

ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY  
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MASTER'S DEGREE PROGRAM

TURKISH AIRLINES' IN-FLIGHT MAGAZINE SKYLIFE AS A TOOL OF  
SOFT POWER IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

ŞEHNAZ DİDEM YÜCEL

114633007

DR. ÖĞR. ÜYESİ MEHMET ALİ TUĞTAN

ISTANBUL

2021

TURKISH AIRLINES' IN-FLIGHT MAGAZINE SKYLIFE AS A TOOL OF  
SOFT POWER IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

TÜRK HAVA YOLLARININ UÇAK İÇİ DERGİSİ SKYLIFE'IN TÜRK DIŞ  
POLİTİKASINDA BİR YUMUŞAK GÜÇ UNSURU OLARAK  
KULLANILMASI

ŞEHNAZ DİDEM YÜCEL

114633007

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Mehmet Ali Tuğtan (İmza): .....  
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi  
Jüri Üyesi: Prof. Dr. Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe (İmza): .....  
Kadir Has Üniversitesi  
Jüri Üyesi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şadan İnan Rüma (İmza): .....  
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi

Tezin Onaylandığı Tarih:

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı: 126

Anahtar Kelimeler (Türkçe)

- 1) Yumuşak güç
- 2) Türk Hava Yolları
- 3) Skylife
- 4) Türk dış politikası
- 5) AKP

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

- 1) Soft power
- 2) Turkish Airlines
- 3) Skylife
- 4) Turkish foreign policy
- 5) AKP

## Contents

ABSTRACT .....	IV
ÖZET.....	V
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	VI
INTRODUCTION .....	1
CHAPTER I: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK .....	5
1.1. DEFINITION OF SOFTPOWER .....	5
1.2. NATIONAL AIRLINES AS SOFT POWER TOOLS .....	9
1.3. IN-FLIGHT MAGAZINES.....	11
1.4. IMPACT OF IN-FLIGHT MAGAZINES.....	13
1.5. SKYLIFE MAGAZINE .....	15
1.6. BRIEF HISTORY OF TURKISH AIRLINES .....	17
1.7. TURKISH AIRLINES – TURKISH STATE RELATION.....	19
CHAPTER II: SOFT POWER IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY .....	24
2.1. TURKEY’S EMERGING SOFT POWER IDENTITY .....	24
2.2. SOFT POWER POLICY ACTIONS .....	28
CHAPTER III: SKYLIFE EDITORIAL AS A SOFT POWER IMPLEMENTATION.....	37
3.1. ISTANBUL AS A HUB .....	48
3.2. NEO-OTTOMAN RHETORIC AND REVIVING MUSLIM TURKISH IDENTITY	55
3.3. CHANGE OF LANGUAGE .....	59
3.4. PROMOTION OF ISLAMIC VALUES .....	65
3.5. GLORIFICATION OF THE OTTOMAN PAST .....	67
3.6. CAMPAIGNS, SPONSORSHIPS, RESPONSIBILITY PROJECTS.....	72
3.7. AKP ERA TAKEN AS A MILESTONE .....	81
3.8. A TURNING POINT: JULY 15 .....	84
3.9. INCREASING GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE .....	90

<b>3.10. DESIGN OF THE MAGAZINE OVER THE YEARS .....</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>106</b>
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>109</b>

## **Abstract**

This thesis aims to show the instrumentalization of Turkish Airlines' in-flight magazine as a soft power element in the Turkish foreign policy. As the historical overlook on the company and its magazine shows, there has always been a parallelism with the aspirations of Ankara and the content of the flag carrier's magazine. However, since the arrival of AKP into power, Turkish Airlines has been transformed into a global scale carrier with the conscious efforts of the government in accordance with its foreign policy, and accordingly the role of Skylife as a soft power has gained importance in the promotion of Turkey. It is discussed that the content of the magazine is largely guided by the political inclinations of the government. The thesis analyses the magazine with an emphasis on the second decade of the 2000s, a period when the soft power policies of the AKP government came to the fore. Analyses of the statements of the Turkish Airlines executives in the welcome letters, in corporate news and political articles serve as the main indicators the magazine's role as a soft power. The travel writings covered in the magazine follow the flight routes of the airline which in turn is driven by the foreign openings of the government and Istanbul has been promoted as a hub. It has also been suggested through a detailed analysis of numerous examples taken from the issues that the magazine seems to have adopted an image of a neo-Ottoman Muslim Turkish identity emphasizing Islamic values and glorifying the Ottoman past in accordance with the tendencies of the AKP government.

## Özet

Bu tezin amacı Türk Havayolları'nın uçak içi dergisi Skylife'in, Türk dış politikasında yumuşak güç aracı olarak kullanıldığını göstermektir. Şirkete ve dergisine tarihsel bağlamda bakıldığında, Ankara'nın hedefleri ile ülkenin bayrak taşıyıcısı bu şirketin dergisi arasında her zaman bir paralellik olageldiği görülür. Ancak AKP'nin iktidar partisi olmasını takiben, hükümetin dış politikaya uygun yönde gösterdiği bilinçli çabaları sonucunda Türk Havayolları küresel ölçekli bir ulaşım şirketine dönüşmüş ve buna paralel olarak Skylife'in yumuşak güç unsuru olarak rolü, Türkiye'nin tanıtımında önem kazanmıştır. Derginin içeriğini büyük bir oranda hükümetin eğilimlerinin belirlediği öne sürülmüştür. Tez, 2000'lerin ikinci onyılına, yani AKP hükümetinin yumuşak güç politikalarının öne çıktığı döneme odaklanarak dergiyi incelemektedir. Türk Havayolları yöneticilerinin derginin her sayısının başında bulunan önsözlerde dile getirdiği ifadeler, şirket içi haberler ve politikayla ilgili yazılar derginin yumuşak güç unsuru olarak aldığı rolün göstergeleri olarak ele alınmıştır. Dergide yer verilen seyahat yazılarının, şirketin uçuş rotalarına göre belirlendiği, bu rotaların da hükümetin yurtdışı açılımlarına göre seçilme eğilimi izlediği, İstanbul'un ise küresel bir merkez olarak tasarlandığı gözlemlenmiştir. Derginin çeşitli sayılarından alınan çok sayıda örnek ayrıntılı biçimde incelenerek, derginin AKP hükümetinin eğilimleri doğrultusunda, İslami değerleri vurgulayan ve Osmanlı geçmişini yücelten bir tür yeni-Osmanlıcı Müslüman Türk kimliği benimsediği ileri sürülmüştür

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my thesis supervisor Ast.Prof. Mehmet Ali Tuğtan not only for his scientific approach, guidance, and timely advice, but also for his humane support, kindness, and patience.

I would like to thank my friends who have been of invaluable support throughout the writing of this thesis. I would also like to thank Claire Visier and Jean François Polo who encouraged me to work on this interesting topic.

I am indebted to my family, who have loved and cared for me along the way. I owe special thanks to my sister Dilek Yücel, who has always been by my side in rough times as much as in good times.

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my mother Meryem Yücel, who deserves all of my diplomas as much as I do.

## INTRODUCTION

The cover of August 2016 issue of Turkish Airlines Skylife magazine shows an image of a giant Turkish flag flying tied to the tailfin of a Turkish Airlines plane, with a headline that reads The Victory of People's Will. More than two decades before this, the October 1990 cover of Skylife shows the images of a Turkish Airlines aircraft that carried Bangladeshis fleeing the Gulf Crisis back to safety to their home, and the images of the initiator of the event, the then President of Turkish Republic. These two covers are two examples showing how Skylife magazine has been seen as a powerful medium to communicate such events. Therefore, the role of Skylife should be thought as more than just a mere travel magazine aimed to entertain the passengers on board.

Figure I Skylife Covers of October 1990 and August 2016



Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

This thesis intends to explore the relationship between Turkish foreign policy and Turkish Airlines' in-flight magazine *SkyLife* from the standpoint of soft power.

Although there have been some studies on the relationship between Turkish foreign policy and Turkish Airlines analyzing the latter's role as a soft power instrument, there are not any studies focusing on the instrumentalization of its in-flight magazine as a soft power tool. In that sense, this thesis provides an in-depth analysis of *SkyLife* magazine in the light of the Turkish foreign policy developments and how it can be considered as a soft power instrument.

The thesis argues that as a state founded establishment, Turkish Airlines has always been closely related to the Turkish government and its aspirations on the international arena; over the years as the company transformed into a global brand, its importance has accordingly increased. It is argued that in-flight magazines are important tools of communication in that they have a certain number of characteristic advantages that other magazines do not enjoy. In that sense *SkyLife* magazine, as well, as a simple yet so powerful medium of communication has been used as a tool of soft power in Turkish foreign policy.

In order to show this, in the first place the thesis presents the primary issues coming to the fore in Turkish foreign policy, and secondly provides a large amount of data from *SkyLife* magazines demonstrating the parallelism of its content, language, discourse and style in accordance with the developments resulting from government's foreign policies. Although the magazine was launched in 1983, the study focuses on the Turkish foreign policy in the second decade of 2000s, roughly the second half of the AKP era which is marked by the strategies of Ahmet Davutoğlu around the idea of geographical and historical depth.

I provided conceptual framework utilizing a certain number of sources written on the soft power issue, notably Joseph S. Nye's book *Soft Power, The Means to Success in World Politics*, since Nye is the person who conceptualized the term

*soft power*, which has since been largely debated. In order to study the Turkish foreign policy, I utilized many articles together with Faruk Sonmezoglu's book *Turkish Foreign Policy in the Last Decades* in order to provide information about Turkish foreign policy and soft power. I made use of many corporate communication data of Turkish Airlines, such as Annual Reports and also Turkish Airlines campaigns and commercials. Last but not least, the empirical part of the thesis is mainly based on the collection, classification and evaluation of the information gathered from *SkyLife* magazines themselves. I have gathered most of the quantitative information by analyzing the annual reports such as the list of destinations added to the flight network in the last decade.

The first chapter provides a conceptual framework on the concept of soft power, exploring main sources of soft power with examples. As one of the primary elements representing a nation across the world, national airlines are also considered as soft power tools. After some fundamental information about in-flight magazines, their impact assessment is presented. In the same lane, *SkyLife* is presented as a soft power tool within the context of Turkish Airlines' history and its relation to Turkish state.

The second chapter studies soft power in Turkish foreign policy, and since when its importance has been increasing. The period after AKP's arrival into power, especially the second half of it will be the focus point of the study. This is the period when the importance of soft power policy increased due to the ideas of Ahmet Davutoğlu, although he does not necessarily pronounce soft power in his ideologies. Turkey's endeavors of soft power with examples of European Union accession, Middle East relations, Africa opening, and some other initiatives are explored in this section as well.

The third chapter analyses how the editorial policy of *SkyLife* reflects the government's foreign policy priorities in terms of range of issues, themes, and the rhetoric changing according to conjecture. In the light of the soft power practices

in Turkish foreign policy, concrete examples are provided from the magazine from numerous issues. The destination articles follow the new flight routes opened by Turkish Airlines, which in turn show parallelism to the government's soft power policy openings in the world such as Middle East or Africa. Some main sources of the influence of the soft power policies reflected in the magazine consist of the welcome letters written by either the company's chairman of the board, executive, or by its deputy chairman and CEO, and also the corporate articles together with news articles. In accordance with the neo-Ottoman policies of the government, the magazine presents Istanbul as a hub for a Turkey which aspires to be an important role player in a large geography. The section shows by comparing old and new contents how the editorial language has changed in line with the increasing Islamic rhetoric of the ruling party, with a constant reference to the Ottoman heritage. The section also covers the campaigns, sponsorships and responsibility projects of Turkish Airlines as a global ubiquitous power that seems to exist on any sphere. The period following the coup attempts and the increasing presence of the government, notably of the president is given special attention since it marks a noticeable change in the weight of the political role the magazine seems to adopt. Lastly a general look at the Skylife designs over the course of the years is provided, followed by a more detailed analysis of the most recent design renewal.

## CHAPTER I: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

### 1.1. DEFINITION OF SOFTPOWER

The concept of 'soft power' was first developed by Joseph S. Nye, Jr. in *Bound to Lead*, which was published in 1990. In his later book called *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, he explores and develops the concept much more thoroughly.

Before delving into what soft power is, it would be useful to first look at how the concept of *power* is defined in the large sense. Power is the ability to get the desired outcomes through influencing the behavior of others (Nye, 2004, p. 2).

In the literature, threatening with force or imposing coercive methods such as military interventions are often associated with hard power. However, although power is realized with the use of resource, it is not identical with its sources in that "the same resource can generate hard or soft power; so even the military which is often given as a typical hard power source, can both "coerce some people and attract some others when it achieves a victory" (Vuving, 2009, p. 4). In contrast to Nye who catalogues military and economic power under hard power; economic power can both be hard and soft power depending on the context of its realization (Vuving, 2009, p. 7). So while according to Nye soft power is the capacity to affect others' behavior by influencing their preferences, hard power is the ability to affect them by changing their circumstances (Vuving, 2009, p. 6). Here Lukes precises saying that power does not equate to power sources either; as a matter of fact, it is a capacity, not just the exercise of vehicle of it. (Lukes, 2005, p. 479)

Nye points out that hard power is not always sufficient to obtain the outcomes one might desire in today's world. He then stresses the importance of soft power which he defines as the ability to manage to obtain what one wants by means of elements and methods of attraction, by rendering the desired outcomes expected

from more alluring so that they occur naturally and willingly rather than by means of coercion or payments. Soft power could then be the result of the attractiveness of the culture, political ideals and policies of that country (Nye, 2004, p. x).

Contrary to hard power, which relies on methods of coercion such as inducements to an agent to act in a certain way, and threats in order to achieve to attain the outcomes that are wanted (Nye, 2004, p. 5), co-optive power, which might be described as the ability to shape what others want in an indirect and subtle manner, can rest on the attractiveness of a state's culture and values or the ability to manipulate the agenda of political choices of other states (Nye, 2004, p. 7).

Nye discusses that all these elements can be counted as prospective means of soft power of a country as long as certain conditions are created. To be more precise, a country's culture can transform into a tool of soft power as long as it is liked and appreciated by people who are from other countries and cultures. A country's principles in politics can be successful in being influential in other countries, can affect people's perspectives and according behaviors when those political principles manage to fulfill national and foreign individuals' or states' expectations as a consequence of those principles both in that country itself and also abroad; and a country's policies enacted by the government as long as they are believed to be legitimate and moral can be counted as prospective means of soft power of that country (Nye, 2004, p. 11).

As to what constitutes soft power, Vuving comes up with three generic power currencies that generates attraction: benignity, brilliance and beauty; first one benignity referring to the positive attitudes that one expresses when treating people thereby generating gratitude and sympathy, second one brilliance referring to the high performance that one accomplishes thereby generating soft power through the production of admiration and finally last one beauty referring to the actors' relation with ideals causes or visions (Vuving, 2009, p. 8).

A country increases its chances of achieving the outcomes that it aspires to thanks to the relationships of attraction and commitments it when its culture has universal values and its political policies promote shared values and interests; and

its culture comprises of all the set of values and practices that help create meaning for a society, whether they are assets of high culture such as literature, art, and education or those of popular culture that focus on mass entertainment (Nye, 2004, p. 11).

Although soft power is frequently associated merely with elements of popular culture, it is certainly not limited to it. As Joffe puts in his article while giving examples for America's soft power he clarifies that it is composed of both high and low cultural elements “It is grunge and Google, Madonna and MoMA, Hollywood and Harvard” (Joffe, 2006). Indeed, it would not be right to say that the United States of America’s soft power is limited to McDonalds or Coca-Cola, although they form a part of it (Nye, 2004, p. 12). We can cite several other soft power capacities of the United States such as the high-tech industry and the internet technology that it is capable of developing and utilizing. The film and television industry would serve as another good example as it is one of the greatest methods of reaching masses in such a fast and effective fashion. It is such a vast and powerful industry that it is not uncommon to replace the word film in certain contexts with the industry’s center in the United States, namely Hollywood as in “Hollywood actors”. One other example of a soft power tool could be university institutions like Harvard, MIT, or Yale, and scholarship programs such as Fulbright. Sports events like those organized by the NBA could be good instance of such soft power instruments that the United States has been benefiting from.

In order to explore things that create favorable opinions in the foreign publics, Nye provides his readers with some examples of soft power sources. The fact that the United States is the world’s largest economy and that it has half of the top 500 global companies, or that it is the world’s biggest films and television programs exporter contribute positively to the image of America (Nye, 2004, p. 33). Similarly, France’s ranking first in Nobel Prizes for literature, ranking first in attracting most tourists in the world, its having a high life expectancy at birth,

having the highest per capita spending in international cultural relations can be considered as some examples of culture, values and policies positively serving France's image and prestige in foreign countries (Nye, 2004, p. 76).

Commerce comes as one of the ways to transmit culture through personal contacts, visits and exchanges (Nye, 2004, p. 13). Besides, as Nye claims the agents who manage to communicate the best are usually not governments; they are rather people (Nye, 2004, p. 142). This fact plays an essential factor for the purposes of our subject because aerial transportation seems to be the most important means of all transport for all these changes occurring in today's world. In fact, the air transport industry is a force that can help establish connection among societies and communities, both for pursuing leisure activities and also business affairs. This aspect of air transport diminishes the importance of boundaries between states (Thornton, 1971, p. 553).

A government's domestic or foreign policies are also capable of fortifying or dissipating a country's soft power. To take the USA example again, according to polls that were realized in the aftermath of the Iraq War in 2003, a considerable fall of popularity of the USA was observed among large majorities in most countries, especially where most of the population is comprised of Muslims (Nye, 2004, p. 14). So, just as a country is appreciated and admired by individuals and communities living in foreign countries due to the positive cultural, political or economic assets of the country in question, so it can be disregarded or condemned and fall from favor because of its negatively evaluated actions.

Political values can contribute to this kind of an influence in terms of attraction or repulsion. Democracy or human rights are some examples that help create soft power (Nye, 2004, p. 14). Since governments are not the only actors of soft power, other value creating organisms such as institutions, foundations, religious institutions, non-profit organizations or corporations have soft power as well (Nye, 2004, p. 17).

## **1.2. NATIONAL AIRLINES AS SOFT POWER TOOLS**

By the same token, we can say that national airlines can serve as an instrument of soft power. As within the same line with the examples given above national airlines help in showcasing a country in the world scene by promoting the country as well as promoting the brand itself. First of all, the colors of the flag of the country are often used in the logos, and even tailfins carry elements from the national flag (Thurlow & Aiello, 2007, pp. 314-315). The term flag carrier comes from the fact that national airlines carry their country's flag all over. As an example, the colors red and white of Turkish Airlines are a strong indication about its relation to the red and white Turkish national flag.

Besides, historically speaking there is a strong relationship between airlines and governments because many airlines were originally established to meet governmental needs and universally required subsidies to remain in operation' (Thornton, 1971, p. 546). For example, Turkish Airlines was established in 1933 as "State Airlines Administration" under the supervision of the Ministry of National Defense (Annual Report 2009 page 28) (Turkish Airlines).

It might be exaggerated to claim that today airlines are merely controlled by governments. However, governments play a crucial role in air transport. As a matter of fact, governments are the fundamental actors as producers, consumers, and regulators of air transport process (Thornton, 1971, p. 541).

By nature, airlines are not mere companies seeking to gain economic benefits but are strongly political entities at the same time. The destinations that are served, the offices that are opened, the international events that are sponsored by airline companies; and the number of passengers as well as the profile of passengers have a close relationship with a country's foreign policy. To flip the coin, the state's diplomatic ambitions, political inclinations are critical driving forces behind the choices taken by airline companies.

For instance, the type of aircraft to be purchased may stem from diplomatic ambitions depending on the country to be bought from, the circumstances under which they are bought, and the timing of the purchase. Or still, the partnership agreements that are made may be related to political context and policies of the governments in power. The flight network and the cities to fly to may reflect the external priorities of a state. These are all revealing aspects of the foreign policy of a state.

In this respect, national airlines play a prominent role in serving states to bring them the desired results in terms of culture, commerce and foreign policy. They can, therefore, be considered as instruments of soft power (Selçuk, 2012, p. 10). Creating a national trademark in the air reinforces a nation's prestige, and influences foreign public where the airline flies, and that prestige belongs not only to the company but ultimately to the entire nation the company originates from (Anaz & Akman, 2017, p. 308).

It is possible to observe that Turkish Airlines activities are in accordance with Turkish foreign policies in that there is a connection between the geographical regions that the Turkish state enacts diplomatic and commercial affairs with and the operations of Turkish Airlines. Therefore, Turkish Airlines is a soft power tool.

As a natural result of that, we see the reflections of this cooperation between the state and Turkish Airlines in the airline's in-flight magazine *SkyLife*. But first, let us have a look at how in-flight magazines can act as an instrument of soft power.

### **1.3. IN-FLIGHT MAGAZINES**

In-flight magazines are publications distributed freely by an airline company to its passengers in the aircraft often in seat pockets in front of each passenger. They are sometimes possible to be distributed in airport lounges, as well. Although many passengers have the tendency to consider these publications as part of the aircraft equipment and leave them in the aircraft as they disembark, they are in fact free to keep a copy. This is even indicated clearly on the cover of such magazines as ‘your complimentary copy’.

In-flight magazines have a long tradition of almost 75 years. The first in-flight magazine was launched in 1952 by Pan American World Airways under the name of Clipper Travel. Today more than 200 airlines have at least one in-flight magazine, and approximately 90% of all the flights around the world have in-flight magazines (In-Flight Magazines, 2020).

In-flight magazines provide details about the airline company’s fleet, its current destinations which are usually visualized via a world map with lines representing each destination. They include practical information for passengers clarifying general rules and procedures regarding the company’s policies about various issues such as bookings, no-shows, baggage regulations, safety regulations, client service. It is even possible to read a list of food and beverages, and other paraphernalia supplied free of charge or sold on board for passengers’ comfort. In addition to such basic information, in-flight magazines are mostly composed of travel content such as articles about destinations or interesting travel information, suggestions and tips for potential visitors, arts and entertainment news and announcements – especially about those in the company’s home country– articles about business, health and lifestyle, and various other topics supposed to be addressing general interest.

Although it has been more than two decades since the technology of personal screens for passengers arrived, and today wi-fi technology offers a wide variety of in-flight entertainment options such as gaming, movies and music content, onboard magazines continue to exist, and are still popular.

Furthermore, in addition to creating downloadable digital editions, most companies still see long term profit in providing printed in-flight magazines despite the fact that it brings along economic and environmental impacts through the necessity to possess (or at least outsource) a publishing organ, an increase in logistic costs, overconsumption of aircraft fuel as a result of the total physical weight of thousands of copies carried on board, and so on.

As a matter of fact, printed copies, just like every gram of any object in an aircraft, have a cost impact (Stone, 2017). In order to give an idea about the impact that printed copies might have, we can make a rough calculation. A typical publication weighing around 300 grams in an aircraft with around 330 seats, which operates twice a day for one year with 100kilograms of extra weight would end up having72,500 kilograms of extra freight across one year (Boon, 2020).

Depending on the number of pages of the in-flight magazines and the number of passengers, this additional weight represents an extra cost. On short-haul and mid-haul flights, an average of extra consumption is 10 tons of kerosene per aircraft per year, and about the double for long-haul flights. Not to mention the environmental impact of3 tons of CO<sub>2</sub> produced for each ton of kerosene consumed (Vigier). For the purposes of this research, the pros and cons of printed copies will not be further explored. Debates about switching totally to digital keeping or the printed copies continue; however, in-flight magazines are still relevant today in terms of the impact they have as a soft power instrument.

This is to say that despite the fact that printed copies bring extra burden in many ways, many airline companies still see profit in keeping the magazines printed in

addition to the online versions. Due to extra costs of providing wi-fi connection in the airplanes imposed, most passengers still stay off-line at least for as long as the flights that take a few hours. Existence of a printed copy of the in-flight publication guarantees that each and everybody has the chance to reach out to the magazine available just in front of them. Thus, the content of these magazines is communicated to these audiences easily. When the content of the flag carrier airline is taken into consideration, from the photographs that are picked to the vocabulary that is chosen, to the range of themes that are covered, the in-flight magazine serves as a tool of international relations to affect the thoughts and behaviors of the foreign public.

#### **1.4. IMPACT OF IN-FLIGHT MAGAZINES**

First of all, in-flight magazines have a few unique characteristics which other publications do not possess. They serve a captive audience which cannot escape them. The upscale readers are in a context where they are stuck in an airplane, where they have to spend a few hours, with a receptive mind. Thus, the readership comes from the passenger traffic, which shows an ever-growing tendency in a more and more globalized world.

In fact, according to data from International Air Transport Association (IATA), the number of global air passengers is predicted to reach 7.2 billion by 2035 (In-Flight Magazines, 2020).

Also, most airlines with their international fleet have the colossal power of massive distributions of these magazines that no other publications could compare. They readily serve hundreds of cities in the world, where they not only take passengers but also the whole company image reflected also in their magazines.

Concerning the in-flight magazine readership rates, passengers still spend time reading in-flight magazines despite all other pastime activities available on board. In fact, according to Air Passenger Experience Association's passenger insights study, 4 out of 5 passengers said to have picked up and read the in-flight magazine with an average of 13.7 minutes of duration (What Passengers Get Up to at 35000 Feet, 2014). Still another poll showed that 94% of business passengers read the magazines with an average of 30 minutes per flight (Michaels, 2009). According to International In-flight Media Marketing, the number of in-flight readers across the world surpasses that of the readers of traditional monthly magazines by millions which makes in-flight magazines the leader in this sector (Maci, 2016, p. 200). Still in the same study, airline passengers are identified as being a homogeneous group belonging to the middle and upper classes, forming an extremely receptive type of public who spend at least thirty minutes reading the magazine throughout their flight (Maci, 2016, p. 200).

All these factors make in-flight magazines an unparalleled medium to reach to foreign audience. With this in mind, prominent airlines provide high quality publications. Most airlines outsource these magazines to professional in-flight content creator agencies. Some research has indicated that "in-flight magazines tend to recreate a world in which both the tourist destination and the airline are presented as international, fashionable and sophisticated, in other words global (Maci, 2016, p. 198). Therefore, in-flight publishing is not just about travel guides and recommendations, but is a perfect medium for marketing and branding, creating an image, influencing opinions, gaining prestige in the eyes of foreign audiences. This functionality goes further for national airlines. Through the magazine content, the airline, thereby the country, advertises the images they want to evoke in the target audiences.

When a national airline flies to a destination, it does not only take a company name but also a country image. From the quality of the service and aircraft

equipment to the prestigious events where it shows presence through sponsorship deals and collaborations with world-famous stars, it contributes to the perception of the image concerning its country abroad. All of these are reflected in the editorial line of the in-flight magazines. Therefore, national airlines' in-flight magazines are instruments of soft power because they serve as a currency of attraction and prestige by influencing foreign publics in a positive direction.

### **1.5. SKYLIFE MAGAZINE**

In the same fashion, Turkish Airline's in-flight magazine Skylife can therefore be considered as a soft power tool. As a matter of fact, Turkish Airlines launched its in-flight magazine in 1983, for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation of the company, then operating as an international aviation organization serving in three continents with its 30 aircraft (Turkish Airlines Corporate History). The fact that THY Magazin (This was the name of the magazine back then. It was changed to Skylife as of the December 1989 issue) was launched in that period is an indication that the in-flight magazine was also considered as an element contributing to the Turkish foreign policy.

As it will be explained in the following chapters, in 1983 Turgut Özal came to power with his Motherland Party; with a liberal vision and projects to open Turkey to the world by implementing a more active foreign policy. Turkish Airlines magazine was used as a medium where subjects related to politics found their place. For example, in 1983 following the terrorist attacks organized by the Armenian Secret Army for The Liberation of Armenia (ASALA) by exploding a suitcase at the Turkish Airlines check-in desk in Orly Airport in Paris, France, a tragic event leaving 8 dead, and 55 injured (List of attacks by ASALA, 2020). A message of condemn against these attacks were published in the welcome letter in the related issue of the magazine. However, the message was only in Turkish, just like much of the rest of the magazine, in those years.

At this point, opening a parenthesis about the languages used in the magazine would serve as a small reminder, as we will discuss further in this paper the change in the language policy of the magazine. In fact, in those years we observe that much of the articles in Turkish Airlines magazine used to be published in Turkish. There were some articles and travel writings here and there in English, and sometimes even in German. But it was too early to consider these as efforts for a systematic global appeal. It can be therefore said that there is an effort to create an international airline, but most of the content remains targeting the domestic audience, so the usage of the magazine as a soft power tool was not very blatant in the first years of the magazine. However, it increased considerably over the course of the years. As the weight of Turkish Airlines increased in the foreign politics, so did the importance of its in-flight magazine.

As Turkish Airlines evolved from being a small airline with a fleet of less than 30 aircraft to becoming a global high-quality airline with a fleet of over 300 aircraft which fly to over 300 destinations, the importance its onboard magazine bears also soared proportionally. Today, Turkish Airlines in-flight magazine, Skylife is a soft power tool which has a capacity to reach millions of passengers per year worldwide. According to one online open source, Skylife has a monthly circulation of 250.000 copies (Skylife Magazine and Skylife Business Magazine, 2014).

Based on data from a media buying relations company, Skylife has a monthly readership of 2.6 million. If we consider the study mentioned previously, which states that more than 80% of aircraft passengers flip through or read in-flight magazines, we can say that monthly traffic results would give us the closest estimations about Skylife's monthly readership.

To get a clearer idea, we can provide an example based on real numbers. Based on the online traffic results on the investor relations web page of Turkish Airlines, the total number of passengers carried in 2009 was 25.101.473. Of

this,13.409.905were in international flights from a total of 213.953 landings (Annual Report 2009) (Turkish Airlines).In 2019, the total number of passengers rose to 74.276.202(without even involving cargo and mail flights) and 43.837.879 of these were international flight passengers in 287.902 landings in various corners of the world (Traffic Data, 2019).

What all this data means is that in ten years, the reaching power of Turkish Airlines skyrocketed. In2019 alone, Turkish Airlines magazines were in the hands of approximately 70 million people.

## **1.6. BRIEF HISTORY OF TURKISH AIRLINES**

In order to understand how the impact Turkish Airlines in-flight magazine has risen gradually over time, it is useful to take a look at the progress Turkish Airlines has made in the last three decades.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s Turkish Airlines growth has always followed a rising trend. With each year passing, new aircraft were bought to the fleet, new flight routes were added to the destinations served, the number of international destinations increased, and prominent improvements and changes were made in the operations of the services. For example, new offices were opened around the world. By early 1990s, total destinations served were above 70, more than half being international flights. In 1993, different classes of service were introduced to operation as First Class, Business Class and Economy Class.

In 1996, Turkish Airlines' official website was put into service, which shows that the company follows technological developments closely, and is one of the pioneers in digital innovation in the country.

During these periods, a lot of partnerships with international airlines were made. Istanbul Chamber of Commerce awarded Turkish Airlines with a First Place

Golden Plaque in 1998, for bringing the highest amount of foreign currency into the country (Turkish Airlines Corporate History).

These are the tokens of the fact that Turkish Airlines became one of the most important assets of Turkey in terms of its brand power, economic and international relations.

By early 2000s, Turkish Airlines was a global airline serving destinations in 4 continents of the world with its fleet reaching almost 80 aircraft and carrying more than 12 million passengers per year. It also kept adding to the numerous partnerships with its counterparts.

It would not be wrong to say that following the period after 2003, when Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power without the support of a coalition partner, Turkish Airlines began to receive special attention. Unprecedented actions started to be taken. The number of the aircraft increased, flight routes were expanded unprecedentedly, and Turkish Airlines started to be regarded as a global airline company in many respects.

During the 2000s, Turkish Airlines acquired quality certificates. It was granted many awards, and became a member of Star Alliance in 2008, which is one of the three largest global alliances. The company was also rated as the best airline for 4 times in a row from 2010 through 2014 by Skytrax, which is a traveler organism highly recognized in the aviation world and is based in the UK.

AKP, being aware of the importance of the role Turkish Airlines could play on the international scene, made it among the priorities of its agenda. In the first years of its rule, AKP took many crucial actions in the foreign policy to legitimize its power. The steps the ruling party made were closely followed by the world. Turkish Airlines came in as a very efficient way to communicate these policies to foreign audiences.

From the 2010s on, it is possible to observe a very systematic and conscious effort to shape the perceptions of foreign audiences and present Turkish Airlines as a prestigious, global brand, and thereby promote Turkey as a global power. To illustrate this, we can have a look at cover photos of Skyline over time. They used to consist of photos of places in Turkey, the objects of authentic cultural heritage of sometimes mundane images. However, this tendency changed over time. In 2013, Turkish Airlines became the airline that flies to the most countries in the world. Parallel to this new image, the in-flight magazine covers featured more and more highlights from foreign destinations.

Also, with new partnerships being realized and new sponsorship agreements signed, international celebrities and Hollywood stars like Kevin Costner or world-renowned sportspeople such as Kobe Bryant, Lionel Messi or Didier Drogba featured on the cover. The bigger the projects Turkish Airlines made, the stronger the conscious branding was applied in the in-flight magazine.

As Turkish Airlines name appeared in the same shots with world stars, this added not only to the brand worth of the flag carrier airline but also to that of Turkey. Turkish Airlines global identity was reinforced with images representing the global. We can see that these campaigns are covered comprehensively by Turkish Airlines' on-board magazine, Skyline, highlighting values to be presented to the world with these campaigns, which were parallel to the foreign policies executed by AKP in power.

## **1.7. TURKISH AIRLINES – TURKISH STATE RELATION**

As previously mentioned, there is a strong relationship between the Turkish state and Turkish Airlines. In fact, Turkish Airlines was founded in 1933 in the capital of the Republic of Turkey, Ankara pursuant to law No. 2186 as the 'State Airlines Administration' and started its operations under the authority of the Ministry of Defense (Annual Report 2009) (Turkish Airlines, p. 28).

Its authority was transferred to the Ministry of Public Works. In 1935, renaming it as the ‘General Directorate of State Airlines’ in 1938, and later the Administration was transferred to the Ministry of Transportation in 1939. One decade later it was restructured as a corporation governed by the provisions of private law and named “Türk Havayolları Anonim Ortaklığı” (Turkish Airways Corp.)(Annual Report 2009) (Turkish Airlines, p. 28).

By looking at the fact that Turkish Airlines was operated under various state control units, it can be inferred that the company has been prioritized since it has been believed to stand as a means towards the modernization of the country. It started as a small-scale organization initialized by the state and grew to be the national flag carrier it is today.

Economic modernity developments that happened within the body of Turkish Airlines were as largely driven by Turkey’s political aspirations as they were by economic ones, therefore essential for the new Turkey in this sense. Turkish Airlines is therefore directly in line with the state desire.

The operations of Turkish Airlines and the policies of international relations of Turkey showed parallelism. Turkish Airlines open new flight routes or sales offices in certain cities around the world due to political motivations of the state. For example, from the late 1960s and early 1970s onwards, the Turkish Airlines opened several new flight routes in Western European countries particularly in Germany, where there is a strong Turkish presence, which showed its expansion strategy was in conformity with the increasing demand from the Turkish workers (Selçuk, 2012, p. 39).

Another example of this is in 1970s and 1980s Turkish Airlines opened many flight routes to geographical regions in the Middle East such as Baghdad Tehran or Jeddah and behind these operations were Turkey’s goals to improve its

relations with the Middle Eastern countries and reinforce Turkey's presence in the region and to utilize Turkey's geographical position to serve as a bridge between Europe and the Middle East (Selçuk, 2012).

We see this close relationship between Ankara's political motivations and Turkish Airlines' operations even more saliently especially from 1980s on. Turkish Airlines' 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1983 coincides with an important development in Turkish political scene. Following a 3 years military regime, Turgut Özal came to power with its Motherland Party having almost half of all the votes. With his right-wing party, Özal started a new dynamism in the economic system of Turkey through liberal reforms.

After the commencement of Turgut Özel government in 1983, 1980s was a decade when the government followed policies focusing on liberalization and the diminishing of the state's influence in several sectors; and mainly sectors that were focused on during this liberalization process were tourism, transport, and communication" (Yalçinkaya, 2019, p. 417). As of 1990s the European aviation market in Europe started become more liberalized and market oriented (Beria, 2011, p. 219). In this context, Turgut Özel followed suit and shaped his policies to open and integrate Turkey into the globalizing world. His aim was to increase the volume of export economy. According to him, Turkish Airlines formed a very important element in his ideology (Selçuk, 2012, p. 42). When we talk about international integration and involvements, one of the most essential means for a country is air transport. Özal, being highly aware of this, always paid special attention to Turkish Airlines (Nergiz, 2008, p. 265).

Hence, the Özel era might be regarded as a turning point for Turkish Airlines. Those were also the years Turkish Airlines' expansion strategy was overtly parallel to the developments in Turkish foreign policy. Özel and the Motherland Party used Turkish Airlines as a tool to corroborate his foreign policy vision (Selçuk, 2012, p. 42).

This meant a big transformation period for Turkish Airlines; In effort to modernize Turkish Airlines and adapt it to the needs of the liberal market, Özal brought Cem Kozlu, to the head of Turkish Airlines. That was a period where a lot of novelties within the body of Turkish Airlines were realized (Nergiz, 2008, p. 297).

As one of the indicators of this progressist era, in-flight magazine THY Magazin was renamed Skylife during the first months of the new direction. As the dynamism of the country increased so did the flag carrier's importance because Turkish Airlines had a strategic role both in the economy and in reflecting Turkey's new face to the international arena.

The economic dynamism that started with Özal, the increase in the intensity of foreign relations, Turkey's opening to the foreign world, the period when critical improvements were observed in terms of international commerce and tourism could be said to pave the way for the foundations of the developments to be realized at the beginning of 2000s.

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Turkish Airlines saw the most rapid and comprehensive changes in its history when in November 2002 AKP came into power as a single party government with a landslide victory. Not surprisingly, the change in the political scene of the country affected Turkish Airlines; the new government set up a vision for the airline company and appointed new board members to the company to be able to rapidly put the necessary actions into practice for Turkish Airlines (Selçuk, 2012, p. 48).

Turkish Airlines came in once again as the primary means of soft power to communicate Ankara's political inclinations and aspirations.

The government became more and more involved in Turkish Airlines' operations to reuse corporate successes to promote the success of the government's policies. For example, it is in 2005, during the first years of AKP rule that Turkish Airlines made the greatest fleet growth in its history by making the purchase transaction of 59 aircraft and 36 of these were A330-200, A321-200 and A320-200, and 23 were B737-800 in an effort to increase the number of international destinations by adding 23 new ones (Turkish Airlines Corporate History).

As the flag carrier brand of Turkey, it served as a showcase for Turkey. Not surprisingly AKP has used Turkish Airlines as a soft power tool in order to solidify its status on the international arena, demonstrate to the western powers the modernity of the country, the important leading role it aspires to have on the international system.

AKP has also used Turkish Airlines as an instrument in opening up into other territories such as the Middle East, Africa, the former Soviet Union and Balkan countries. In order to pave the way for such an integration, Turkish Airlines started to operate new destinations, which mostly showed parallelism with this kind of a foreign policy in the direction of establishing political, economic and social connections with certain geographies (Selçuk, 2012, p. 49).

While Turkish Airlines opened only 26 new international flight destinations during the last decade of the 1990s, with AKP coming into power between 2003 and 2013 that is, during the first 10 years of AKP mandate, Turkish Airlines opened more than 120 new international destinations making it 'the airline that flies to the most countries in the world than any other' in 2013. (The numbers were obtained by comparing the Yearly Reports of Turkish Airlines.)

## **CHAPTER II: SOFT POWER IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY**

### **2.1. TURKEY'S EMERGING SOFT POWER IDENTITY**

In an effort to better understand how Turkish Airlines and thus its in-flight magazine is used as a soft power tool of the Turkish Foreign policy, it is useful to firstly delve into Turkey's process of rising soft power; when the concept of soft power gained importance, when it started to gain an increasing trend with an emphasis into the period from 2010 on.

Due to the conditions in which Turkish Republic was founded in 1923, the external developments in the region and the very geostrategic location of the country traditionally exempted Turkey from the luxury of acting softly and made it focus on hard power through adoption of coercive strategies (Oğuzlu, 2007, p. 84).

Securing the existence of the State and defending the territorial integrity were the fundamental concerns because of the emerging regional instabilities in the Cold War period and Turkey behaved as a hard power actor when dealing with issues especially with its neighbors (Oğuzlu, 2007, p. 84).

Turkey's process of rising soft power is relatively new. After coming into power, AKP government followed a less hard power path. The foreign policy of AKP seems to be marked by two phases; first one between 2002 and 2007 which is defined by a search for international legitimacy and the second one after 2009 (Sönmezoğlu, 2016, p. 465). During the first period, the ruling party did not conduct a steady foreign policy since the main priority at the time was rather reinforce its power and legitimacy vis-à-vis the state organs, which were still influential in important decision taking processes (Tuğtan, 2016, p. 5).

This first period is mostly marked by the European Union relations. Despite the fact that it comes from a religious background, AKP made efforts to meet the

Copenhagen criteria and improve Turkey's prospects to join the European Union (Özcan, 2003, p. 2).

In doing this, the government accelerated political reforms. The steps taken in that regard positively affected the cooperative approach of the country in the international arena which in turn contributed to the soft power strategy of Turkey. With Turkey's accession talks to The EU officially starting in 2005, Turkey's transformation also accelerated. This contributed to Turkey's positive progress which was due to its characteristics in contrast to the other Muslim countries in the region. AKP's political reforms, among others, consisted civilianizing the national security institutions (Özcan, 2003). The government led a de-securitization process to make securitized issues redefined as political ones, in an effort to stay in power and be considered as legitimate (Oğuzlu, 2007, p. 88). "The EU conditionality has been one of the factors that accelerated the transformation of military's role almost to the point of silence in Turkish political life" (Akgul Acikmese, 2013, p. 12). And the fact that influence of the military in Turkish foreign policy decreased in accordance with the EU's demands laid grounds for rising importance of the soft power (Oğuzlu, 2007, p. 90). Therefore, the European Union's desecuritizing impact has been noted in terms of foreign policy (Akgul Acikmese, 2013, p. 1).

"During this period, Turkey pushed to transform its international image from being a passive actor on the global stage to being an active and constructive regional and global member" (Anaz & Akman, 2017, p. 307). Turkey developed positive relations with other western partners in addition to having cooperative policies for the EU accession. In the meantime, by having a role as intermediary facilitator in solving the problems in the region, Turkey increased its prestige (Balcı & Miş, 2008). Since AKP has Islamist roots, it had the capacity to merge its Muslim identity and Ottoman past to reconstruct and reinforce connections with the Arab world (Jabbour, 2015). Ahmet Davutoğlu states that being a cultural, political and economic bridge between the east and the west, Asia and

Europe, Turkey needs to rethink its relations with the Muslim world; since these relations bear importance in terms of international economic political influence (Davutoğlu, 2001, p. 263). For that reason, Turkey adopted, for the first time since the foundation of the Turkish Republic, a strong presence in the region not by means of hard power but rather through cultural connections (Jabbour, 2015). Also, in contrast to the nonfunctioning policies in the Middle East, Turkish Model, as the only Muslim country that is ruled democratically, increased significance and became more attractive both for Middle Eastern countries vis a vis the West and vice versa and this contributed to Turkey's soft power.

Contrary to 2002-2007 period, the influence of the state structures has diminished which resulted in a foreign policy which is largely conducted by the elected government. The most important factor in determining Turkey's policies during this period, and in concentrating on soft power in particular, is Ahmet Davutoğlu. Being a professor of international relations, Ahmet Davutoğlu played a primary role in terms of both the mental background and the implementations of Turkish foreign policy (Sönmezoğlu, 2016, p. 466). He served as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's foreign affairs advisor between 2003 and 2009 and later as Minister of foreign affairs between 2009 and 2014 and as Prime Minister between 2014 and 2016. For this reason it is crucial to understand Davutoğlu's foreign policy strategy in order to understand Turkey's soft power policies and Turkish Airlines role in the situation.

In his comparative study, Tuğtan explores the visions of the two former ministers of foreign affairs Ismail Cem and Ahmet Davutoğlu, and puts forward that in a very similar fashion as Ismail Cem did, Ahmet Davutoğlu also considered the effective use of history, geography and culture as elements of power that can be the key to success in foreign policy (Tuğtan, 2016, p. 20).

Davutoğlu's stance on Turkey's relations with the Middle East and his ideas on how the Turkish foreign policy must be shaped, which he discusses in his book *Strategic Depth*, caused him to be called a new-Ottomanist (Ozel, 2009).

Davutoğlu presents advice on foreign policy in his book, where he discusses his fundamental arguments regarding Turkish foreign policy in a prescriptive nature (Kirişci, 2009, p. 36). He explores the strategic depth in terms of historical depth and geographical depth (Davutoğlu, 2001). Davutoğlu defines historical depth as a characteristic of a country that is 'at the epicenter of [historical] events because Turkey has historical legacy of the Ottoman Empire, it possesses a great geographical depth (Murinson, The strategic depth doctrine of Turkish foreign policy, 2006, p. 951). He suggests that Turkey should have a historical depth and be involved in relations with the close geography where the Ottoman Empire had been effective. Turkey should not neglect this unique region (Davutoğlu, 2001). In a similar manner as Cem who envisages that peace and stability could turn into a power factor, Davutoğlu sets out to put this foreign policy vision of 'zero problem with neighbors' into practice (Tuğtan, 2016, p. 12). Taking advantage of the geopolitical leverage, and the historical and cultural connections in the surrounding regions, he advocates that Turkey should develop a "zero problem policy" with neighboring countries (Kirişci, 2009, p. 36). Being conscious of this heritage and without having prejudices, Turkey should develop cooperation built around soft power elements based on cultural and economic foundations (Sönmezoglu, 2016, p. 468). Davutoğlu indicates that Turkey has long established foundations to transform its total power capacity stemming from elements such as history, geography, population and culture into a real power (Davutoğlu, 2001, p. 552). Davutoğlu prescribes a foreign policy built upon a belonging to Islamic civilization and a willingness to be the central country of the Middle East and Afro Eurasia (Tuğtan, 2016, p. 19). This special emphasis on the Middle East region, a neo-Ottoman approach, as is defined by several specialists, has been one of the defining features in the government's foreign policy of the AKP government.

## **2.2. SOFT POWER POLICY ACTIONS**

In the aftermath of the year 2009 when Ahmet Davutoğlu took office as the minister of foreign affairs, the most prominent change in the government's foreign policy preferences was the fact that issues regarding the Middle East began to take priority. A shift of axis is marked both in foreign and political economy in the Turkish trajectory (Rüma, 2021).

With the advantage of being at the crossroads of the main geopolitical spaces that represent Europe, the Middle East, and even Africa, Turkey should use this strategic position as an opportunity to acquire a central role in the international system. Davutoğlu was formulating a central state Turkey as a regional power in its geography, whose means of asserting such impact would be to enlarge its domain of influence, not to enlarge its physical land. This was to be ensured by way of giving weight to soft power instruments in foreign policy (Sönmezoğlu, 2016, p. 469). While maintaining the position of a central state, Davutoğlu also advocates the need to engage all countries in the region and have “zero problem policy” with its neighbors. This policy was noted as the political pillar of the liberal economy based foreign policy of the government; and the policy of trading state resulted in a rise in the economic relations with the neighbors contributing to the objective of being a regional power (Rüma, 2021).

According to Davutoğlu, Turkey should exercise further influence in regions existing in its close proximity, in particular because Turkey has strong connections in terms of culture and history with these geographies as they were part of the Ottoman Empire. However, among these, the Middle Eastern countries should be considered as the most important for Turkish foreign policy (Jabbour, 2015). As a matter of fact, Turkey has changed its foreign policy to a more activist one demonstrating a growing economic and diplomatic role, notably in the neighboring regions (Rüma, 2021).

For example, Turkey's soft power approach in foreign politics came into play with its relations with Syria. While Turkey had a coercive approach towards its neighbor in late 90s, during the first years of AKP era the mutual relations took up cultural and economic aspects. Turkey even gained an intermediary role having a positive image by friendly relations with the Arab world and earning the respect of the West by warning Syrian authorities about Syria's course with West and Israel; during this process Syrian President Basar Esad even paid an official visit to Turkey for the first time ever (Oğuzlu, 2007, p. 93). Turkey maintained its relations with its regional neighbor such as Iraq, Syria and Iran in accordance with its policy of zero-problem with neighbors until the end of 2010.

Following the outbreak of the Arab Spring that started in 2011 the dynamics in Turkish foreign policy started to change and as of 2011, Turkey began to have troubles and a series of adverse events squandered Turkey's soft power. Especially the developments in Syria were determining. As Syria issue became a quagmire, Turkey's soft power policy changed back into hard power with regards to its foreign policies in the Middle East.

Iran adopted different positions concerning the Arab Spring, and the events worsened into a civil war in Syria and badly affected Turkey. The military coup in Egypt impacted the relations between Turkey and Egypt (İnat, 2014, p. 4).

During the mandate of AKP there have been a lot of policies showing such soft power examples. The commencement of full membership negotiations to the European Union, selection of Turkey for the temporary membership for the United Nations Security Council after a 48-year long break, the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's leaving the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2009 after severely criticizing the President of Israel Shimon Peres, the rise in the popularity of Turkish television series particularly in the Middle East, as the only Islamic country ruled by democracy, an increase in the support by local public opinion, although not by the leaders of countries in the region are some of those examples (Sönmezoğlu, 2016, p. 470).

It is possible to see that during the AKP period Turkey has followed a policy that is aware of its diplomacy and soft power and it is trying to enhance its potential and capacity in these arenas. One of the major steps taken in this regard is increasing the number of Turkey's diplomatic missions abroad increasing the soft power and also giving the necessary support and help to the exporters and investors in the countries they act (İnat, 2014, p. 16). According to the data from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the number of Turkish foreign affairs missions increased to 242 by 2018, in 16 years, that is to say (142 embassies, 13 permanent representations, 85 consulates general, 1 consulate general agency, 1 office of trading). The number of active foreign representatives was 163 in 2002. In parallel with Turkey's active foreign policy, several countries and international institutions opened representative agencies in Turkey in order to monitor Turkey closely and maintain relations by means of permanent representation. The number of embassies in Turkey rose from 103 in 2011 to 127 in 2018; and the number of consulates general and consulates rose from 84 to 97 (Anadolu Ajansı, 2018). It is seen that a critical part of these increases occurred after 2009, which proves how foreign missions were deemed important.

Turkey has also concentrated on increasing its cultural activities abroad as part of its soft power policy. For example, Yunus Emre Institute started operating in 2009. It is a culture and language center, a Turkish version of European institutions such as Goethe Institute or Instituto Cervantes. It was established on Ottoman Empires social and cultural values, and it aims at implementing cultural diplomacy through its approach in education. Therefore, it can be said that Turkey expanded its cultural diplomacy implementations by establishing Yunus Emre Institute in Balkan and Middle Eastern countries (Eren, 2020, p. 132). "Yunus Emre Institute has more than 40 culture centers outside Turkey. These centers not only teach Turkish but promote the country and its cultural heritage, contemporary culture and art as well. The Turkish state's target is to compose a desirable picture of Turkey's sociocultural assets by endorsing Turkish and its culture as global language and culture. Thus, it can be said that playing a crucial

role in promoting Turkish language and culture, Yunus Emre Institute is regarded as a soft power instrument in the world (Eren, 2020, p. 131). Aiming to improve Turkey's friendship with other countries and increase its cultural exchange with different ones, the Yunus Emre Institute also organizes "Turkish Festival" (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü, 2020). As part of the soft power policies of Turkey, the number of centers for Yunus Emre Institute rose. Apart from these, thousands of students study on a scholarship in Turkey by means of Turkey Scholarships (İnat, 2014, p. 18). As a matter of fact, during his speech at 3rd African Muslim Religious Leaders summit that was held in Istanbul, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated that a total of 10,480 African students were graduated from Turkish universities, and added that these students "serve their countries as Turkey's 'peace ambassadors'" (Duz, 2019).

Another channel that served AKP government in the Middle East became the media. In order to influence the Arab world, to present Ankara's point of view, to demonstrate, to justify and legitimize the government's policies in the Arab speaking world, TV channel TRT Al Arabiyya was put into broadcast in April 2010 (Jabbour, 2015). The statements of Erdoğan during the inauguration ceremony of the channel are very revealing of the Middle Eastern approach adopted through the soft power policies:

"TRT will be our common channel, the channel of all Turks and Arabs. It will bind us to each other it will unite our hearts. It will serve to deepen our relationships, strengthen our brotherhood, and consolidate our union. Although we are talking different languages in this vast geography, we should not forget that we have one history, one culture and similar values. We have given a shape to history together. Be sure that we will give a shape to the future altogether. We are the members of a civilization that places high importance on neighborliness" (Jabbour, 2015). These examples help illustrate how willing the government became to build public diplomacy channels.

As part of its foreign policy, AKP government paid special attention to developing strong relations with Africa. Turkey's involvement in Africa gained importance, if not started, during the AKP mandate. Bilateral relations with many African countries were made in political, economic and cultural realms. The government followed a foreign policy in Africa which is similar to that it had in Middle East during this period, once again taking its ideological foundations from Ahmet Davutoğlu. The Undersecretariat of Foreign Trade prepared a strategy for developing economic relations with African countries in 2003 with the aim of increasing Turkey's part in the continental trade and inserting Turkish SMEs in Africa (Mbabia, 2011, p. 111). 2005 was declared Africa year, mutual executive level visits between the governments gained speed after this declaration"; (Mbabia, 2011) Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and other state officials paid diplomatic visits to African countries. To improve mutual relations and develop trade potentials, a bilateral dialogue medium Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit was held for the first time in 2008, in Istanbul; a second one to be followed in 2014. Within this scope a series of cooperation fields were determined.

In order to contribute to the relations with Africa and to realize a broader strategy in several fields of collaboration, the Prime Ministry issued an "African Strategy" on March 26, 2010 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). In the following years, the number of Turkish embassies in the continent and the number of African embassies in Turkey increased (Sönmezoğlu, 2016, p. 750). Bilateral business councils were established, trade cooperation agencies were opened, the number of cooperation organisms operating rose, the trade volumes increased, the presence of Turkish humanitarian and commercial NGOs increased, and diplomatic missions rose in numbers too (Bacchi, 2015). The nature of the relations with Africa was first of all economic, but also substantial student exchange programs and humanitarian aid cooperation were realized.

In the international relations literature, much has been said and discussed about the main motives behind the Open to Africa Policy adopted by the Turkish

government. One thing that many specialists could perhaps agree upon is that throughout this policy building and prioritization of geographical areas by the government, Turkish Airlines played a major role. As a matter of fact, in the year 2012 alone, 15 Africa destinations were added to the flight network. With a total of 45 destinations opened during the second decade of the 2000s, Turkish Airlines opened the highest number of destinations in this region than it did in other regions (Annual Report 2012) (Turkish Airlines).

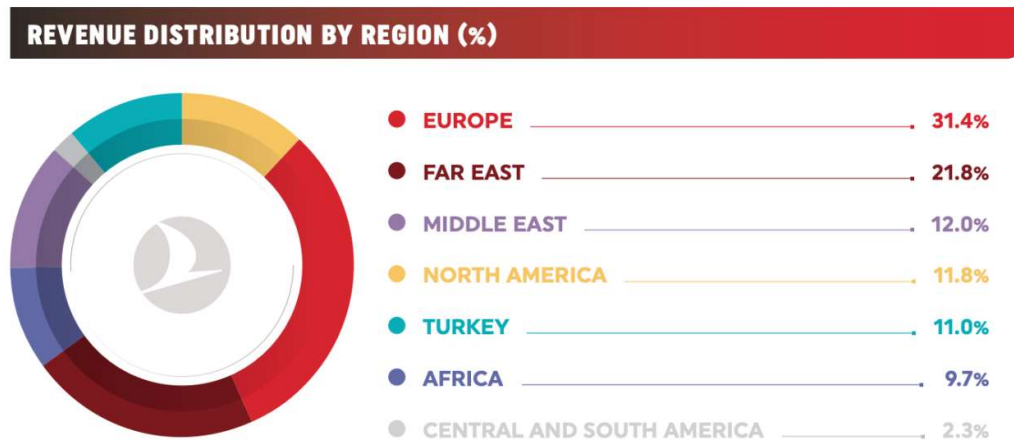
Since 2013 Turkish Airlines has been the airline that flies to more countries than any other in the world. As of January 2020, the airline served 318 destinations in 126 countries with its fleet of 355 aircraft (Skylife January 2020 Issue, 2020). However, flying to the largest number of international destinations worldwide doesn't seem to bring Turkish Airlines the highest profit among the world's biggest airlines. For example, The Lufthansa Group is an aviation group with operations worldwide. According to its 2019 financial report, the Group operated a route network involving 318 destinations in 102 countries (Lufthansa Group, 2019).

Turkish Airlines flies to many more countries than Lufthansa does. However according to Forbes Global 2020 results (Murphy, Tucker, Coyne, & Touryalai, 2020) the sales of Lufthansa is \$40.8 billion, and the market value is worth \$4.3 billion while Turkish Airlines sales are at \$13.2 billion and the market value is \$2.1 billion. Turkish Airlines is not the airline that has the highest net profit either.

This situation brings to minds that some of the destinations to which Turkish Airlines flies do not seem to bring too much profit. It is therefore often argued that the fundamental motives behind opening these flight routes are more political than economic. Actually, concerning the African routes, according to the revenue distribution by region based on 2019 Annual Report, with only 9.7 %, Africa has the second lowest proportion. This is lower than the revenue ratio of North America which is 11.8%, despite the fact that the number of African destinations

served is 59 in contrast to the number of destinations served in North America is 11.

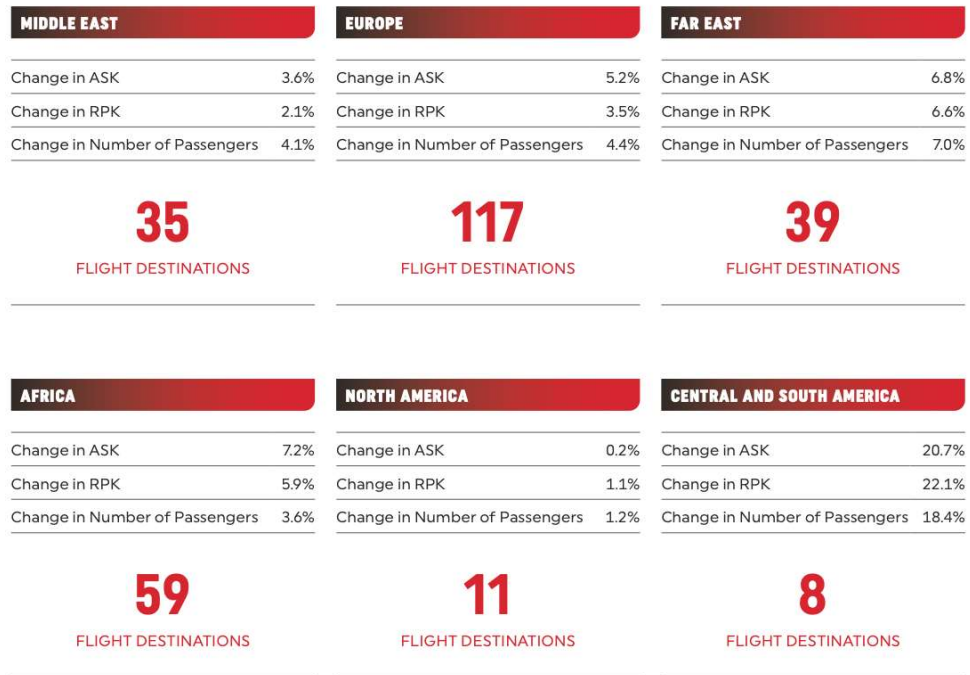
Figure 2.1 Diagram from Annual Report 2019



\*All flights are taken as a basis.

Source: Turkish Airlines Annual Report 2019 (Turkish Airlines)

**Figure 2.2 Flight Network in 2019**



**Source: Turkish Airlines Annual Report 2019** (Turkish Airlines)

It is known that in the African region, political instabilities, economic problems, insufficient infrastructure, issues of security, and the governments' protectionist policies are frequently observed, which ultimately affect air transportation in a negative way. For certain airline companies it is not possible to go in specific markets as a result of those security concerns. As for the insufficiency in infrastructure, it leads airline operations to be also insufficient in putting on the best possible operational performance (Annual Report 2019) (Turkish Airlines).

As a matter of fact, the biggest airline companies in the world are much behind Turkish Airlines in terms of number of destinations served in Africa. Even KLM Air France, having a partnership with France, which has strong organic ties to Africa as a result of its historical and sociological influence, flies to fewer than 40

African cities (Air France). While Turkish Airlines, with 59 flight destinations served, is the biggest international airline operating in the continent.

Hamdi Topçu Chairman of the Board and Chairman of the Executive Committee explains in 2012 Annual Report that the strategy of the flight network of Turkish Airlines is based on boosting the flag carrier's presence in developing regions, such as Africa, Asia and the Middle East. He explains that while they had 185 flight nodes in total in 2011, 150 of which were international lines, in 2012 they flew to 217 destinations. 33 of these destinations are located in Africa, 26 in the Far East, 7 in America and 31 in the Middle East. He states that focusing mostly on developing regions brought about economic and social repercussions because the airline helped these regions grow more ties with the world; thanks to such investments, Turkish Airlines experienced a boost in the number of international-to-international transfer passengers by 44%, with around 9 million passengers. Helping those countries economically and socially integrate more into a globalized world, the flag carrier also proved in a way their engagement in social responsibility (Annual Report 2012) (Turkish Airlines).

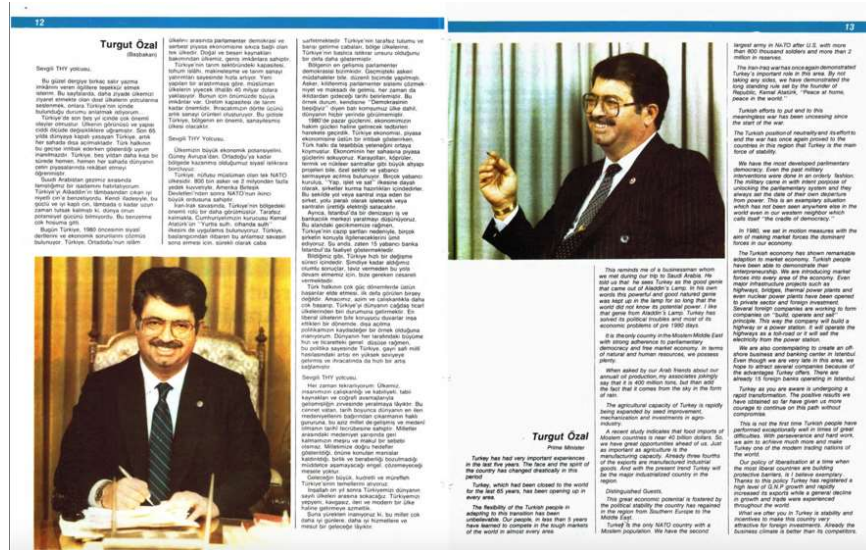
This strategy complements AKP government's foreign policy aspirations of increasing presence and taking up a role as a regional power. Since it came into power in 2003, the AKP government has made a rigorous investment in Turkish Airlines in line with its international aspirations and political goals. And Turkish Airlines, by opening up new flight routes providing direct flights or increasing the existing ones, by having sponsorship agreements and sometimes by becoming an actor agent of humanitarian actions of Turkey, helped in enabling the mutual relations, increased Turkish presence in the continent positively impressing the minds and hearts of the people. This keeps making Turkish Airlines a representative tool of Turkey's attraction.

### **CHAPTER III: SKYLIFE EDITORIAL AS A SOFT POWER IMPLEMENTATION**

Political news has taken place in the in-flight magazine Skylife since the creation of the magazine by Turkish Airlines. The company members' official visits paid to foreign countries, images from important inauguration ceremonies, diplomatic visits or different types of cooperation news often has found place briefly in the news pages. For example, in the 1980s, then President Kenan Evren's photos took place on many occasions. However, the fact that the news appeared only in Turkish shows that Skylife was not actively used as a soft power tool in the foreign policy back in those years but rather as an information medium targeting Turkish people. As the number of international destinations increased, the magazine increased the use of English in addition to Turkish. In parallel to the extent of the role of Turkish Airlines played in the foreign policy, the role of the magazine also increased.

In April 1985, the President Turgut Özal addressed the world through the pages of Skylife. The article looks like a Turkey commercial covering the economic potential of the country, the adaptability of its people, free market economy that had been adopted, natural resources, agricultural capacity, liberalization and the transformation of the country. Published in Turkish and English side by side, Özal tried to attract foreign audiences by emphasizing the potential of the country. Although applied from time to time, the in-flight magazine was not yet a systematic soft power tool. As a matter of fact, it was not until August 1992 that the whole magazine was published bilingually as Turkish-English.

Figure 2.3. Article from Skylife April 1985 Issue



Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

As to welcome letters from the Turkish Airlines executives, although they consisted of political developments relating to the airline sector from time to time, they did not systematically reflect governments' policies. In fact, it is only after October 2003, the year AKP came into power, that each issue of the in-flight magazine systematically involved a welcome letter. And they seem to have gained so much importance to the messages transmitted through the magazine that the length of the welcome letters increased, and some even exceeded 10,000 characters, which equals to three full pages laden with information. Accordingly, the content started to make more references to the political and economic agenda and to the deeds of the government. In October 2003 issue, president and CEO of Turkish Airlines Abdurrahman Gündoğdu remarked "As preparations for our country's membership to the European Union have recently gained momentum Turkish Airlines being one of the major open enterprises of Turkey will make substantial contributions to the Turkish economy through its leading role in such areas as competitiveness productivity and privatization."

In 2004, Turkish Airlines made the biggest aircraft purchase in its history by purchasing 15 planes from the US Boeing firm and 36 planes from Airbus; a total of 51 aircraft to be added to the fleet. This joint purchase of 36 airplanes from the European company Airbus created some interpretations about the motivations behind, in that this agreement coincided with Turkey's bid to start accession negotiations with the European Union, and that Turkey could have wanted to use this agreement as leverage to incite France to support its accession (Selçuk, 2012, p. 50). This purchase was covered in Skylife magazine's August 2004 issue in two full pages with the headline "51 new planes to join Turkish Airlines fleet". Each page consisted of a photo of the government executives, notably Erdoğan and Chirac taken at the official purchase agreement ceremony. This great purchase issue also made the cover of the same issue by the headline "Growing by 51 New Planes ». The fact that the event was not only attended by the Turkish Airlines and Airbus executives but also by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, French President Jacques Chirac and German Chancellor Gerard Schröder shows the political engagement behind this deal. Skylife, as a soft power tool, was used to communicate these ambitions.

**Figure 2.4. Skylife August 2004, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, French President Jacques Chirac and German Chancellor Gerard Schröder with Turkish Airlines and Airbus Officials**

**THY HABERLER NEWS**

**CITYSCOPE** Türk Hava Yolları filosuna 51 yeni uçak  
51 new planes to join Turkish Airlines fleet

Türk Hava Yolları, yılın tarihini en büyük uçak alım kararını verdi. 2005 yılında itibaren Türk Hava Yolları'nın filosuna A320 ve Boeing firmasından 15, Airbus ortak üretimi Airbus A321 ile 36 olmak üzere toplam 51 uçak katılacak. Airbus uçaklarını alım ile ilgili ön anlaşma, Paris'te Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Fransa Cumhurbaşkanı Jacques Chirac'ın katıldığı törenle, Türk Hava Yolları Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Candan Karatavak ile Airbus Genel Müdürü Noël Forgeard tarafından imzalandı. Törenin Milyer Başkan Kemal Ulaşkan, İşletme Başkanı Bülal Yılmaz, Türk Hava Yolları Genel Müdürü Abdurrahman Gündoğdu, Türk Hava Yolları Yönetim Kurulu Üyeleri, Hande Toprak ve Mehmet Büyükanıt katıldı.

**FİLO GENİŞLİYOR**  
En son 1987 yılında uçak siparişi veren Türk Hava Yolları, dünyanın en büyük bağımsız ekonomik gelişimi ve güveniyle uçakları 200 milyon dolarlık alım kararıyla Airbus'a büyütmeye karar verdi. Hava filosu açısından da başarılı uçakları yüzde 25'ine ve ç. hafifletici bakımları yüzde 100'ü için anti-korüzyonlu araba taşıyıcılar.

Türk Hava Yolları, yılın tarihini en büyük uçak alım kararını verdi. 2005 yılında itibaren Türk Hava Yolları'nın filosuna A320 ve Boeing firmasından 15, Airbus ortak üretimi Airbus A321 ile 36 olmak üzere toplam 51 uçak katılacak. Airbus uçaklarını alım ile ilgili ön anlaşma, Paris'te Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Fransa Cumhurbaşkanı Jacques Chirac'ın katıldığı törenle, Türk Hava Yolları Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Candan Karatavak ile Airbus Genel Müdürü Noël Forgeard tarafından imzalandı. Törenin Milyer Başkan Kemal Ulaşkan, İşletme Başkanı Bülal Yılmaz, Türk Hava Yolları Genel Müdürü Abdurrahman Gündoğdu, Türk Hava Yolları Yönetim Kurulu Üyeleri, Hande Toprak ve Mehmet Büyükanıt katıldı.

**EXPANDING THE FLEET**  
Turkish Airlines has decided to make its biggest airplane purchase of recent years. As of 2005, a total of 51 aircraft will join the fleet: 15 planes from the U.S. Boeing firm and another 36 from Europe's Airbus. A preliminary agreement on the purchase of the Airbus planes was signed in France in a ceremony attended by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, French President Jacques Chirac, Turkish Airlines chairman Candan Karatavak, Airbus President Noël Forgeard, Transport Minister Bülal Yılmaz and Finance Minister Kemal Ulaşkan. Turkish Airlines president and CEO Abdurrahman Gündoğdu and board members Hande Toprak and Mehmet Büyükanıt.

light of the economic development in the country and its 200 million dollar profit last year. With a passenger increase of 20% on international flights and close to 100% on domestic flights, the current fleet's incapacity to accommodate such numbers was one of the major factors in the decision. The management also aims to carry the Turkish flag to more points worldwide by adding new destinations especially on international routes. All 15 of the planes to be purchased from Boeing are of the 737-800 type. Airplanes to be purchased from Airbus include 9 A320-300s, 10 A321-300s, and 19 A320X-300s. These four models are among the top-selling planes in the world today and offer the widest range of up-to-date technology. When orders for the medium and wide-body planes are completed, efforts will also be accelerated to purchase planes in the region.

**SARANTI OLMADAN KREDİ ALINACAK**  
Finanç katabilacak uçaklar için kredi alınacak. Türk Hava Yolları tarihinde ilk kez Hazine garantisiyle geniş gövdeli uçaklar için kredi alınacak. Türk Hava Yolları'nın hava filosunu genişletmek için Airbus ve Boeing firmalarıyla görüşmeler yapıldı. Hazine garantisiyle kredi alınacak uçaklar için kredi alınacak. Türk Hava Yolları tarihinde ilk kez Hazine garantisiyle geniş gövdeli uçaklar için kredi alınacak. Türk Hava Yolları'nın hava filosunu genişletmek için Airbus ve Boeing firmalarıyla görüşmeler yapıldı.

**FİLO GENİŞLİYOR**  
Yaklaşık sekiz olan filo sayısını artıran yeni uçaklarla birlikte beşer imişseyle Türk Hava Yolları, dünyanın en genç Hava Yolları listesine girecek.

**GUARANTEE-FREE CREDIT**  
For the first time in its history, Turkish Airlines has not to need for a Treasury guarantee when seeking credit, its current financial strength being regarded as sufficient. The airline, which anticipates no financial difficulty regarding the airplane order, is also aiming to enhance its profitability.

**FEATURES OF THE NEW PLANES**  
Corrosion-resistant materials are used in the bodies of the new planes, which offer fuel efficiency in addition to the latest technology and low-cost operation. As well as enlarged cockpit design and reinforced landing gear, the new planes also have higher cargo capacities. The wide-bodied A320s offer completely reclining seats and the latest in on-board entertainment systems in Business Class, and videos and games on individual screens for each passenger in Economy.

**A YOUNGER FLEET**  
Turkish Airlines will have one of the youngest fleets in the world when its age is lowered from about eight years at present down to five.







Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

Three months later in November 2004 issue of the Skylife magazine, president and CEO of Abdurrahman Gündoğdu, once again made reference to the European Union accession process as such “When we celebrated our 71st year in October we also witnessed the important progress Turkey has made in the process towards European Union membership.” In addition to talking about the success in the politics Gündoğdu also notes that Turkish Airlines which finished the first six months of 2003 with a profit for the first time in a long while, referring to the success of the newly elected AKP.

Another example showing how Turkey’s European Union membership process is promoted through Skylife magazine is an article published in March 2011. The article informs about a new project launch by Turkish Airlines and the secretary

general for EU affairs with an aim to influence the European and the Turkish public opinion during the European Union accession process, through brochures to be distributed on Turkish Airlines and Anadolujet flights. The article also quotes the words of Hamdi Topçu, then Turkish Airlines' Chairman of the Board and of the Executive Committee, who openly expresses their full support for the EU accession processes by saying "As a global trademark, we at Turkish Airlines want to be a partner and a carrier on Turkey's European Union journey." The article also quotes the words of State Minister and Chief Negotiator Egemen Bağış, who says that their purpose is to show the European Union Turkey's role by saying "We aim to objectively inform the public of Turkey and Europe, to create a good understanding of the EU process, and to show the Turkish public what European Union membership will bring us while showing the EU Turkey's key role in reaching a stronger, more secure, and more stable future." As a result, in addition to the targets reached through the EUSG's brochures, hundreds of thousands of Skylife readers around the world were also reached to influence their hearts and minds around the subject.

AKP government has a rhetoric of emphasis on expansion and growth. This policy which Turkish government set for itself in the international realm translates into an aggressive growth and expansion strategy for Turkish Airlines. An article shows that Turkish Airlines doubled passenger numbers between 2011 and 2017 (Financial Times).

In parallel, Turkish Airlines executives express this and it is reflected in Skylife notably in welcome letters. Chairman of the Board and the Executive Committee or Deputy Chairman and CEO explain the company's growth plans, new aircrafts, and expansion of flight networks on every occasion possible. As can be seen from the table of destinations added in the last decade (See Table of Destinations Added to the Flight Network in the Last Decade) the government pays particular attention to certain geographies. The majority of the flight routes opened in recent

years are observed to have concentrated on the areas of high interest to the government's foreign policies.

A prominent focus point of AKP's foreign policy is Africa. From the first years of its mandate, AKP government has taken many steps to increase relations with Africa. Political visits increased, number of diplomatic missions multiplied, commerce relations were facilitated, and summits between Turkey and the African countries were organized. Between 2004 and 2018, the President Erdoğan paid official visits to 24 African countries (Demirci & Mehmet, 2018).

At the 3rd African Muslim Religious Leaders summit that was held in Istanbul, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated that they increased the number of Turkish embassies in the African continent from 12 to 42 (Duz, 2019).

As Turkey's diplomatic and political presence increased in the region Turkish Airlines followed the state by opening new flight routes to serve the diplomatic and commercial relations. As can be seen from the list of flight destinations, only in the last decade, the flag carrier opened 43 new routes in Africa which made the total number of destinations served to Africa by Turkish Airlines 59.

SkyLife magazine, on its turn, was the instrument to communicate these collaborations to the public through new travel writings and the visuals in its contents.

One major means of promotion in the in-flight magazine SkyLife is travel writings. Whenever there is a new flight route opened, the magazine promotes this place covering the city with a promotional content, and attractive images of the place, adding Turkish Airlines' flight information to the place in question. For example, as soon as the Yanbu flight route was opened in 2012, a destination story was covered in the in-flight magazine SkyLife, similarly when Asmara in Eritrea was opened in 2014 it became the travel story in July 2015 in the magazine.

SkyLife magazine also emphasizes opening of new destinations in the corporate news section. In these pieces of news, there are photographs of the flight route opening ceremony, sometimes realized with the participation of the government members including the president or prime minister or politicians. The importance of the destination is explained, the contribution it makes to countries' mutual relations is iterated, and the role Turkish Airlines plays as Turkey's flag carrier is reminded in the pages of SkyLife.

Turkish Airlines' codeshare agreements which help in broadening the commercial partnership between the two parties and setting further expand travel opportunities for the customers of the two airlines such as increased frequencies are also given place in SkyLife magazine.

When Turkish Airlines signed codeshare agreements with the airlines operating in Africa, in line with its policy of increasing presence and collaboration in this region, SkyLife magazine shared these collaborations in its pages. One such example from September 2011 issue is as follow "The existing Free Sale Codeshare agreement between our airline and the Ethiopian Airlines (ET) has been expanded to allow access to eight points in Africa beyond Ethiopia. Under the agreement tickets bearing the TK flight code can now be sold to eight destinations in Africa to which we currently do not fly but which have been added through the agreement via the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa."

The fact that SkyLife covers certain political events even when Turkish Airlines has no direct relation such as sponsorship is another good example to show how the in-flight magazine is used as a medium for the Turkish government to promote events that are important in its foreign policy.

An article from SkyLife's September 2016 issue features The Turkey-Africa Economy and Business Forum to be held in Istanbul in the coming months showing a photograph of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan while he was giving a speech at

the rostrum. The article informs that the event brings together ministers of commerce and economy, presidents/general secretaries of regional economy organizations in Africa, and the African Development Bank from 54 countries in Africa and that it aims to record a high attendance from the private industries in Turkey and Africa. The coordination roles of certain organizations such as DEİK and TİM, which are defined as the backbone of the private industry in Turkey (and which are often referred as important tools of soft power of the government) are reminded. The last part of the article is interesting in that it informs readers that the forum will also host an opening panel where the Turkish business world's representatives operating in Africa will tell their success stories, and African companies that partner with Turkish firms will share their experiences. The article calls attention to the success of the trade relations, which gives the readers the message that Turkey-Africa relations bring about successful results.

The Turkey-Africa Economy and Business Forum takes place in the magazine once again two years later in the November 2018 issue, this time on the occasion of an award given to the Turkish Airlines for its contribution to the continent. As the photograph features, accompanied by the President of Ethiopia H.E. Dr. Mulatu Teshome and the Republic of Turkey Minister of Commerce H.E. Ruhsar Pekcan, the President of the Republic of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan personally gives the award to Turkish Airlines Chairman of the Board and the Executive Committee İlker Aycı. The article iterates once again that as the biggest international airline that flies to Africa, Turkish Airlines is “The Airline that Connects Africa to the World and Flies to Most Destinations in Africa”. The text takes the opportunity to remind the readers about the company's social responsibility projects on the continent, particularly Turkish Airlines' answer to the social media campaign for Somalia the previous year.

**Figure 2.5. Skylife November 2018 Turkish Airlines is Presented an Award for Connecting Africa to the Rest of the World**



**Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)**

Foreign trade, economic investments and economic aids done in other countries are important tools of foreign policy and countries that avoid conflicts and problems in the foreign policy look for ways for cooperation and increasing mutual trade and investments (İnat, 2014, p. 5). AKP's efforts to increase economic relations particularly in Middle Eastern neighbors in accordance with its policy of zero problems with neighbors are tokens of this perspective. Orçun Selçuk showed in his thesis that relations have considerably increased between Turkey and the Middle East region thanks to free trade agreements and liberal visa regime (Selçuk, 2012, p. 56). Turkish Airlines acted as a major instrument in this process by opening new flight routes and increasing the frequency of the existing ones in accordance with the government's foreign policy. In six years, from 2005 to 2011, Turkish Airlines added 16 new Middle East destinations to its flight network (Selçuk, 2012, p. 56).

SkyLife comes in as an effective medium to promote Turkey's rapprochement with the Middle East. An interview published in the March 2010 issue asks Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, Secretary general of the OIC, about the perception of Turks and Turkey in the Middle East since he is someone who knows the region well. Very similar to the neo-Ottoman doctrine of Ahmet Davutoğlu, İhsanoğlu states that the presence of Turks in the Middle East goes back a long way and that the Turks have a very important role in the political and demographic structure of the Middle East and in the formation of its culture.

The in-flight magazine also promoted The Middle East rapprochement by providing travel writings about the region. A travel article published in January 2010 describes Syria's Damascus city as a safe and convenient city, as follows: "You are going to feel right at home as you stroll around Damascus. Not only is the public transportation system excellent, taxis too are plentiful and very reasonable. There are lots of hotels, too, with alternatives to fit every budget. And modern apartment buildings where long-term visitors can rent flats are going up by the day in the city's newer districts. Damascus is also a city that closely follows the latest fashions, and you can easily find most of the internationally known labels in the city's modern shopping centers. Besides Middle Eastern cuisine, many restaurants also offer choice selections from European cuisine as well as quality service. And last but not least, Damascus is also rich in bookstores, theaters, exhibitions and cinemas."

Another destination writing from the September 2011 issue emphasizes the cultural and historical ties of Iraq Najaf with Turkey. "Although we have deep cultural and historical ties with all of Iraq, the cities of the country's north are even closer to Anatolia. The folk songs of Kerkuk, Mosul and Arbil are our sister songs. With its Kurds, Arabs, Turkmens and Chaldeans, Iraq is a relative of the Anatolian people. Hearts beat as one, stomachs fill with the same dishes. The same tunes make us happy and sad by turns. Beyond the cultural ties, the region's economic centers of attraction and rapidly developing towns like Arbil,

Sulaymaniyeh and Salahaddin offer enormous opportunities for trade. Not a day passes but that some commercial institution in Turkey undertakes a new investment in the region, where many firms already have stores and branches. The developing economy and rising income level in turn fuel demand. Thanks to this structure, the region merits close monitoring by investors. »In the end, the readers are reminded that Turkish Airlines is the only airline that flies to five cities in Iraq, namely Arbil, Sulaymaniyeh, Baghdad, Najaf and Basra.» With an aim to expand the commercial collaboration between Turkish Airlines and Middle East airlines a certain number of codeshare agreements were signed. These steps also systematically found place in the flag carrier's in-flight magazine.

An important factor that contributes to Turkey's soft power in the Middle East region by rising attraction of the Turkish Model in the region is worth mentioning here. Actually, Turkey's "soft power" in the Middle East is mostly based on popular culture and mass entertainment through the export of the Turkish soap operas which have entirely took the region under its influence and became a social phenomenon especially after 2008 (Jabbour, 2015). These soap-operas play a crucial role in improving Turkey's cultural and social image because they publicize Turkey as an ideal society, in which modern values can exist hand in hand with Islamic values, and in which the capitalist and consumerist system do not harm these religious and social beliefs. It can be said that these television series constitute what most Arab audiences dream in a way, that is, the possibility of leading a modern life without having to give up their religious beliefs and social values. Thus, Turkish soap-operas have played a great part in "winning the hearts and minds" of the Arab audiences, by creating such an appealing and realizable model (Jabbour, 2015).

This cultural diplomacy in a way constitutes one of the elements of the ideology promoted in Turkish foreign policy as the Turkish Model. As Turkish television series become more and more popular, the interest in Turkey, Turkish culture, and Turkish lifestyle increase as well, which indirectly increases the tourism potential,

as Istanbul the city where all these series take place. Skylife, on its turn, complements this by presenting Turkey and the Turkish culture. Being in the center stage, especially Istanbul appears as the complement of this attraction, as the magazine depicts the city's neighborhoods, palaces, mosques, streets, and venues.

In accordance with its foreign policy, the AKP government also pays special attention to the Balkans. Since this region was part of the Ottoman lands in the past, today it is in the domain of influence of Turkey as a regional power. In the travel writings of Skylife, Balkan cities are often highlighted with their Ottoman heritage. A story from 2012 April visits seven Balkan cities; Sarajevo (Bosnia Herzegovina), Skopje (Macedonia), Belgrade (Serbia), Tirana (Albania), Pristina (Kosovo), Zagreb (Croatia), Podgorica (Montenegro). The very first sentence starts with an Ottoman reference as "Capital of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sarajevo is a historic city brimming with vestiges of Ottoman culture." then it goes on "Capital of Montenegro, Podgorica is one of the oldest settlements in the Balkans. Home of the Illyrian tribes in antiquity, the city still exhibits traces of the Ottomans, who ruled here for four hundred years starting from the 15th century."

Throughout these travel writings, Ottoman monuments, traces, vestiges, centuries-long Ottoman ruling are reminded again and again.

### **3.1. ISTANBUL AS A HUB**

When an airline company succeeds in making the city where it originates from an aviation hub, this will ultimately benefit that city and the country the company is located in, in terms of tourism and business activities. As more and more passengers use that country's airports when they transfer in between international flights, more people will code that country's location as "central" in their minds (Selçuk, 2012, p. 9).

One of the pillars of AKP's foreign policy was increasing the area of impact, taking advantage of the geographic position of Istanbul. Istanbul's advantageous intercontinental position bridging between cultures has always been reminded by the politicians. However, after AKP's arrival into power, it has been underlined relentlessly more than ever by the government and by Turkish Airlines.

There can be said to be a deliberate strategy to use Turkish Airlines for Turkey's global desire to make the country a hub. When Abdurrahman Gündoğdu came into office as the president and CEO of Turkish Airlines in the AKP mandate, in the very first welcome letter published in *SkyLife* October 2003, he heralded new projects of expanding the fleets, emphasizing Istanbul "as one of the world's leading political economic cultural centers" and the essential role that Turkish Airlines has as an international brand name and Turkey's flag carrier to further expand its network.

Turkey's advantage of having an intercontinental position at the crossroads of East and West, together with the AKP government's aspirations to become a regional power complement each other for the idea of promoting Istanbul as a hub.

It is indeed no later than 2005 that talks about the need for a third airport in Istanbul first started to circulate when Erdoğan was the prime minister. The intention was to replace the principal airport of Istanbul, Ataturk Airport because it was no longer sufficient to meet the needs of a country which had aims to become an international player. In 2011, the project was implemented, and the tender was finalized in 2013 (Köker, 2018).

Among the best airlines in the world, with ever-growing flight traffic, flying to the most destinations in the world than any other, Turkish Airlines sets goals of getting bigger and better, now pushing the limits to become a defining actor in the aviation in the world's hub. While the giant project was in progress, the flag

carrier expressed its expansion strategy in every possible way in its in-flight magazine as it did in other media.

In May 2013 welcome letter, later President and CEO of Turkish Airlines Temel Kotil talks to the readers of the advantages offered by Istanbul, which lies at the heart of Eurasia. In another welcome letter published later that year in September, Kotil arguments Istanbul's candidature for the 2020 Olympic Games, reminding its situation where Asia and Europe meet in the most significant manner, its being a city at the center of life, art and culture for thousands of years. The text's tone shows a unity with the government and appreciation since he praises the vision of the Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the steadfast approach of the government and Turkey's strong economic status. He goes on to promote the infrastructure projects such as the Marmaray Project, which makes it possible to cross the Bosphorus under water, and the construction of a third Bosphorus bridge. Similar to the way it is expressed by Erdoğan, Kotil presents Turkey's vision for 2023. He states that in 2020 the axis of the world passenger traffic will have shifted to Istanbul following the completion of a third airport, considered as the biggest of its kind in the world. He adds that, as a natural meeting point in terms of geography and time zone, Istanbul will become the world's aviation hub."

The construction of the third airport, which will become one of the biggest in the world, has been used as an important crucial instrument of prestige on the international arena. The issue has created immense echo with countless news showing how much emphasis the government puts on being a powerful player via Turkish Airlines. Temel Kotil, stated that the new Istanbul Airport will change the history of the world, that through this project, Africa, Far East, Asia, and Europe will be flying via Istanbul as the city will act as a transit hub thanks to its location. As a result, Istanbul will be the center of the global airline traffic, which will contribute to Turkish economy. He claimed that Turkish Airlines will be the main carrier from Africa to Europe by outperforming European airlines both in terms of number of flights and also competing with more affordable prices. He

remarks that Europe, being the biggest trade market in the region, and African and Asian countries -with their rising economic power and potential- becoming Europe's partners, Istanbul will become a travel hub among all these countries. The new airport will be unprecedented with its number of runways and an expected average of 150 million passengers per year (Sabah, 2015).

Not surprisingly, *SkyLife* served as an important instrument promoting the new airport and Turkey's becoming a hub in its pages. The magazine covered many articles on the colossal project before it was finished, during the construction, during the inauguration and throughout the big move of Turkish Airlines to the new airport.

An article on the issue published in July 2018, titled *Countdown to Istanbul New Airport*, in the magazine explains many details and important figures regarding the project. "Istanbul is a giant metropolis with one end in Asia and the other in Europe. Connecting two continents and two great seas, this historical city continues to increase its share and responsibility in air traffic due to its unique geographical location. As Ibn Khaldun (AD 1332- 1406) said, "Geography is destiny." Due to its critical and strategic location in the world, Istanbul now builds itself "the world's biggest airport built from the foundations up." The new airport, the construction of which began in 2015 and is one of Turkey's biggest investment so far, counts down to opening as the world's biggest "transfer hub."

"This giant project, which will comprise three terminal buildings, six runways, three towers and everything needed to increase passenger comfort once completed, cost nearly 10.2 billion euros. Facilitating Turkey's biggest machinery park of 3,022 and employing nearly 36,000 people, the construction officially started on May 1, 2015. The first phase, which will be opened on October 29, will be complete in a short period of 42 months.

Spanning 76.5-million square meters, this giant project, once all phases are complete, will provide an opportunity to fly to more than 350 destinations with

the main terminal, whose passenger capacity can increase up to 200 million per year, additional terminals, and six runways; and will host more than 150 airline companies.”

Another article published in the November 2018 issue is proud and challenging with its headline: Istanbul: The World’s New Aviation Hub. This single title seems like the summary of what the government envisions with this project. In the article it is mentioned that for the grand opening of the newer airport The Republic day was the chosen date. Erdoğan’s speech underlines this. He expresses sharing two joints at the same time: opening the new Istanbul Airport, one of the world’s biggest; and the pride of celebrating the 95th anniversary of the foundation of Turkish Republic. The project was considered the biggest infrastructure investment in the history of Turkey. The article features President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s quotes from the opening “Today we are not just building an airport; we are building a monument of victory”. The pages are full of shots of Erdoğan, politicians and senior executives from the grand opening.

Figure 2.6. Skylife November 2018 Istanbul: The World’s New Aviation Hub

Mercek · Spotlight

## Dünyanın Yeni Havacılık Merkezi İstanbul

### Istanbul: The World’s New Aviation Hub



Yanı Story: Gülşen Akis

İstanbul Havalimanı’nın 90 bin yolcu kapasiteli ilk fazı 42 ay gibi kısa bir sürede tamamlandı ve Cumhuriyet Bayramının kutlandığı 29 Ekim günü hizmete açıldı. Tüm fazları tamamlandığında yılda 200 milyon yolcuya hizmet verme kapasitesine erişecek, dünyanın tek çatı altında sıfırdan yapılan en büyük havalimanı Türkiye’ye ve dünyaya hayırlı olsun.

The first phase of Istanbul Airport which has a capacity of 90,000 passengers was completed in a short period of 42 months, and was opened on Republic Day, October 29. Once all phases are complete, it will have the capacity to serve 200 million passengers per year as the world’s biggest airport to be constructed from foundations up and under one roof. May it bring good fortune to Turkey and the rest of the world.

There

Mercek · Spotlight

Türkiye ve özellikle İstanbul, bu yılki Cumhuriyet Bayramı’na tarihinin en büyük altyapı yatırımını hizmete aşarak gösterimli bir şekilde kullandı.

76,5 milyon metrekarelik uçak havalanına topoğrafyası eski maden ocakları tarafından tüpüyle bozulmuş bir araziye, yeni havalimanı projesinin ilk etabını oluşturan 1,4 milyon metrekarelik terminal binası ve Uluslararası Mimarlık Odası tarafından 90 metrelik kule gibi anıtsal yapılarını ilki adımla yapıldı. 42 ay gibi kısa bir sürede tamamlayarak hizmete açtı.

Yerlilerinden içişleri, mühendislikten operatörlere 36 bin kişiyi kapsayan 3.022 adedi Türkiye’nin en büyük makine parkının gece gündüz demeden çalışmasıyla ortaya çıkan İstanbul Havalimanı, Cumhurbaşkanı Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’ın “Bugün biz sadece bir havalimanı değil, aslında bir zafer anını inşa ediyoruz” açıklamasıyla değerlendirmesini hakkı çıkarıyor.

Cengiz, Mapa, Limak, Kolin ve Kalyon gibi Türk inşaat sektörünün köklü kuruluşlarının ortaklığı ile kurulan İGA’nın rekor sayılabilecek kadar kısa sürede tamamlandığı “Dünyanın tek

Türkiye, and especially Istanbul, celebrated the Republic Day by hosting the grand opening of the biggest infrastructure investment in its history.

The project spans a vast area of 76.5 million square meters, on a topography completely disrupted by old mining pits. The first phase of the new airport project was completed in 42 months, comprising monumental structures such as a terminal building of 14 million square meters and a 90-meter tall tower which received the International Architecture Prize along with two airstrips.

Built with the ceaseless endeavor of 36,000 people including executives, workers, engineers, and operators, and Turkey’s biggest machinery park of 3,022 vehicles, Istanbul Airport proves President H.E. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan who said, “Today, we’re not just building an airport, we’re building a monument of victory.”

Completed in a record-breaking period by İGA, founded in collaboration with long-established organizations of Turkish construction industry such as Cengiz, Mapa, Limak, Kolin, and Kalyon, the world’s biggest terminal building constructed

1- OdaTürkiye En İyi Mimarlık Ödülünü Kazandı  
2- 90 Bin Yolcu Kapasiteli ve 1,4 Milyon Metrekarelik Alanı Kapsayan İstanbul Havalimanı’nın İlk Fazı 42 Ay İçerisinde Tamamlandı  
3- İGA’nın Rekor Sayılabilecek Kadar Kısa Sürede Tamamlandığı “Dünyanın Tek”

The record setting air traffic control tower was inspired by Kule, which is a historical monument in Istanbul. The tower is a symbol of the city’s rich history.

2- 90 Bin Yolcu Kapasiteli ve 1,4 Milyon Metrekarelik Alanı Kapsayan İstanbul Havalimanı’nın İlk Fazı 42 Ay İçerisinde Tamamlandı  
3- İGA’nın Rekor Sayılabilecek Kadar Kısa Sürede Tamamlandığı “Dünyanın Tek”

İstanbul Havalimanı’nın 90 bin yolcu kapasiteli ilk fazı 42 ay gibi kısa bir sürede tamamlandı ve Cumhuriyet Bayramının kutlandığı 29 Ekim günü hizmete açıldı. Tüm fazları tamamlandığında yılda 200 milyon yolcuya hizmet verme kapasitesine erişecek, dünyanın tek çatı altında sıfırdan yapılan en büyük havalimanı Türkiye’ye ve dünyaya hayırlı olsun.

The first phase of Istanbul Airport which has a capacity of 90,000 passengers was completed in a short period of 42 months, and was opened on Republic Day, October 29. Once all phases are complete, it will have the capacity to serve 200 million passengers per year as the world’s biggest airport to be constructed from foundations up and under one roof. May it bring good fortune to Turkey and the rest of the world.

There



Source: SkyLife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

The magazine also quotes Erdoğan’s words about Istanbul, which show the importance accorded to the city as a brand: “Istanbul is not only our biggest city, but also our country’s most valuable brand. This is why we named this great work of endeavor 'Istanbul', after this priceless city.” The readers are also provided with many other details about the project to be completed by 2028. Green policies of the government gain importance in the justification and legitimacy of their projects, also affecting the prestige and image of the countries. Aware of this, the article gives information on the technological and eco-friendly aspects of the airport.

The article also explains the reason why Istanbul is eligible to be a hub since it reaches more than 60 capitals in 120 countries and 130 destinations within the distance of a three-hour flight. Just like Temel Kotil who stated a few years earlier, Erdoğan points out the future role of Istanbul and the new airport by saying, “With the opening of Istanbul Airport, the European airfield will have to

be restructured. Since Istanbul will become the most important transfer hub, there will be changes in the routes of most intercontinental flights. It's not a coincidence that this feat of endeavor, which will be recorded in history with its location and characteristics, was built in our country.”

The in-flight magazine revisits the issue at every stage of the airport. In the December 2018 issue, an article appears, telling this time about the first flight realized at Istanbul Airport, the magazine promotes the project over and over in each article, emphasizing certain points such as the fact that it is the world's biggest airport to be constructed from the ground up and housed under one roof, and that it makes Turkey the hub of world aviation, and that Istanbul Airport is a source of pride for Turkey, and an exemplary project for the rest of the world.

Figure 2.7. Skylife May 2019



Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

Another article published in *SkyLife* in May 2019 covers this time the process of the movement of Turkish Airlines to the new airport. The story is narrated in a tone of saga, in a way to evoke excitement and admiration with spectacular details such as the record time of completion of the airport in 42 months and Turkish Airlines' record time move in 33 hours. "This gigantic operation was planned in line with logistics engineering, the personnel responsible for the move were trained, and the materials were barcoded. From the 44-ton aircraft pushback tugs to the precision tools of various shapes and sizes, all the gear and equipment of Turkish Airlines (about 5,000 trucks in volume) were loaded into vehicles and taken to their new home. The trucks in this operation covered a total of nearly 400,000 kilometers in distance, which equals 10 laps around the world." The article creates a discourse which shows Turkey to the foreign public as a powerful country capable of successfully undergoing colossal projects and changing the course of history, which adds to the prestige of the country creating a positive image in the hearts and minds of its readers.

### **3.2. NEO-OTTOMAN RHETORIC AND REVIVING MUSLIM TURKISH IDENTITY**

The modernization and development strategy that Turkey followed after its foundation was articulated around a secular character of the state society relationship because social values shaped by Islam were seen as the greatest obstacles to the modernization of the country (Oğuzlu, 2007, p. 85). This tendency was reversed during the AKP era due to its conservative grassroots. It can be said that, after it came into power in 2003, a new vision of Turkey was developed; a powerful actor playing an important role in a vast geography was conceived notably by the Davutoğlu's strategy. This created a paradigm shift in Turkish foreign policy "using the Islamist discourse, reflecting the neo-Ottomanist trend through a deliberate revival of the Ottoman past, 'both as a matter of cultural enrichment, but also as a source of an enriched Turkish identity

as a political actor” (Murinson, The strategic depth doctrine of Turkish foreign policy, 2006, p. 960).

Through neo-Ottomanism, the historical and geographical depth of the country is underlined. It is emphasized that the imperial and Islamic aspects of the nation should be considered again. While the secular and occidental aspects of it are smoothed out, the Ottoman heritage is revitalized, and the oriental and Muslim aspects are glossed up.

The increase in the importance given to Muslim geographies by the government, the re-launch of Istanbul as the center of this geography just as it had been in the Ottoman era, and the re-construction of social values in a way to highlight Islam instead of Kemalist doctrines can be counted among the primary examples of this strategy.

As the Turkish Airlines adopts an increasingly conservative approach advocated by Islam in accordance with the government, Skylife comes in as one of the primary instruments to reflect this stance. As a theme, an Istanbul-centered Ottomanist Turkey narrative emerges, and an Islamic new Turkey image crystallizes. In accordance with this, some topics gain weight while some others are left out of the theme.

We observe a change in the length and focus spared for the important dates of the secular republic regime founded by Atatürk. For instance, when we look at some old issues of the magazine, we see that Atatürk featured on the cover many times in November issues on his death anniversary and many articles were written on the topic. However, we observe that Atatürk images as well as the articles related to republic national holidays appear much less compared to older Skylife issues, sometimes even to the point of existing only in the form of news or in corporate advertisements.

Figure 3.1 Covers from November 1983, November 1984, November 1987, November 2001 respectively



Source: Skyclife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

Figure 3.2. November 2000, November 2002

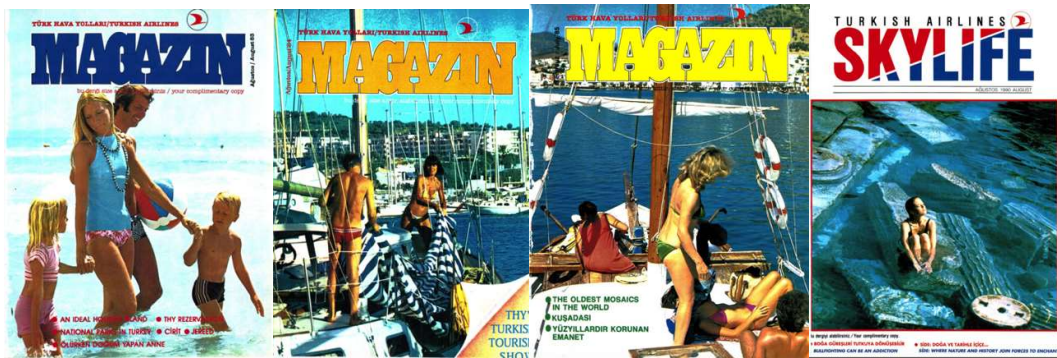


Source: Skyclife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

In a similar fashion, one can observe a more conservative tendency in the imagery, when compared to the older issues. Old summer issues consist of images of seaside resorts crowded with people enjoying summer in swimming suits. Recent Skyclife issues; however, avoid showing close-up images of people on the beach or by the sea. When the subject is a coastal resort in summer, in that case

subjects are treated with long shots where the vacationers are seen as micro spots whose details are not visible to the bare eye.

Figure 3.3 Covers from August 1983, August 1984, July 1985, and August 1990 respectively



Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

Figure 3.4. Covers from August 2003, October 2007, July 2011, March 2020



Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

### **3.3. CHANGE OF LANGUAGE**

AKP government openly assumes and demonstrates the conservative Islamist ideology it comes from. While making official speeches, Erdoğan generously uses religious words, he thanks Allah. For example, at the inauguration ceremony of the Istanbul Airport, which is a very historic event followed by international public, President Erdoğan prays Allah by saying “I pray to Allah that Istanbul Airport brings good fortune to the world, to our region, and to our country,” as published verbatim in Skyline. The magazine writes also that the ceremony ended with the prayers of Director of Religious Affairs Prof. Dr. Ali Erbaş.

Similar to the politicians, the executive members of Turkish Airlines express their good wishes from Allah in annual reports or in other corporate communications, as much as in the welcome letters published in the in-flight magazine highlighting the Muslim identity.

In 2010 special taxes were implemented on alcoholic beverages, and soon after advertisements promoting alcoholic beverages were banned from television, and a law was enforced to blur alcoholic drinks and cigarettes images on television and in films; and the law concerning the sale and advertising of alcoholic beverages took effect on September 9, 2013 (Karaosmanoglu, 2020). When we analyze old Skyline issues, we can see a lot of content about alcoholic drinks and cigarettes both in the editorial and the advertorial; however, this is not the case in later years.

In 2013 alcohol service on board was stopped in domestic flights and some international flights claiming budget-related reasons, and this created criticism vis a vis Turkish Airlines (Financial Times).

Figure 3.5. Skylife June 1983, May 1990



Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

Evaluating the examples provided below, it would not be wrong to say that a negative approach towards alcohol is also observed in the in-flight magazine. It can be noticed that alcoholic beverages exist in the Skylife issues from the 1980s and 1990s. Following the years AKP came into power, alcohol related words start to disappear together with the images that might show resemblance to it in the in-flight magazine. A few examples are provided below to show the change over the years.

A travel writing about Madrid published in the January 1992 issue describes Madrid’s night life “Nights in Madrid start between 8:00 and 9:00 in the evening with drinks and tapas, an assortment of appetizing tidbits eaten standing up while downing several glasses of wine, beer or sherry.”

Another travel writing about Amsterdam published in April 1993 issue generously uses many words related to alcohol in a long paragraph on the subject as follows: “Amsterdammers enjoy drinking, particularly beer. The pubs are full on ordinary nights, and when the city’s football team Ajax wins a match, the exuberant crowds pour into the pubs to celebrate. The most popular brand of beer is Heineken, although this is not rated the best by connoisseurs, who swear by Grolsch or Koninck. I cannot go without mentioning “In de Wildeman”, a

beerhouse near Central Station which I discovered two years ago. Established in 1690, this pub stocks 150 different brands of beer from as far a field as Czechoslovakia and d Spain. On my first visit I tried six different makes of beer, and finally when I ordered a Spanish beer, the astonished barmen asked me when I would finish up my international beer tour with one from my own country. I explained that I was a Türk, born in Spain, and he mentioned the name of Turkey's top beer brand, Efes. However, when I asked for a glass, he said that he only knew the name, Efes was not in stock."

However, other articles were published about Amsterdam later during AKP's mandate such as the ones that appeared in November 2010 or August 2013, but none of them consists of the word alcohol or anything related to it.

A London story appearing in June 1992 issue involves alcohol related words as such "The traditional drink is beer - called bitter - or lager, although soft drinks as well as spirits and wine are served." On the other hand, another London travel writing published in November 2017 issue does not involve any words relating to alcohol. In the later published London articles, the mention of alcohol is avoided.

The language of the magazine was not different when it came to alcohol and its consumption in Turkey. The articles show the existence of alcohol in Turkish culture.

1993 February issue Skylife features an article on traditional Turkish taboos on food and drink which has very low chances of being published in the magazine today. After talking about the reasons of avoiding pork in Turkish culture, the article goes on to discuss the alcohol issue.

"Although the Turks are Muslims and hence drinking alcohol is "haram" and a sin, the Turkish government is the country's main producer of alcoholic drinks. Moreover, there is no law against drinking as there is in Iran or Saudi Arabia.

Even in the past centuries the ban on drinking in Turkey is only sporadic, depending on the attitude of the reigning sultan.”

The article also cites some of the Ottoman rulers as alcoholics “Selim II (1566-1574) carried on in his father's footsteps despite being fond of alcohol himself” “The Tulip Era of Ahmet III (1718-1730) saw alcohol consumption entirely liberated, and the taverns enjoyed their heyday. During the Turkish War of Independence (23 April 1920- 29 October 1923) the Turkish government imposed a ban on alcohol, but since then apart from the mild restrictions of the licensing laws, alcohol has enjoyed relative Freedom in Turkey.”

The article gives information about Turkey’s consumption of rakı and wine in liters in 1992. It is also argued that alcoholic beverages traditionally made a part of the pre-Islamic Turkish society.

There is a reference to the Turkish scholar Yusuf Has Hacib’s ethical treatise "Kutadgu Bilik", in which he vacillates between recommending alcohol in moderation in accordance with social mores, and warning the reader to obey the dictates of Islam and refraining from it. A travel story from the 1990 November issue titled the article about the city of Tekirdağ with its famous gastronomic elements: Watermelon, Meatballs, Rakı, Wine.

Another travel article published in SkyLife June 1983 issue about Izmir is worth mentioning since it combines a religious element like minaret and alcohol in the very same sentence: “It is a terraced village overlooking the most beautiful bay of the Aegean and seems to have been created purely for the delight of the holidaymaker, with its old caravanserai, white minarets, shady terraces where one can sit and sip rakı and eat grilled fish, and a main Street lined with little shops offering a thousand and one tempting bargains.”

We can observe that the government not only controls or bans particular foods or drinks but also replaces them with a national and native alternative that is not anti-Muslim to be able to instrumentalize in politics (Karaosmanoglu, 2020). Around the same time when the polemics about the prohibition of serving alcohol in Turkish Airlines domestic flights rose, another polemic was brought to debate.

In April 2013 Turkish Green Crescent Society organized, in collaboration with the Office of the Prime Minister, the Parliament and the Ministry of Health, and with the co-sponsorship of the World Health Organization, the Global Alcohol Policy Symposium, at which Erdoğan delivered an opening speech in front of more than 1200 experts from 53 countries. By claiming that Turkey's national *içki* is ayran (a yoghurt-based drink), he started one of the most controversial and memorable debates during his period. He used the word *içki*, which ironically means "alcoholic drink" in Turkish instead of *içecek*, which means beverage, as he was trying to replace the national alcoholic drink in Turkey with ayran. Erdoğan took the occasion to condemn the one-party period of the Republic, when Atatürk was the president, criticizing that alcohol usage was induced by the state back then, and alcoholic drinks were mistakenly promoted as national drinks (Özkaya, 2013).

Later in 2016, again when Erdoğan was delivering another opening speech at a dairy products factory in İzmir, he drank ayran in front of the cheering crowd and reminded once again that this nation's national drink is ayran (Yeşilay).

Earlier on, before these developments, Skyline magazine presented rakı as the national drink of Turkey in its articles published in different years. For example, an article from August 1990 August about Artvin says "Wizened highland farmers sit at tables in impromptu restaurants, youths crowd gypsy tents to throw hoops for packs of cigarettes and beer and Turkey's national rakı drink flows freely, and lamb-meat doner; kebabs the size of small barrels, roast slowly over open log fires."

Similarly, another article featuring Turkey's national drink as rakı was published in January 2000, not long before the arrival of AKP into power. The article on Kayseri presents a food specialty pastırma as a famous rakı "meze". The word meze which is known as a small side dish accompanying alcoholic drinks, and goes on to suggest Skylife readers to remember to taste it in a meyhane, a traditional tavern. "Pastırma is a favorite meze with rakı, Turkey's national aniseed drink. If you visit one of the meyhanes (taverns) in Beyoğlu in Istanbul, do not forget to try the delicious paçanga börek made with pastırma."

**Figure 3.6. Skylife December 1989, New Year Celebrations Alcoholic Drink Images**



**Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)**

The presence of alcohol in the in-flight magazine decreased to the level of none during the AKP mandate. A recent article published in March 2020 issue of Skylife covering a story about the Bomonti district of Istanbul can be a revealing example. Although the very name of the district itself comes from a beer factory opened in the 1890s and a famous night life was present in the district in the past

as much as today, the word beer or any reference to this past is avoided in the text (Coşkunarda, 2019).

### **3.4. PROMOTION OF ISLAMIC VALUES**

In accordance with its Islamic Turkish image aimed to present to the world by the government, articles mentioning Islamic events, values and traditions find their place in an increasing fashion in Turkish Airlines' magazine.

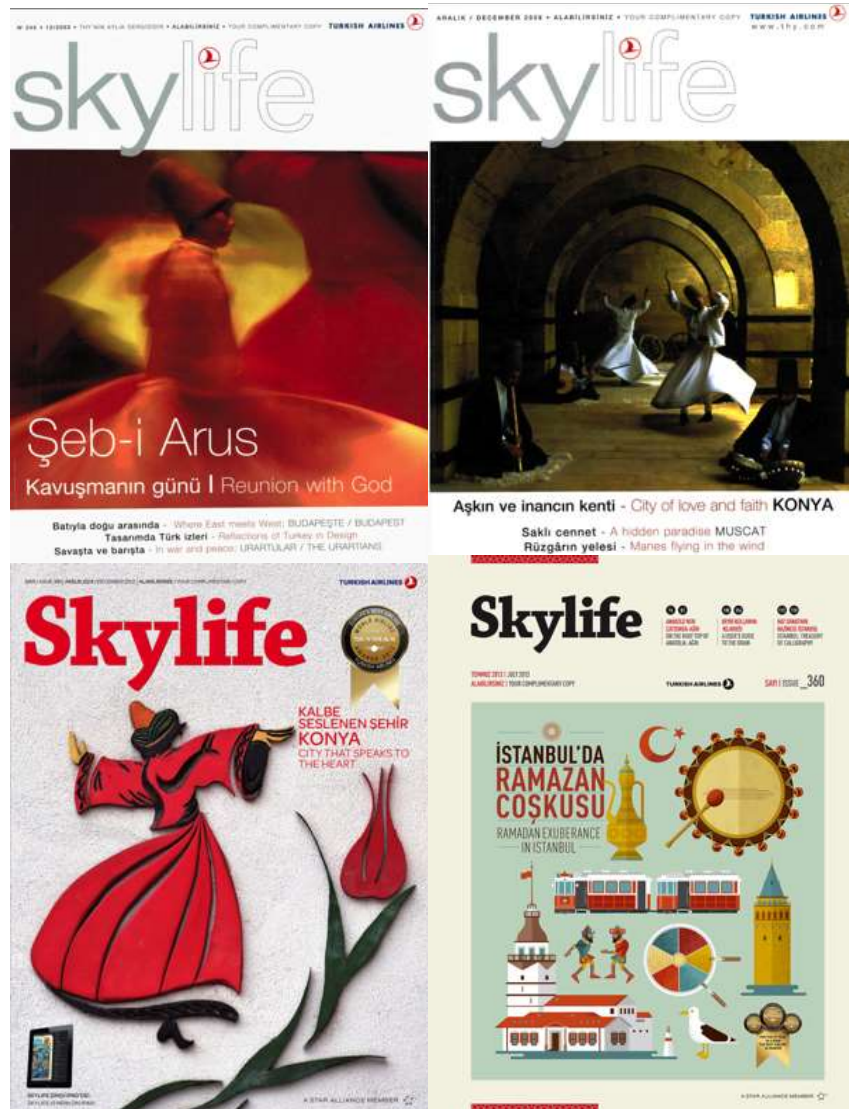
For example, an interview with Turkish Religious Foundation president was published in the April 2015 issue on the occasion of the Holy Birth concerning the concept of goodness, how Islamic sources define it, and the role in social life since goodness is defined as a requirement of being Muslim. The texts inform readers "Every year, the birthday of Muhammad (pbuh) is celebrated with different events throughout the Holy Birth Week. The life of and the divine message announced by The Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) is told to the public in its entirety." The acronym used next to the name of the Islam Prophet in the parenthesis "peace be upon him" is a statement Muslims use per respect, which shows the in-flight magazine adopts the usage from the Muslims perspective.

The interview takes the occasion to bring up a few globally debated issues related to Islam. The questions' formulations create a distinction between the Islam and the Western world: "A religion of peace and goodness, Islam, unfortunately, is associated with terror and violence in the West, which, in turn, increases Islamophobia. What should both sides do in order to prevent this perception?" Another question again underlines the West "In the name of freedom of speech in the West, we've seen increasing attacks on Islam and The Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). Can we say that an act that disrespects and insults anything that's regarded as sacred by a religion is freedom of speech?"

The magazine features plethora content which promotes Islamic values and traditions. In addition to the Ramadan, the holy month for Muslims, articles about

Mawlana Jalalladdin Rumi start to systematically appear in Decembers. The number of the events related to the Islamic culture increase in the magazine. Calligraphy exhibition for the love of the Prophet from the October 2014 issue, or an exhibition Miraj is the ascension of Prophet Muhammad from the 2017 June issue, or an article on the occasion of changing the lock on the door of the Kaaba in Mecca from the 2013 January issue are just a few.

Figure 3.7. Covers from December 2003, December 2006, December 2012, July 2013



Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

### **3.5. GLORIFICATION OF THE OTTOMAN PAST**

The neo-Ottoman foreign policy doctrine, which is based on increasing Turkey's cultural influence and strengthening its existence in regions that once belonged to the Ottoman Empire, is reflected in the content of the magazine. Ottoman culture is thus constantly valued in various articles of Skylife.

Just like the Republic Day, other important dates originating from the Kemalist regime and symbolically related events find much less editorial space. Instead, Islamic religions, values, characters, and events are placed under spotlight.

One such example that frequently takes place in the Skylife magazine is Ethnosports Culture Festival. Organized for the first time in 2016 Ethnosports Culture Festival has the goal of contributing to the promotion of traditional sports like archery, wrestling, jirit and keeping them alive. As is described in the November 2019 article of Skylife, the festival revitalizes ancient sports and makes them more popular, bringing together representatives from a number of countries and hosting hundreds of thousands of visitors. The magazine promotes the events before they happen in the events sections, and after they happen in culture articles.

Figure 3.8. Ethnosport Article from October 2019 Issue



Source: Skyline Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

Similarly, an article dating from August 2018 celebrates the Victory of Manzikert, which is a Battle that was fought in 1071 known as the incident that opened the doors of Anatolia to the Seljuks, makes reference to Turkey and the Turkish-Islamic culture. The article then depicts the event in a praising manner as such “The Seljuk army led by Alp Arslan who defeated the Byzantines in the Manzikert Plain took the first step of a great civilization which would stretch, with the Ottomans, from Anatolia to the Balkans, the Arabian Peninsula, and Africa.” We can understand the reason why this event is given so much importance from the following sentence of the article: “the Battle of Manzikert became something more than just a victory and gained importance as one of the

milestones in the Turkish-Islamic history as well as in world history.” The in-flight magazine reports that this event, held since 2017, is organized under the auspices and with the participation of the president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

In the August 2019 Issue, the flag carrier promotes the same event with two full-page content enriched with Turkish flags and the image of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan speaking at the event. Another victory for the history of Turkey happens to be in the same month, August 30 Victory Day, which is the decisive battle of the War of Independence started by Atatürk. This event, however, is not devoted pages in the in-flight magazine.

**Figure 3.9 Article from August 2019 Issue, Manzikert seen as a milestone in the Turkish-Islamic history**

Manzık - Spotlight



**Zafer Malazgirt Ovası'nda Anılacak**  
**Commemorating the Victory on the Manzikert Plain**

1481-1482

Türkiye Anadolü'nün kapılarını açan, Anadolu'yu bir Türk yurdu kılan Malazgirt Zaferi'nin 948'inci yıldönümü, Muş'un Malazgirt Meydanı Muharebesi Tarihi Milli Parkı'nda yapılacak törenlerle kutlanacak.

Opening the gates of Anatolia to the Turks and making it their homeland, the 948<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Manzikert Victory will be celebrated with ceremonies in the Manzikert Pitched Battle Historical National Park in Muş.

308

Manzık - Spotlight

**A**nadolu 948 bin yıl önce tarihî boyanma keredinin yitirdiğince uğraklı olan yerini tekrar Romalıdan Osmanlı'ya Türk medeniyetinin farklı dönemlerinde inşa ettiği yapılar her biri birer örneği yan yana ve iç içe. Anadolu coğrafyasında önemli anıtlarda en kapsamlılarından biri de yaklaşık 1077'de bu toprakları yurt edinen ve bayrakları Selçuklulara aittir. Anadolu'ya yerleşen Selçuklular, Akhisar'daki Tapınak, Asansarlı Saray, Konya'daki İnce Minareli Medrese, Alai'deki Kümbet gibi pek çok şaheserle kendi sanatlarının özelliklerini ortaya koydu. Diğerleri Camii ve Darülmümin'in, Akhisar'daki Kervanhanesi, Akhisar'daki Sultanhanesi, Erzurum'daki Çifte Minareli Medrese de Selçuklu sanatının birer örneği, en sonuğ ise many çiniler gönderen kermine huyun birer örneği.

Bu tür bu türün en önemli eserlerinden biri olan Zafer Zaferi'nin 948'inci yıldönümü, Muş'un Malazgirt Meydanı Muharebesi Tarihi Milli Parkı'nda yapılacak törenlerle kutlanacak.

There is a special victory behind all of these glorious buildings: Angling over a vast stretch of land stretching from the Middle East to Central Asia, the Indian Peninsula to Hain, the Seljuks started to rule. Inaugurated with the Byzantine Empire in Anatolia as they focused their attention on westward campaigns, the Seljuk army commanded by Sultan Alparslan came face to face with the Byzantine Em-

309




Source: SkyLife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

Another example of this neo-Ottoman discourse developed by the government is the creation of Yeditepe Biennial, a biennial with traditional and religious tendencies alternative to the existing more westernized versions, and which is organized by the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey. Skylife magazine covers an article of six full pages about it in its 2018 May issue and stresses that “It’s the world’s first biennial on the subject of classical Turkish arts which define the country’s cultural, social and artistic values. The biennial’s exhibition areas are located in different parts of the Historical Peninsula, in accordance with the spirit of Istanbul that displays the rarest examples of traditional arts in public places such as the Istanbul Archeological Museum, Hagia Sophia Museum and Square, Darphane-iAmire, Gülhane Park, SüleymaniyeSalis Madrasa and Nuruosmaniye Mosque Cistern. Nuruosmaniye Mosque Cistern, which was discovered a few years ago, opens its doors to the public for the first time thanks to the biennial.” The article features a photograph where the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan speaks at the opening ceremony of the event with a crowd of dignitaries.

As discussed here earlier, Turkish TV serials play an important role in the attraction of Turkey and Turkish culture in the minds and hearts of the people. The government is aware of this soft power potential. During the speech Erdoğan gives at the 3rd National Culture Council organized by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, he underlines the influence of series such as “Osmancık” and “Küçük Ağa” that narrate the Ottoman history, the War of Independence years over a generation. Then he states that “now in a similar fashion Resurrection: Ertuğrul receives great interest in Turkey and abroad. If my 6-year-old and 12-year-old grandchildren not only watch this show when it first airs but also follow its reruns, this is a victory. This means that we are in a position to allow for more investments for such productions in the future (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Türkçenin Sesi Radyosu).

In the September 2015 issue, Skylife includes an interview with the team of Resurrection: Ertuğrul, aired “on TRT, which sheds light on the pre-foundation period of the glorious Ottoman Empire that reigned over three continents for six

centuries, and the story of Ertuğrul Gazi.” Its producer and scriptwriter Mehmet Bozdağ states that the project was created upon TRT Deputy General Manager İbrahim Eren’s suggestion (Ayyıldız, 2015).

**Figure 3.10. From September 2015 Article Diriliş, a TV Show on Ottoman Empire**



**Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)**

According to Nye “If a country's culture and ideology are attractive, others more willingly follow (Nye, 2004, p. 107).” As part of an active public diplomacy program since 2009, Turkey develops and promotes Yunus Emre Institutes which counts for more than 40 culture centers today. President Erdoğan, shows in his words the importance accorded to these institutes during a speech he gave at the National Culture Council as follows “We have found Yunus Emre Culture Centers in order to succeed in promote our culture, language, and art around the globe. We need to make these centers, whose similar versions are abundant in the world and especially in England, France and Germany, more active and effective. Culture is not just comprised of merely books, music, or architecture, but a

lifestyle that involves all of these elements. Be it the manner we greet each other, the way we sit or stand, or the way we dress, eat or drink to the way we organize our homes, all of the constituents of our identity are determined by the culture we possess (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Türkçenin Sesi Radyosu).

Skylife, on its part, promotes these institutes covering the activities and events related to these institutes. A 2015 Skylife article reminds its readers that “These centers not only teach Turkish but promote the country and its cultural heritage, culture and art as well, aiming to improve Turkey’s friendship with other countries and increase its cultural exchange with different ones.”

### **3.6. CAMPAIGNS, SPONSORSHIPS, RESPONSIBILITY PROJECTS**

Nye tells an anecdote where a French foreign minister observes that Americans are powerful thanks to their capability of inspiring dreams and creating global images via film and television which becomes a driving factor in numerous foreign students coming to the United States to finish their studies (Nye, 2004, p. 8). Conscience of the power of creating global images, Turkish Airlines has engaged in many campaigns with world known stars such as Kobe Bryant, Drogba Messi particularly in the last decade.

Among these campaigns there are the “Batman v Superman” in 2016; “Widen Your World,” of Morgan Freeman in 2017; “Five Senses” starring Dr. Oz in 2018, and the “Journey” directed by Ridley Scott in 2019.

These campaigns which prove global success increase prestige and visibility of the flag carrier on the international scene, and so act as an important element of soft power. In this respect in-flight magazine complements this role by including long articles about all these events, and again in the following issues by mentioning them shortly in the corporate news sections as news from Turkish

Airlines, and also by talking about them in the welcome letter, and even by featuring them on the cover.

In fact, until the beginning of to the 2000s Skylife covers seemed like a travel magazine. Except for a few incidents like the cover of October 1990 which featured the images of Bangladeshis fleeing the Gulf crisis with the help of Turkish Airlines, covers consisted mainly of beautiful landscapes or cultural elements. As of the first years of the AKP era, the picture changed, and important events found more place both in the content and on the cover of the magazine. When images of the world-famous personalities appear in the same shots with Turkish Airlines the flag carrier is perceived as an element of attraction.

**Figure 3.11. Covers of February 2009, March 2011, January 2014, December 2014 Issues Respectively, Collaborations with World-Famous Celebrities**



**Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)**

In the in-flight magazine, the success of these campaigns is told in detail together with rich images in order to reinforce the influence of the campaigns. The awards they receive, the world-famous communication agencies with which Turkish Airlines collaborated are referenced, or record numbers of view numbers of the advertising videos are highlighted. For example, in an article from 2014 January promoting the film, “Legends on Board”, Starred by Kobe Bryant and Lionel

Messi the article reminds that the film “broke world records as the most-watched YouTube video of all time and made the news in numerous international publications.”

Another aspect of these campaigns that is reminded promoted by Turkish Airlines is the fact that they are released at the Super Bowl the final game of the National Football League. Nye reminds that “popular sports can play a role in communicating values” and he goes on to make reference to the Super Bowl pointing that it attracts hundreds of millions of viewers. In March 2019 article underlines the importance of the event as such “The event attracts the entire nation and millions of people from all across the world to the screen. Therefore, each edition of the Super Bowl also means a unique platform for commercial campaigns, especially for global companies, as a result of the extremely high viewership.” Then it goes on to explain the success of Turkish Airlines “Turkish Airlines appeared in a commercial break at this year's Super Bowl with a new commercial titled *The Journey*. Thanks to the film, which was directed by famous director Ridley Scott and led by Sylvia Hoeks and AureAtika, the national flag carrier emphasized the perfect concord between its brand, Istanbul, and the world’s biggest airport built from the foundations up.” The article is filled with passengers talking about the advantages position of Istanbul so while taking the attention of the reader with the famous sports and entertainment event, the magazine takes the occasion to promote Turkish Airlines and Turkey. When the readers see the name of the company together with names like Madonna, Justin Timberlake, Lady Gaga, and Beyoncé, it creates a positive influence in their minds and hearts.

How the visual elements are organized in an in-flight magazine influences reader to perceive it having a global layout; such as when the contents are as glossy as fashion magazines, or when the presence of pictures wisely alternating local and international destinations and celebrities (Maci, 2016, p. 213). By doing this, *SkyLife* provides a network of connections between local, regional and international (Maci, 2016, p. 204). Another example where *SkyLife* contributes to

creating positive images in the minds and hearts of the audience is its interviews with famous celebrities. In interviews, which are carried out for Turkish Airlines by the America editor of the magazine, we see an image of the celebrity posing with an issue of Skylife in hand. Therefore, Skylife magazine becomes part of a global glamour, through which it wins the hearts and minds of the people who already have an admiration for these internationally acknowledged celebrities.

**Figure 3.12 Images of Celebrities from the issues of July 2017, September 2017, May 2018, December 2018 Respectively**



**Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)**

Turkish Airlines is also engaged in numerous sponsorship investments notably in sport events and organizations such as Turkish Airlines EuroLeague, Turkish Airlines Final Four which has been played under the official title sponsorship of Turkish Airlines since 2010, Turkish Airlines World Golf Cup, Turkish Airlines Open, Turkey Football Federation and the Presidential Cycling Tour of Turkey as well as numerous sports such as rugby, cricket, equestrianism and cycling. Turkish Airlines support for sports and culture is underlined in almost every welcome letter of the magazine emphasizing the company's mission of building bridges between continents, cultures, and people. These event which are followed by millions of people globally, also help increasing the visibility of Turkey even in the minds of people even in far-away geographies, Turkey becomes a destination.

In January 2020 welcome letter, İlker Aycı states: While our brand highlighted its support for sports and the values sports represent, the excitement of the Turkish Airlines EuroLeague and the events and attractions organized as a part of the tournament have now extended across the European continent and have reached basketball fans across the world. We also contributed to Turkey's rise as a premier golf destination by hosting world-famous golfers in Antalya at another sports organization that carries our name, Turkish Airlines Open 2019. Our support for golf has reached thousands of golfers with the Turkish Airlines World Golf Cup, the world's largest amateur golf tournament that continued throughout the year in 101 destinations. »

As it is reminded in every article of Skylife relating to these sponsorships, these events create unique occasions to combine the unifying effects of sports activities, promote the positive image of the national flag carrier of Turkey thereby positively contribute to the prestige of Turkey globally.

As the star guests of the "Let's Talk!" symposium held in Antalya supported by Turkish Airlines, supermodel Natalia Vodianova gives an interview to the flag carrier's in-flight magazine that is published in the December 2018. Her words

may be summarizing the image Turkey tries to transmit to the world. “Turkey's empathy in humanitarian aid should set an example for the world”. Her sentence in bigger font size in pull quote is easily remarkable at a first glance.

As part of its soft power policies Turkey is engaged in humanitarian relief and benevolent power strategy. An article from Skylife October 2016 published on the occasion of the speech of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan At the United Nations, provides a concrete illustration of this will by depicting Erdoğan “as the leader of a country that extends a hand to the people in need due to wars and economic hardships, makes international attempts at solving global problems, and is directly influenced by the course of its neighboring countries.”

It is explained in the article that in terms of sending aid to many regions in the world Turkey is the world's third ranking country following the U.S. and the U.K., furthermore, Turkey is the most generous country in this respect based on national income. The article gives a number of the humanitarian social responsibility projects Turkey has undertaken and the important role it has in the world and goes on to remind the project known as the Alliance of Civilizations that President Erdoğan started.

Similarly, Turkish Airlines' will to stand out with its social responsibility projects in addition to its main operations is often emphasized in Skylife. In a news article from November 2018, İlker Aycı states that “As the national flag carrier of Turkey, a country that sets an exemplary leading position in global social responsibility by extending its hand to the communities in need around the world, we are glad to strengthen our collaboration with IOM.

In accordance with its soft power policy, the AKP government often uses a discourse of brotherhood between Turkey and Africa. The government tries to show that, unlike the westerners, Turkey creates ties to improve solidarity and bring humanitarian relief to countries in need as part of its strategy of benevolent power.

One of the quintessential examples showing how Turkish Airlines and its in-flight magazine SkyLife acted as a soft power tool in line with Turkey's foreign policy in Africa is the #TurkishAirlinesHelpSomalia campaign.

This was a social media campaign launched in 2017 by social media figure Jérôme Jarre on Twitter to help Somalia which battled with famine and draught. Drawing attention to the miserable situation in the country Jarre called out Turkish Airlines for aid with the hashtag #TurkishAirlinesHelpSomalia. In a short time, the message reached tens of thousands of people and famous people like the Hollywood star Ben Stiller showed support.

As the only international airline flying Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia, Turkish Airlines answered the call to aid on social media. The hashtag was shared quickly, and the scope of the campaign reached millions. Turkish Airlines carried the collected aid to the region. The campaign profited both to the Somali people and proved to be a great communication campaign to show the humanitarian help strategy of Turkish Airlines and Turkey.

SkyLife, not surprisingly, promoted the campaign in its pages for months long. April 2017 issue made the campaign its cover and included a six-page article telling the campaign and the huge success enriched with iconographies showing key numbers and photographs of the celebrities supporting the campaign.

Figure 3.13. Images from April 2017 Turkish Airlines Help Somalia Campaign



Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

Turkish Airline’s engagement in humanitarian responsibility is reiterated many times in the article as in the following excerpts “With its increasing number of destinations and social responsibility projects, Turkish Airlines has been supporting Africa. Having carried out dozens of projects in Africa with more than 200 volunteering employees who have traveled there more than 50 times, Turkish Airlines’ projects include orphanages with a budget of 10 million dollars, and mosquito nets sold for 10 TRY. Turkish Airlines, for instance, installed solar energy systems at 10 rural clinics that couldn’t provide regular health service due to lack of electricity. Carried out in collaboration with the Ministry of Health in Ethiopia, the project provided cataract operations for nearly 1,000 patients. Turkish Airlines continues to give voice to its sensitivity and to support its extensive social responsibility projects.”

In a sub headline, the grateful words of Ben Stiller are highlighted: “We’d Like to Thank Our Turkish Friends” His words seem to be the proof of the success of this humanitarian diplomacy “For the first flight, we will buy the food in Istanbul, as a thank you to our Turkish friends that support the movement!”

Another article in the magazine the following month covers this time the aftermath of the campaign, with images of Turkish Cargo carrying the aid provided by a total donation of 2.5 million USD with the participation of tens of thousands of people from 125 countries. The article once again highlights the fact of Turkish Airlines being the company that flies to most African cities in detailed numbers.

The magazine also draws attention to the importance of the campaign in contributing to the relationship between Turkey and Somalia, because representatives of both companies, even ministers of Somalia were engaged in the receipt of the aid. The article implies that this is not just the flag carrier but Turkey as a country that helped since the speeches of the ministers of Somalia at the ceremony “expressed their gratitude to the social media influencers who started the movement, to the Republic of Turkey for its support of Somalia, since 2011, and to Turkish Airlines for carrying the aid.” Besides, “when a nation’s prestigious airline takes off, it is often understood that the flying aircraft becomes the nation’s flying monument and cultural icon as well (Anaz & Akman, 2017, p. 308)”.

This campaign is a very good example of Turkey’s soft power policy related to Africa in the recent years as it shows this is not a story of a company carrying cargo but the whole global branding campaign of the country through humanitarian aid which contributed largely to its prestige in the eyes of the foreign public globally. So, by this campaign Turkey won the hearts and minds of people in different geographies through the savior image carried out by Turkish Airlines.

As part of its corporate social responsibility projects, Turkish Airlines is also engaged in other aid operations such as animal rescue or carrying invaluable archaeological artifacts. In Skyline February 2019, the “Gypsy Girl” Joy article tells how thanks to the flag carrier, the historical treasury has been brought back.

Or in August 2019 the magazine informs that thanks to the vision of #missionrescue Turkish Cargo contributes to protecting wildlife and returning animals such as racehorses, domestic pets including different species of birds, cats, and dogs as well as wild animals like tigers, cheetahs, lynx, lions, and pumas to their natural habitats. By carrying these animals which are depressed or endangered in their current living conditions to their natural habitats Turkish Cargo contributes to the animals' physical and emotional well-being and to protecting their rights, which can be seen as important values that can increase the positive image of an entity in the foreign publics.

### **3.7. AKP ERA TAKEN AS A MILESTONE**

Perhaps one of the most revealing statements showing how closely Turkish politics are related to Turkish Airlines is the speech of the Minister of Treasury of the Republic of Turkey and Finance Berat Albayrak at Turkish Airlines Management Summit that took place in January 2019. During his speech which is published in Skylife's February 2019 issue Albayrak stated: "Turkey is Turkish Airlines. We can truly feel it at this event. Turkish Airlines has become the pioneering ambassador of Turkey in times of change and transformation. Turkish Airlines is not only carrying people or products. You make an impression on a perception, Turkey's spirit and potential on other people. It's a wonderful success on your behalf when people who had a negative perception about Turkey return to their countries happily thanks to Turkish Airlines. With your diligence, friendliness and smiles, you make the greatest contribution to our goal of a strong Turkey." It would not be exaggerated to say that this speech by itself is a summary of how the government sees Turkish Airlines and its in-flight magazine which creates the medium to communicate this to the whole world, as soft power instruments.

**Figure 3.14. February 2019 Turkish Airlines Management Summit, Minister of Treasury of the Republic of Turkey and Finance Berat Albayrak saying “Turkey is Turkish Airlines”**



T.C. Hazine ve Maliye Bakanı Berat Albayrak konuşmaktadır. Türk Hava Yolları Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Mehmet Cahit Turhan, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Hazine ve Maliye Bakanlığı'nda konuşmaktadır. Fotoğraf: SKYLIBRARY

Yolları sayesinde mutfak döndüğünde mızam bir hizmet imza arzuyorumuz. Çabaklığına, samanyetene ve diğer yeteneklerine "Çıktı Türkiye" hedefine en büyük katkıyı veriyorsunuz. Bir eleven ve insan olarak kendinden sonraki kuşaklara verebileceğiniz, bırakacağınız en değerli miras bu kurum olacaktır inşiyorum" diye konuştu.

**Türk Havaçılıp Büyüyor**  
Zirvede konuşan T.C. Ulaştırma ve Altyapı Bakanı Sayın Mehmet Cahit Turhan, Türk Hava Yolları ailesi tarafından düzenlenen Yönetim Zirvesi'nde olmak büyük bir memnuniyet duyduğunu söyledi. Konuşmasında yolcu ve kargo taşımacılığında ki hızlı büyümeye dikkat çeken Turhan, "ICAO verilerine göre 2017 yılında dünyada uçtu a dedi 38 milyona çıkarken yolcu sayısı 4,2 milyar oldu. Kıtanel ticaretin yüzde 35' haneçılıp tercih ediyor. Tabii böyle olunca havacılık faaliyetleri ulusal ve küresel kalkınmanın vazgeçilmez unsurlarından biri ne dönüştürmüştür" dedi.

**"Sana Bizim, Maç Bizim"**  
Türk Hava Yolları Yönetim Kurulu ve İcra Komitesi Başkanı M. İker Aytaç, "Sana Bizim, Maç Bizim" sloganının ardındaki yaklaşımın en güzel örneği olarak İstanbul Havalimanı ile öyle güzel bir sahneye gidip öyle bir maç oynayacağız ki heyecanlanmamak elde değil. Daha büyük olmak

güç, hızlanma ve umut, you make the greatest contribution to our goal of a strong Turkey. As a parent and as an individual, believe that establishment will be the most precious heritage you will leave for the next generations."

**The Growth of Turkish Aviation**  
Republic of Turkey Minister of Transportation and Infrastructure Mehmet Cahit Turhan also gave a speech at the summit and said he was very happy to attend the Management Summit held by the Turkish Airlines family. Emphasizing the fast growth in passenger and cargo transport, Turhan said, "According to the ICAO data, the number of global flights increased to 38 million and the number of passengers to 4.3 billion in 2017. Thirty-five percent of global commerce prefers aviation. This indicates that aviation operations have become one of the essential elements of national and global development."

**"Our Game is Our Field"**  
Turkish Airlines Chairman of the Board and the Executive Committee M. İker Aytaç explained the reasoning behind the motto "Our Game is Our Field." "We will become a player in such a great field thanks to Istanbul Airport that it's hard not to get excited. We want to be bigger. We're very close to being number one. All we need is a good field. And Istanbul Airport gave us that. It's our land, our sky, and our flag."

istiyoruz. Bir mamara olmak için zirveye çok yakınız. İyi bir sahneye ihtiyacımıza vardı. İmdi İstanbul Havalimanı ile sahneya sahıdır. Yet bizim, çok bizim, büyük bizim."

İstanbul Havalimanı na ilişkin çok net ve önemli mesajlar veren Aytaç, değişimin önemine de dikkat çekti: "3 Mart itibarıyla İstanbul Havalimanı'na taşınmaya başlayacağız. Bizim için heyecanlı bir dönem başlıyor. Standby olanakların yanı sıra atacak rekabet nedeniyle İstanbul Havalimanı bizim için yeni ve asle bir mücadele anlamına da geliyor. Onda başarılabilmek için isayın sefilicimizi değiştirme ve yeni alanın getireceği dönüşüme hazır olmamız."

Türk Hava Yolları Yönetim Kurulu ve İcra Komitesi Başkanı M. İker Aytaç'ın konuşmasının ardından konuşan ve 2018'in başarılarını değerlendiren Türk Hava Yolları Genel Müdürü ve Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Vahit Bilal Ekşi, "Her okunca ne kadar başarabileceğimizi 2018'de ortaya koyduk. İmbarz edildik faaliyetlerin rekabete bürün en güzel kanıtı. Bu çatıyı bu sene de bir milyar doların üzerinde tutacağız inşiyorum" dedi.

Zirvede konuşan isimlerden biri de ünlü marka uzmanı Ali Süpadiye. Konuşmasında Türk Hava Yolları'nın marka seretiminin iler-

Having presented very clear and important messages regarding Istanbul Airport, Aytaç also emphasized the importance of change: "We will have moved to Istanbul Airport by March 3. It's the beginning of a brand new era for us. Thanks to its opportunities and the increasing competition, Istanbul Airport also means a new and challenging time for us. In order to be successful, we need to change the way we do business and be ready for the incoming change."

After Turkish Airlines Chairman of the Board and the Executive Committee M. İker Aytaç, Turkish Airlines Deputy Chairman and CEO Bilal Ekşi also gave a speech about the achievements of 2018: "Last year we proved what we can achieve when we're one. The record-breaking 1 billion-dollar operating margin is the greatest proof. I believe we will raise this bar to even further heights."

Another speaker at the summit was the notable brand expert Ali Süpadiye. In his speech, Süpadiye talked about Turkish Airlines' brand journey in terms of the fundamentals of communication sciences. He said that Turkish Airlines is the most valuable brand in Turkey based on the value of its product, its sense of responsibility to the times and environment, and the trust it instills in its target audience.



T.C. Ulaştırma ve Altyapı Bakanı Mehmet Cahit Turhan ve Türk Hava Yolları Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Mehmet Cahit Turhan konuşmaktadır. Fotoğraf: SKYLIBRARY

**Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)**

It can be said that the arrival of AKP into power marks a new era for Turkish Airlines and this can be easily seen analyzing the corporate communications. One of the most concrete results is that the year 2003 is recurrently taken as a milestone. For example, in the 2012 annual report, there are many graphics marking the recent success of the company, these graphics compare the period from 2003 until 2012.

**Figure 3.15 A Graph Taking AKP Era as the Milestone in 2012 Annual Report**



**Source: Skylife Annual Report 2012 (Turkish Airlines)**

Since the arrival of the AKP government, Turkish Airlines has undergone fundamental changes initiated by the government. Skylife magazine accordingly demonstrates a discernable change in the content. The magazine provides the statements of the executives that repetitiously remind the growth of Turkish Airlines referring to the time window of AKP era. For example, in 2013 May issue Skylife publishes an interview with the company's then President and CEO Temel Kotil. While talking about the Turkish Airlines timeline, he refers the process that began in 2003 as the restructuring process. He explains how, despite the resistance, they carried out a transformation process. In the same article he underlines the certain issues which were largely discussed and tackled by the governments foreign policy such as "Turkey's geographical position, the development of the Turkish economy, the effect of Turkish politics on the global stage, the increased importance of Africa in the Middle East as Europe's importance diminishes, and Turkey's position at the center of this development." And he adds as if he was making reference to Davutoğlu's policies: "To utilize opportunities, we went back to our roots. » By the same token, in the issues of

October 2018 or November 2018, Bilal Ekşi, Deputy Chairman and CEO of Turkish Airlines talk about a “growth in the last 15 years”. December 2018 welcome letter emphasized once again the importance of the newly built Istanbul Airport, repeated the stable growth in the last 15 years. Still in 2019 March welcome letter, Bilal Ekşi stated “In the last 15 years our country witnessed a record-breaking increase of 430% in its international flight network.”

Still another news article from September 2018 informs that at the 10th Ambassadors’ Conference, The Republic of Turkey Minister of Foreign Affairs Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu said in his speech that Turkish Airlines is a source of pride for everyone and said they regard Turkish Airlines as an important partner. At the same event, the article informed that İlker Aycı underlined Turkish Airlines’ role of building bridges and improving the economic and commercial relationships between Turkey and its flight destinations, in addition to contributing to the mutual encounters between those countries. These examples show how the magazine considers Turkish Airlines as Turkey and how it reiterates the AKP-related growth on every occasion possible.

### **3.8. A TURNING POINT: JULY 15**

A turning point of Skylife’s history as much as it is of Turkey, the 15 July coup d’état attempt shows how Turkish Airlines is used by the government as a tool for communication. The month following the failed coup d’état, in August 2016 Skylife magazine devoted a ten-page article on the events in addition to the cover of the magazine which appeared under the same title with the main article “The Victory of People Will”.

The article starts with a paragraph stating that Turkey has always been point of global interest because of its location and diversity, and the culture coexistence and of seeing differences as richness. The article then likens the incident to a “test of democracy witnessed by the whole world and honorably triumphed.” The tone

of the language of the article is patriotic and full of praises towards the people's unity for democracy and to the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's uniting power, reflecting an image of a nation fighting for democracy. In fact, the article continuously emphasizes that the failed coup reinforced "the unity of the country and the preservation of the people's will." Further in the article, there are excerpts from the official speeches of the President and the ministers. Minister of Labor and Social Security Süleyman Soylu considers the event as a message to the world, he accentuates: "This is a democracy lesson for not only in this region, it is a lesson of democracy to the whole world."

As Joseph Nye points out, people in other countries are more willing to follow a specific country, if its ideologies are engaging, the culture is attractive (Nye, 2004, p. 10). So, in an effort to appear legitimate in the eyes of others, the government emphasizes the idea of the people's will and democracy and tries to show in the magazine how Turkey fights for these values. To reinforce this stance, the article goes on to provide references from other media. The examples are chosen from three of the world's biggest democracy ruled countries. American daily newspaper The New York Times quote underlines Turkey's pride of being ruled by democracy in a geography dominated by monarchies and that these events that took place were a token of Turkey's commitment to democracy. The British newspaper The Sunday Times emphasizes the decisiveness and courage of Turks to beat the coup plotters. French daily newspaper Le Monde talks about how people stood against the coup by taking the streets and tanks upon Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's call to action. It should be noted that upon Google searches with these sentences in quotation marks, only Skylife articles appear in the search results, which means that these are not exact quotes from those newspapers but rephrased or reinterpreted messages. In the same manner, the article also provides some opinions about Turkish Airlines and Turkey by some global companies such as Boeing, Mercedes-Benz, Unilever. Since most of the comments given by these are general positive remarks, it is not completely obvious that these are direct support about the coup attempt or not.

In a way to reflect the tone of the article, the magazine reflects the patriotic and proud tone in the pages with several images of the cheering crowds waving Turkish flags and images of Erdoğan as the proud unifier of the people.

Figure 3.16. August 2016 Cover and Pages from July 15 Article



Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

In the welcome letter of the same issue of the magazine, the Chairman of the Board and the Executive İlker Aycı affirms: “The Republic of Turkey, which has been a symbol of stability with its strengthening democracy and increasing influence in the region and the world, remains firm and steady.” Aycı continues and states that this victory will set as an inspiration for other peoples in world. He

finishes his words thanking the government officials, heroic Turkish people and wishing mercy from Almighty Allah for the noble martyrs.

The following month in September 2016 Skylife, the welcome letter starts the first paragraph reminding the events. The magazine devoted many other articles following the months of the 15 July. In September 2016, Skylife published an article about the Democracy and Martyrs' Rally that took place following the coup attempt written by the spokesperson of the Presidency. The article defines the perpetrators as «terrorists in uniform» who killed 241 innocent people and injured more than 2,000 citizens. And it reiterates once again how the «nation and their representatives sent a clear message of unity and solidarity to the perpetrators.» The article goes on to underline the success of the AKP government by the sentence “Having achieved many accomplishments in the past 14 years, Turkey will continue this spirit of unity and solidarity and stay the course of democracy, freedom, and prosperity.” The next paragraph emphasizes once again the success of the government by the milestone year as “The Democracy and Martyrs' Rally crowned political stability, the backbone of Turkey’s accomplishments since 2002, with a new spirit of unity and solidarity.” The article is full of paragraphs about the state’s foreign policies. The article indicates “The steps we had taken in June led to a visit by President Erdoğan to St. Petersburg and the ratification of the agreement with Israel by the Parliament. In line with our goal of developing solutions to regional and global problems whilst securing our national interests, Turkey launched "Operation Euphrates Shield" to liberate the city of Jarabulus in Syria from DAESH terrorists. »

The article then goes on to qualify Turkey as «one of the world’s fastest growing economies» and how it recovered the event due to the strong economic leadership, and that the Turkish lira even increased value together with the foreign investment following the events. The article reminds once again the strength of its leadership of the AKP era and states that «Turkey will continue the success story of the past 14 » in order to reach higher goals.

Just like in the previous month's issue, the article gives quotes from government members most of whom make references to the historical roots and heritage. The President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan reminds "Turkish nation which stood against the coup plotters on July 15 is the same one that opened the gates of Anatolia a thousand years ago at the Battle of Manzikert. » It is worth reminding that, as discussed here previously, the Battle of Manzikert starts to be celebrated under the auspices of the Presidency as of the year following these words of Erdoğan and SkyLife gives large coverage to this event.

Among other declarations of Unity, İsmail Kahraman, Speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly expresses his contentment with being worth of the ancestors. Binali Yıldırım, Chairman of the Justice and Development Party and Prime Minister associates the spirit of Turkish nation to its history with legendary victories and defines the July 15 as the 2nd War of Independence. The quote involves his thanks to Allah. Among these quotes there is also that of the President of the Presidency of Religious Affairs. The article finishes with his wishes which are worth mentioning verbatim: "May Allah accept our noble martyrs who shielded our nation with their bodies by challenging tanks, with "Allahu Akbar" on their tongues and the sound of salah in their ears. »

Figure 3.17. From July 2017, Commemorating July 15

Mercek • Spotlight

## 15 Temmuz, Demokrasi ve Millî Birlik Günü

### July 15, Day of Democracy and National Solidarity



Yüre

Mercek • Spotlight

2016 yılının 15 Temmuz akşamı Türkiye bir darbe teşebbüsüyle karşı karşıya kaldı ve buna birkaç saatte, millet ve devlet el ele vermesiyle bertaraf etti. Tarihe "15 Temmuz, Demokrasi ve Millî Birlik Günü" adıyla geçen bu büyük zaferin birinci yıl dönümünde tüm Türkiye'de bir haftalık anma programı ve etkinlikler düzenleyecek.

Turkey experienced a coup d'état attempt on the night of July 15, 2016, but it was defeated in a few hours with the collaboration of the people and the government. Turkey has organized a week-long commemoration program and events to commemorate this great victory, recorded in history as July 15, Day of Democracy and National Solidarity, on its first anniversary.

The terror organization's coup attempt was met with fierce reaction from the people but this never brought about extreme or illiberal behavior. On the contrary, people displayed a brave, proud and wise stance both in fighting against the coup attempt and during the Democracy Watch.

**Demokrasi ve Şehitler Mitingi**  
30 Temmuz günü Cumhurbaşkanları Erdoğan, videde edilen zafer ve demokrasiye desteklerini İstisnaî Yürüyüş Meclisi'nde yapılacak mitingde vatandaşlara ulaştıracakları mesajı yaydılar.

**Meeting for Democracy and Martyrs**  
On July 30, President Erdoğan announced that they would crown the Democracy Watch with a meeting at Yenikapı Square, Istanbul.

**Bilgi info**  
"Bu zaferimiz, kendisi seçilmişler tarafından demokrasiye yapılan bir darbe ile birleşti. Bu darbe, Türkiye'nin demokrasiye olan güvenini ve özgüvenini gösterdi. Bizler, bu darbeyle gelen darbe girişimlerini ve şiddetli saldırıların önlenmesini sağladık."

"With recent events, our dear nation once again showed that it will respond with the fighting spirit in order to be a land of peace and stability. We determined to follow the path of democracy, freedom and development."

Mercek • Spotlight

2007 yılındaki seçimlerde oyların demokrasiye ve demokrasiden yana kullanılması Türkiye için bir başarıydı. Bu zaferin ikinci aşaması Cumhurbaşkanları Recep Tayyip Erdoğan liderliğinde halkın birleşmesi ve birleşme dönemi başladı. Bu zaferin ikinci aşaması seçimler peki ve demokrasiyi destekleyici araçlar kullanılarak teşvik ve desteklenmesi oldu. Türkiye'nin demokrasiye olan güveni ve özgüvenini artırarak, demokrasiyi destekleyici araçlar kullanılarak teşvik ve desteklenmesi oldu.

The Turkish people's support for democracy and national solidarity was a success. This was the second stage of the victory. The second stage of the victory was the collaboration of the people and the government. The government used various tools to support and strengthen democracy. This increased the people's confidence and trust in democracy.

**Demokrasi Nöbetleri**  
15 Temmuz günü, vatandaşlar, sığınak ve ekonomik faaliyetleri, eğitim alanları ve diğer alanlar, tüm Türkiye çapında aynı anda birleşti. Bu zaferin ikinci aşaması darbe girişimi. Cumhurbaşkanları Recep Tayyip Erdoğan liderliğinde halkın birleşmesi ve birleşme dönemi başladı. Bu zaferin ikinci aşaması seçimler peki ve demokrasiyi destekleyici araçlar kullanılarak teşvik ve desteklenmesi oldu.

On July 15, citizens gathered in various locations across the country. This was the second stage of the victory. The second stage of the victory was the collaboration of the people and the government. The government used various tools to support and strengthen democracy. This increased the people's confidence and trust in democracy.

**Bilgi info**  
"Darbe girişiminde dünya nasıl yansımalar gördü?"  
The New York Times: "How did the world react to the coup attempt?"  
The New York Times: "How did the world react to the coup attempt?"

yanı sıra "Demokrasi Nöbetleri" 28 gün sürdü. Bu nöbetlerde ülke, sınıklar her kesimden ısrarla gösterilen maddelerle vatandaşlar tarafından desteklenerek demokrasiyi destekleyici araçlar kullanılarak teşvik ve desteklenmesi oldu.

The Democracy Watch turned the whole city into a festival ground and lasted 28 days. This watch enabled millions of citizens to show their support for the elected government and express their determination to protect democracy and their vested rights.

The terror organization's coup attempt was met with fierce reaction from the people but this never brought about extreme or illiberal behavior. On the contrary, people displayed a brave, proud and wise stance both in fighting against the coup attempt and during the Democracy Watch.

**Demokrasi ve Şehitler Mitingi**  
30 Temmuz günü Cumhurbaşkanları Erdoğan, videde edilen zafer ve demokrasiye desteklerini İstisnaî Yürüyüş Meclisi'nde yapılacak mitingde vatandaşlara ulaştıracakları mesajı yaydılar.

**Meeting for Democracy and Martyrs**  
On July 30, President Erdoğan announced that they would crown the Democracy Watch with a meeting at Yenikapı Square, Istanbul.

**Bilgi info**  
"Bu zaferimiz, kendisi seçilmişler tarafından demokrasiye yapılan bir darbe ile birleşti. Bu darbe, Türkiye'nin demokrasiye olan güvenini ve özgüvenini gösterdi. Bizler, bu darbeyle gelen darbe girişimlerini ve şiddetli saldırıların önlenmesini sağladık."

"With recent events, our dear nation once again showed that it will respond with the fighting spirit in order to be a land of peace and stability. We determined to follow the path of democracy, freedom and development."

15 Temmuz darbe girişimi, Türk halkının demokrasiye olan bağlılığını ve birlik beraberliğini

Many people died or were injured while defending democracy and the country against the vile attack. It was thanks to the people that the vicious plot came to naught.

**Democracy Watch**  
On the night of July 15, the Turkish people stood together regardless of their political views, socio-economic status and education. Through the coup attempt was defeated, they conducted their Democracy Watch from hour to hour in the morning by filling the streets and squares with Turkish flags in their hands. Participated by millions of citizens,

Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

2017 July welcome letter reminds the events, but more importantly the issue devotes an article on the occasion of the commemoration of coup d'état attempt on its first anniversary.

It can be said that the magazine clearly leaves no doubt about the supporting the AKP government with the first sentence of the article: “A new page was opened for Turkey when it voted for democracy and change in the 2002 primary elections. Since then, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has pioneered a period of fast change and growth. Those who wish to reverse these accomplishments resorted to all sorts of undemocratic means, but their attempts yielded no fruit.” (Skylife July 2017 Issue, 2017) The article also provides the same information towards the coup attempt and its perpetrators that the government and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan had been expressing on the media: “Carried out by the FETO terror organization, which has no regards for humanitarian values and had infiltrated government offices, the coup attempt was defeated within hours after the President made a TV address to the Turkish nation to defend democracy in the squares and streets.” Just like the article of the August 2016 article, the tone expressed here is still patriotic. It underlines several times the unity of the people against the vile attacks and the success of Turkey both politically and economically dealing with the aftermath of the events.

The following year in 2018 July issue, the event is once again reminded in the welcome letter. Deputy Chairman and CEO Bilal Ekşi finishes his words talking about the stable development in the country in reference to the general elections took place earlier in June that year and shows his gratitude to the martyrs of July 15 Democracy and National Solidarity Day. 2019 July issue welcome letter celebrates once again the 15 Democracy and National Solidarity Day.

### **3.9. INCREASING GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE**

It is possible to observe that since 15 July 2016, the visibility of the government’s deeds, particularly presence of the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan personally has increased considerably. “Signs of the personalization of power in Turkey have been visible since the beginning of the 2010s” (Karaosmanoglu, 2020). However, from this period on, it wouldn’t be exaggerated to say that there are hardly any issues of the in-flight magazine in which a content related to the government’s or

Erdoğan's success is not included. The discourses of the government executives and Turkish Airlines executives show parallelism and resemblance to such an extent that explaining it by coincidence would be difficult. The magazine devotes numerous pages to the events that are organized by the state or to projects of the government in each issue. The references to the success of the AKP regime, from art to science and technology from innovation to economy, become increasingly salient. The magazine covers several events where Turkish Airlines executives are in the same cadres with the President. For example, in the January 2019 welcome letter M. İlker Aycı, Chairman of the Board and the Executive Committee of Turkish Airlines relates the success of "political stability, consistent growth, and economic potential" to the 2018 presidential elections. Aycı also reminds about the peerless success of the 3rd airport that was opened in record time the previous year and cites this project as unique among Turkey's mega projects.

In his book *Soft Power, The Means to Success in World Politics*, Nye highlights how in the 20th century, power resources have gained new aspects thanks to science and technology and he reminds the role of the technological and scientific advances played in the admiration felt by the world for the United States (Nye, 2004, p. 35). Similarly, in order for Turkey to influence other countries in accordance with this interest by having an efficient foreign policy depends on its capacities. Elements such as economic resources, technological infrastructure and military capacity contribute increasing a country's influence in the international power scene (Davutoğlu, 2001, p. 24). In this respect, the AKP government underlines the importance of technology and carries out endeavors to foster technology. One such event organized Teknofest Istanbul Aerospace and Technology Festival organized as of 2018 is such an event that is largely promoted in the flag carrier's in-flight magazine in event news, welcome letters or in articles. 2018 October issue involves an article related to that year's Teknofest event. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's quotes in the article underlines the importance of technology as a prerequisite of freedom. Erdoğan also affirms Turkey's self-

sufficiency in terms of national defense and he also points out to the self-defense projects that are under way. The article also involves Erdoğan's call for invitation to all scientists across the world to join the technological and scientific projects in Turkey.

SkyLife devotes another article to the same event in 2019 October issue with the headline "The World's Biggest Aerospace and Technology Festival: TEKNOFEST". The article involves the president Erdoğan's speech where he expresses the importance they put on the event in terms of Turkey's contribution to technology. As in the previous year's article, this one also involves Erdoğan's stress on the importance of being technology producers and Turkey's global competitive power. Participated by competitors from 122 countries, the festival serves as an important event for showing Turkey's attraction as a science and technology provider on the international arena. The article's visual language also built in a way to evoke awe in the readers about the leadership of the president in endorsing technology and presenting Turkey as a technological pioneer on the international scene. Similarly, in 2020 February issue SkyLife magazine provides an article about the project of locally produced automobile on the occasion of the program "Turkey's Automobile Joint Venture Group Meets with Travelers to Innovation." The article demonstrates an image of President Erdoğan next to the locally produced car. Erdoğan indicates that with that initiative of technology, "Turkey is ready for the future world." Erdoğan also explains his aims of entering the global market by starting from the European markets.

Figure 3.18. Images of Erdoğan from the Teknofest Article from October 2018 and October 2019 Issues



Source: SkyLife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

As illustrated in the above examples, Turkish Airlines in-flight magazine has seen an unprecedented increase in its content related to developments about the issues the government gives special importance to. The growth and success of Turkish Airlines is constantly associated to the success of the deeds of the AKP government, all the while bringing the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to the fore. The magazine devotes many articles to events supported by the government with special emphasis on Erdoğan's leading role in these initiatives. In accordance with the foreign policy ambitions of the state, an image of a country successful in every area together with the image of a strong and successful leader is reflected in the magazine. Skyslife, thus, becomes perhaps more than ever a foreign diplomacy communication medium for the government.

**Figure 3.19. Images of Erdoğan and Ayçi from October 2019 Issue, Turkish Airlines Founded a Collaboration Platform with the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations**

haberler - News



**Türk Hava Yolları, Birleşmiş Milletler Medeniyetler İttifakı ile Ortak Çalışma Platformu Oluşturdu**  
Turkish Airlines Founded a Collaboration Platform with the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations

İş birliğiyle hayata geçirilecek "Barış İçin Spor Ödülleri" projesi için BM Genel Merkezi'nde düzenlenen imza töreni T.C. Cumhurbaşkanı Sayın Recep Tayyip Erdoğan ve BM Genel Sekreteri Sayın Antonio Guterres'in teşrifleriyle Türk Hava Yolları Yönetim Kurulu ve İcra Komitesi Başkanı M. İker Ayçi ile BM Medeniyetler İttifakı Yüksek Temsilcisi Miguel Moratinos'un katılımı ile gerçekleştirildi.

The signing ceremony held at the UN Headquarters for the initiative "Sports for Peace" was attended by the President of the Republic of Turkey H.E. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres, with the participation of Turkish Airlines Chairman of the Board and the Executive Committee, M. İker Ayçi and High Representative of the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations Miguel Ángel Moratinos.

164 In the Air

haberler - News

Üçer ağma sürekli genişleten Türk Hava Yolları, dünyada farklı alanlarda önem kazanmış markalar, kurum-kuruluşlar ve sivil toplum örgütleri ile iş birlikleri sağlayarak farklı toplum ve topluluklara ulaşıyor. "Barış İçin Spor Ödülleri" projesini hayata geçirecek olan küresel havayolu, bu proje kapsamında Birleşmiş Milletler Medeniyetler İttifakı (UNAOC - United Nations Alliance of Civilizations) ile önemli bir iş birliğine imza attı.

Sporun birleştirici etkisinden, insan haklarına müdahalede kilitler etkileşimine ve bir arada gelişime gücünden yola çıkan bu proje ile, barış için spor ve kalkınma girişimleri kapsamında, uluslararası bir jüri tarafından bir ödül töreni düzenlenecek. Spor, sanat ve iş dünyasından önemli kişiler ve kanaat önderlerini buluşturarak bu organizasyonda küresel meselelere dünya kamuoyunun dikkatini çekecek.

Türk Hava Yolları Yönetim Kurulu ve İcra Komitesi Başkanı M. İker Ayçi imza töreninde yaptığı konuşmada "Biz Doğu ile Batı'yı, iki kadim kültürü bir araya getiren Türkiye'nin bayrak taşıyıcı havayolu olarak uluslararası düzlemde en büyük marka elçisi olarak, bu bağlanmalar ve yine dünyamız içinde gelen kurum-kuruluşlar, sivil toplum örgütleri ve büyük kitlelere mal olmuş önemli markalar ile hayata geçirdiğimiz sayısız iş birliğiyle dünya üzerindeki farklı kilitlere erişiyor, farklı toplum, kültür ve medeniyetler üzerinde köprüler inşa ediyoruz. Bunu, sahip olduğumuz eşsiz coğrafyanın bizlere biçtiği önemli bir misyon olarak görüyoruz. Bu anlamda iş birliğimiz başta Cumhurbaşkanı Sayın Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın ve Birleşmiş Milletler Genel Sekreteri Sayın Antonio Guterres'in huzurlarında imza altına alınmış olmanın büyük bir onur ve mutluluk duyuyoruz." diyerek bu iş birliğinin önemini vurguladı.

Turkish Airlines is continuously expanding its flight network and reaching out to different societies and communities with collaborations with leading brands, institutions, organizations, and NGOs that are prominent in various fields across the world. The global airline will be materializing its project "Sports for Peace" and collaborating closely with the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations (UNAOC) as a part of this initiative. The project was launched on the undeniable premise of the unifying effects of sports activities, their ability to promote peace, human rights, mutual respect, and inclusion. Within the project's scope, an award ceremony will be organized with an international jury in order to recognize the contribution of sports in promoting peace and development objectives. This organization will bring together important figures from the world of sports, art, and business, and attract the attention of the world public to global issues.

Speaking at the signing ceremony, Turkish Airlines Chairman of the Board and the Executive Committee M. İker Ayçi said: "As the Turkish flag-carrier airline that bridges the East and the West and brings together these two ancient cultures, and the largest brand envoy on an international scale, we reach different communities and build bridges between different societies and civilizations with these connections and with our numerous collaborations with prominent brands, organizations, and NGOs. We see this as an important mission assigned to us by our unique geography. We are proud and delighted to be here today to sign this collaboration agreement for such an important project in the presence of our President President H.E. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the United Nations Secretary-General Antonio Guterres."



165 In the Air

Source: Skyslife Online Archives (Skyslibrary, 2020)

### **3.10. DESIGN OF THE MAGAZINE OVER THE YEARS**

Ever since it was launched in 1983 (under the name Turkish Airlines Magazine and renamed as Skylife in 1989) Turkish Airlines in-flight magazine has undergone many changes over the years. In addition to offering pleasant time to the passengers during flight times and giving information about the sector, the magazine has also been giving news about important economic and political events notably on Turkey's agenda. In that sense, it has always served as a showcase for Turkey. From being a government subsidized small enterprise to a globally known airline, Turkish Airlines has passed several stages of development and renewal, and accordingly its in-flight magazine has replenished itself several times over the years. This renewal always showed parallelism with the pace of Turkish Airlines and Turkey. Therefore, the magazine reflects the changes on the developments on the country agenda on its visual style together with its contents.

As can be seen in the below images, the style of the magazine was refreshed on many occasions. When the name Turkish Airlines Magazine was changed with Skylife in December 1989, the visual style was updated. On the occasion of the new millennium, as of January 2000 issue it was rejuvenated. Following the AKP era, the style was revisited again. Beginning of the second decade of the 2000s saw another change. On the occasion of the Turkish Airline's 80 Years, Skylife was refreshed again. As the global campaigns increased the style was renewed. Below covers show the change of visual changes over time.

Figure 3.19 Style changes observed on the cover examples from the issues: November 1989, December 1989, JULY 1992, January 2000, October 2003, September 2009, May 2013, December 2014, February 2016



Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

The most recent design of the magazine appeared in 2016 February issue. This last visual and content change is worth delving a little more into since it reflects more on the ideologies on which the magazine has been based. With the new style

the content has been divided into main sections as *Now, Here, There, Everywhere, In the air* and *Info*. The *Now* is the section where current activities that the passengers could experience anywhere in the world are suggested. The *Here* is the section that consists mainly of subjects related to Istanbul. The *There* section consists of the travel writings of the destinations that are short or mid-haul flights from Istanbul, or some other articles about Turkish Airlines. The *Everywhere* section involves travel writings where places that Turkish Airlines has long haul flights to. The *In the Air* section is where corporate news related to Turkish Airlines is presented. Finally, the *Info* is the section that involves practical information about the customs, baggage, passengers, etc. Within the *Now* section there are subsections called *Do, See, Read, Listen, Buy, Taste*.

The *Do* subsection involves activities that Turkish Airlines suggests its passengers to do in any of the places that Turkish Airlines serves. Looking at these events suggested here, it wouldn't be wrong to say that the events are not merely chosen for the entertainment purposes. Actually, we can observe that for most of these events Turkish Airlines has some degree of sponsorship such as name sponsorship, official sponsorship etc. Depending on the political or diplomatic agenda, events vary from diplomatic forums to economy summits, from international conferences to regional festivals. The events taking place in Turkey are paid special attention. There is an effort to positively present Turkey, as a hub as the transaction and venue of various important events.

**Figure 3.20. Do Section Promotes Local/Traditional Events or Turkish Airlines Related Events**



YAPIN DO



Konya  
Konya, TR



**715'inci Yılında Şeb-i Arûs**  
Şeb-i Arûs on Its 715<sup>th</sup> Anniversary

1207-1273 yılları arasında yaşamış, dünyanın en büyük şairi, şair, düşünürü ve muasavverlerinden biri olan Mevlânâ Celâleddin-i Rûmî, bu dünyadan göçtüğü günü en büyük sevgili bilediği Allah'ın kavuşma ânı olarak kabul etmiş ve buğünle "Şeb-i Arûs" yani "Düğün Gecesi" demiştir. Engin ilminin temeline anlayış ile bağlayıcı kıyafet ve insanlığı güzel ahlakla devlet eden Mevlânâ, bu özel günde "Şeb-i Arûs" törenleriyle anılır. Mevlânâ'nın yaşamını büyük bir karamın geçirdiği ve derinden etkilediği Konya'da bu sene 715'inci doğumunun Şeb-i Arûs, diğer adıyla Vuslat Yılı Dönümü Ulaularına Aema Törenleri, kent içinde farklı noktalardaki çeşitli etkinliklerle 7-17 Aralık tarihleri arasında gerçekleştirilir. Şeb-i Arûs kapsamında sema gösterilerinin yanı sıra pek çok sanat, bilim ve kültür etkinliği de düzenlenir. Mevlânâ'nın hayatına ve düşüncelerine dair detayların kapsamlı bir şekilde ele alındığı sempozyum, panel ve konferanslar; Mevnevi sohbetleri; konserler; hat, elbrs, fotoğraf ve resim gibi farklı sanat dallarından sanatçılara da yer aldığı tören programının detaylarını konyakultur.gov.tr adresinden takip edebilirsiniz.

Jalâl ad-Dîn Muhammed Rûmî, or Mevlânâ, lived between 1207 and 1273, and was one of the world's greatest scholars, poets, thinkers, and souls. He accepted the day he would depart from this world as the day he would meet Allah, the dearest lover in his eyes, and named it "Şeb-i Arûs," ie, the wedding night. Putting understanding and tolerance at the heart of his great knowledge and inviting humanity to be moral, Mevlânâ is commemorated on this special day with Şeb-i Arûs ceremonies. Held for the 715<sup>th</sup> time in Konya, the city where Mevlânâ spent most of his years and on which he left a deep impression, Şeb-i Arûs for the International Commemoration for the Anniversary of the Ultimate Union takes place between December 7 and 17 with various events throughout the city. As part of Şeb-i Arûs, the city hosts sema ceremonies as well as many events related to art, science, and culture. You can learn more about the detailed schedule of the ceremony at konyakultur.gov.tr which includes symposiums, panels and conferences that comprehensively discuss Mevlânâ's life and ideas, Mathnevi conversations, concerts, and exhibitions of various branches of art such as calligraphy, marbling, photography, and painting.



YAPIN DO



Miami  
Miami, US



**Super Bowl Heyecanı**  
Super Bowl Excitement

Amerikan Ulusal Futbol Ligi'nin (NFL) 2020 sezonu şampiyonunu belirleyecek olan Super Bowl, 2 Şubat Pazartesi akşamı yaklaşık 120 milyon izleyiciyi ekran başına çekecek. Sezon boyunca ABD'nin farklı eyalet ve şehirlerinden 32 takımın yarıştığı NFL'in merakla beklenen final maçında heyecan doruğa ulaşır. Ulusal bayram havasında geçen ve hazırlanan günler öncüsinden başlayan final maçı, vardiyelediği büyük heyecanlara sıra sıra devre arasında kısa konserler verecek Jennifer Lopez ve Shakira'nın performansları ile de hem stadyumdakilere hem de ekran başındakilere unutulmaz anılar yaşatacak. Yakınlık idareme amacıyla ve zengin akşayla yalınca spor dünyasının değil eğlence, gösteri ve reklam dünyasının da ilgili olduğu Super Bowl geçişim reklam kampanyasında yllarlar oldugu gibi bu yıl da Türk Hava Yolları reklam kampanyasını unutturacak. Amerika Birleşik Devletler tarihindeki en çok izleyici çeken programın başında gelen Super Bowl yarışmasını, bu yıl San Francisco 49ers ve Kansas City Chiefs Odds takımının arasında oynanır ve Miami'deki Hard Rock Stadyumu'nda gerçekleştirilecek.

The Super Bowl, the final game that determines the champion of the U.S. National Football League (NFL), will draw almost 120 million viewers to television screens on Sunday evening, February 2. Excitement reaches a peak on the night of the NFL final following a season that witnesses the competition between 32 teams from various cities and states in the United States. In addition to the excitement of the final match that is more like a national holiday with preparations for the excitedly awaited game beginning days earlier, performances by Jennifer Lopez and Shakira during this year's Super Bowl halftime show will offer unforgettable moments for both the audience in the stadium and those watching at home. Super Bowl night stands out with its high viewership ratings and rich flow of content not only in the world of sports, but also the world of entertainment, show business, and advertisement. As in past years, this year, during the commercial break, the commercial by Turkish Airlines will reach millions of viewers. This year, the San Francisco 49ers will face off against the Kansas City Chiefs Odds in Super Bowl, the most watched show in U.S. television history, will be hosted in the Hard Rock Stadium in Miami.

22

Now

Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

In the subsection **See**, events to visit such as exhibitions are presented. We can observe that in this section there is often an effort to present events not only from the western world but also from the eastern cultures, more precisely with an emphasis on the Islamic culture, as has been discussed earlier in this paper.

## Figure 3.21. See Section Favors Traditional and Eastern Art Events to Balance with Western Art Events

### İslam Sanatlarının Yükselişi The Rise of Islamic Art

Gülbenkian Müzesi 150'nci doğum yıl dönümünde Sarkis Gülbenkian'ın kişisel koleksiyonundan çeşitli eserleri İslam sanatındaki değişimleri gösterecek bir bağlam içinde sergiliyor. Gülbenkian'ın XX. yüzyılın başında Suriye, İran ve Türkiye'den devşirdiği eserler siyaseten hareketli bir tarih ve coğrafyada sanatın aldığı yeni biçimlere odaklanıyor.

The Gülbenkian Museum is holding an exhibition of works from the personal collection of Sarkis Gülbenkian to mark the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his birth. The exhibition demonstrates change in Islamic art with a collection of works assembled by Gülbenkian at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century from Syria, Iran, and Turkey, among other countries. *The Rise of Islamic Art* focuses on the new forms that art took at a politically active time and in a politically volatile geography.



12 Temmuz - 7 Ekim, July 12 - October 7, Lisbon

### Batı Sanatında İslam Etkisi Islam's Influence on Western Art

İslam dünyasından ilham alan Avrupalı ve Kuzey Amerikalı sanatçıların eserleri British Museum'da sergileniyor. Konusu veya üslubuyla Doğu'dan esinlenen sanat eserleri *Inspired by the East* sergisi kapsamında yer alıyor. Resimden dekoratif sanatlara, iç tasarımdan mimariye ve objelere çeşitli eserlerin görülebileceği sergide özellikle Orta Doğu ve Kuzey Afrika etkisi baskın görülüyor.

The works of European and North American artists who were inspired by the Islamic world will be on display at the British Museum. The artworks that were inspired by the East either in their subject matter or in their style are on display at the exhibition *Inspired by the East*. At the exhibition where one can see different works from paintings to decorative arts, jewelry to clothing and photography, the influence of the Middle East and North Africa appears to dominate.



26 Ocak'a kadar, Until January 26, London

### A Dialogue between Florence and Islam

Organized in collaboration with Uffizi Gallery, one of the world's oldest and most famous art museums, and Museo Nazionale del Bargello, the exhibition *Islamic Art and Florence from the Medici to the 20th Century* invites guests to explore the interaction, dialogue and information exchange between the arts of the East and the West.



Until September 23, Florence

### Byzantine Art in Anatolia

The exhibition *Picturing a Lost Empire: An Italian Lens on Byzantine Art in Anatolia, 1960-2000* at ANAMED focuses on the experiences of Italian researchers who followed the Byzantine traces all across Anatolia and the studies of Byzantine monuments some of which were featured in research for the first time.



Until December 31, Istanbul

Source: Sklylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

The subsection **Taste** provides an interesting case in that all the other subsections of the Now part consist of the current events that are happening in that particular month so that the passengers could participate. However, the section Taste instead of presenting a new gastronomic experience belonging to the related time of the year, consists a culinary specialty from the Ottoman era each month. It would not be wrong to say that the magazine seeks to promote Ottoman cuisine to its readers, knowing that the first pages of the magazine are more valuable in terms of the commercial value.

**Figure 3.22. Taste Section Promotes Ottoman Cuisine Instead of Current Gastronomy Experiences**

### Osmanlı'da Ramazan Bayramı Gelenekleri

YAZI | Yunus Emre Akkor  
FOTOĞRAF | Serkan Edeleklioğlu  
STİL EDITÖRÜ | Tuğba Karatmanlı Mutlu  
İLLÜSTRASYON | Ali Calkan Menekşe



Osmanlı, bayramlaşmaya çok önem verirdi. Küler barıştırlır, ihtiyaç sahiplerine yardım yolların, aile büyükleri ziyaret edilirdi. Sofralar ise özenle hazırlanan yemeklerle taçlanırdı.

Osmanlı döneminde hazırlanma üç ayların gelmesiyle başlanan ramazan ayı, bayram yaklaşıkça daha bir coşkuyla devam ederdi. Sarayda halk arasında ve ekibir konaklarında herkesin kendi gücünün yettiğince yaptığı özel hazırlıklarla bayram karşılanırdı.

Şüphesiz ki kutlamaların en görkemlisi padişahların bayramlaşma merasiminde, Topkapı Sarayı'nda yapılırdı. Bayramlık kıyafetlerini giyen padişah, sabah namazına Hırk-ı Saadet'te, Enderun öğrencileriyle kilar ve ilk onlarla bayramlaşır. Bayram için top atılan yapıldıktan sonra Ayasofya'da ya da Sultanahmet Camii'nde bayram namazı kılmak için bayram alayı hazırlığı başlandı. Namazın ardından saraya dönen padişah önce Valide Sultan'ın elini öperdi. Osmanlı'yı

ziyaret eden birçok yabancı seyyah ve diplomatın notlarında bayram günü külerin barışma geleneğinden övgü ile bahsedilir. Bayramın birinci günü mutlak aile büyükleri ziyaret edilir, sonrasında diğer akrabalara ve dostlara gidilirdi. Kadınlar arasındaki bayramlaşma merasimi ise bir hafta devam ederdi.

Osmanlı'da bayramlarda hediye alıp verme kültürü vardı. Kumaz ya da dikilmiş elbise hediye etmek âdetlendi. Özellikle konuk sahipleri kendileri tarafından evlendirilen kişilere birer takım elbise ve iç giysi hazırlayıp boğçalarla bayramdan önce gönderirdi. Bayramlar aile fertlerinin, aile büyükleri etrafında toplanma vaktidir. Aile büyükleri bu ziyaretleri, güzel bir bayram sofrası etrafında ziyafete dönüştürür.

### Osmanlı Mutfağında Hamsi

YAZI | Yunus Emre Akkor  
FOTOĞRAF | Serkan Edeleklioğlu  
STİL EDITÖRÜ | Tuğba Karatmanlı Mutlu  
İLLÜSTRASYON | Ali Calkan Menekşe



Karadeniz halkının epey düşük olduğu ve sofralarından eksik etmediği hamsi, Osmanlı mutfağında da çok sevilen lezzetler arasında yer alıyordu.

İsmini, ocak ayı ortalarında başlayıp 50 gün süren 'hamsin' denilen soğuk günlerden aldığı söylenen hamsi; Karadeniz insanının vazgeçilmez besin maddelerinin başında gelmektedir.

Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın Trabzon doğumlu oluşu ve hamsiyeye olan sevgisi Topkapı Sarayı'nda sergilenen kilicinin üzerindeki hamsi motifinden de anlaşılabilir. Osmanlı mutfağında da çok sevilen lezzetler arasında yer alan hamsi ile birçok yemek yapılmaktadır.

Evlilya Çelebi, seyahatnamesinde hamsinin çorbası, böreği, yahnisi ve hatta baklavası

ile birlikte 40 çeşit yemeğinin yapıldığından bahseder. Tüm bunların yanı sıra, 10 ciltlik seyahatnamesinde baştan sona verdiği tek yemek tarifli "hamsi plaki"dir. Karadeniz halkının hamsiyeye düşkünlüğünü seyahatnamesinde "Hamsi tekneleri limana yanaşınca borazanlar öttürülür ve tüm şehir elindeki işi bırakarak limana koşar." diye anlatmıştır.

Sizler için bu sayıda, Evliya Çelebi'nin seyahatnamesinde yer verdiği hilye, Mevlâna'nın eserlerinde yer verdiği geçen sebzelerden olan kereviz ve pırasaya yapılan bir hamsi plaki hazırladık.

Source: Skyline Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

The **Read** subsection presents a few newly released publications on themes around culture and travel. What is worth mentioning is in this part is about the distribution of the themes and subjects chosen. We often see reviews of a book about Istanbul, one book about Turkey-related subject or some themes on Islamic heritage.

Figure 3.23. Read Section Presents Books with Religious Themes

OKUYUN  
READ

**Hattın Tarihi**  
History of Calligraphy

Ta'lik yazı türünün ustalarından Prof. Dr. Muhittin Serin, iki ciltlik yeni kitabı *Hat Sanatı Tarihi*'nde hattın Türk sanatındaki yerine ve tesirine dikkat çekiyor. Hattın kökenini ve gelişimini inceleyen kitap, Osmanlı döneminin önemli hattatlarını ele alıyor. Ayrıca kitaptaki eserler orijinallerine çok yakın kalitede görsellerle okuyucuya buluyor.

In his new two-volume work *Hat Sanatı Tarihi*, Prof. Dr. Muhittin Serin, one of the masters of the Ta'lik style of calligraphy, brings attention to the place and influence of calligraphy in Turkish art. The book examines the roots and developments in calligraphy studies, and important calligraphers of the Ottoman period. In addition, it offers readers rich visual material in high quality.

*Hat Sanatı Tarihi*, Kızılay Yayınları, 604 sayfa

**Ressamların Tuvallinde İstanbul**

Geniş perspektifler içeren tepeler, onların oluşturduğu vadiler ve iki kıtayı birleştiren Boğaz'ıyla İstanbul, yüzyıllar boyunca pek çok gezginin ve ressamın ilgisini çekti. Bu kitap, XIX. yüzyıldaki yolu bu şehirden geçiren Melling, Lewis, Allom, Barlett, Ayvazovskiy ve Schranz gibi kendi dönemlerinin en büyük ressamlarından benzersiz İstanbul resimlerini bir araya getiriyor. Yalnızca müzelerle ve nadide koleksiyonlarda bulunabilen gravür ve tablolar sanatseverlerle buluşuyor.

*Pireosak İstanbul*, Boyut Yayın Grubu, 128

**Bir Batılı'nın Hac Yolculuğu**

Hicri dokuzuncu yılda, (Miladi 631) farz kılınan hac, her yıl tüm dünyadan Müslümanları Mekke'de bir araya getiren bir ibadet. Müslümanlığın beş şartından biri olan bu kutsal yolculuk, İslam'a dair çoğu şey gibi Batı dünyası için bir muamma. İslamiyeti sonradan kabul eden Michael Wolfe, kendi hacı olma öyküsünü detaylıca yazıyor. Dünya nüfusunun altıda birinin mensup olduğu İslam dininin bir parçası olmanın ne anlama geldiğini okurlarına anlatıyor.

*The Hadj: An American's Pilgrimage to Mecca*, Grove Yayınları, 352

**Hiç Görmediğiniz Açılardan Türkiye**

Anadolu Ajansı foto muhabirlerinin Türkiye'nin dört bir köşesinden dronlarla çektiği fotoğrafların yer aldığı *Gökyüzünden Türkiye*, Karadeniz yaylalarından Anadolu'nun kültürel mirasına, kadim şehirlerden insan hikâyelerine kadar birçok ögeyi içersinde barındıran eşsiz bir görsel arşiv.

**Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Botanik Mirası**

Resimli kitap, günümüz Türkiye'si dâhil olmak üzere, Levant, Mısır, Balkanlar ve Arap Yarımadası gibi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun birçok bölümünün botanik mirasına odaklanıyor. Bu bölgelerdeki yaşayışların ve gezginlerin batımlarını içeren kitap, Osmanlı topraklarında bahçeciliğe dair konuları ele alıyor.

Source: SkyLife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

The Here section presents subjects about Istanbul and has subsections called *Local*, *Insideout*, *Scene* all being related to Istanbul. The Local subsection presents a district of Istanbul, featuring its museums, restaurants, cafes, art shops, exhibitions, etc. The experiences lived here are narrated in a way as to create a desire to visit the place. The texture of the neighborhood is described by giving its traditional characteristics, its history, charming venues, and positive aspects. Special food that is peculiar to that district is depicted, the scent of a traditional drink is described or feelings over a beautiful scene are pictured.

The Insideout subsection concentrates on a theme or an architectural structure and it is presented around its relation to Istanbul. For example, the historical bazaars of Istanbul or traditional sweet makers in Istanbul are featured.

The Scene section concentrates on traditional artisanal professions often related to Istanbul.

The fact that the Here part comes just after the current events in terms of page orders show that Istanbul takes up a very important place in the magazine. Istanbul, as the cultural and economic capital of Turkey, has a big attracting power. These articles present the Turkish lifestyle, the cultural heritage, Turkish values and the richness of Turkey which all contribute to raising the attraction of Turkey in the minds of the foreign public.

The There section is a very important one. In addition to the travel stories in Turkey and the short and mid-haul flight destinations around the world, this part involves special issues related to corporate activities of Turkish Airlines or issues of special attention to diplomacy, foreign policy or branding for Turkish Airlines and Turkey. In the subsection called Spotlight and Zoom, big events related to Turkish Airlines sponsorships or cooperations, or politically important events that are somewhat linked to the Turkish Airlines recovered. It is seen that these articles sometimes take up more pages than the travel stories themselves. It is common to see the executives of Turkish Airlines or political figures on those pages.

It is worth mentioning that for each issue it is possible to see one Turkish destination story in this section. Another subcategory within the There section called Flavor features a Turkish city with its specific culinary traditions and specialties. This part aims to present Turkish local food within that region's historical and cultural context to the readers. Just like in the Here section analyzed above, this section also shows a traditional cuisine tendency and consists many ottoman culinary references. "The revival and glorification of Turkey's Ottoman history have always been a nationalist concern, one that shows itself in food-related politics as well" (Karaosmanoglu, 2020). Skylife food sections provide concrete examples of a neo-Ottoman approach to Turkey's traditional cuisine.

Lastly, the There section also involves an interview often with world-famous Hollywood stars. Sometimes these celebrities are asked what they think about Turkish Airlines or Turkey. The opinions of these famous people about Turkey and Turkish culture serve as a reference, and help to contribute to forming positive ideas in the minds of the foreign audiences. In the interview, we also see a photograph of the celebrity with a Turkish Airlines magazine in their hand. This image in itself is a very strong advertisement element. Seeing these people and the name “Turkish Airlines” in the same frame creates a positive image for Turkish Airlines and makes it more attractive to the foreign public which indirectly contributes to reinforcing Turkey's soft power.

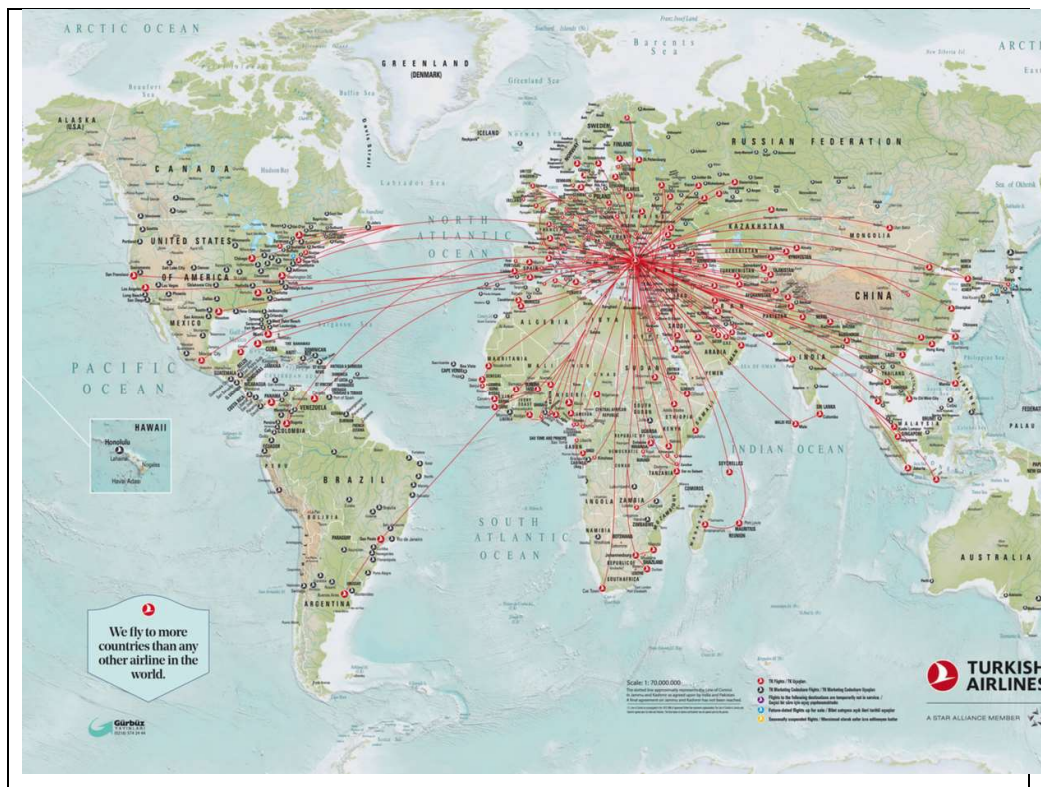
The Everywhere section consists of travel stories of the long-haul destinations of Turkish Airlines. These are often exotic destinations or far places from the world's economic centers. Turkish Airlines stands out as an influential power in that it makes it possible to go to these far-away places because it is a big airline having the capacity to possess many wide body aircraft making it possible to fly long distances.

The In the Air section functions like a mini corporate newspaper for Turkish Airlines readers. It provides information about corporate news, new codeshare agreements, sponsorship events, and important news, all being closely related to Turkey's foreign relations tendencies. One might think that these pages are not interesting to the common readers of the magazine. However, the increasing number of these pages shows that more and more importance is given to such contents.

Looking at the content organization mentioned above, one can deduce that Istanbul is given a central role in the magazine. This is not just because Istanbul is the head quarter for Turkish Airlines, but it is also considered and presented as a center, a hub for all the other destinations. The world map of the destinations shown by in-flight magazines takes the hub airport from which the airlines

operates as the center because the global frame of mind prepared for in-flight readership is indirectly supported by the representation of the flight-route map in which the main hub is depicted as being at the center of the world (Maci, 2016, p. 213). This whole idea can also visually be seen on the route maps of Turkish Airlines at the end of the magazine. We see that all the destinations are served from the Hub Istanbul and dispersed from Istanbul out towards other parts of the world.

**Figure 3.24 Route Map Depicting Istanbul As the Center of the World**



Source: Skylife Online Archives (Skylibrary, 2020)

This discourse and image complements Turkey's foreign policies of making Istanbul a central state. In recent years, Istanbul is presented as a hub for the

world. Turkey desires to take advantage of Istanbul's geographically unique position to serve as a hub for tourism and business purposes. This ambition of Turkey to make Istanbul a center is promoted in the magazine in this way. The Here section is the epicenter Istanbul in the magazine, and then as we zoom out from Istanbul, here becomes there, there becomes everywhere. Just like it is the case in the route maps.

## CONCLUSION

The concept of power is not limited to hard power, and soft power has a variety of sources, and it becomes more relevant in the contemporary world. This thesis has argued that Turkish Airlines in-flight magazine *SkyLife* has been used as a soft power instrument within the context of Turkish foreign policy particularly by AKP's political aspirations in the second decade of the 2000s.

The thesis showed that Turkish Airlines has had historically close ties with Ankara and a complementary role to represent Turkey on the international scene. With AKP's arrival into power in 2000s, the government paid special attention and importance to Turkish Airlines.

The AKP government's aspirations to have a leading role in the world, its goal of making Turkey one of the strongest economies, and an important "central power", an ambition shaped around the ideologies developed by Davutoğlu, are translated into the actions of Turkish Airlines. For this goal, as one of the primary tools of communication of Turkish Airlines, the in-flight magazine *SkyLife* was instrumentalized as a tool of soft power. The fact that the magazine appeared in 1980s, in a period where Turkish Airlines was more saliently used in the foreign policy was one of the key tokens of this.

Ankara's political ambitions to make Turkey a regional power and a global brand on the international scene explain the fast growth of Turkish Airlines' flight network and fleet, making it a world scale carrier that flies to more countries than any other airline in the world. Making Turkish Airlines more powerful in the region and in the world meant reinforcing Turkey's prestige in the international scene and making the country bigger as a brand. This brand, as this study shows, is promoted thanks to Turkish Airlines' magazine.

Examining the *SkyLife* issues over the years, the thesis demonstrated that the in-flight magazine features numerous elements, the parallelism of which would be

difficult to explain by coincidence. It has been shown that the choice of themes that are included and excluded in the magazine, the discourse which is present, and the visual expression of the magazine are all reflections of political aspirations.

As one of the key findings, the thesis has shown that travel stories published in the magazine follow the newly opened flight routes which are guided by the government's foreign policy actions. The fact that Turkish Airlines became the leading international airline flying to Africa, and the fact that Africa was one of the focal regions in the magazine is a token of this. Another key finding is that the magazine reflects an image of an Istanbul-centered, neo-Ottoman, increasingly Islamized and economically liberal country. It has been shown that since the arrival of AKP, the magazine has undergone a change both visually and content-wise, bringing out features that make reference to the Islamic identity and the Ottoman heritage with more emphasis on the Islamic and traditional values in accordance with the neo-Ottoman foreign policy of the government.

The thesis has also showed that in line with the government's ambitions, SkyLife magazine has promoted Istanbul as a hub, especially reinforced with the opening of the third airport, constantly reminded the company's growth and expansion together with its role of building bridges between people and geographies. Another key issue this thesis has studied is how the magazine reflects an image of Turkey as a benign power in the international system through the promotion of humanitarian aid and responsibility projects of Turkish Airlines. The Somalia campaign that started on the social media and proved as a success was analyzed as it is a fitting example. In the thesis it has also been demonstrated that the magazine complements the role of promoting Turkey as a source of attraction in the minds and hearts of the foreign publics through the global campaigns and sponsorship agreements with world-known celebrities, and through sports events.

Finally, the thesis points out the fact that although SkyLife has always had a role of soft power on the international scene as the in-flight magazine of the most valued and globally known brand of Turkey, this role has largely increased in recent years, especially from the July 15<sup>th</sup> coup attempt on. It has been observed that the magazine has been more openly instrumentalized as a means to promote the AKP government's actions and particularly increasing the presence of the president promoting him as a global almighty leader.

## References

Air France. (n.d.). *List of Destinations*. Retrieved 2020, from Air France: <https://www.airfrance.fr/travel-guide/destinations-list>

Akgul Acikmese, S. (2013). EU conditionality and desecuritization nexus in Turkey. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* , 303-323.

Anadolu Ajansı. (2018). *Türk hariciye misyonlarının sayısı 16 yılda 242'ye çıktı*. Retrieved 2020, from Anadolu Ajansı: <https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/turkiye/turk-hariciye-misyonlarinin-sayisi-16-yilda-242ye-cikti/1349865>

Anaz, N., & Akman, E. (2017). Turkey's Soft Power Capacity: Geopolitics of Aviation and the Turkish Airlines. *The Arab World Geographer* , 20 (4).

Ayyıldız, D. (2015). *A Story That Steers History*. Retrieved 2020, from Skylife: <https://www.skylife.com/en/2015-09/a-story-that-steers-history>

Bacchi, E. (2015). *A timeline of the Turkish Africa policy*. Retrieved 2020, from Hypotheses: <https://ovipot.hypotheses.org/13639>

Balcı, A., & Miş, N. (2008). Turkey's Role in the Alliance of Civilizations: A New Perspective in Turkish Foreign Policy? *Turkish Studies* .

Beria, P. H.-M. (2011). Alitalia—the failure of a national carrier. *Journal of Air Transport Management* , 215-220.

Boon, T. (2020). *British Airways Scraps Its High Life Magazine After Half A Century*. Retrieved 2020, from Simple Flying: <https://simpleflying.com/british-airways-scraps-high-life/>

Coşkunarda, G. (2019). *Bomonti: 130 yıllık tarih... Bira Bahçesi'nden 'yeni Maslak'a*. Retrieved 2020, from Hürriyet: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/kelebek/hurriyet-pazar/bomonti-130-yillik-tarih-bira-bahcesinden-yeni-maslaka-41391839>

Davutoğlu, A. (2001). *Stratejik Derinlik*. Istanbul: Küre Yayınları.

Demirci, Z., & Mehmet, F. H. (2018). *Turkey in intense cooperation with Africa*. Retrieved 2020, from Anadolu Ajansı: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/turkey-in-intense-cooperation-with-africa-/1059565>

Duz, Z. N. (2019). *Number of Turkish embassies in Africa rises from 12 to 42*. Retrieved 2020, from Anadolu Ajansı: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/-number-of-turkish-embassies-in-africa-rises-from-12-to-42/1619429>

Eren, E. (2020). Education Policies as a Tool of Soft Power: Alliance Française and Yunus Emre Institute. *Current Research in Social Sciences* .

Financial Times. (n.d.). *Turkish Airlines: flying the flag for Erdogan*. Retrieved 2020, from Financial Times: <https://www.ft.com/content/cb00e01e-e0ec-11e8-8e70-5e22a430c1ad>

İnat, K. (2014). Türk Dış Politikasının Kapasitesinin Dönüşümü: AK Parti Dönemi. *Türkiye Ortadoğu Çalışmaları Dergisi* .

*In-Flight Magazines*. (2020). Retrieved 2020, from In-Flight Magazines: <https://www.inflight-magazines.com/inflight-magazines/>

Jabbour, J. (2015). An illusionary power of seduction?. An assessment of Turkey's cultural power in the Arab world in light of its audio-visual presence in the region. *European Journal of Turkish Studies. Social Sciences on Contemporary Turkey* .

Joffe, J. (2006). The Perils of Soft Power. *The New York Times Magazine* .

Karaosmanoglu, D. (2020). From Ayran to Dragon Fruit Smoothie: Populism, Polarization and Social Engineering in Turkey. *International Journal of Communication* .

Kirişçi, K. (2009). The transformation of Turkish foreign policy: The rise of the trading state. *New Perspectives on Turkey* .

Köker, İ. (2018). *İstanbul Havalimanı: İhale sürecinde neler yaşandı, proje için hangi garantiler verildi?* Retrieved 2020, from BBC News Türkçe: <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-45990453>

*List of attacks by ASALA*. (2020). Retrieved 2020, from Wikipedia: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_attacks\\_by\\_ASALA](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_attacks_by_ASALA)

Lufthansa Group. (2019). *Annual Report 2019 Creating Sustainable Value*. Retrieved 2020, from Lufthansa Group: <https://investor-relations.lufthansagroup.com/fileadmin/downloads/en/financial-reports/annual-reports/LH-AR-2019-e.pdf>

Lukes, S. (2005). Power and the Battle for Hearts and Minds. *Millennium* , 477 - 493.

Maci, S. M. (2016). Glocal features of in-flight magazines: When local becomes global. An explorative study. *Altre modernità* , 196-218.

Mbabia, O. (2011). Ankara en Afrique: stratégies d'expansion. *Outre-Terre* .

Michaels, D. (2009). *Magazine Publisher Finds Profit in Airlines*. Retrieved 2020, from The Wall Street Journal: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748703819904574555701528290902>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (n.d.). *Turkey and the African Union*. Retrieved 2020, from Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-and-the-african-union.en.mfa>

Murinson, A. (2006). The strategic depth doctrine of Turkish foreign policy. *Middle Eastern Studies* .

Murinson, A. (2006). The strategic depth doctrine of Turkish foreign policy. *Middle Eastern Studies* .

Murphy, A., Tucker, H., Coyne, M., & Touryalai, H. (2020). *Global 2000 The World's Largest Public Companies*. Retrieved 2020, from Forbes: <https://www.forbes.com/global2000/#269aeb62335d>

Nergiz, A. (2008). Türkiye'de Sivil Havacılığın Gelişimi ve THY. *Yüksek Lisans Tezi*. İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi.

Nye, J. S. (2004). *Soft Power, The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.

Oğuzlu, T. (2007). Soft power in Turkish foreign policy. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 61, 81-97.

Özcan, G. (2003). Turkey's foreign policy under AKP: If only luck stays on their side. *TÜSİAD*.

Ozel, S. (2009). Divining Davutoglu: Turkey's Foreign Policy Under New Leadership. *The Globalist*.

Özkaya, S. (2013). *Milli içkimiz ayran*. Retrieved 2020, from Hürriyet: <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/milli-ickimiz-ayran-23146841>

Rüma, İ. (2021). Political Economy of Turkey's transatlantic and regional relations:. In E. Kuşku-Sönmez, & Ç. Üstün, *Turkey's Changing Transatlantic Relations*. Lexington Books.

Sabah. (2015). 3. *Havalimanı dünyanın tarihini deęiřtirecek*. Retrieved 2020, from Sabah: <https://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/06/04/3-havalimani-dunyanin-tarihini-degistirecek>

Selçuk, O. (2012). Turkish Airlines as a Soft Power TOol in the Context of Turkish Foreign Policy. *Master Thesis* . Istanbul: Boęaziçi University.

*Skylibrary*. (2020). Retrieved 2020, from Skylibrary: <https://www.skylibrary.com/SingleIssue.aspx?ID=017d1c46-2782-4e79-b80f-d3ea4d216122>

*Skylife January 2020 Issue*. (2020). Retrieved 2020, from Skylibrary: <http://skylibrary.net/issues/com.turkishairlines.skylife/F479157D2823755EA640F3D14B07E8F6/webreaderHTML/complete/index.html#!/avedocument0/pdf/1/1/1>

*Skylife July 2017 Issue*. (2017). Retrieved 2020, from Skylibrary: <http://skylibrary.net/issues/com.turkishairlines.skylife/-201707-fe076d365121cf1f8eb0e082d066d558/webtablet/WebReader.html>

*Skylife Magazine and Skylife Business Magazine*. (2014). Retrieved 2020, from Justinian: <http://justinian.hr/en/media/inflight-magazines/149/turkish-airlines-skylife-and-skylife-business-magazines>

Sönmezoęlu, F. (2016). *Son Onyıllarda Türk Dıř Politikası*. Istanbul: DER Yayınları.

Stone, D. (2017). *Urban Expeditions, The Hidden Costs of Flying*. Retrieved 2020, from National Geographic: <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/urban-expeditions/transportation/urban-expeditions-graphic-V21/>

Thornton, R. L. (1971). Governments and Airlines. *International Organization* , 25.

Thurlow, C., & Aiello, G. (2007). National pride, global capital: A social semiotic analysis of transnational visual branding in the airline industry. *Visual Communication* .

*Traffic Data*. (2019). Retrieved 2020, from Turkish Airlines: [https://investor.turkishairlines.com/documents/ThyInvestorRelations/2019\\_TRAFFIC\\_WEB.pdf](https://investor.turkishairlines.com/documents/ThyInvestorRelations/2019_TRAFFIC_WEB.pdf)

Tuğtan, M. A. (2016). Kültürel Değişkenlerin Dış Politikadaki Yeri: İsmail Cem ve Ahmet Davutoğlu. *Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi* , 3-24.

Turkish Airlines. (n.d.). *Annual Reports*. Retrieved 2020, from Turkish Airlines: <https://investor.turkishairlines.com/en/financial-and-operational/annual-reports>

*Turkish Airlines Corporate History*. (n.d.). Retrieved 2020, from Wayback Machine: <https://web.archive.org/web/20160521132550/http://www.turkishairlines.com/en-int/corporate/history>

Vigier, T. (n.d.). *The Future of Inflight Magazines*. Retrieved 2020, from PXCom:  
<https://pxcom.aero/content-services/the-future-of-inflight-magazines/>

Vuving, A. L. (2009). *ow soft power works*. Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.

*What Passengers Get Up to at 35000 Feet*. (2014). Retrieved 2020, from Apex:  
[https://apex.aero/articles/apex-survey-insights-what-passengers-get-up-to-at-35000-  
feet/#:~:text=Although%20%E2%80%9CSleeping%E2%80%9D%20was%20the%20activity,with%20the%20in%2Dflight%20magazine](https://apex.aero/articles/apex-survey-insights-what-passengers-get-up-to-at-35000-<br/>feet/#:~:text=Although%20%E2%80%9CSleeping%E2%80%9D%20was%20the%20activity,with%20the%20in%2Dflight%20magazine)

Yalçinkaya, A. (2019). Türk Havayolu Taşımacılığı Sektörünün Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Devlet müdahaleleri (1933-2006). *Cumhuriyet Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* .

Yeşilay. (n.d.). *Global Alcohol Policy Symposium*. Retrieved 2020, from Yeşilay:  
<https://www.yesilay.org.tr/en/scientific-events/global-alcogol-policy-symposium-april>

Yunus Emre Enstitüsü. (2020). *Home*. Retrieved 2020, from Yunus Emre Enstitüsü.

Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Türkçenin Sesi Radyosu. (n.d.). *Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan: YEE'yi yeni yapıya kavuşturacağız*. Retrieved 2020, from Yunus Emre Enstitüsü Türkçenin Sesi Radyosu: <http://turkceninsesi.yee.org.tr/duyurular/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-yeeyi-yeni-yapiya-kavusturacagiz>

## APPENDIX 1

Destinations Added to the Flight Network in the Last Decade, prepared based on the Annual Reports

2020	Equatorial Guinea	Malabo	2019	France	Strasbourg
2019	Indonesia	Denpasar	2019	China	Xi'an
2019	United Arab Emirates	Sharjah	2019	Mexico	Cancun
2019	Morocco	Marrakesh	2019	Mexico	Mexico City
2019	Rep. of the Congo	Pointe-Noire	2019	Finland	Rovaniemi
2019	Egypt	Luxor	2019	Nigeria	Port Harcourt
2018	Russia	Krasnodar	2018	Sierra Leone	Freetown
2018	Uzbekistan	Samarkand	2018	The Gambia	Banjul
2018	Comoros	Moroni	2018	Zambia	Lusaka
2017	Russia	Voronezh	2017	Guinea	Conakry
2017	Ukraine	Kharkiv	2017	Thailand	Phuket
2017	Russia	Samara	2016	Cuba	Havana
2016	Ukraine	Ivano Frankivsk	2016	Vietnam	Hanoi
2016	Colombia	Bogota	2016	Romania	Cluj
2016	Panama	Panama	2016	Seychelles	Seychelles
2016	Slovakia	Kosice	2016	Croatia	Dubrovnik
2016	Venezuela	Caracas	2016	Tanzania	Zanzibar
2016	USA	Atlanta	2015	Madagascar	Antananarivo
2015	Nigeria	Abuja	2015	Germany	Baden-Baden
2015	Iran	Ahvaz	2015	Tajikistan	Khujand
2015	Philippines	Manila	2015	USA	Miami
2015	Taiwan	Taipei	2015	Mozambique	Maputo
2015	USA	San Francisco	2015	South Africa	Durban
2015	Italia	Bari	2015	Australia	Graz
2015	Portugal	Porto	2015	Ukraine	Zaporizhzhia
2015	Mali	Bamako	2015	Mauritius	Port Louis
2014	Algeria	Constantine	2014	Algeria	Batna
2014	Canada	Montreal	2014	Eritrea	Asmara
2014	France	Bordeaux	2014	Ukraine	Kherson
2014	Germany	Münster	2014	Italy	Catania
2014	Benin	Cotonou	2014	Bulgaria	Varna
2014	Italy	Pisa	2014	Algeria	Tlemcen

2014	The Netherlands	Rotterdam	2014	Algeria	Oran
2014	Russia	Astrakhan	2014	USA	Boston
2014	Russia	Stavropol	2013	Afghanistan	Mazari Sharif
2013	Saudi Arabia	Al Qassim	2013	Spain	Santiago de Compostela
2013	Gabon	Libreville	2013	France	Marseille
2013	Sri Lanka	Colombo	2013	Romania	Costanta
2013	USA	Houston	2013	Estonia	Tallinn
2013	Jordan	Aqaba	2013	Lithuania	Vilnius
2013	Malta	Malta	2013	Pakistan	Lahore
2013	Australia	Salzburg	2013	Nigeria	Kano
2013	Luxembourg	Luxembourg	2013	Germany	Friedrichshafen
2013	Nepal	Kathmandu	2013	Chad	Ndjamena
2013	Malaysia	Kuala Lumpur	2012	Kyrgyzstan	Osh
2012	Somali	Mogadishu	2012	Dem. Rep. Congo	Kinshasa
2012	Russia	Novosibirsk	2012	Djibouti	Djibouti
2012	Germany	Bremen	2012	Mauritania	Nouakchott
2012	Rwanda	Kigali	2012	Yemen	Aden
2012	Germany	Leipzig	2012	Egypt	Sharm El-Sheikh
2012	Spain	Bilbao	2012	Egypt	Hurgada
2012	Saudi Arabia	Yanbu	2012	Maldives	Male
2012	Saudi Arabia	Taif	2012	Tanzania	Kilimanjaro
2012	Mongolia	Ulaanbaatar	2012	Kenya	Mombasa
2012	Cote d'Ivoire	Abidjan	2012	UK	Edinburg
2012	Argentina	Buenos Aires	2012	Cameroon	Yaounde
2012	Libya	Sabha	2012	Azerbaijan	Ganja
2012	Niger	Niamey	2012	Iran	Kermanshah
2012	Burkina Faso	Wagadugu	2012	Denmark	Billund
2012	Iran	Isfahan	2012	Denmark	Aalborg
2012	Cameroon	Douala	2011	China	Guangzhou
2011	Saudi Arabia	Dammam	2011	Libya	Misrata
2011	Italy	Naples	2011	UK	London (LGW)
2011	USA	Los Angeles	2011	Iraq	Najaf
2011	Iran	Shiraz	2011	Afghanistan	Kabul
2011	Spain	Valencia	2011	Iraq	Sulaymaniyah
2011	Iraq	Erbil	2011	Pakistan	Islamabad
2011	France	Toulouse	2011	Italy	Torino
2011	Spain	Malaga	2011	Iraq	Basra

2011	Greece	Thessaloniki	2011	Iraq	Mosul
2011	Italy	Genoa	2010	Vietnam	Ho Chi Minh City
2010	Uganda	Entebbe	2010	Egypt	Alexandria
2010	Italy	Bologna	2010	Serbia	Podgorica
2010	Russia	Sochi	2010	Ghana	Accra
2010	Tanzania	Dar Es Salaam	2010	USA	Washington
2010	Azerbaijan	Nakhchivan	2010	Bangladesh	Dacca