actors have in the context of country promotion, public diplomacy and soft power. Owing to the fact that Turkey is a major international tourism destination the country is visited by many tourists all over the year. This provides an important opportunity for the country to carry out its public diplomacy at home. In addition, every tourist shares her or his perception with other people wherever she or he goes. With a rational approach, the state is expected to cooperate with the private sector and promote the country on a strategic and conscious level. In this context, the opinions and explanations of private sector actors will be enlightening for this thesis.

For this purpose, a series of interviews were held with non-state actors. It was not required to question the representativeness of the interviews because this study does not focus on whether the state pursues a homogeneous tourism policy within its borders or not. Likewise, it has been deemed appropriate to generalize the analysis made in the regions with the most intense tourism. In addition, the people participating in the interviews are those who have been in various tourism regions and carried out activities or have knowledge in general at least. And they did not make any statement that the state had implemented different tourism policies in other parts of the country.

At the first level, a meeting was held with Manavgat Chamber of Commerce and Industry (MATSO) Chairman Ahmet Boztaş. MATSO is an establishment which is supporting the business actors to gain economic interest in Manavgat. As Manavgat is a place based on tourism in general, it was considered that may portray the private sector's status in Turkey.

MATSO is an organization that works in coordination with the businesses in Manavgat which has an important place in Turkey's tourism. A large proportion of regional businesses consist of tourism companies and tourism industries. This situation causes it to have a direct relationship with the tourism sector and to adopt the sector as its primary field of activity. This special situation of MATSO has led to an important information gathering resource for this study.

Mr. Boztas is chairman of MATSO and a former chairman of the Manavgat Industrialists and Businesspeople Association (MASİAD). Besides these he has also been running business related with construction and tourism in the region. Like Mr. Aksoy and Mr. Acar, Mr. Boztaş also makes very valuable contributions to the subject with his position and personal experience.

The economic volume of Manavgat is largely based on tourism. For this reason, tourism is essential for the region. As in all other touristic regions of Turkey, all sectors are in an interaction with tourism. For regions with such a structure, tourism plays a major role in economic activities. It is a locomotive actor in many fields such as agricultural products produced in the field, food, beverage, furniture, kitchen equipment, service products, decoration products, as well as human resources, transportation, construction, occupational safety and accounting.

Tourism is a promotional industry. First, good service should be provided and then this should be promoted. In other words, it is necessary to create products and services worth promoting first. After meeting these conditions, the product and service owned should be promoted in the most efficient way and offered to the market.

MATSO makes promotional programs with its own means. And in this framework, it promotes the country and especially the region by making use of fairs, promotional stands, social media and websites. While carrying out these activities, it receives assistance from the ministries of tourism and foreign affairs. However, ministries' assistance is generally limited to preparing a suitable working basis. It looks very far from creating a strategic platform (BOZTAŞ, 2019).

MATSO and its members are organizations of interest, their main purpose is economic income oriented. Looking at the same point, promoting the country is in

line with the interests of the sector. Because the promotion of the country enables the sector to develop, to take an active place in the market, and therefore to enable the sector players to have wider business opportunities.

Turkey's tourism market is quite narrow range. Considering the Manavgat destination, Russia and Germany are around 75% of the market. Tourism is a sector that is affected by political relations very quickly, so there is a need for market diversity. Accordingly, the state should produce solutions in this regard. Examples such as the "*plane crisis*" with Russia recently indicate this requirement. The world has a fragile political balance and a negative interaction which would harm tourism deeply as an impact. That leaves tourism as a vulnerable sector which could be affected a lot by the decision makers' attitude (BOZTAŞ, 2019).

As it is understood from this explanation, the private sector acts in the framework of making a profit in the shortest period of time within its own axis of interest. As Mr. Aksoy has also stated above, the private sector acts within the framework of its dynamics and structures. Thus, measures and precautions to be taken for the long and medium term could well be ignored by the private sector. Due to its structure, the private sector is not suitable to take such measures. In a possible big problem in the future, the private sector can easily shift to a new investment area and the tourism could be hit badly. It is the state itself that will be most affected in such a situation. Because in many ways, it will be deprived of the benefits of a sector that serves the interests of the country and will not utilize its potential assistances. Within these forecasts, it is an expected approach that the government would intervene by taking initiatives and develop the sector with long-term plans. Thus, the sector will remain as an instrument for both economic and public diplomacy.

The results of the surveys conducted by MATSO show that the tourist satisfaction of the country is around 90%. These indicators are thought to make important contributions to the positive perception of tourism in the country. These indicators show that tourism provides significant support to increasing the positive perception of the country.

2.2.4. Private sector executive interviews

The term '*private sector*' includes businesses with foreign tourist customers in this study. The aim of interviewing with the private sector's managers, directors and administrators was to investigate if there is any cooperation between the state and the private sector in promoting the country to tourists during their stay. Such cooperation will be in favor of both parties to serve their interests. Another purpose of these interviews is to analyze the position of the private sector on the demands of such cooperation and solidarity with the state.

Interviews were held with 5 touristic business managers in total. Experienced people in contact with customers and in customer procurement activities were selected for these interviews. In these interviews, many details were given, demands were voiced, and explanations were made about sectoral problems. However, due to the scope of the study, many topics have not been included and the only focus was on the issues related to the promotion of the country. It was aimed to examine whether the state and the private sector are in solidarity in the practice of promoting the country and public diplomacy.

The private sector serves with a consent-based approach within the framework of customer satisfaction whilst carrying out its work in the race to stand out among many competitors. The primary goal of the sector is to satisfy foreign tourists as the clientele and persuade them to choose again. To gain success in this purpose they have developed various strategies and tactics. Tourism enterprises have established customer representatives' tables to get in touch with their clientele and remain in communication with them to keep a fresh relationship between them. In addition, they keep the relationship fresh by interacting through websites, social media accounts and social media groups. Moreover, customer relations management is based on trying to make the loyal customers feel special with privileged services like celebrating birthdays, wedding anniversaries or sending gifts to their rooms like flowers, fruit plates or their favorite drinks. Thus, a customer portfolio with continuity is targeted on the basis of a friendly relationship. It is observed that such

approaches are successful to a significant extent and bring the desired results (SÖNMEZ, 2020), (AYHAN, 2020).

Another priority target of the sector is to increase the number and quality of the customers. To achieve this goal, they participate in promotional activities or fairs and enter into new agreements with various companies. But more importantly, they apply tactics to be recommended through their customers. It was observed that the interviewees agreed that the most valuable and efficient advertising tool would be recommendation by their customers to their relatives and loved ones. According to the interviewees, this idea can be applied in a similar way as a policy on the country's tourism. This suggestion is considered an idea worthy of research and development (SÖNMEZ, 2020).

Private sector managers emphasize the fact that liking the hotels isn't enough for a tourist to come back. It could only be possible for tourists to revisit if they are satisfied with the hotels and if they like the country. In this case, both the country and the hotels must be liked and trusted in order for the tourists to come back and recommend them to their acquaintances. In fact, liking and trusting the country comes before the issue of hotels. According to interviews with foreigners, the most important reason why people don't want to come to Turkey is security problems and negative perceptions of the country. As an aside, no negative impressions came up regarding hotels, on the contrary they praised the hotels and their services. Participants think that Turkey is a lot better than many other countries in the context of hotels and service in quality. Some participants even state that the country has luxury hotels with very good service and that this is not known enough abroad. Moreover, they share the same idea about the importance of promoting Turkey in this respect. Thus, the importance of the perception of the country on tourism is clearly displayed. But otherwise, similar problems may still occur, disliked hotels and services would prevent tourists from coming back even if the country has a positive perception. In this case, it seems that the country, hotel and touristic enterprises have some distinct importance for tourists when considering their travel options (AYHAN, 2020), (KINAY, 2020) (YİĞİN, 2020).

During the meetings, it was stated that there was no coordinated platform on state and private sector cooperation within the scope of country promotion. However,

the private sector participants insistently emphasized the necessity of such a platform. It is believed that joint working groups will enable the analysis of all problems, needs and demands from bottom to top and find suitable solutions with a possible coordination. As a result of this, tourism may become more effective to serve the interests of both the country and private sectors.

An important aim of the study is to examine whether strategic promotion and public diplomacy are applied to the tourists in the country. As a result of the interviews, it is understood that there isn't a promotion and public diplomacy strategy between the state and the private sector that targets tourists within the borders of the country.

Despite this, it is seen that the private sector promotes the country within its own body. It is obvious that these activities are used with the aim of making the customers' holidays more interesting and catching. These activities include Turkish nights, safari tours, cultural tours, village trips, Turkish dishes, Turkish music, Turkish dances, local plays and dramas etc. Even if the underlying purpose is to increase the customer satisfaction of the business, it was revealed in the surveys that such activities have important effects on tourists in terms of country promotion (YİĞİN, 2020), (HUNÇ, 2019).

Another issue stated by the interviewees is that transnational tourism companies use negative perceptions as a trump card in order to get cheaper prices. According to the interviewees, these companies are trying to get more favorable prices by manipulating negative events to create a panic in Turkey so that Turkish businesspeople would not decline their offers. It is clear that such manipulations can destroy the image of the country.

'Other travel countries' sectoral actors manipulate and conduct defamation to weaken Turkey from the market to attract tourists. With this strategy the actors get the ability to promote their own market. In fact, the tour agents who promote Turkey and carry tourists to Turkey remain silent to some extent because they can use the situation as a trump card to get advantages while dealing with Turkish hotels and tour operators' (AYHAN, 2020).

One of the important cultural properties of Turkey is also '*Turkish hospitality*'. The participants think this feature, which attracts the attention of foreigners, can be utilized in the promotion of the country. '*It is very important that Turkish hospitality branding and country promotion are coordinated with the state and the private sector*' (KINAY, 2020), (HUNÇ, 2019).

According to Mr. Elferst the best way to promote Turkey for tourism is to somehow bring people to Turkey. Once people see the country it won't be necessary to do a lot in order to promote it because the features of country would attract them on their own. He asserts that Turkish Airlines is doing a great job in order to represent Turkey. He also mentions that Turkish music is attracting Europeans, and this could be utilized as well. Another point is that looking from the outside it looks like that promoting Turkey is being conducted the by hotels and touristic companies only for business purposes. Indeed, increasing tourism is one of the best ways to promote the country which could even function more effectively if it is coordinated with the government (ELFERST, 2019).

Interviewers state that buying a '*second home*' emerged as a new sector as a product of tourism. Buying properties is mostly an impact of promoting the country which is usually being conducted by the private companies. Thanks to the '*second home*' sector, land and house prices increase, the construction sector comes to life, and this produces settlers who give more liquidity to the economy. Besides this, a cultural interaction shows up between the new settlers and the locals which would most likely lead to burgeoning friendly relationships.

An important outcome from the private sector interviews, while trying to change the perception of the country from negative to positive, leads to self-encouragement to focus on the source of negative perception. Continuing with this idea, trying to gain more attraction from the foreign public forces the country to question and consider what it is that people find unattractive about the country. As a result of this attitude, most people, especially those who are related to tourism and international trade get more sensitive about making the country a better and more attractive place. This process can be accepted as a feature of seeking soft power which encourages inspiration for further improvement.

CHAPTER 3

MEASURING THE SUCCESS OF TOURISM IN TURKISH PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OVER SURVEYS AND INTERVIEWS WITH FOREIGNERS

3.1.A Successful Public Diplomacy

‘A state is responsible for its messages to be correctly understood by the receiver party.’ (AKSOY, 2020)

This study assumes that people have some knowledge about every and each country to some extent. Even most people nowadays know, read and watch about cities and regions as well. In this case, somehow there is a perception built for every place. Countries who claim to be conducting public diplomacy are to be blamed for the perception of the foreign public. Continuing on this idea, if a country is claiming to be conducting public diplomacy then that country itself would be responsible for what the foreign people know about it. Pursuing this further, questioning what foreign people think and know of a country can reflect the success of its public diplomacy. This research is based on this idea and tries to measure the success level of Turkish public diplomacy on the perception of foreigners about Turkey. The basic logic is if a person has a negative perception about a country and after visiting the place sees that the negative perception is not reflecting reality, then this would indicate that the country’s public diplomacy is not successful. If a person has a positive perception about a country and noticed that it is not reflecting the reality after visiting the place this would mean that the public diplomacy is closer to

propaganda. Because yet again public diplomacy would not be reflecting reality and it has demonstrated the country better than it actually is.

With questions via survey and in-depth interviews asking people if their perception about Turkey changed after visiting the country, 90 % of the participants answered as 'yes'. According to this outcome, one can say that Turkish public diplomacy is not finding a response from the target group. The main purpose of the interviews and conducted surveys with foreigners was to test the success of Turkish public diplomacy and promotional activities of the country.

3.2.The Structure of The Survey and Its Purpose

Moving from the assumption that Turkey - like all other countries - is responsible for its perception abroad, the study analyzed three different groups in the foreign public. The groups are as follows in order; Group A; property owners in Turkey, Group B; those who have visited Turkey at least once, and Group C; people who have never visited Turkey before. Assumingly, these three groups of people have different degrees of knowledge about Turkey because of their level of interaction with the country. The variety of these groups allowed the study to measure the range of Turkish public diplomacy by comparing the collected data with each other. The members of Group A have established a strongly tied connection with the country and invested their savings in it. As it can be understood from the expression '*second home*' Turkey is not an ordinary place for members of this group anymore. Based on this, Group A members are the easiest part of the foreign public to whom Turkish public diplomacy could reach because, it is believed that these people would follow the news, incidents and events about Turkey more closely than other members of the foreign public.

Group B consists of people with moderate difficulty in reaching, because the members of this group had been to Turkey before. It is assumed that they would have some interest in the country. Therefore, they are expected to be more open to receive any information about the country than those who have never been to the country before.

Group C is consisted of people who have never been to Turkey before. These group members are the hardest people who are expected to be reached in Turkish public diplomacy. In other words, while Group A is the easiest target group for the purpose of Turkish public diplomacy, Group B likewise represents an advantageous target group. Group C represents the neutral target audience. The mentioned groups all have different levels of knowledge about Turkey. This study analyzes these three groups to explain the success of Turkey's public diplomacy and activities of promotion with different difficulty grades.

Another assumption of the study is that the host country has the convenience of implementing public diplomacy while some members of its target group are in the country as tourists and that this provides the country opportunities to reach this group within its borders.

Public diplomacy is meant to contribute to the increase of soft power of the country by communicating and promoting itself to the foreign people. The present study has chosen conducting a survey as a method to evaluate Turkish public diplomacy. The aim of conducting the survey is to analyze how the foreign public is responding to Turkish public diplomacy and to see its coverage.

Another purpose of the surveys is to determine which subjects and issues to analyze with people who have chosen Turkey as the place for their second home via in-depth interview. This mentioned group of people have taken a serious step with buying a property in Turkey. One can easily say that a person who would buy a property abroad would make some research in order to collect a good amount of information about the country before doing so. On account of this, they get familiar with the country and start following what is happening in and with the country. This group becomes attached to the country after they buy their properties, because from now on this event is taking some place in their life. Furthermore, these people have also invested their savings in these properties which encourages them to be interested in the incidents in Turkey. As a result of this, this group of people would keep an eye on Turkey for most of the time. Consequently, these people become a group to be counted as a very important source of data and information about the perception of Turkey.

Group B consists of people who have visited Turkey at least for one time. The members of this group are familiar with Turkey to some degree. They have been to Turkey, experienced visiting the country and as a result of this, they have accumulated some knowledge about the country. For this reason, it is assumed they would automatically raise awareness about Turkey. More importantly, the survey with this group allowed the study to examine if Turkey implements a strategic policy to conduct public diplomacy and promote the country to foreign public while they are in the country during their vacation.

Group C consists of people who go abroad for holiday but have never chosen Turkey to visit before. This group allowed the study to analyze to what extent Turkish public diplomacy reaches the foreign public in their homeland. These people are not familiar with Turkey. Hence, it gives a good chance to see the reflection of Turkish public diplomacy, its soft power level and its promotional activities.

The questions were prepared appropriately for each group. One of the main purposes was to be able to make a comparison between the answers of different groups. But it is not really possible to ask the same question to every group member, because each group has a different status. For example, it would not be very sensible to ask the property owner in Turkey if she or he would want to visit the country again. Or, it is not useful to ask a question like '*Do you find perception of Turkey in your country realistic?*' to a member of Group C who has never been to Turkey. Most of the questions of the surveys are intentionally composed and not so detailed, in order not to orientate the participants into a particular direction. This may seem to be a weakness of this study, but the purpose is to lead the participants to express opinions straightaway, whatever they think. In this way, the study aimed to reach the clear perception of the participants. Imagine a Turkish person asking someone who is connected with Turkey the question '*Do you think the positive perception of Turkey is realistic?*'. Such a question would be leading the participant to answer 'yes'. She or he might only wish to be polite by saying good things about the country of the Moderator. Such an approach might obstruct the real thoughts from coming into the open or be diluted in some way.

The writer has been running businesses in tourist activities as a contractor, building properties for foreigners as well as a business owner in tourism. As a result

of this, the writer didn't have significant difficulties in finding interviewees and participants for the surveys.

3.3.The Survey of Group A

Participants are from Norway, England and Germany. In total 21 people responded to the survey. 10 of them are men and 11 of them are women. They all have a holiday home in Turkey, and it is called the *second home* in the study. All the participants have spent time in Turkey and have a general knowledge about the country.

Question 1: Have you ever visited any other country? If yes, please specify the place.

The study examines people's perception about Turkey. Whilst perception is formed in minds, it requires the knowledge of other opinions to compare with. The question allowed the study to underline if responders who have bought properties in Turkey had experienced any other country to compare with Turkey. The main idea behind this question is to see if Turkey is competitive with other countries. The data utilized from this can be used to show whether Turkey has some high features against other countries for promoting itself, while conducting public diplomacy and promoting the country. In addition, the results will give some ideas about the level of the country promoted in.

Table 1: Group A, visited other countries.

Statements	Gender		Total
	Women (11)	Men (10)	Total (21)
Yes, I have.	11 (100 %)	10 (100%)	21 (100 %)
No, I have not.	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)

100% of the participants stated that they had been to another country before they came to Turkey. This means that they had an opportunity to compare Turkey to other countries they had experienced before. One can easily say that the participants who chose Turkey to buy a holiday home in liked Turkey more than the others for some reasons. The answers indicate that Turkey is competitive in attracting people, because, each and every participant had been elsewhere before they came to Turkey and this didn't stop them buying their holiday home in Turkey.

Table 2: Group A, the visited countries.

	Gender		Ratio
Statements	Women (11)	Men (10)	Total (21)
Spain	6 (55 %)	7 (70 %)	13 (62 %)
Italy	3 (27 %)	2 (20 %)	4 (24 %)
Greece	2 (18 %)	1 (10 %)	3 (14 %)
Cyprus	2 (18 %)	1 (10 %)	3 (14 %)
India	1 (9 %)	1 (10 %)	2 (10 %)
France	1 (9 %)	1 (10 %)	2 (10 %)

Table 2. shows where the participants had been. It is obvious that Spain, Italy and Greece are popular holiday destinations in Europe where Turkey is a rival in tourism. Since Spain, Italy and Greece offer similar activities, their potential target group is more or less the same as Turkey. Looking at the number of tourists that these countries receive, shows how popular each country is in the area of tourism. Spain received 83.8 million tourists, Italy received 64.6 million tourists, Turkey received 52.5 million tourists and Greece received around 30 million tourists in 2019 (NTV, 2020). The more visited places seem more likely to have more attraction than other places. However, this study argues that being most visited does not necessarily mean that it has been selected over others. Depending on the perception of the countries they have, some destinations can attract people more and lead them to

make their decisions without these people experiencing other countries personally to compare with.

This study focuses on Spain, Italy and Greece because of sharing the same geography as well as being rivals in the business of tourism with Turkey. Answers to this question suggest that 62% of the participants have been to Spain, 24% have been to Italy and 14% to Greece before they came to Turkey. This situation means that a good percentage of the participants have seen and experienced the 4 mentioned countries, yet still chose Turkey with confidence to buy their holiday homes as their second home above the others. There can be many reasons that drive these people and influence their decisions, but as a result, it can be said that Turkey has plenty of quality reasons to be chosen. In the meantime, examining question number 8 for Group C suggests underlining what features are being considered for tourists while deciding about holiday destinations. Furthermore, the features are mostly similar to what people consider when the particular country is Turkey.

Question 2: What made you buy your second home in Turkey?

This question examines which features of Turkey attract the members of this group the most. The answers of this question also allowed the study to attract attention to the desired characteristic of Turkey in the eyes of foreigners.

Table 3: Group A, reasons to choose Turkey.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (11)	Men (10)	Total (21)
Climate	4 (36 %)	6 (60 %)	10 (47 %)
Cheap to live	4 (36 %)	5 (50 %)	9 (43 %)
Friendly people	5 (45 %)	3 (30 %)	8 (38 %)
Turkish food	4 (36 %)	3 (30 %)	7 (33 %)
Home from family	4 (36 %)	3 (30 %)	7 (33 %)
Cultural identity	3 (27 %)	3 (30 %)	6 (29 %)
Historical place	2 (18 %)	2 (20 %)	4 (19 %)
Short distance.	0 (0 %)	3 (30 %)	3 (14 %)
Married to a Turk	3 (27 %)	0 (0 %)	3 (14 %)

The answers indicate that climate in Turkey is the dominant reason for this group of participants. Interestingly it can be observed that the same participants advise to promote Turkey 29% with the 9th question Group A, while they express climate as a reason to choose Turkey with 47%. Thus, this situation can be evaluated as, the features of the country should be selected for the right purpose and its target group. So, while promoting a country it is required to have interesting features for the target groups. For example, if the target group are tourists, then the subjects promoted would rather be related to a good experience during the vacation like hotels, beaches, food and drinks. In this case climate is also very important but only for the time period of the vacation. In contrast, when foreign property buyers are concerned, they would carefully consider aspects about local life, the people, culture and the all year around climate.

Question 3: What do you generally hear about Turkey in your home country?

This question was seeking two answers. One was to examine how Turkey is taking place in foreign media and secondly, how much the Turkish public diplomacy can reach foreigners abroad.

Table 4: Group A, general perception of Turkey abroad.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (11)	Men (10)	Total (21)
Negative on the news.	5 (45 %)	9 (90 %)	14 (67 %)
Positive on travel programs.	6 (55 %)	6 (60 %)	12 (57 %)
Syria related news.	2 (18 %)	2 (20 %)	4 (19 %)
Radicalism and religion.	2 (18 %)	2 (20 %)	4 (19 %)
Negative news about women rights.	1 (9 %)	1 (10 %)	2 (10 %)
Don't have clear ideas or not watching the news.	4 (36 %)	0 (0 %)	4 (19 %)

As the answers point out, Turkey is not being mentioned positively on many news reports. 67% of the total in Group A said that Turkey is mentioned with negative comments on the news reports. Interestingly, 90% of men said that Turkey is seen as negative news, despite only 45% of women agreeing with this statement. Analyzing further, it shows that 36% of women responders pointed out they are either not watching news or had no comments about the issue.

Interestingly, when it comes to travel and holiday programs, 57% of the total suggest that Turkey is being portrayed positively. It is appropriate to evaluate this situation because of “International Entrepreneurs” who are managing business in tourism, are contributing to its promotion. In this case, they desire to promote Turkey as an alternative holiday destination to market for their own interests.

In another point of view, negative news is more catching and more viewed in the media. Newsmakers are seeking the most viewed news. It seems that Turkey is appropriate to interpret and make more negative news about, even if it is unbalanced. As an example, the interviewer G says that he does not trust the media for the news about Turkey.

Question 4: What is Turkey’s perception like in your home country? Do you find it realistic?

This question is trying to show if Turkey’s perception is realistic, in both positive and negative ways. People’s perception about Turkey is analyzed to see if Turkey has a realistic perception or not, beyond only the media. Assumingly, negative perception is based on negative news in the media and biased approaches in the public eye. These approaches might come into focus by not knowing the country, the history of nations, religious concerns or cultural conflict fears. It is obvious that these issues are necessary for comprehensive academic research and studies to support these cases. Hence, this study does not focus on these matters at all.

Table 5: Group A, the level of Turkish perception.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (11)	Men (10)	Total (21)
It is positive and realistic.	4 (64 %)	3 (30 %)	7 (52 %)
It is positive and it is not realistic.	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)
It is negative and realistic.	2 (18 %)	4 (40 %)	6 (29 %)
It is negative and it is not realistic.	5 (45 %)	5 (50 %)	10 (48 %)

It is a significant indicator to show that Turkey is not conducting a propaganda-based public diplomacy effort, because all of the participants think that an unrealistic positive perception is out of question. Continuing this idea, the perception expressed by the “Turkish Foreign Affairs” and promoting departments would have built in some expectations among the foreigners. As long as people think

like this, it would mean that Turkish public diplomacy is not being conducted as propaganda or in an influenced way in order to represent the country as something which it is not in reality.

On the other hand, most of the responders think that Turkey should be promoted more, since the real Turkey is not well known abroad. In fact, 62% also think that Turkey has a false perception because people do not know enough about it. This might well mean that Turkey needs a more effective promoting strategy to represent itself.

Noteworthy points concerning the answers: Number 5 mentions about the consideration of a radical Islamic based violation mentality. Again, it would be wise to note that such an approach comes from not knowing the religion and culture of Turkey. At this point, Turkey might well feel responsibility for this false expression. It is generally accepted that none of the religions, including Islam, can be blamed for any terrorist groups or discriminative activities. If there is a perception of believing in violation that is sourced from religion or culture it would mean a great threat for anyone who does not belong to it. Such a perception would rightly drive foreigners away from Turkey. As a result of this, the issue has become a very important matter for Turkey to monitor and keep in mind constantly.

Number 6 has an interesting statement by saying that Turkey has a perception of being a '*cheap vacation place and no matter what the rest is like*'. Supposedly, this is a positive comment about Turkey. But considering what the word '*cheap*' means, it deserves to be altered a bit. Somehow, there can be two different arguments to analyze this matter. One, by '*saying Turkey is cheap*' could mean that Turkey has poor standards of quality compared to the other tourist places, and it welcomes tourists who cannot afford to go to other and better countries for a holiday. Secondly, it can also mean that Turkey is as good as the other tourist places, if not even better, but it is cheaper when it comes to comparing what it offers. By way it is expressed by the interviewers and the participants, the word '*cheap*' is used in the second meaning. In the meantime, it is important to note that it mostly refers to Spain and Italy by saying *the others*. This issue, and definition, takes place and is argued below, because the term might also unintentionally give an expression of the first perspective as well!

Number 13 is so much more interesting with regard to Turkey and she says, *‘For the right perception you have to come to Turkey’*. She is not very optimistic about it being possible to find a method to build the right perception abroad for Turkey. She believes that the perception is too negative, and Turkey is such a nice place that this can’t be explained.

Question 5: Do you know anyone who doesn’t especially want to visit Turkey? If yes, what do they say for the reasons?

This question tries to find an answer for how common the negative perception of Turkey exists in the people of Norway, England and Germany. It would also give an idea about the reasons for this negative perception.

Table 6: Group A, people who don’t want to visit Turkey and reasons.

	Gender		Ratio
Statements	Women (11)	Men (10)	Total (21)
Yes, I do.	8 (73 %)	10 (100 %)	18 (86 %)
No, I do not.	3 (27 %)	0 (100 %)	3 (24 %)
Turkey is not safe.	7 (64 %)	8 (80 %)	15 (71 %)
Don’t like Turkey.	0 (0 %)	2 (20 %)	2 (10 %)

The answers to this question demonstrate a considerable number of the people of Norway, United Kingdom and Germany have a negative perception of Turkey. Hence, 73% of women and 100% of men say that they know of at least one person who would not specially want to visit Turkey. This group of people have certain negative thoughts about Turkey. As a result, they do not choose Turkey to visit at all. Analyzing the answers points out that 71% of the mentioned group had expressed the idea of Turkey not being safe to visit. Indeed, it is very obvious that the biggest challenge of Turkey is to convince foreigners while promoting the country, particularly in the area of tourism.

Noteworthy points of the answers: Number 5 mentioned that sellers in the touristic shops bothered them so much that they didn't want to return, and they advised people they know to do the same. This matter seems to be worth examining so it is analyzed in the following question, number 6.

Number 6 mentioned that some people don't like Turkish food, which is a reason for some not to visit Turkey. In contrast, many responders, as well as many interviewees especially, put into words how much they like Turkish food and they also advise it should be used in promoting the country.

Number 9 and 11 both use similar terms like '*Muslim treats*' to underline that some people have the perception of feeling insecure because of religion.

Number 9 also mentioned that the weather is too hot for some people to manage. It is true that especially a person's health and physical condition might determine the ranges of comfortable temperatures. The summer temperature in Turkey must be considered in specific medical and disabled cases. In fact, the climate in Turkey is one of the top draws in the list for visitors. 42% of Group A as well as 50% of Group B stated that the climate had attracted them to visit Turkey in the first place.

Number 12 points out that the people who especially don't want to visit Turkey, do not know the country. She also adds that if they knew Turkey well, they would have no questions about staying, and they would have enjoyed spending time in Turkey very much indeed.

Number 15 says that he knows someone who would never want to visit Turkey because of the historical events which occurred with Greece. This point is given as an example to illustrate that some independent reasons for some people still exist in their decision making. Such a reason is not valid for present times and does not provide any contribution to a study or research like this.

Similarly, number 18 says that he knows someone who would not visit Turkey because of the 'Gezi Parkı' protests; an impression of an authoritarian leadership and the status of women's rights in the country. As the participant expresses, he believes that this is "embargo-oriented" behavior. These kinds of attitudes must not be ignored, and this matter is worthy of attention. Human behavior

is based on emotions and feelings. In continuing this idea, a significant number of people do make decisions under influence of their emotions and feelings which also would cover their perception too. In this case, it is very important for Turkey to take the necessary measures to challenge this kind of negative perception.

Question 6: Is there anything you find unattractive about Turkey? Please specify.

The purpose of asking this question was to emphasize the unattractive events which also negatively affect a positive perception for the country. It is important to note that a country like Turkey desires to have an effective share of soft power and would keep an eye on the negative events which might damage the efforts in achieving these goals. As it is argued above, desiring to increase soft power requires focusing on eliminating any possible reason that might be an obstruction to achieve the purpose. This situation can be defined as a function to encourage development and advancements during the seeking of soft power.

Table 7: Group A, unattractiveness about Turkey.

	Gender		Ratio
Statements	Women (11)	Men (10)	Total (21)
Yes	10 (90 %)	9 (90 %)	19 (90 %)
No	1 (9 %)	1 (10 %)	2 (10 %)
Environmental pollution	2 (14 %)	6 (42 %)	8 (56 %)
Sellers	4 (28 %)	2 (14 %)	6 (42 %)
Animal rights	0 (0 %)	2 (14 %)	2 (14 %)

This question is on a parallel step to the earlier question. The purpose of question 5 is to examine the sources of negative perception and the unattractiveness about Turkey. It was based on what the participants hear from the people they know who have never been to Turkey. This question seeks to analyze and underline what kind of unattractiveness the members of Group A, who having spent time in the country, as a tourist as well as property owners, point out. This situation would

provide the opportunity to reveal and compare the negative impressions of Turkey in the eyes of two different groups.

Even where generally people make positive comments about Turkey, this question indicates that people have some unattractive perspectives too. 90% of the participants have stated that there are some facts that they find unattractive and difficult to come to terms with about Turkey.

With a spotlight put forward, 56% of the participants pointed out that environmental pollution needs to be taken care of. This issue has become a vital matter for the whole world in the last couple of decades. It is generally accepted that one of the main reasons for Global Warming is environmental pollution. In this case, reasonable and sensitive people do care about pollution. Not only are people considering this problem, the governments are also keeping this issue at the top of their agenda. Most people would agree on the idea of criticizing countries for not being sensitive enough to deal with environmental pollution on their doorstep.

Interestingly, 42% of participants mentioned the sellers in tourist places as an important problem concerning the perception of Turkey in the case of tourism. This problem has been discussed for many years; the problem is defined as the sellers interrupting and disturbing the tourists while trying to market their products and services. Statements of many tourists for many years prove that this hassling problem has been improving. But yet, 42% of people still consider it an annoying problem.

Noteworthy points of the answers: Number 12 thinks that there is no need to question these kinds of matters and she adds that *'Turkey is a holiday destination and it is doing good for the purpose'*.

Number 21 mentions the pollution, but she also explains that it is not a big problem for her. This approach is explained by saying she does not feel responsible for a country where she finds herself as a guest but not a citizen.

Question 7: Would you recommend your friends and family to visit Turkey?

Only a positive perception can allow one to trust a place to advise to his or her loved ones. The answers of this question indicate to what extent the participants

have positive perceptions and find the country safe. Maybe the level of positive perception might not demonstrate the amount of Turkish soft power on its own. However, it would reveal the potential capacity of possible Turkish soft power, because this attitude comes into life from attractiveness and trustworthiness.

Table 8: Group A, recommending Turkey.

	Gender		Ratio
Statements	Women (11)	Men (10)	Total (21)
Yes, I would.	6 (28 %)	7 (34 %)	13 (62 %)
Yes, very much	5 (24 %)	3 (14 %)	8 (38 %)

The total answers are an absolute positive 100%. More interestingly, 38% of the participants say that they would advise Turkey very much.

Question 8: Do you think Turkey is being promoted enough?

It is important to see this from the level of public diplomacy and the country's promotion in the eyes of this group. It can give ideas about how comprehensively Turkey is taking these measures and how it is being conducted. The study aims to examine to what extent Turkish public diplomacy reaches the foreign public in their homeland.

Table 9: Group A, sufficiency in promoting.

	Gender		Ratio
Statements	Women (11)	Men (10)	Total (21)
No, I don't.	8 (73 %)	5 (50 %)	13 (62 %)
Yes, I do.	4 (36 %)	4 (40 %)	8 (38 %)

It is certain that there are some other “actors” who are trying to promote Turkey as well. These “actors” are Turkish tourism related companies, other interested national or international tour operators and tourism companies. Hence, when it is the case of promoting, the private tourism sector gets involved too.

It is important to note that 62% of this group think that Turkey is not being promoted enough. This result can be read in two perspectives. One can mean that 62% of the participants believe that Turkey has more than it is being shown. Secondly, they think that Turkey should prioritize and increase its promotion when compared to other tourist places. Both perspectives refer to the fact that Turkey should place much more effort in promoting itself and act more strategically beside it.

Number 11 says that promoting Turkey was more prevalent in previous times and is less these days. This assumption requires that promotion needs to be examined closely in time periods and compared with for being able to comment on it effectively.

Question 9: If you were advertising Turkey, which features would you use to promote the country?

This question is very similar to question number 3. One can easily expect very close answers. It is indeed so. The purpose of asking this question is to drive participants to reconsider the issue. It is expected that the members of this group would try harder to pay more attention to some points which are not entirely clear. The logic behind this question is that the participants are being asked to empathize and put themselves in a position of responsibility and duty in promoting Turkey. At this point, they would have a chance to imagine themselves as obligated to take the question more seriously and try to find more creative terms.

So, it again aims to see what and what else might possibly attract foreign people about Turkey the most and why.

Table 10: Group A; the features to promote Turkey with.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (11)	Men (10)	Total (21)
Turkish food	7 (64 %)	6 (60 %)	13 (62 %)
Historical places	6 (55 %)	5 (50 %)	11 (52 %)
Cultural identity	7 (64 %)	3 (30 %)	10 (48 %)
Natural composition	5 (45 %)	3 (30 %)	8 (38 %)
Friendly people	4 (36 %)	3 (30 %)	7 (33 %)
Good place for everyone	4 (36 %)	3 (30 %)	6 (29 %)
Cheap place to live	3 (27 %)	3 (30 %)	6 (29 %)
Nice climate	3 (27 %)	3 (30 %)	6 (29 %)
Having nice beaches	2 (18 %)	1 (10 %)	3 (14 %)
Relaxing place	1 (2 %)	1 (20 %)	1 (5 %)

It is interesting to note that when it comes to promote Turkey 62% of the participants think that Turkish food is good and varied. However, when they are being asked for the reasons that attracted them to Turkey, only 33% of them mentioned food.

Historical faces and images of Turkey have been used in promoting the country for many years. In modern times historical places still attract people on a huge scale, no matter where it is in the world. For instance, non-developed countries like Peru, India, Egypt, China, Cambodia and the Middle East etc. attract people, mostly to historical places they could recommend. So, historical features give an excellent advantage in promoting the country to tourists. Developed countries like Spain, Italy, Greece, France etc. have had the chance to combine modern life in an historical environment which then turns them into selective touristic destinations to their advantage. Being a historical country, in addition to its other special features, increases the reputation, appeal and status of Turkey greatly. As it is stated in the

answers of the survey, 52% of the responders believe that historical themes should be increasingly used for promoting the country. Another point revealed with this question suggests that when the same participants were asked what made them buy their property, only 19% of them mentioned the historical features of Turkey. This can mean that the historical side of Turkey was not known by them before they came to Turkey. This would also suggest that this feature is not being well promoted in drawing visitors.

It is similar with cultural identity, with 29% to 48% after their experiences. Culture is another theme which leads people to build a perception about a place. 48% of the participants find Turkish culture attractive and it is well worth being used to promote the country. Indeed, Turkey has such different cultural structures within and around it. It is argued below with interviewees that they cannot classify Turkey within any groups of countries in the world. Even geographically, it is difficult to place Turkey with others because it is located in between the Western and Eastern world, as well as being in the neighborhood of Russia. These facts give Turkey a '*unique identity*' in a sense as one of the participants TG specifies in his thoughts, as a person who has travelled widely in the country and knows Turkey well, after more than 24 years' first-hand experience. Such an identity provides some advantages in the competition to attract people to make a decision in favor of Turkey.

In connection with this issue, the "friendly Turkish people phenomenon," is another subject which caught the attention and interest of the participants. 33% of them stated that the friendliness of Turkish people should be utilized as importantly as other factors in promoting the country.

29% of the participants think that Turkey has something to offer everyone. This is a very important subject. The human being is a social entity in nature, which leads them to create families, living and doing activities together. Families combine from members of different age groups, backgrounds, interests and gender. For this reason, to have an advantage, a holiday center should be suitable for families and should create a good atmosphere for every member of each family. This means that such a center or resort should offer a warm welcome to everyone on holiday, which is superior to its foreign rivals.

The participants state some natural features worth promoting as follows: the natural composition 38%, pleasant climate 29%, clean beaches 14% and a relaxing environment 5%. In addition, 29% of this group believe that Turkey is a cheap place to live in when compared to their home country and other foreign destinations. In the '*cost and benefit*' calculation the balance between the price and what tourists get in return is very important. Also, the satisfaction with getting value for money is significant in keeping a sustainable relationship in the case of tourism overall.

Noteworthy points of the answers: Number 13 says '*promote Turkey with what it has*'. Because she thinks that Turkey is such a nice place, so all it has to do is to show what it really is, to be good enough to attract people. Similarly, Number 8 says that '*Turkey is a fantastic country with everything it has*'.

Number 11 thinks that Turkey still has an unexplored beauty. As he has been to Turkey for such a long time, he still gets fascinated when he travels to a new place. This situation also indicates that the featured range of Turkey needs to be strategic and specific when promoting the country.

While observing the close interaction with the members of Group A, Group B provided the study an opportunity to examine the concepts in a different degree of interaction.

3.4.The Survey of Group B

Participants are from Norway, England and Germany and the members of Group B consist of foreigners who have been to Turkey at least once. The group has a total of 20 participants; 10 of them are women and 10 are men.

Question 1: How often do you go on holiday abroad?

The purpose of this question is to emphasize the group frequency of members travelling abroad for holidays. This data would offer suggestions about the chances of tourist countries being visited. The idea is that the more people traveling abroad for vacations, the greater chance each country will be visited, since they wish to try a new destination and hope to discover more exciting places.

Table 11: Group B, frequency of traveling abroad.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (10)	Men (10)	Total (20)
1 time in a year	4 (40 %)	8 (80 %)	12 (60 %)
2 time in a year	3 (30 %)	2 (20 %)	5 (25 %)
3 time in a year	2 (20 %)	0 (0 %)	2 (10 %)
4 time in a year	1 (10 %)	0 (0 %)	1 (5 %)

As the answers suggest, 60% of the participants travel abroad once, 2% twice, 10% three times and 5% four times in a year. Only one male responder said that he usually goes on holiday once but doesn't necessarily go abroad every year. This statistic can imply that travelling this often gives a greater opportunity for tourism. This approach assumes that people want to visit new destinations in the hope of discovering something outstanding and more special than previously experienced. Based on this suggestion, having this number of visitors around would make it easier for main tourist countries to welcome all the more. Although this situation seems to facilitate greater tourist numbers, it remains a real fact that the reality of having a negative perception would still keep some away,

A point worth mentioning arising from this question is that the women responders are travelling considerably more than men. According to the data from this question, 80% of men go abroad once annually, while only 40% of women fly abroad only once in a year. 20% of the other men go abroad twice, while 30% of the women twice, 20% three times and 10% four times in the year.

Question 2: Have you ever been to another country for vacation?

This is an important point to consider when people who come to Turkey have been to other countries as well. This would provide a clear opportunity to compare Turkey with other countries and this would suggest that their thoughts are a realistic experience. If they had not visited any other countries, then their only expectations

would have influenced their perception of Turkey. In turn, this might create a perception that is not very reliable and limited.

Table 12: Group B, visiting other countries.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (10)	Men (10)	Total (21)
Yes, I have.	10 (100 %)	10 (100 %)	20 (100 %)
No. I haven't	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)

These answers give evidence that 100% of those responders had been to another country. This would mean that they all have experienced at least one other touristic country in order to compare Turkey with. Hence, their perception is not only coming from media, news or travel programs. The only point that gives a negative impression about Turkey is that none of them had enough positive experiences to answer in the first place. This may suggest that they visited the places where they were attracted the most in the first place. The situation may also indicate that positive perceptions about Turkey needs to increase in foreign minds to keep pace and overtake its rivals.

Question 3: Why did you choose Turkey to visit?

The study tries to understand in this question, what participants are being attracted by and to, in the first place. It also gives an opportunity to compare with the feelings and thoughts of the property owners Group A about Turkey. Comparing, Group A and Group B in this question provides the evidence at first-hand about what attracts people to choose a particular holiday and to test if anything changes over time after they experience Turkey and know more about it. Because property owners come to Turkey as tourists in the beginning and depending on how satisfied they are with the country, this determines in a large part if they want to buy their holiday home in Turkey.

Table 13: Group B, reasons to choose Turkey.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (10)	Men (10)	Total (20)
Nice climate.	3 (30 %)	7 (70 %)	10 (50 %)
New place to see.	1 (10 %)	3 (30 %)	4 (20 %)
Cheap holiday.	4 (40 %)	0 (0 %)	4 (20 %)
With family.	2 (20 %)	1 (10 %)	3 (15 %)
Friendly people	0 (0 %)	2 (20 %)	2 (10 %)
Nice hotels.	1 (10 %)	1 (10 %)	2 (10 %)
Short distance.	1 (10 %)	1 (10 %)	2 (10 %)
Nice food.	0 (0 %)	1 (10 %)	1 (5 %)
Historical place.	0 (0 %)	1 (10 %)	1 (5 %)

It is quite amazing that participants are not aware of important historical features of Turkey until they visit the country. Only 5% of the responders mentioned that historical parts of Turkey attracted them. However, when it comes to ask them to advise what to promote Turkey with, 30% mention that *historical places* should be promoted. Attention should be given in comparing the answers of questions 2 and 9 for Group A where the situation is very similar. This point demonstrates that people don't notice the historical side of Turkey, since it is not being promoted so strongly. The increasing percentage in relation to this proves that the target group is attracted by the historical places in Turkey and a considerable number of them think that it is worthy of use in the promotion of the country.

10% of the participants stated that the friendliness of Turkish people had influenced their decision. 20% of the same group of people also recommend that Turkey should be promoted after they spent time in Turkey.

20% of this group had the idea of Turkey being cheap, but after they spent time here, the percentage decreases by half to 10%. That means the expectation was not realistic in practice.

Question 4: Has your perception about Turkey changed after you experienced staying in Turkey? If yes, please specify.

This question aims to analyze perceptions of the members of Group B to assess if they had any realistic comments about Turkey before they ever came to the country. The results of this question can give some evidence as to how good and strategic Turkish public diplomacy has been by measuring how true their perception was. The principle behind this is the same as it was argued earlier in this study. However, in this case, if their perception overlaps with their expectation before they physically see Turkey, it would mean that Turkish public diplomacy and promotion of the country doesn't need to be questioned very much at all. Yet, if their perception is more negative or positive than that they find when they actually experience the country, then both public diplomacy and promotion of the country needs to be examined to highlight the issues arising. There may be some other reasons to cause Turkey's perception not being met with fairly; almost like defamation, but this issue is not analyzed in this research. When pursuing this further, if their perception was reflecting the reality, then it can be read as the public diplomacy and promotion of the country had been successful. On the contrary, if their perception was more negative than the actual case, then it would mean that Turkey's public diplomacy and promoting the country has not been effective, strategically or having been blocked in other ways. As the study is not focused on these reasons; it emphasizes how realistic the perception of Turkey is and if it is necessary to suggest adapting the focus in promoting the country.

Table 14: Group B, perception before and after visit.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (10)	Men (10)	Total (20)
Yes, it was better than I expected.	3 (30 %)	6 (60 %)	9 (45 %)
No, it was as good as I expected.	5 (50 %)	4 (40 %)	9 (45 %)
Yes, it was worse than I expected.	2 (20 %)	0 (0 %)	2 (10 %)
No, it was as bad as I expected.	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)

This study attempts to measure how realistic Turkish promotion is. The data from this question portrays that Turkish promotion is not based on a propagandist approach and not being conducted in a misleading way. 45% of responders think that Turkey is better than their expectations and 45% percent are of the opinion that it is as good as it was promised. 20% find Turkey was worse than their expectations. Full satisfaction cannot be guaranteed when trying to please everyone all the time. Indeed, some may not, or even dislike, some main features that are being presented as praiseworthy. In the example above, question 5 for Group A, a participant says that he knows someone who would never come to Turkey because it is too hot here. Yet, on the other hand, 50% of Group B and 47% of Group A stated that the climate in Turkey is a prime reason for choosing to visit. Further, 20% is not a figure to be ignored, and it requires more in-depth analysis to see if there is a decrease in dissatisfaction.

Number 5 and 22 found Turkey worse than they were expecting. Such results could be sourced from personal experiences or from misleading holiday marketing strategies as well, or even lack of holiday research before travel.

Question 5: Do you want to visit Turkey again?

This question aims to prove if the participants, who have experienced a holiday in Turkey are satisfied with what they have experienced and if they enjoyed their stay.

Table 15: Group B, will of visiting Turkey again.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (10)	Men (10)	Total (20)
Yes.	9 (90 %)	9 (90 %)	18 (90 %)
No.	1 (10 %)	1 (10 %)	2 (10 %)

The data utilized from this question indicates that 90% of the responders felt that they had experienced what they came for. They also believed that they would most likely have enjoyable and worthwhile times again in the future. Indeed, if they continue having enjoyable times in Turkey, they might potentially become a second homeowner as well.

Question 6: Would you recommend your friends to visit Turkey?

This question asks some different subjects and opinions. Firstly, it is to measure how safe they find Turkey to encourage their loved ones to visit. If they advise this way, then it would mean that they have no question about the security. Secondly, they believe that Turkey is a good, interesting country and their loved ones would enjoy having a holiday in. Finally, they also consider they will get good value for money compared to the rival destinations, just as they did.

Table 16: Group B, recommending Turkey.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (10)	Men (10)	Total (20)
Yes.	7 (70 %)	8 (80 %)	15 (75 %)
No.	3 (30 %)	2 (20 %)	5 (25 %)

75% in the survey who have been a tourist in Turkey stated that they would highly recommend their family and friends to visit Turkey. The ratio seems good at first glance, but on the other hand, 25% declared that they would not advise their

family members and friends. They all thought that Turkey is not very safe. This raises another question. If Turkey could not convince 25% of the people who had in the first place, trusted and spent time in the country, then how can Turkey change public perception over the miles to foreign countries? As it was mentioned earlier, it is not very easy to reach, or persuade the international media to convey the right message to a huge foreign public.

The interesting point about this question is that 25% of the group stated that they would not advise friends and family to visit because of safety reasons. Yet, the earlier question, Number 5, asked if they would visit Turkey again; only 10% said that they would not. That may suggest 15% of this group think that it is safe enough for them to visit, but not safe enough to advise the loved ones.

Question 7: Do you think the perception of Turkey in your country reflects the reality?

Table 17: Group B, the perception level of Turkey abroad.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (10)	Men (10)	Total (20)
Yes, it does.	3 (30 %)	4 (40 %)	7 (35 %)
No, it is better than the perception.	3 (30 %)	3 (30 %)	6 (30 %)
No, it is worse than the perception.	1 (10 %)	0 (0 %)	1 (5 %)
I don't have a clear idea.	3 (30 %)	2 (20 %)	5 (25 %)

The impression that 35% give while saying that the perception of Turkey reflects the reality is a positive perception. It means that this same perception about how good Turkey really is as a holiday destination is a realistic one.

30% of the participants say that Turkey is better than its perception abroad. This means either Turkey is not being promoted enough or a false perception is being created in their country. There could be many reasons for this, if there is such an approach. Turkish private sector members mostly think that Turkey is intentionally

being discredited so that they can control tourist business. The political environment asserts that it is a part of a defamation attack being conducted by political rivals. Some Nationalists would also argue that because they have a national interest-based calculation, they strategically blacken Turkey's name and reputation to weaken its image.

It indicates that 25% of the responders feel they do not need to pay attention to this matter. Or it is also possible that they have never come across any contradictions or events to make them think about the perception against reality.

Question 8: Do you think that Turkey is being promoted enough?

Table 18: Group B, sufficiency in promoting.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (10)	Men (10)	Total (20)
No, it is not.	7 (70 %)	4 (40 %)	11 (55 %)
Yes, it is.	1 (10 %)	4 (40 %)	5 (25 %)
I don't have a clear idea.	2 (20 %)	2 (20 %)	4 (20 %)

55 % of people who have seen Turkey, even for a short time during their holiday, believe that Turkey needs to be more promoted. 25% of the participants think that Turkey is being promoted enough, which means what they see in Turkey and the features around it meet with the image in mind.

Question 9: If you were advertising Turkey which features would you use to promote the country?

The question aims to portray the features of Turkey which attracted people the most during their short time on holiday. This question also provides an opportunity to see if people would see any different features when they spend longer times in Turkey by comparing to what members of Group A advise.

Another purpose of this question is to reveal which features of Turkey are being less promoted. To be able to do so, they were asked the question why they chose Turkey to visit. The answers to be expected should show what they know about Turkey to some extent. In other words, the outcomes would also show what Turkey is being promoted with abroad. Asking the same people what features of Turkey they like after their holiday, would display what Turkey is being promoted with the most appropriately.

Again, in the same logic of question for Group A, they were asked to imagine they were promoting Turkey in person. Hence, it is expected that they would try harder and be more creative.

Table 19: Group B, the features to promote Turkey with.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (6)	Men (8)	Total (14)
Climate	5 (50 %)	4 (40 %)	9 (45 %)
Historical place	3 (30 %)	3 (30 %)	6 (30 %)
Friendly people	2 (20 %)	2 (20 %)	4 (20 %)
Nice beaches	3 (30 %)	2 (20 %)	5 (25 %)
Turkish food	2 (20 %)	1 (10 %)	3 (15 %)
Cultural identity	1 (10 %)	2 (20 %)	3 (15 %)
Cheap place	1 (10 %)	1 (10 %)	2 (10 %)
Nice hotels	0 (0 %)	2 (20 %)	2 (10 %)
Short distance	1 (10 %)	1 (10 %)	2 (10 %)
Naturel beauty	0 (0 %)	1 (10 %)	1 (5 %)

Historical places were mentioned by only 5% as a reason for this group to choose Turkey for a holiday destination, but after spending some time in Turkey 30% of

them mentioned that the historical aspect of the country deserves to be promoted more. Knowing this group is taken from holidaymakers, most possibly they see only a very small part of Turkey during their holiday. Most likely, if they were to see more of Turkey, then this percentage would increase as members of Group A mentioned it by 52%, because they have been to different parts as well.

Another important topic is Turkish food. Only 5% of the participants of Group B stated that Turkish food played a role in deciding to visit Turkey. After they have experienced staying in Turkey, 15% of the group advised Turkish food as an area to promote. However, when looking at Group A, probably as it is a healthy and varied diet, 62% surveyed asserted that Turkish food is a feature to be used for advertising the country. These percentages must be analyzed with the knowledge that most of the members of Group B had eaten in the hotels where they stayed. These hotels are trying to serve Turkish food, but some Turkish food would be costly and difficult to serve. Therefore, they choose a limited and mixed menu to serve their own interest as well as it being good enough to please and satisfy their guests. From this point of view if they experienced original, pure Turkish food, the expectation would be that more responders would be attracted by Turkish food.

In spite of the fact that no one mentioned beaches as a reason which attract them to choose Turkey to visit, 25% of the participants found the beaches well worth promoting after experiencing them firsthand.

Number 10 warns about sellers and people who work for restaurants because they irritate and annoy tourists while trying to sell things. Apparently, the subject is more serious than it seems. This issue came out with the 6th question of Group A and 42% of the group mentioned sellers as an unattractive part of Turkey. It is important to note that this matter is relevant to discuss only in touristic parts of Turkey. The issue needs to be evaluated further and acted upon.

Number 21 says *that it (Turkey) should be telling people that it is a safe place. So, people should ignore the negative news and perception in the media about Turkey.*

The analysis of Group A and Group B contribute the study to display the scope of Turkish public diplomacy on relatively easier target group. Group C allows the research to examine the effect of promotional activities on neutral part of public.

3.5.The Survey of Group C

Participants in this group are from Norway, England and Germany. In total 14 people, including 6 women and 8 men, responded to the survey. None of the participants have been to Turkey before but they go on holiday abroad elsewhere. The knowledge they have about Turkey was gathered through the perception and portrayal of media and social platforms abroad.

Question 1: How often do you go on holiday abroad?

This question has the same conditions and criteria as Group B; the higher the travel rate, the more likely it is to attract tourists. However, asking the same question to different groups aims to reach an understanding and thinking of why one group visits Turkey, and why the other one does not.

Table 20: Group C, frequency of traveling abroad.

Statements	Gender		Raito
	Women (6)	Men (8)	Total (14)
1 time in a year	2 (33 %)	2 (25 %)	4 (29 %)
2 time in a year	1 (17 %)	5 (63 %)	6 (42 %)
3 time in a year	3 (50 %)	1 (12 %)	4 (29 %)

Comparing Group B to Group C with this question may indicate if Group B travels more, so it encourages visitors to come to Turkey, or because Group C doesn't travel much, so this can lessen the opportunities to come to the country.

60% of Group B and 29% of Group C members go abroad once in a year; 25% of Group B and 42% of Group C members go abroad twice in a year; 10% of

Group B and 29% of Group C members go abroad three times in a year; 5% of Group B members go abroad four times in a year; and lastly, none of the Group C members go abroad four times in a year. The results do not prove there is any reason related between travelling abroad more often and visiting Turkey. 40% of Group B travel abroad more than once a year and have visited Turkey, but despite this, 71% of Group C travel more than once in a year, but they have not yet visited Turkey. Further to this idea, there is something else that influences responders of Group C to not visit Turkey, which is very possibly the negative perceptions they hold about Turkey.

Question 2: Which countries do you prefer?

This question aims to gain a better understanding of Group C's preferences about the holiday destinations they may have in mind. If they have some country very different to Turkey, then that would suggest different tastes and requirements in selecting a holiday. The question intentionally asks *where they prefer to go*, not where they have been, which would in turn provide opportunities to express more places to allow this study to better reveal their taste. In other words, this question also tries to discover what it is they find better in other countries, rather than in Turkey the positives and negatives of each side.

Table 21: Group C, the visited countries.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (6)	Men (8)	Total (14)
Spain	4 (66 %)	6 (75 %)	10 (71 %)
Italy	2 (33 %)	2 (25 %)	4 (29 %)
Greece	1 (17 %)	2 (25 %)	3 (21 %)
Cyprus	1 (17 %)	1 (12 %)	2 (14 %)
Sweden	1 (17 %)	1 (12 %)	2 (14 %)
United Kingdom	1 (17 %)	1 (12 %)	2 (14 %)
Denmark	1 (17 %)	0 (0 %)	1 (7 %)
Portugal	0 (17 %)	1 (12 %)	1 (7 %)
France	1 (17 %)	0 (0 %)	1 (7 %)

The countries and rates included in the answers are respectively: 71% Spain, 29% Italy, 21% Greece and 14% Cyprus. These same countries also have very similar tourist features in terms of climate, historical places, the quality of hotels and beaches. It becomes easy to say that choosing these countries, while not wishing to visit Turkey, is unlikely related to the tastes and needs of people.

Why do they prefer these countries?

Table 22: Group C, the reasons to choose countries.

	Gender		Ratio
Statements	Women (6)	Men (8)	Total (14)
It is a nice place.	2 (33 %)	2 (25 %)	4 (29 %)
It is in a short distance.	2 (33 %)	1 (12 %)	4 (29 %)
It is a safe place.	3 (50 %)	0 (0 %)	3 (21 %)
I have a holiday home there.	0 (0 %)	2 (25 %)	2 (14 %)
I like their food.	0 (0 %)	1 (12 %)	1 (7 %)

Analyzing the reasons and findings further, it implies that preferences are not so very different to those of Group A and Group B in regard to Turkey. The main reason for Group C members not to visit Turkey is that 57% of them do not think that Turkey is a safe country to visit; and for them, the other countries are much safer.

Question 3: Have you ever thought of visiting Turkey before?

Table 23: Group C, the thought of visiting Turkey.

	Gender		Ratio
Statements	Women (6)	Men (8)	Total (14)
Yes. I have.	4 (67 %)	2 (25 %)	6 (43 %)
No. I have not.	2 (33 %)	6 (75 %)	8 (57 %)

It is interesting to note that 67% of women would wish to visit Turkey in contrast to 75% of men expressing reservations and doubts in visiting.

What makes you think of visiting Turkey?

Table 24: Group C, reasons of thinking to visit Turkey.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (4)	Men (2)	Total (6)
I hear nice things about it.	2 (50 %)	2 (100 %)	4 (67 %)
I want to see new places.	2 (50 %)	0 (0 %)	2 (33 %)

67% of Group C who would want to visit Turkey stated that they had heard encouraging comments about Turkey. 33% of Group C say that they want to experience Turkey in the future, because they wish to see new, different and possibly unique places. This seems to prove the assumption that travelling would provide better opportunities to every tourist destination that the actual study implies.

Why do you not think of visiting Turkey?

Table 25: Group C, reasons of thinking not to visit Turkey.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (2)	Men (6)	Total (8)
It is not a safe place.	1 (50 %)	3 (50 %)	4 (50 %)
I don't like Turkey.	1 (50 %)	2 (33 %)	3 (38 %)
The climate is too hot for me.	0 (0 %)	1 (17 %)	1 (12 %)

Number 9 mentioned '*Islamic terror*', this statement gives an idea about the fact that Turkey has a very negative image in the eyes of some foreigners. While religion and culture in Turkey welcome outsiders to show hospitality, the false perception turns it into a menace which proves the need of more promotion.

Number 4 says that his brother was robbed in Turkey. In some similar situations, people can choose to generalize the situation after an event. In fact, even if it is incompatible with the general character of the country, such an event can undermine the reputation of the country. The emergence of such infelicitous events and reducing their possible impacts are important for the country's profile.

Number 10 says that Turkey is not her style at all. Because of the nature of human beings, people have different tastes, and this is generally welcomed. However, in the case of a huge country like Turkey, such a statement can only be explained by the fact that the country is not known because Turkey, with different themes and identity features, has the ability to host a variety of styles.

Question 4: Do you know anyone who visits Turkey? If yes, what do they say about Turkey?

Table 26: Group C, knowing people who visit Turkey.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women	Men	Total
Yes. I do.	6 (100 %)	8 (100 %)	14 (100 %)
No. I do not.	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)
They say nice things about Turkey.	6 (100 %)	8 (100 %)	14 (100 %)

The answers reveal the fact that every member of Group C knows at least one person who has visited Turkey. However, the 5th question for Group A, which asks the group if they know anyone who specially doesn't want to visit Turkey, shows 14% do not know of one. This position means the ratio of people in particular do not want to visit Turkey is relatively less than the number of people who are visiting Turkey.

Additionally, all those who visit Turkey say it is a good country to visit. Most probably, they also offer advice to others about Turkey. Importantly, this attitude

contributes a great deal to promoting and changing any negative perceptions about Turkey abroad.

Question 5: Do you think that you have enough information about Turkey?

This question aims to understand if people who have never visited Turkey hear anything about it. The answers may indicate the level of promotion and public awareness of the country. The implication is that if Turkey is conducting an effective program and a comprehensive public policy, then foreign people should have sufficient knowledge and understanding to form a personal opinion.

Table 27: Group C, having enough information about Turkey.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (6)	Men (8)	Total (14)
Yes. I do.	3 (50 %)	2 (25 %)	5 (36 %)
No. I do not.	3 (50 %)	6 (75 %)	9 (64 %)

The answers suggest that 64% of the group consider they do not have enough information about Turkey. It is not clear if the remainder of the group has reasonable true or relevant information. Hence, it may be argued the reason some of the Group C have not been to Turkey is the fact that they do not have sufficient information, besides having negative perceptions. The indicator of the negative perception is that 4 of the participants explained that they can reach information about Turkey if they want to. This further suggests they are not motivated or interested to any high degree to do so. The statements really say that these 4 participants are not interested in Turkey at all, so they do not want to have any information about it. This position indicates quite strongly a solid negative bias for not doing any research at all.

Question 6: Why do you not prefer Turkey to visit?

Table 28: Group C, reasons for not wanting to visit Turkey.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (6)	Men (8)	Total (14)
Because Turkey is not safe.	4 (66 %)	4 (50 %)	8 (57 %)
I don't have a special reason.	3 (50 %)	1 (12 %)	4 (28 %)
Turkey is too far.	1 (16 %)	1 (12 %)	2 (12 %)

Number 2 says food poisoning is the reason for not visiting Turkey. It is possibly an opinion expressed by someone who had a bad experience in Turkey previously. Generalizing a personal statement in a secondhand way would not be relevant for inclusion in the data.

Most of the participants who find Turkey not a safe place, answer by saying, *"It is too close to Syria."* This in turn could suggest that the same responders have little concept of the sheer physical size of Turkey in relation to the Syrian borders and its conflict. Some of the statements directly blame Islam and Turkey as the resource of a supposedly unsafe atmosphere.

Number 14 says that there is no special reason *"it just doesn't attract"* him. Knowing that he likes Spain and has a holiday home there suggests he is satisfied with Spain and does not need to go elsewhere. That said, the way he expresses himself in his statement gives the impression of having a negative perception of Turkey. Even if he didn't go to Spain he would most probably still not travel to Turkey.

Question 7: What do you generally hear about Turkey?

Table 29: Group C, general perception of Turkey.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women (6)	Men (8)	Total (14)
Negative on the news	2 (33 %)	5 (63 %)	7 (50 %)
Cheap holiday place	1 (17 %)	4 (50 %)	5 (36 %)
Holiday place	1 (17 %)	3 (37 %)	4 (29 %)
President Erdoğan	2 (33 %)	1 (12 %)	3 (21 %)

Negative news in the foreign media is largely to blame for most of the negative perceptions of Turkey. From this, the idea arises of Turkey not being a safe country. In this circumstance, it is possible to clearly say that promoting Turkey and trying to change foreign perceptions is not going to be an easy process at all. This is, rightly or wrongly, what public opinion is about. As long as there is a measure of negative perception about Turkey, then one can mention the implementations as being successful. Whatever the reasons, as difficult as they are, it implies that it is not properly fulfilling its mission, unless the negative perception is based on a realistic ground. If so, creating unreal or false statements would mean conducting the propaganda itself.

The “*Cheap holiday place*,” perception some have of Turkey makes people not to expect much from the country. They think that there are no luxuries, life is basic and that it is not a modern country of any real standing. The perception of it being cheap can be read in two different ways. This is analyzed in more detail below. The ‘*Cheap holiday place*’ perception should be considered that mostly Group C mention it as a negative feature as the rest express this fact as an advantage.

2 women and 1 man say that they generally hear most about President Erdoğan. The impression is negative, because the given perception is of an authoritarian leader. This subject is discussed in second homeowner’s interviews below. Most of

them agree with the subject being carried to the agenda in the media. However, they don't express a serious concern about the issue.

3.6. In-depth Interviews with Second Homeowners in Turkey

As mentioned earlier, second homeowners are a very suitable group to analyze the country's outward appearance and image. Because each of them has adopted the country and it has a special place in their lives and hearts. Turkey has ceased to be an ordinary place for them. They also stand in a position where they somehow may be affected by the issues related to the country, at least to some extent; such that, they have established a heart bond with the country and are among those aspiring for it to do well and benefit. Due to these characteristics, these group members are expected to make important contributions to the study. The participants are from Norway, England and Germany. In-depth interviewees are 10 in total; 4 of them are women and 6 are men.

Question 1: When did you come to Turkey first?

Table 30: Second Homeowners, date of first visit.

Interviewee	Date
A	2012
B	2012
C	2015
D	1996
E	1997
F	2009
G	2007
H	2008
J	2008
K	1996

As it can be seen from the answers, the participants have been coming to Turkey for many years and they have witnessed many changes in the country during their time in the country. The average time since first coming to Turkey is 14 years. For a developing country, this period can be counted as a long time. Moreover, some participants had visited the country 24 years ago and have gained in-depth knowledge since then.

Question 2: Has your perception about the country changed since you have been to Turkey?

This question aims to underline that the perception of Turkey has not been reflecting the reality in the eyes of foreign people. Since all the participants have stated that they didn't have a realistic perception of Turkey, that means the matter is long rooted in the past.

Table 31: Second Homeowners, changing perception in time.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women	Men	Total
Yes, it has changed.	4 (100%)	6 (100%)	10 (100%)
No, it has not changed.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
It has changed to more positive.	4 (100%)	6 (100%)	0 (100%)
It has changed to more negative.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Each participant gave detailed explanations with longitudinal answers. However, the emphasis has been placed on the points that are noteworthy, since this study cannot be given such a wide coverage range.

The main points being expressed in the answers of question 2:

A: Yes. I didn't know a lot about Turkey before I came. I found the country much more modern than was in my mind. People are very friendly. Society is much more advanced than I thought. But there is a big difference between tourists and local residents.

B: Yes. It is a much nicer country than I knew. From my country Turkey looked very much behind European countries that time (2012). But it looks better these days.

C: Yes. I was hearing nice things about Turkey from my parents, but I found it better than I expected. I was concerned about how Turkish men treat women. But I saw that this is not an issue to be considered and worried about. I compared it with Greece, and I think Turkey is much better than Greece in many ways.

D: Yes. I didn't know much about Turkey before. My first experience wasn't very nice as a tourist, because of the problems that I had at the hotel I stayed. Then I wanted to try again and stayed elsewhere where I enjoyed very much. So, I have liked the country very much since then.

E: *Yes, Turkey looks unreliable therefore people don't trust the Turkish state. But when I came to Turkey, I saw that it was not true. Some Turks who live here don't represent Turkish culture well, so people think it is the same throughout in Turkey.*

F: *Yes. I would never come to Turkey if my close friend didn't invite me. I used to think that Turkish people were primitive, old fashioned and out of date. Another serious problem for me was the religion and the culture. It was frightening. After my first visit to Turkey I have noticed that all my concerns were unsubstantiated. I think that Turkey is safer than the United Kingdom.*

G: *Yes. I didn't know much about the country. I knew some friends who like Turkey very much. I used to think that it was only a cheap holiday destination, but I have seen that it has also luxury to offer, if it is required.*

H: *Yes. It is more modern than I thought.*

J: *Yes. I didn't know much about Turkey, but it was much better than I was expecting. Once you know the country you can see what a nice place it is.*

K: *Yes. People mostly think that Turkey is not a safe place mainly because of its neighbors. But they don't know how big the country is. I think it is as safe as most parts of Europe.*

As the answers reveal all the interviewers had negative, or at least a less positive perception, about the country before they come to Turkey. These answers indicate that Turkish public diplomacy and promotion of the country could not influence the foreign media and portrayed a realistic picture of Turkey.

As C mentions, women rights and the way they are being treated is an important matter in the foreign public's eyes. The outcome from the study shows that Turkey doesn't seem very positive in this area.

It is worth highlighting what D says. His perception suddenly changed from being very negative about Turkey, to a very positive perception after his first visit. He was invited to stay at his friends second home for 7 days, which led him to buy a holiday apartment later on. D also thinks that some parts of Turkey are safer than the United Kingdom.

G says that Turkey looked like only a cheap holiday place, but there are many nice and world-wide, highly rated hotels. G also mentioned this matter, as he says that rich people who are willing to have luxury, do not think that Turkey can serve the purpose. He does not agree with this idea as a person who has been to many other countries and he thinks that Turkey has some of the best hotels and services in the world.

E says that the Turkish people who live in Germany give people a negative perception about the Turkish nation because of misbehavior. Generalizing the issues can lead people to have a wrong image. The case of Turkish people living abroad is a subject that requires research with all other dynamics and conditions.

Question 3: Do you think that Turkey is changing?

Table 32: Second Homeowners, changes in Turkey.

	Gender		Ratio
Statements	Women	Men	Total
Yes, it is.	4 (100%)	6 (100%)	10 (100%)
No, it is not.	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (100%)

Turkey is a developing country and it is expected to change in many aspects in time. It is assumed that it would be easier to notice the changes for a foreigner. Because they stay away from the country for a while and when they return, they have the chance to compare the country with the previous stay. The participants again gave answers with a lot of details, but the points related to the study were noted and shown below.

The main points being expressed are the answers to question 3:

A: Yes. The country is modernizing with new and nice roads, shopping centers and buildings. But I don't think that the culture and the people are changing.

B: Yes. There are new things every time we come.

C: Yes, it is getting better physically. I can see new roads, pedestrian paths, social places and residential areas evolve and develop. At the same time, I can say that treatment of tourists is also improving. Turkish people understand the Europeans more now.

D: Yes. Tourism has improved very much since I came. People, and especially salesmen, used to be aggressive and treat tourists badly. But it is nice now. Economy was better until recent years, but the weaker Lira is better for me.

E: Yes. Turkey has been improving and developing economically for the last few years. Yet, human rights and democratization is getting poorer. Arresting many journalists and threatening European countries, letting in the Syrian refugees is against democratic values and human rights. She also thinks that Present Erdoğan is becoming too strong as a leader for a democratic country.

F: Yes. Turkey has changed very much with new roads, buildings and shops. But it looks like under the Erdoğan administration the country is heading to become a more conservative place. Maybe this can be a reason for raising prices of alcoholic drinks. Getting closer to Russia and China can indicate that the democratic values are not its priority these days.

G: Yes. I have observed improving living standards, developing roads and economic activities. I have witnessed a good economy “bouncing”. Advancement in tourism is amazing.

H: Yes. I think that Turkey has changed very much. New roads, nice, new buildings, shopping centers. Standards of living have increased. And I think that Turkish women are more visible in society than earlier. As a dentist I can say that Turkish health system is very good, even better than European countries.

J: Yes. I think that Turkey is becoming more modern with buildings, new roads, hotels and shops. I can also say that tourism is much more developed than it was.

K: Yes. Turkey has changed very much. New roads, economic improvements, new universities and hospitals, tourism has developed a lot. I believe that Turkey will continue developing in the future as well. Turkey used to be a cheap country but is becoming more expensive; but still cheaper than Europe.

This question reveals that Turkey is developing in many aspects at least in the eyes of foreign people who have been to Turkey for many years and have had the opportunity to observe it closely. Each and every participant thinks that Turkey is developing and improving economically. Most of them mention new roads, new buildings, nice, new hotels, new hospitals, shops and shopping centers etc. Regarding the answers, Turkey needs a dynamic, public diplomacy approach to reflect the developments as well. Because of the changes, the country requires the update of its public diplomacy and its promotion. Only in this way may it be possible to create a more realistic perception.

Another issue to emphasize is that not all the changes are accordingly evaluated as positive. E and F say that Turkey is becoming a more *undemocratic country*. The way they express the issue demonstrates that they had always found the country *undemocratic* to some degree, and they now describe the situation as *more undemocratic*. The most concern regarding this is blaming President Erdoğan in becoming too strong for a democratic order. However, they did not provide any indication to support this claim. It is understood that they may have been subject to media attitudes that led to such claims.

An interested issue that arose during the talks is that the country's health system is not known outside. Participants who experienced the health institutions in Turkey generally talked positively and praised these institutions. As a dentist, H states that the Turkish health system is better than in European countries. It is thought that the strategic use of this subject will have serious contributions in the context of country promotion and public diplomacy. Further, it is thought that the importance given by the country to the health sector can also directly affect the soft power level. Besides that, A does not worry if he gets sick while he is in Turkey, trusting in its health system.

In addition, owing to the importance of health issues, it is also known that some private health institutions in the country have had complaints that they exploit the situation for financial gain. The reputation of such a successful and praiseworthy system should not be allowed to be damaged because of a few incidents of abuse. The most effective way to avoid these possibilities would only be through strict state control and regulations.

Question 4: If you were categorizing countries which group would you place Turkey into?

The thinking behind this question is to analyze where the interviewees see Turkey and which countries, they find close to Turkey structurally. Each and every interviewer thinks that Turkey cannot entirely be categorized with any other country or be in a group of them. It has some similarities in some cases, but Turkey is a unique country. Having a Muslim population, a unique historical culture, as well as having the appearance of a modern country, which is close to democratic values, distinguishes Turkey from its peers. It is accepted that Turkey's unique structure is a suitable element that can be used to promote the country and public diplomacy.

Question 5: Is there a specific media channel that you follow the news about Turkey?

Table 33: Second Homeowners, entity of specific media to follow Turkey.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women	Men	Total
Yes, there is.	2 (50%)	1 (17%)	3 (30%)
No, there isn't.	2 (50%)	5 (83%)	7 (70%)

Where do you follow the news about Turkey?

Table 34: Second Homeowners, specific media to follow Turkey.

	Gender		Ratio
Homeland sourced media.	1 (25%)	5 (83%)	6 (60%)
Turkish sourced media.	1 (25%)	3 (50%)	4 (40%)
Social media.	3 (75%)	4 (67%)	7 (70%)

It is assumed that the responders would wish to be aware of what is going on in Turkey because of the possible effects on them. On account of this, the question analyzes where they try to follow news reports which are related to Turkey. As the answers indicate, there is not a specific media that they follow for news reports or TV programs about Turkey. The fact is that this group has easy access to Turkish-sourced media tools. Not having a specific media channel to follow, means that there is no a strategic and effective Turkish-sourced communication through the aforementioned countries.

Question 6: How is perception of Turkey in the media in your country?

This question aims to show how Turkey is being represented in Norwegian, English and German media. The question also points out two different approaches towards news reports and travel programs about Turkey.

Table 35: Second Homeowners, perception of Turkey abroad.

Statements	Gender		Ratio
	Women	Men	Total
News in the media about Turkey are generally negative.	4 (100%)	6 (100%)	10 (100%)
News in the media about Turkey are generally positive.	0 (%)	0 (%)	0 (0%)
Travel programs about Turkey are generally negative.	0(%)	0 (%)	0 (0%)
Travel programs about Turkey are generally positive.	4 (100%)	6 (100%)	10 (100%)

Interestingly, all the participants assert and agree that the news reports about and related to Turkey are being negatively presented. However, 100 % of the participants state that TV and travel programs are positive. This situation seems to be a great contradiction.

A made the statement that the foreign media has a positive approach to Turkey in the cases of immigrants and refugees. And generally, there is a sympathy building up in society for Turkey's responsibilities to refugees.

D says that during the Corona Virus Pandemic, the Norwegian media mentioned Turkey with praise. Because Turkey has been relatively more successful dealing with the virus issue itself and conducted effective measurements to keep the spread under control.

E demonstrates a different approach. She thinks that there are not many positive incidents in Turkey, which implies that the news reports are negative, because the actual happenings are negative. According to E this is the reason why Turkey is mentioned in a negative way. But she also says that people who know Turkey, do not worry about the negative news reports because they know where they are going in Turkey is safe. In this statement, she means that the tourists are safe in the southern parts of Turkey.

F says that the British media displays Erdoğan, Trump and Putin as being very alike and gives the impression of leaders becoming rather authoritarian leaders. It is thought that he didn't have a clear idea about the matter, in the way he expressed this statement in words.

G says that he does not trust the British media regarding being objective. He thinks that the British media is biased when it comes to Turkey, because such a nice country is always being presented as an unsafe and dangerous place; which does not reflect the reality at all.

In general, the outcome from the discussions is that the participants believe that the main source of negative news reports stem from Syria. There is a war going on in Syria, and naturally the news reports are mostly negative. Since Turkey is a close neighbor, it is also increasingly involved with it, and this is presented in a similar manner. The issue that should not be forgotten, is that Turkey is viewed in the regional problems, as a direct security problem for itself, but geographically for countries in the region, having to evaluate regional issues in a different perspective. The approach of western countries toward immigration matters can be used as an example to explain the situation. Turkey is being criticized by developed countries

with regard to how the refugees are being treated. However, when it comes to hosting the refugees who could reach their borders after a long and dangerous journey, they show an attitude that is incompatible with their own discourses.

It may not be the right attitude to accuse the foreign press of taking sides completely. However, in general, it is accepted by most of the interviewees that the negative news reports are more frequent and escalated in the media. They are often more newsworthy items.

Question 7: How do the media reflect the following issues related to Turkey in your homeland?

This question aims to examine to what extent the default foreign people who follow Turkey are aware of the events in the country, if some specific events are being presented in a biased way, or if the positive events are also being served, and if Turkey has success in informing the foreign people with its public diplomacy. The events which are the subject of the question have been selected from the topics that more likely deserve to attract media attention.

Table 36: Second Homeowners, the issues related to Turkey on media.

Issues	Women			Men		
	positive	negative	Not seen	Positive	Negative	Not seen
Women rights	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)
Animal rights	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	3 (75%)	2 (33%)	0 (0%)	4 (67%)
Environmental issues	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)
Syria	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	0 (0%)
Refugees	1 (25%)	2 (50%)	1 (25%)	4 (66%)	1 (17%)	1 (17%)
Jamal Khashoggi	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Visa exemption	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)
Afforestation	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	1 (17%)	0 (0%)	5 (83%)
Use of plastic	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (100%)
Medical Aid	2 (50%)	0 (0%)	2 (50%)	5 (83%)	0 (0%)	1 (17%)

The question about Jamal Khashoggi's murder was asked to test the biased attitude of foreign media. The murder was committed by the Saudis under the Consulate of Saudi Arabia in Istanbul. Turkey appreciated the approach that had been taken in the investigation phase (Anadoluajansı, 2020). It is assumed that this event is very apt to be utilized to see if the foreign media is especially trying to denigrate Turkey. Participants' explanations on this issue can be interpreted that the issue is not exploited by the media.

In the context of women's rights; it was asked to the interviewees if women and men are equal within the regulations and laws in Turkey. Surprisingly participants do not have a clear knowledge about this matter. Interviewees think there are some practices in social life that do not comply with gender equality. They

perceive women's inability to go to mosques and worship with men as an indicator of inequality. Likewise, the fact that tourism workers are mostly men, leads to the belief that the women's role is in the background. In this regard, it is believed that there may be a similar inequality in the law. For people who have spent their time interactively with Turkey for such a long time, having such a judgment, can only be explained as a result of inadequate Turkish publicity.

Law amendments concerning animal rights were welcomed by animal lovers in the country and this development was perceived as positive. Thus, it is envisaged that prison sentences will be imposed on those who torture animals, and this penalty cannot be converted into fines (HOŞGÖR, 2020). At the same time as the declaration of the government in the Corona Virus process, the order to feed stray animals in 81 provinces was included in the media (CNNTURK, 2020). Nevertheless, 70% of the participants stated that they were not aware of these developments.

Similarly, legal arrangements for the use of plastic in the context of environmental pollution measures have created satisfaction among environmentalists. These regulations came into force on the 1st January 2019 to reduce the use of plastic (Haberturk, 2020). However, the participants were also unaware of this development.

Turkey implemented visa exemptions to citizens of Norway, United Kingdom and Germany on the 1st March 2020 (Hürriyet, 2020). None of the interviewees had information about this. It was observed that they were pleased and satisfied when they learned about the visa exemption during the interview. Participants not knowing about the unilateral removal of visas by Turkey demonstrates how weak the flow, balance and dissemination of news from Turkey is. This issue concerns the participants directly. It is important progress in the context of not paying the visa fee, saving time spent in the visa process and feeling more "special."

Another event was the state-sponsored planting of 11 million trees all around Turkey on the 11th November 2019 which has also been commented on in the Guinness Book of Records (HORUZ, 2020). The fact that this event, which is in the media of this country, has not been heard of by those interviewed, is an indication that it is not in the foreign media. At the same time, it is a sign that Turkey remains

inadequate in reaching the target audience which is in the coverage of Turkish public and external diplomacy.

In the process of the Corona Virus, Turkey helped many countries with medical supplies and this approach was appreciated in the international arena (Milliyet, 2020). 70% of the participants stated that these aids were reflected in the press and media. These statements can be shown as an indicator that the positive events and incidents in Turkey are not being completely ignored, and this may refute the assumption of the foreign media being biased about Turkey all the time.

It can be understood from the statements that Turkey doesn't function effectively as a country origin news service source to inform foreign people. Even a group of second homeowners, who could easily receive information from Turkey, had not heard about most of the events listed above.

Question 8: Is there anything you find unattractive about Turkey?

It is evident that the elements of attraction are determinative when it comes to reputation and soft power. In this context, it is necessary to examine the unattractive aspects of Turkey as much as the attractive features too. This issue is also one of the most important consequences of seeking soft power, as discussed in the previous section; it is the encouragement of the will of determining and adjusting repulsive elements. In this framework, this question is asked with the aim of gathering information about the unfavorable aspects of the country.

Table 37: Second Homeowners, unattractiveness about Turkey.

	Women (4)	Men (6)	Total (10)
Environmental pollution	4 (100%)	5 (83%)	9 (90%)
Use of plastic	2 (50%)	2 (25%)	4 (40%)
Women rights	1 (25%)	2 (25%)	3 (30%)
Animal rights	1 (25%)	1 (12%)	2 (20%)
Disobeying traffic rules	0 (0%)	2 (25%)	2 (20%)
Price of alcohol	1 (25%)	2 (12%)	3 (30%)

Country development levels can determine the issues that their societies focus on. While an undeveloped country's society focuses on material livelihoods, security and life concerns, developed country's societies are more sensitive to environmental and democratic values rather than secondary issues. In Turkish society, as a developing country, both approaches can be observed. As a result of awareness and demands for environmental issues, procedures are taken, and legal regulations are made by the government. However, for the Turkish community base, environmental issues still remain secondary due to their socio-economic status. This being so, in the context of Turkey's tourism, the target group is composed of developed western countries at most. Thus, the intersection of two different points of view becomes the central component. As a result, women's rights, animal rights and environmental pollution are on the agenda, thanks to the will of democratization, incentive features of tourism and seeking soft power.

As understood from the answers, 90% of the participants see environmental pollution as an important problem for the country's image. This resulting rate reveals how much the subject needs to be addressed. In the same way, 40% of the participants see excess plastic use as a problem. In terms of democratic values, women's rights and animal rights in the practices of the country are also points that the participants draw attention to.

K asserts that women's social status in Turkey is very low, and this is why women cannot go to mosques as equals to men. He defines this situation as discrimination in the context of women's rights. 30% of the interviewees think that women are not equal in the social field and that they do not have equal opportunities in education and work. Overall, respondents think that Turkey has the structure of a patriarchal society. However, A, B and J claim that women's social status has been improving over the years. They believe that this issue has improved more than it was previously based on their experiences.

D draws attention to another issue, in which he asserts that Turkey has a '*religious image*' abroad and he believes that this does not reflect the truth. It seems that Turkey does not create enough publicity on these issues and therefore the country has a "radical Islamic" reputation in the eyes of foreigners. The term 'Radical Islamic' was used in a sense of 'extremism' and it was claimed that foreigners have a

preoccupation to a degree which may lead to violence against outsiders. Most probably these kinds of views are part of the idea of Turkey accordingly not being a safe place. Therefore, building a realistic perception of Turkish society not being extremist is crucial for the reputation of the country and the building of friendly relationships with western countries.

Regardless of these issues, mentioning the alcohol price increase issue is expressed in two different ways. Firstly, they have seen price increases as people who have been to the country for a long time. So, the attractiveness of spending a lot less for drinking in comparison with their own country has been losing ground in the case of Turkey. Developed countries implement high taxes for various reasons to reduce the use of the products of alcohol and tobacco. Accordingly, the price of these products is quite high in developed countries. Over the years, the level of development in Turkey has pursued similar policies in proportion to the increase.

Another approach observed is the association of alcohol prices with the conservatism of the government. Although it is not clear how this interesting approach emerged; 2 participants believe that the price increase policy is aimed at reducing alcohol sales for religious reasons. In a similar way, they are concerned over the possibility of banning alcohol adverts in Turkey sometime in the future. They think that regulations made in recent years, such as an alcohol advertising ban, restricting sales and banning sales at some locations, support these concerns. Nevertheless, European countries use various alcohol sales restrictions as well. There are even stricter regulations on the sale of alcohol: age limits, sale time restrictions, sale bans in the neighborhood of schools and gas stations, advertising restrictions, etc. can be examples of the restrictions (KIVANÇ, 2020) (T24, 2020). Despite the Similar implementations in European countries, restrictions in Turkey can become a source of concern. This situation can only be explained with a 'matter of image problem'.

In line with this issue, D stated that restaurants have also increased in price over time. This matter can be related to the changing economic status of the country. As mentioned above, rising prices can be expected during the developmental process of the country.

Interestingly, the ‘seller’ issue mentioned in the survey of Group A with 42% did not arise during the interviews. In fact, being disturbed by people who sell items must be uncomfortable for people while they try to enjoy their stay in a foreign country. The reason why the interviewers did not open the subject could be that it is accepted as a characteristic feature of the country and they have become used to the situation over the years. Another reason could also be because they have witnessed the matter improving markedly over the years, as D put forward.

Question 9: What feature should Turkey be promoted with?

This question was asked to Group A and Group B in order to be compared as well. Thus, it provides the opportunity to evaluate Turkey's most attractive features with the group who has the most knowledge about the country.

Table 38: Second Homeowners, the feature to promote Turkey with.

	Women	Men	Total
Turkish food	3 (75%)	6 (100%)	9 (90%)
Historical place	4 (100%)	4 (66%)	8 (80%)
Climate	3 (75%)	3 (50%)	6 (60%)
Friendly people	2 (50%)	3 (50%)	5 (50%)
Natural composition	3 (75%)	2 (25%)	5 (50%)
Cultural Identity	2 (50%)	2 (25%)	4 (40%)
Nice hotels	2 (50%)	2 (25%)	4 (40%)
Good service	2 (50%)	1 (12%)	3 (30%)

It is observed that as the participants spend more time in the country, the admiration and pleasure for Turkish food increases. At the same time, Turkey's historical figures are attracting a high degree of interest in all three of the groups. However, as with Turkish food, the interest in the historical characteristics of the country increases in proportion to the time spent by the participants in the country.

C says that most people who don't know Turkey think it is far behind the modern world and its rivals. He believes that it is not reflecting the reality at all and asserts that Turkey has all kinds of different facilities to meet the expectations of tourists. According to C, Turkey is a lot more modern than is known by western people. Therefore, Turkey needs to be increasingly promoted to show its true and exciting face.

D says that Turkey is much better than Spain for tourists, as a person who had been and spent a long time there. Of course, this statement does not prove solid superiority. However, it is an indicator that should be considered in that Turkey can attract some people more than Spain and deserves to be treated as such.

E thinks that if German people knew how good the Turkish hotels and services are, they would put Turkey to the top of their list for all the time. This is a very important statement in demonstrating that Turkey has not been promoted well enough in Germany. Especially being aware of a long-rooted, close relation with Germany, it offers some ideas about the lack of publicity.

H says that there should be a network to keep in touch with people who have second homes in Turkey or come to Turkey regularly. Such an approach would provide access to up-to-date information about the country and thereby make people have a closer affinity to the Turkish community. It can be evaluated as a similar tactic of the private sector trying to build a loyal relationship with their clients. H says that many people in Europe think that Turkey does not have good standards and luxury hotels, when compared with other tourist places. Further, he thinks that Turkey has as much luxury as they want, but they don't know it. This is an important issue, because in terms of tourism the initiatives desire to attract people high in socio-economic status to obtain more financial gain. It is clear that it requires having a good standard of quality and luxury to offer in attracting people with high incomes.

Question 10: Is there any Turkish brand or Turkish origin products in your home country?

This question aims to reveal if any Turkish origin brand product is known abroad. The interviewers are aware of seeing any Turkish origin product in their homelands as well as in any other place abroad. The capability to manufacture

products which are in demand in the global markets and the ability to market in international markets has an important function in the context of soft power. Accordingly, this study has the opportunity to analyze the level of Turkey on this issue.

Table 39: Second Homeowners, the Turkish brands and products abroad.

Brands and products	Women	Men	Total
THY	4 (100%)	6 (100%)	10 (100%)
Textile	4 (100%)	4 (66%)	8 (80%)
Doner kebab	1 (25%)	2 (33%)	3 (30%)
Mosaic and ceramic	0 (0%)	2 (33%)	2 (20%)
Boat and Yacht	0 (75%)	2 (33%)	2 (20%)
Efes Pilsen	2 (50%)	0 (0%)	2 (20%)
Hidromek	0 (0%)	1 (17%)	1 (10%)
Restaurants	0 (0%)	1 (17%)	1 (10%)

As can be understood from quotes, Turkey does not have a local production assortment and variety that can represent itself abroad. 80% of the participants mentioned textiles and remarked that Turkish textiles are known as good value material abroad, but don't know any Turkish brands. It is understood that it is mainly small businesses that are in the international market. In addition, the textiles are only known as of Turkish origin, but none of these companies could come forward in the sector.

As understood from the results of the study, THY is well known and the interviewees specify that it has a good standard of quality as well. Many participants affirm that they have experienced THY and were satisfied with it. Some of the participants have never experienced THY. However, they have seen the promotions. F and G say they know it because of being the sponsor for some football clubs. In the

line of these statements, it would be accurate to say that being a sponsor for popular events, organizations or leading sport teams contributes much to the publicity of a brand.

It is important to note that THY is not only focusing on self-promotion in its advertisements but utilizes significant features of Turkey to promote the country as well. Regarding the participants, THY has a huge impact on the status of the country and, because of its high service quality, helps significantly in the reputation and prestige of Turkey, too.

One of the most crucial findings of this study is the importance of having global brands as a significant element in terms of soft power. In this context it is believed that a country that claims to increase soft power should and must make more effort in this regard.

CONCLUSION

Today's global, political conditions have led states to give importance to the concepts of 'soft power' and 'public diplomacy'. For this reason, the study focused on these issues. Turkey was considered appropriate to examine as a developing country in the case of the mentioned notions. The wide range of these topics caused the study to be restricted to a specific part. The potential in interaction of Tourism with foreign people and Turkey's tourism capacity was the focal point of the study. Turkey is claiming to maximize its position in the context of 'soft power' and 'Public diplomacy'. Based on these allegations, the present study examines how Turkey has been utilizing the advantage of having millions of tourists visiting its country.

This study is based on the assumption that because of the function of today's communication, this means that *'each and every country is responsible for the perception they have on foreign people'*. Looking from this frame, Turkey's image in foreign countries indicates its success in public diplomacy, promotional activities and soft power. Therefore, many surveys and a few series of interviews were conducted aimed at examining the success of Turkey in the aforementioned notions.

The concepts 'soft power' and 'public diplomacy', which are emphasized in this study, have a very important place in the literature and the world political system. Inter-state relationship spirals and the actors occurring from the neo-liberal approach have made international relations much more complex than they once were. Thus, traditional methods and practices lose their efficiency rate as well as their functions in solving international matters. In addition, issues such as 'international terrorism', 'migration', 'cyber attacks', 'global problems', 'global warming' and 'global pandemics' emerging in the new-age, world order, require new generation methods and approaches in order to be solved and managed. At this point, 'soft power' comes into play as a tool used by states whereby it provides the states an advantage in the preferred outcome, without physical intervention. The traditional 'hard power' approach suggests acting on the basis of 'twisting arms'. This means that it relies on

coercion and threats through military and economic means. This approach is based on the use of solely economic and military means. The fact that these methods are very costly and inadequate as a lasting solution to new era problems increases the demand for 'soft power'. This statement does not mean that soft power is becoming the priority method to deal with global issues. In fact, the use of hard power remains as the main determinative tool for the nation states in conducting their foreign policies. It is highly regarded in the literature that the existence of soft power, combined with hard power, makes a greater contribution to the national interest of the holder.

Soft power principally is based on changing behavior with the power of attractions, mainly based on 'cultural appeal', 'political values and norms' and foreign policy. The purpose is still the same in that it is to gain preferred results, but this time by attracting, persuading and admiring. According to the literature, soft power emerged from western dynamics and values. While it is accepted that soft power is getting to play a significant role in contributing to foreign policy, states started investing huge efforts in increasing it. In the study this dimension is defined as 'manufactured soft power'.

In terms of increasing manufactured soft power, 'promoting' the country plays a significant role. Promoting the country is about communicating with other people as well as other states. This reality draws attention to another important element which is 'public diplomacy'. Basically, public diplomacy means 'communication and interaction' with foreign people. It is based on telling others the real intentions and demonstrating who they really are. At this point, public diplomacy becomes a wide screen to display the country to the outside world. The connection with soft power is that public diplomacy is the main tool to show the sources of soft power that is in hand to others. While soft power and public diplomacy is determined as an interaction with members of the foreign public, international tourism is engaged with the scene as an element suitable for the concept.

Tourism is defined as the activity between leaving the permanent place and returning there after a while. The result of this action brings interaction with outsiders, regardless of the purpose. This study considers tourism as an important

factor in the context of 'public diplomacy' due to its ability in bringing the foreigners' homeland. It is very obvious that having the foreigners as the target group in its homeland, would offer important amenities in conducting public diplomacy and in promoting the country. The main purpose of public diplomacy is to promote the country openly and objectively, giving an idea about the extent of the capacity of tourism in serving the purpose. In this respect, Turkey, as a country which desires to increase its soft power capacity, is also worth examining as to whether it utilizes tourism as a tool of public diplomacy. Analyzing the state practices reveals that Turkey has many institutions and organizations that support its public diplomacy and soft power. Examples of these are; the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), the Yunus Emre Foundation (YEE), Turkey Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), Turkish Airlines (THY), the Turkish Red Crescent (KIZILAY), the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK), Turkish Cinema and Tv Series and Think-Tank Organizations

Besides all these, it is important to note that, even conducting very good public diplomacy might not bring the desired outcome, because of the political environment. Although it is highly desirable, there are some challenges which complicate Turkey's initiative regarding these mentioned issues. These challenges can be defined as; long rooted conflictual relationships with neighbors, an unstable location, religious and cultural divergence, demographic structure, democratic and liberal values, environmental pollution and Turkey's image perception as a problem.

This study aimed to examine the dynamics and actors working especially in practice without relying only on theoretical knowledge. In this context, several in-depth interviews that were conducted with people in appropriate positions demonstrate that Turkey is not pursuing strategic tourism policies to serve its public diplomacy and soft power. Selected interviewees have the knowledge and experience to convey the practices of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the private sector. The interviews showed that there is no result-oriented co-ordination between the state and the private sector in order to increase the soft power of the country. As it is understood from the research, Turkish state and government utilizes any possibilities to provide an efficient platform for the private sector to conduct their business. The expectation is that the private sector will be

successful, because it is beneficial in its own favor. Another consideration can be that state intervention to the private sector in a free market in a liberal country would not be welcomed. Surveys conducted by the government and the private sector demonstrate that the satisfaction rate of tourists is around 90%. This result proves that the way the practices that were implemented have been serving the appeal of the country. From this point of view, the appearance of not having strategic planning perhaps is a state tourism policy. Considering tourism, it can be observed that the private sector and state interests are in a unity of interest. Thus, in a country with a good perception, operators can find more convenient marketing opportunities for attracting tourists. On the other hand, the case is the same for the state.

However, the private sector has a self-interest-oriented structure only. This would mean that the sector will desire to be in a position to obtain financial gain with ease in as short a time as possible. This situation is evidence that the private sector would not have a strategic approach of making long-term plans. When looking at the market range in Turkey in the case of tourism, it appears to be dependent on a few countries only, because it is more profitable and easier for the sector to bring tourists from these countries. As a result of this action, any problems with these countries cause significant disruptions in tourism which would harm the interest of both then private sector and the state. The impact of the so-called '*plane crisis*' that occurred between Turkey and Russia on the 24th November 2015 serves as a good example of this.

Another issue is that according to the surveys and interviews, it is observed that there is no strategic promotional activity for tourists while they are in the country. It may well provide an easy and inexpensive way to inform and conduct public diplomacy to the members of the target group while in their homelands.

The major indicator of a successful public diplomacy is the image of the country in the eyes of foreigners. The study adopted a method to evaluate the success of Turkish public diplomacy by measuring the perception of Turkey. A general framework was drawn up with questionnaires conducted with three different groups in order to measure the effectiveness of its activities concerning 'promotion of the country' and 'public diplomacy' in the context of reaching the target audience according to the level of difficulty. This target group consisted of members of

foreign people. Relations and interactions with Turkey determine the degree of difficulty in reaching these. In this context, it was examined through in-depth interviews with 'second homeowners' as a result of the surveys conducted with three separate groups. The time that the 'second homeowners' group's members have spent in Turkey led them to gather knowledge about the country, which has made important contributions to the study. As revealed from the answers, the interviewees know Turkey for 12 years on average and it even goes back to 24 years for some of them. The subjects that emerged from the interviews are evaluated under subtitles below. It is notable to state that no major differences were observed between male and female participants in terms of their answers.

The first impression and previous perception, according to every participant, (their knowledge and perception about the country before coming to Turkey), does not correspond with reality. These statements are compatible with other survey participants. The result of this situation is that to have a '*unrealistic perception*' situation about Turkey has been a long-time matter. Responders assert that Turkey is much more advanced and modernized than the perception it has in many different areas.

The interviews revealed that Turkey is changing in many aspects in the eyes of participants. These changes were generally emphasized as economic, physical and technological progress. The development of roads, hospitals, shops, hotels and shopping malls was expressed mostly. Beside these positive comments, there are also some statements addressing negative changes. In general, they voiced their concern that Turkey is moving away from democratic values in terms of the political structure of the country. There are two main concerns regarding the matter, the first one is of having a too strong leadership image for democratic governance, and second one is the outlook of transformation into conservatism. However, it was claimed that there were improvements in women's rights; yet still some serious questions were raised about the status of women in the society and the inequality of opportunity.

It is claimed that Turkey has a very good health system, even more advanced than developed countries. Whilst in Turkey, they do not worry about any potential health problems due to their confidence in the healthcare system. That said, Turkey's sophistication in this area is not widely known abroad and from this point of view,

promoting the country's health system would be expected to contribute to Turkey's reputation.

According to the research the participants believe that Turkey has a unique identity. Interviewees consider that Turkey has a structure that cannot be measured with other countries. They think that Turkey has some similar characteristics both with the east and west, but not in a complete way. Additionally, Turkey hosts many varied features and themes within its structure.

The surveys and interviews indicate that there isn't a media network which attracts foreigners' attention or is particularly being followed. According to the statements, 40% of the participants follow some Turkish sourced media in foreign languages, but the impression given indicates that it is not used as a primary news source. Besides this, answers to question 7 demonstrate how poor the news flow from Turkey is. The news, even if favorable, will be appreciated in general, but is not reaching the target audience.

According to the results stemming from the survey and interviews, somehow the negative news about Turkey is being carried in the headlines more easily than positive news. This may give an impression that defamation, at whatever level, might be conducted with deliberate intention. Even if the subject is frequently mentioned in surveys and interviews, it may just be only rumor. In fact, according to some participants, the BBC had carried the implementation of plans to take care of street animals by Turkish authorities during the lockdown in its headlines. This event can prove that there is not a total sieving and selection of news editing about Turkey. Yet, because other positive news reports which are mentioned in question 7 are not being reflected by the foreign media and in considering the opinions of the interviewees, the matter deserves to be viewed and queried with some skepticism.

Despite this, 100% of the participants made statements that travel, and TV programs are positive in the foreign media. From this point of view, foreign media is divided in two distinct viewpoints – both as negative and positive. It may not be accurate to make a clear interpretation of the differences, without knowing how these programs are being financed. However, it would be wise to explain the situation, on

the one hand with the attraction of the country, its natural beauty and historical texture and on the other, the beneficial activities of private and commercial ventures.

In terms of the unattractiveness of Turkey in the eyes of the foreigners, 90% of the interviewees believe that environmental pollution is the most important problem of the country regarding its reputation. Again, in the same parallel, the use of so much plastic in daily life was found unacceptable by the participants. In the frame of democratic values, women rights, the state of women and animal rights were also mentioned in the list of disappointments about Turkey. Not obeying traffic rules and the rapid increase of alcohol prices are other topics that the participants expressed dissatisfaction with.

Interestingly, '*the treatment of the sellers*' emerged as an important negative issue which was an unexpected outcome in the survey. However, the interview group does not mention this issue at all.

The really dramatic finding was that even the second homeowner group (that one would expect to follow the country closely), was not informed of the new regulations aiming to prevent environmental pollution, excessive use of plastic and to improve women rights and animal rights. It is interesting to note that they are not aware of the improvement in the regulations. This is a very important indicator demonstrating how weak the flow of news is from Turkey.

Some participants suggest that organizing art and cultural events involving Turkish women abroad would contribute to the improvement and reputation of the country in order to alleviate criticism of women's status in the society.

With the image of being cheap and not offering luxury, the word '*cheap*' can have different meanings in the way it is expressed and meant. The study shows that the word is used differently by Group C and other participants. This problem was mentioned by the interviewees as an issue that should be considered because of the reputation it implies as not being of decent quality. The two sentences below explain the situation; '*I'm going to Turkey because it is cheap, and the quality is good to compare.*' and '*I'm not going to Turkey because it is cheap and of poorer quality than I desire.*' In this regard the '*Cheap holiday place*' perception should be considered as a subject harming the country's profile.

When recommending Turkey to visit, the significant indicator of satisfaction is to advise relatives and acquaintances. Based on this idea Turkey is attracting the visitors with what it offers. According to the research 100% of Group A, 100% of the second Homeowners interview group and 75% of Group B would advise Turkey to their friends and family. In this respect, the situation of a '*lack of coordinated promotion for tourists in the country*' which is criticized by this study, is perhaps a state strategy.

The research outputs suggest some specific features of Turkey to be utilized while promoting it. Turkish cuisine and Turkish dishes stand out as the most in need of promotion because evaluating the result of the research shows that interacting more with local life leads the people to meet the actual true characteristics of the country. Tourists staying at hotels and eating at tourist restaurants do not experience the real Turkish food because the hotels serve up a harmony of different kitchens with an approach that meets the different needs. The higher rate of '*Turkish food*' propositions from participants who eat outside the tourist regions proves this situation. Climate and beaches are mentioned by most participants as good features of Turkey, perhaps because the participants are from Norway, Great Britain and Germany where it is generally cold and rainy. Therefore, it is expected that Turkey's sunny climate would be attractive, enjoyable and welcome. A good climate and beaches are reflected in this study as the most recognizable feature of Turkey abroad. A historic texture bears the scars of Turkey's rich history. The country has seen different civilizations in its past, so it attracts people with its historical ruins and narratives. This feature of Turkey is one of the most important elements of the country's image abroad. Natural beauty, hospitality and friendly people are some other features of Turkey that are mentioned by the participants and advised to be utilized for promoting the country.

An important determination of the study are the features of Turkey which attracted the participants in the first place, making them want to visit are the aspects of the country known abroad; this means that Turkey has been promoted using these features. But the features which participants mentioned as the attractive side of the country, after they have experienced them and seen Turkey are in need of further

promotion, since these features have the potential of representing the country and accordingly are not well known abroad.

The fact that a country has globally recognized brands and products is an important factor for soft power. According to the results of the research, Turkey does not own a wide range of products and brands representing itself. According to the statements, Turkish textiles are generally known as good and are preferred quality products. But there isn't even a single Turkish textile brand that could be mentioned by the participants. There is a similar situation about yacht and boat manufacturing.

However, Turkish Airlines (THY) is a well-known, representative brand abroad. It conducts promotional activities very effectively using its prestige in sponsoring sporting events, sports teams and advertisements of Turkey.

According to the results of the study, Turkey has shown remarkable willpower in the last decades to gain a good position in the international order regarding the new-age concepts of 'soft power' and 'public diplomacy' which are required by the global political system. Although there are many factors that make it difficult for the country to achieve its goals both inside and outside in this regard, it has been observed that major progress has been made. However, as determined in this study Turkey's high tourism potential is not being utilized to serve the purpose of developing the mentioned concepts in a strategic planning. The main actors in the nature of tourism activities are private sector players and the fact that the state is not coordinated with the private sector, supports the thesis of the study. In addition, there are no policies which are being conducted for foreign tourists even though it is easier, less expensive, and more likely to succeed in reaching them while they are in the country itself.

The main finding of the study is that tourism needs good public diplomacy to develop and the government needs to use tourism effectively to contribute to public diplomacy. The study displays that there isn't strategic cooperation between any institution of the state and private tourism sector players. The most important conclusion from the research, surveys and interviews indicate that Turkey cannot reach the 'target audience' to the intended extent with its applied public diplomacy and promotional activities.

Nevertheless, the promotion and service quality of the private sector, even for its own interests, makes a significant contribution to the country's 'soft power' and its 'public diplomacy'. In addition, paying attention to the promotion of the country leads the attention to be drawn to the internal negativities as well hence triggering the raise of desire in solving these problems. Therefore, the three concepts involved in the study support each other and benefit the progress of the country.

One of the important research findings is that the foreign media is more reluctant in publishing positive events about Turkey compared to the negative ones. This situation needs to be examined comprehensively which can inspire further studies.

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