

TURKEY'S HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY IN SOMALIA
AS AN EMERGING POWER

AHMET ÖĐEN
114605018

ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts
International Relations

Supervisor: Assoc.Prof. CAN MÜSLİM CEMGİL

Submitted: 2016

YÜKSELEN GÜÇ OLARAK TÜRKİYE'NİN SOMALİ'DE YÜRÜTTÜĞÜ
İNSANİ DİPLOMASİ

AHMET ÇÖĞEN

114605018

Tez Danışmanı: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Can Cemgil

Ünvanlı Üyesi: Prof. Dr. Cengiz Özcan

Ünvanlı Üyesi: Doç. Dr. Fuat Aksu

Tez Onaylandığı Tarih: 19.09.2016

Toplam Sayfa Sayısı: 97

Anahtar Kelimeler

- 1) Somali
- 2) İnsani Diplomasi
- 3) Türk Dış Politikası
- 4) Yükselen Güçler
- 5) Yeni-Klasik Gerçekçilik

Key Words

- 1) Somalia
- 2) Humanitarian Diplomacy
- 3) Turkish Foreign Policy
- 4) Emerging Powers
- 5) Neoclassical Realism

Acknowledgements

I would like express my deep gratitude to my friends who supported and encouraged me throughout my work. I, also, would like to thank to Professor Thomas Bräuninger from Mannheim University who helped me to go to Germany and start my thesis study there.

Thank you Professor Can Cemgil for being such a great supervisor. Thank you for encouraging me from the beginning to the end of my study.

Finally, I would like to thank to my father Rüştü Çöğen to my mother, Fatma Çöğen and to my sister Hilal Çöğen who never stop believing in me. It was impossible for me to be where I am right now without having their continuous support in my life.

ABSTRACT

For a long time, the humanitarian and economic aid have usually been understood either the responsibility of developed nations toward developing nations or as the assistance of allies to one another and therefore disregarded as non-scholarly matter. However, as of the beginning of 21st century, humanitarian and economic aid turned into a much more complex phenomenon involving political, economic, diplomatic, ideological and moral aspects. Character of humanitarian and economic aid has changed when emerging powers started to use them as a strong foreign policy instrument. This thesis studies the reasons and consequences of Turkey's leading position in the field of humanitarian and economic aid in the world by examining Turkey's policy of "humanitarian diplomacy" in Somalia which has been in place since 2011.

Turkey's leading position in humanitarian aid in Somalia remains as an intriguing subject for the scholars as Somalia faces external and internal power vacuum problems in state-building and peace-building process. This thesis investigates the reasons as to why Turkey conducts humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia through the theory of neoclassical realism. This thesis argues that Turkey has been trying to fill up this power vacuum in Somalia by using humanitarian diplomacy. Even though neoclassical realism is often neglected in examining foreign policy by many scholars, findings of this study suggest that neoclassical realism is the most appropriate theory to analyse Turkey's activism regarding humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia.

ÖZET

Uzun yıllar, insani ve ekonomik yardım, gelişmiş devletlerin gelişmekte olan ülkelere karşı sorumluluğu ve ülkelerin müttefiklerine yardımı olarak olarak değerlendirilip, göz ardı edildi. Fakat 21. yüzyılın başında, yükselen güçlerin insani ve ekonomik yardımı güçlü bir dış politika enstrümanı olarak kullanmaya başlamasıyla, insani ve ekonomik yardım; siyasi, ekonomik, diplomatik, ideolojik ve ahlaki faktörleri içeren kompleks bir fenomen haline geldi. Bu tez, Türkiye'nin insani yardımda dünyanın önde gelen ülkelerinden biri olmasının nedenlerini ve sonuçlarını, Somali'de 2011den bu yana uyguladığı 'insani diplomasi' örneğiyle inceler.

Somali'nin devlet ve barış inşasında içinde bulunduğu güç boşluğu, Türkiye'nin bu ülkede yürüttüğü insani diplomasiyi ilgi çekici bir konu haline getiriyor. Bu tez, yeni-klasik gerçekçi teoriyi kullanarak, Türkiye'nin Afrika'da yürüttüğü insani diplomasinin neden Somali'de yoğunlaştığının sebeplerini arar ve bu politikanın temelde bu ülkedeki güç boşluğunu doldurmaya çalıştığını iddia eder. Yeni-klasik gerçekçilik teori, bir çok akademisyen tarafından her ne kadar dış politika incelemelerinde göz ardı edilse de, çalışmamın sonucu gösteriyor ki; yeni-klasik realist teori Türkiye'nin Somali'de yürüttüğü insani diplomasiyi en iyi şekilde açıklıyor.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Chapter 1.INTRODUCTION.....	1
Chapter 2.THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	8
2.1. Theoretical Explanation.....	8
2.2. Neoclassical Realism.....	12
2.3. Ruling Elites through Strategic Depth.....	15
2.4. Global Shift in World Politics.....	20
2.4.1. The American Hegemony.....	21
2.4.2. Decline of United States?.....	24
2.4.3. The Power Vacuum in International Politics.....	27
Chapter 3.EMERGING POWERS and HUMANITARIANISM.....	29
3.1 BRICS and Beyond.....	29
3.2 Is Turkey an Emerging Power ?.....	33
3.3. New Humanitarianism from Emerging Powers.....	37
3.4. Motivations and Strategies of Emerging Powers.....	39
3.4.1. Economic Motivations of Emerging Powers.....	40
3.4.2. Diplomatic Motivations of Emerging Powers.....	41
3.4.3. Ideological Motivations of Emerging Powers.....	42
3.5. Strategies of Emerging Powers.....	43
3.5.1. Mutual Interest.....	44
3.5.2. Bilateral Relations.....	45

Chapter 4. TURKEY’S HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY IN SOMALIA.....	47
4.1. Introduction.....	47
4.2 Background of Turkey-Somalia Relations.....	50
4.3 Motivations of Turkey in Somalia.....	52
4.3.1. Geopolitical Motivations of Turkey: Power Vacuum.....	53
4.3.2. Economic Motivations of Turkey.....	55
4.3.3. Diplomatic Motivations of Turkey.....	56
4.3.4. Ideological Motivations of Turkey: Political Will.....	58
4.4. Humanitarian Diplomacy of Turkey.....	61
4.5. Turkey’s Humanitarian Diplomacy in Somalia: Turkish Model.....	62
4.5.1. Food, Water and Shelter Assistance.....	65
4.5.2. Health Service Assistance.....	66
4.5.3. Infrastructure and Transportation Assistance.....	67
4.5.4. Education and Training Assistance.....	68
4.5.5. Capacity Building Assistance.....	69
4.5.6. Security Assistance.....	70
4.6 Domestic Influence: Islamic NGO’s in Somalia.....	72
4.6.1. IHH.....	73
4.6.2. Kimse Yok mu (Is AnyBody Out There).....	75
4.7 Turkey as a Political Actor in Somalia.....	78
CONCLUSION.....	81
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	86

Abbreviations

AFAD-Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency of Turkey

AKP-Justice and Development Party

ANAP-Motherland Party

BRICS-Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa

CHP-Republican People's Party

DAC-Development Assistance Committee

EU-European Union

IHH-Humanitarian Relief Foundation

KYM-Is Anybody Out There

MINT-Mexico India Nigeria Turkey

NATO-North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO-Non-Governmental Organisation

ODA-Official Development Assistance

OECD-Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

OIC-Organisation of Islamic Cooperation

TIKA-Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency

TOBB-The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey

TRT-Turkish Radio and Television Cooperation

TÜSİAD-Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association

UN-United Nations

US-United States

U.S.A-United States of America

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The increasing activism of the Turkish foreign policy and the expansion of its scope have been analysed through several approaches and dimensions. It is widely accepted that Turkey has changed its policies as a result of its increasing material capabilities and the changing perspective of political leadership in foreign policy (Öniş 2011; Müftüler-Baç 2014; Dal 2016). As such, Turkey started to define its foreign policy beyond its natural borders (Davutoğlu 2008, p.78). Nowadays, Turkey is very proactive in most parts of the world including Asia-Pacific, Latin America, and Africa. In the context of this activism, humanitarian diplomacy has become one of the most important tools of Turkish Foreign Policy in recent times.

According to the 2015 Report of Global Humanitarian Assistance, Turkey was the third largest donor by volume in total and the first country vis-a-vis the gross national income in 2015 (Global Humanitarian Assistance Report, 2015). Humanitarian assistance has also become one of the crucial instrument of Turkish foreign policy in relation with African countries (Haşimi 2013, p.131). This way, Turkey increased humanitarian aid and development assistance to the African continent since 2005, when the year 2005 was declared as the African Year (Foreign Affairs 2014).

Although close relations with African countries were initially established in 1998, Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy policy toward Somalia is one of the well-known engagement policies of Turkey in Africa. Since 2011, Turkey has been playing a very significant role by using humanitarian diplomacy in the state-building and peace-building process of Somalia (Özkan 2014, p.1). Many discus-

sions in political science and international relations refer Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia as the "litmus test" for Turkey's foreign policy toward Africa (Özkan 2014, p.11). However, driving forces of Turkey's involvement in Somalia from the perspective of decline of the United States as the hegemonic power and the rise of emerging powers have not been studied sufficiently by the scholars. Hence, the Somalia case which constitutes one of the blueprints of Turkish foreign policy in Africa needs to be examined more comprehensively and in terms of the power vacuum which emerged as a result of the diminishing power of the hegemonic power of the US in the African continent.

Since the turn of the millennium, new actors emerged in the international politics which are known as emerging economies such as the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, Iran, China and South Africa), Mexico, Indonesia, Turkey and others. Following a period of economic development, these states have also been playing significant roles in international politics. They have been trying to improve and extent their political, cultural, and diplomatic status not only in their regions but also, in particular, in areas such as Africa (Visentini 2014, p.3). These states have also focused on non-military strategies in Africa. There are many ways that these non-military practices can be analysed.

This thesis examines Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia by utilising the concept of emerging powers and their humanitarian aid policies. Nowadays, most of these emerging powers have increased their humanitarian aids in various parts of the world, particularly in Africa since many states in this continent need these foreign aids. The widely accepted argument is that the US started

to lose its hegemonic position and activism in the world politics since the beginning of the millennium (Layne 2012, p.203). With the decreasing efficiency of the US in the world stage, emerging powers such as China, Brazil, India, and Turkey have started to rise in particular regions. The thesis argues that the shift is explicable in terms of the emerging power vacuum in world politics following the decline of the US. It is in this context that Turkey as an emerging power seeks to fill this vacuum in Somalia through humanitarian diplomacy.

Besides shifts in the global structure as an external factor, ideological attitudes also play a significant role in the foreign policy of emerging powers. Many emerging powers also have historical, cultural and religious ties with developing countries in their different parts of the world. They aspire to extend the influence and capabilities of their foreign policies in the developing states (Weiss and Abdenur 2014, p.1749).

While discussing the concepts of the humanitarian diplomacy, traditional actors such as the EU and UN come to mind quickly. Since the literature paid little attention to studying the roles of non-traditional players and their implementation of conducting humanitarian policies such as Turkey, Brazil, and India, these countries usually stay behind the scenes (Smith Fordelona and Zimmermann 2010, p. 6). Also, most studies underline the geopolitical and ideological reasons of humanitarian aid at the state level. However, the behaviours, attitudes, implementations and practices of emerging powers are crucial in explaining shifts in international politics.

Given this gap in the scholarly literature, more research is needed to understand the humanitarian aid policies and activities of emerging powers notably in failed states. Turkey's involvement in Somalia began with humanitarian assistance policy which opened a channel for further policies toward Somalia. The developing relations, thus, gave further implications for political and economic policies. Researching humanitarian aid policies of emerging states such as Turkey, thus, is significant to understand their new policy instruments.

Main questions of this thesis are shaped by the decline of the United States and the activism of emerging powers in world politics. By touching upon these important issues, this thesis examines the reasons which explains why Turkey's humanitarian policy has focused in Somalia rather than other countries in the African continent. To understand unprecedented efforts of Turkey to engage in Somalia, it is substantial to inquire the motivations and policy instruments of Turkey from geopolitical, ideological, economic and political aspects (Tank 2015, p. 1).

Following the examination of geopolitical viewpoint, this thesis questions the external and internal driving forces of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy in the last decade. Alongside Turkey, this study seeks to find the reasons as to why emerging powers have increased the volume of humanitarian aid in the last ten years. By doing this, this thesis explores the motivations and strategies of emerging powers in providing humanitarian aid. According to the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), Turkey was the largest aid provider in the group of emerging economies including India, Brazil and also China in 2013. OECD esti-

mates that Turkey has now become the biggest aid provider among emerging economies, surpassing even China for the first time in 2013 (Global Humanitarian Assistance 2013 Report).

Other questions which are asked in this thesis raise the components of Turkish humanitarian diplomacy which strengthen the political ties between Turkey and Somalia. These questions direct us towards researching the structures and shifted nature of Turkish foreign policy and Turkish humanitarian diplomacy. The institutionalised components of Turkish foreign policy which changed after the 2000s are crucial to understand Turkey's involvement in Somalia. This thesis also questions whether Turkish humanitarian aid diplomacy has been a mediator which opened a channel for providing various political activities of the Turkish State in Somalia. In order to answer this question, many mainstream realists have reviewed their approaches due to the fact that their approaches claim that states engage in humanitarian aid for self-interest and material gains (Morgenthau 1962 p. 301-302). This thesis examines the process of providing humanitarian aid by taking the dynamics between the provider and recipient country into account that pave the way for improving relations between the countries.

In this framework, this thesis argues that Turkish engagement in Somalia through humanitarian diplomacy can be seen as one of the activities of an emerging power in international affairs. Thus, the concept of emerging power serves as a useful framework to explain Turkey's activism in Somalia as well as predicting the emergence of humanitarian diplomacy which resulted from the efforts of Turkey and other emerging powers such as China, Brazil, and India.

This thesis tries to investigate the increased relations between Somalia and Turkey through the theory of neo-classical realism. Turkish humanitarian diplomacy towards Somalia obviously illustrates the rising foreign aid policy of emerging powers with their geopolitical, diplomatic, economic and ideological motivations. Besides, the unique characteristics of Turkish humanitarian policy are different from the other emerging powers. The internal variables such as the existence of Islamic NGOs and the public support constitute the driving forces of Turkey's humanitarian policy in Somalia. In this respect, Turkey's activism in Somalia is defined as "Turkish Model" based on unilateral ways which involves direct and indirect cooperation between actors such as state, institutions, NGOs and the people, in providing humanitarian assistance. This thesis, therefore, analyses how the humanitarian diplomacy is used as a foreign policy instrument by states with taking the case of Turkey's humanitarian activism in Somalia.

This thesis further argues that Turkey's engagement policy in Somalia, called humanitarian diplomacy by the Turkish Government, is a result of the combination of external and internal factors. The shifting direction of economic and political power from the West to the East has created many opportunities for emerging powers. Therefore, Turkey, as one of the important emerging powers in the region, seeks to fill the vacuum in Somalia through offering humanitarian assistance.

In this framework, the second chapter discusses the theoretical explanations of Turkey's engagement in Somalia in recent times in terms of the the-

ory of neoclassical realism. In this section, the internal and external factors that explain the changing Turkish foreign policy are presented. The political attitudes of the ruling elites in Turkey as an internal variable and the decline of the US as an external variable comprise the most important points of this chapter. The third chapter examines the rising of new powers namely emerging powers concerning their similar policies and attitudes in world politics especially when the US is in decline. Also, increasing material capabilities of Turkey and the policy changes in recent times are analysed in the context of emerging powers in this chapter. Finally, chapter four discusses dimensions of humanitarian diplomacy of Turkey by explaining the case of Somalia. The motivations, strategies, and practices of Turkish foreign policy in Somalia are covered in this chapter.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Theoretical Explanation

Weiss and Abdenur (2014, p.1750-1751) define the emerging powers as “whose policy elites can draw on economic and other sources of power to project influence both within and outside their immediate neighbourhood and regions.” By following this definition, the increasing activism of the Turkish foreign policy and the expansion of its scope will be analysed through the lens of the theory of neo-classical realism. Turkey’s engagement in Somalia is one of the most compelling cases in Turkish foreign policy in last decade. Even though Turkey has expanded foreign policy over its borders in the light of the Strategic Depth of the Ahmet Davutoğlu in recent times, Somalia has its particular situation in Turkish foreign policy in several ways.

First of all, as it was stressed above, Somalia is one of the most famous failed state in the world due to its internal violence and unfunctional state organisations and institutions for their people (Rotberg 2003, p.1). Somalia has been in a chaotic situation since the collapse of the Siad Barre regime in 1991. The conflict raised between several armed groups over the natural resources and control mechanisms of the state. Attempts to overcome the turmoil by the international community has failed several times. Even today, half of the capital Mogadishu is under the occupation of the extreme army-group Al-Shabab. Broadly speaking, Somalia has been challenging with power vacuum for a long time (Ban Ki Moon 2012).

Power vacuum also influenced the activism of Turkey and Turkish people in Somalia. More than ten Turkish citizens and soldiers lost their lives as a result of attacks by the Islamic fundamental army group named Al-Shabab in last three years. Furthermore, Turkish people are still one of the most important targets of this terrorist organisation in Somalia. Nevertheless, Turkey has increased its attention to Somalia not only in the field of humanitarian aid but also state institutions and organisations. In that way, Turkey has become one of the most significant supporters of the state-building process in Somalia. Moreover, Turkish government has just opened the world's largest embassy of Turkey in the capital Mogadishu and plans to open its military base in Somalia (Akpınar 2013, p.731).

In doing so, Somalia is different from other engagement policies of the Turkish Government in several regions such as Balkans, Caucasus and the Middle East in the last decade. Why Somalia was chosen by Turkish Government is one of the main questions of this thesis (Özkan 2014, p.1). There are several mainstream international relations theories that can be used to analyse the Somali case of Turkey in the context of humanitarian policy. Thus, the question is that how we can explain the Turkish engagement in Somalia in terms of humanitarian diplomacy? Is moral duty sufficient in explaining such a situation? Is Turkey only carrying out idealistic aims in Somalia?

Discussing the theories of international relations is crucial to understand not only Turkey's engagement in Somalia but also general attitudes of Turkish foreign policy in the last decade. By following the theories of international relations, neoliberalism comes forward in explaining issues based on the economic

interests of states through the lens of the significance of international institutions, cooperation, and interdependency (Milner 2009, p.5). Indeed, many studies about emerging powers and growing humanitarian aid policies thereof are examined by the theory of neoliberalism since liberal perspective focuses more on the importance humanitarian and foreign aids to increase economic relations between states (Howard 2014, p. 2; Keohane 2012, p.128-129). However, Turkey's engagement in Somalia in the field of humanitarian policy has been tended to be a unilateral relation namely from state to people. This shows that the institutional assumption of neoliberalism is not appropriate to analyse this relationship since Somalia is still a failed state (Keohane and Nye 2001, p.731). Also, considering the neoliberal explanation of humanitarian and foreign aid policies of Turkey in Somalia, we can ask critical questions about whether Turkey has real economic interests in Somalia. And, this paper can discuss whether neoliberalism is sufficient to explain the state relations with failed states like Somalia.

The other dominant international relations theory is realism which defines the essential elements of international politics as the state, survivor, and self-help. According to realism, the most important actor is the state seeking its security in the absence of central political authority in the international politics (Dunne and Schmitt 2008, p.148-149). Realism is also divided into various branches such as structural realism and neorealism that includes defensive and offensive realism and neoclassical realism which will be examined broadly. Although neorealism accepts the central assumption of the traditional realist view, neorealism underlines the importance of the distribution of capabilities in the condition of anarchy in international politics. In other words, the power of state is not limited to accu-

mulation of military and economy. Neorealism underlines that states could use their power to control other countries in anarchy. Also, neorealism emphasises relative gain in the political struggle for power. So that, the relative gain of one country is a threat to the benefit of another country (Waltz 2000). Therefore, realist approach mostly ignores the cooperation between states. Thus, states those who are advocating realism should ignore non-political activism in establishing relations with other countries, so that, non-political humanitarian aid is unnecessary for realism.

On the other hand, traditional realism sees foreign aid as one of the security concerns of states (Morgenthau 1962, p.301-302). In other words, traditional realism sees humanitarian aid policies of a state as one of the political instruments of nation states. Does Somalia has that much strategic importance for Turkey? Or is it more logical for Turkey to use its national resources in Somalia rather than in a neighbouring country or any other country from a realist perspective? Can we analyse the Turkish engagement in Somalia without taking the driving forces of the new elites of foreign policy and their historical, cultural and religious perceptions into account?

Therefore, the humanitarian diplomacy policy of Turkey in Somalia could be seen as a result of dialectical relations including the most complex interactions beyond the military, economic, social and diplomatic interest of states or moral duties of countries. Although emerging powers have very significant political, diplomatic and economic interests in the field of humanitarianism as it will be

mentioned in the next chapters, the case of Somalia cannot be explained by using only external variables.

In this framework, the changes in the Turkish domestic politics which influenced the Turkish foreign policy will be explained in the light of neoclassical realism. Then after, shift in the discourses of international elites and their influence in Turkish foreign policy will be analysed within the historical context.

2.2 Neoclassical Realism

Neoclassical realism is one of the most significant theories of international relations to be used in explaining foreign policy behaviour of states. However, neoclassical realism has not been considered sufficiently by international relations scholars as much as does the classical realism and neorealism.

Neoclassical realism is very helpful to understand the involvement of Turkey in Somalia in the context of humanitarian diplomacy. The theory is evaluated differently from classical realism by the Gideon Rose (1998). Differentiating from classical realism, Rose considers foreign policy of a state as a combination of external and internal factors namely the system, structure and domestic politics with material and ideational capabilities of state (Kitchen 2010, p.139). Therefore, the theory goes beyond its proponents by incorporating domestic factors into account (Kitchen 2010). Rose described the neoclassical theory as following:

Explicitly incorporates both external and internal variables, updating and systematising certain insights drawn from classical realist thought. Its adherents argue that the scope and ambition of a country's foreign policy are

driven first and foremost by its place in the international system and specifically by its relative material power capabilities. This is why they are a realist. They argue further, however, that the impact of such power capabilities on foreign policy is indirect and complex, because systemic pressures must be translated through intervening variables at the unit level. This is why they are neoclassical (Rose 1998, p.1 cited in Kitchen 2012, p.117).

Therefore, foreign policy of states is closely related to their material capabilities. This is also similar to one of the resembling assumption of mainstream realist approaches (Mearsheimer 2007, p.72). Considering the activism of emerging powers in international politics such as the engagement of Turkey in Somalia could demonstrate that Turkey as an economically growing country become more and more independent both in its foreign policy and international politics. This way, neoclassical realism considers the behaviour of states in foreign policy rather than interactions between countries (Rose 1998). Rose (1998) says “instead of assuming that states seek security, neoclassical realists think that states respond to the uncertainties of international anarchy by seeking to control and shape their external environment” (p.152). The explanation of Rose is very compatible with Turkey’s humanitarian involvement in Somalia. Turkey has no concerns about its national security. Instead, Turkey tries to control or gain benefits from the uncertainties arising from the international anarchy. In other words, Turkey seeks to fill the power vacuum in Somali as an emerging power.

Also, one of the distinguished aspects of neoclassical realism in mainstream realist approaches is that neoclassical realism underlines the importance of the “second-level” analysis namely variables in arising from domestic politics such as government interests and ruling elite perceptions. Since the capability of state is analysed by politicians or scholars at domestic level, it can also be applied to foreign policy. Whether capabilities are low or high, it is closely related to the perceptions and interpretation of the policy makers in this sense. In other words, the power of a state is defined as “a state’s ability to extract or mobilise resources as determined by its institutions as well as nationalism and ideology” (Üçbaş 2014, p.2). This is the most important distinguished element of the theory of neoclassical realism than the classical understanding of realism in the field of international relations.

Neoclassical realism is practical to explain the emerging power activism particularly in the field of humanitarian diplomacy of Turkey that arise from the transformation of Turkey’s foreign policy in the last decade. Foreign policy goals of Turkey in Somalia could be explained as whether it is a product of either the change in the political leadership and foreign decision makers or elites and shifted global structure.

Next section examines a brief history of Turkish foreign policy in the last decade with respect to the attitudes of political leadership and foreign policy elites. This part questions whether policy making elites’ transformation directed foreign policy and in which ways elites shaped the foreign policy of Turkey and in which way they continue to be active in the Turkish foreign policy after the 2000s.

2.3. Ruling Elites Through Strategic Depth

Neoclassical realism stresses an importance on the perception and ideology of the political leadership in a state as a necessity of the unit level analysis in foreign policy. It is not only for domestic political interests and electoral gains, rather it is closely related to the political leadership, international policy-makers and elites who represent attitudes of foreign policy. This section discusses the ideology of political leaderships and elites of the current Turkish foreign policy with selective discourses of the policy makers of Turkey.

For a long time Turkish domestic and foreign policy have been shaped by “Kemalism” following the strategies and ideas of the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Even after the death of Mustafa Kemal, ideological attitudes were maintained by CHP (Republican People’s Party), which is the successor party of Mustafa Kemal. In that period, there was a dominance of military elites in foreign policy. Those Kemalist elites in foreign policy stand with the Western powers to maintain the civilisation policy of the Republic of Turkey. Although there were some domestic changes happened in internal politics in Turkey such as emerging of Democrat Party (1950-1960) or ANAP (1983-1991), however, foreign policy of Turkey did not experience any fundamental change up until the 2000s (Tzirruas 2014).

In AKP (Justice and Development Party) period, Turkish foreign policy has significantly changed and increased geopolitical frontiers by following the book of the “Strategic Depth” written by former Prime Minister of Turkey, Professor of Political Science and International Relations, Ahmet Davutoğlu in 2001.

Many scholars discuss that Davutoğlu is the most important figure in the changing Turkish foreign policy in last decade. Grigoriadis (2010) says “it is impossible to discuss Turkish foreign policy since 2002 without taking Ahmet Davutoglu, Turkish Foreign Minister into account” (p.4). As such, Davutoğlu and his perspectives have been playing a major role in the formation of Turkish foreign Policy since 2001.

Davutoğlu recommends in Strategic Depth that Turkey with its great heritage from Ottoman Empire that had a huge influence on Balkans, Middle East, North Africa and West and Central Asia has to develop its future vision by improving relations with these regions with which Turkish civilisations have historical and organic affiliations as well as a feeling of responsibility towards them. (Davutoğlu, 2001) So that, the book was drawing a picture of “new geographic imagination” for foreign policy (Aras and Karakaya-Polat 2009, p.472) through the Ottoman geopolitical space (Bilgin and Bilgiç 2011, p.176-178). When Davutoglu became Foreign Minister of Turkey, new debates have opened in respect to the concepts of the “axis shift” “neo-Ottomanism,” “re-Islamization,” “Middle Easternization,” “soft Euro-Asianism” and “Pax-İslam” (Sozen 2010; Öniş and Yılmaz 2009; Özkan 2014). So that, the renewed Turkish foreign policy established through institutions under the Foreign Ministry of Turkey. Davutoğlu describes Turkey’s position by saying:

“Turkey is the natural heir to the Ottoman Empire that once unified lead the Muslim world and therefore has the potential to become a trans-regional

power that helps to unite once again and lead the Muslim world." (Davutoğlu 2009, cited in Walker 2011, p.7).

Also, the former Prime Minister and now president of the Turkish Republic, Erdogan describes Turkey's position in the changing world as "order dominant in the world is cracking. Crises are the signals of a new wave of changes. Turkey is now the hope of the Muslim world" (Daily Sabah 2016). Undoubtedly the most important political figure, Erdoğan's this statement is very fruitful to understand the ideological perspective of the government.

"The AKP is not just Turkey's party, but a world party [...] From Mogadishu to Sarajevo, from Damascus to Skopje, from Sanaa to Bishkek, from Abu Dhabi to Islamabad, from Gaza to Benghazi, from Pristina to the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus - wherever there is a victim in the world, the AKP is at its side. [...] This is the kind of party we are (The national world 2011).

Nevertheless, when one considers the rhetoric of elites in Turkish foreign policy, sees that AKP elites are not limited to the Islamic World, rather they try to seek representation of the emerging and developing countries. The slogan of "World is bigger than five" criticises that five states have veto power in United Nations Security Council (Anadolu Agency 2016). Thus, it can be seen as a rele-

vant sentence to understand the change in Turkish foreign policy in recent times.

In the same speech, Erdogan also said that:

“When we look at the UNSC from the perspective of religion, we see that all religions except Islam are represented. Is this justice? No! Europe is there. Asia is there. The Americas are there. What about Africa? Isn't it our right to question this in the name of justice and conscience?”(World Bulletin, 2015).

These statements are important to understand the elite's perceptions and their attitudes regarding foreign policy which shape the current diplomacy of AKP in the international area. Also, Erdoğan describes Turkey's perception as against to the Western colonisation. He addressed the old practices of Western colonisation and said that in Gabonese Parliament, “Africa belongs to Africans. We are not here for your gold” (Erdogan, 2013; cited in Wasuge 2016, p.10).

Considering the African engagement in Somalia, the statement of Chief Advisor of the President states: “Turkey is beginning to read history from a non-Eurocentric point of view” (Ellis 2013). It can be seen as one of the most significant statements which explains the perceptions of the new foreign policy elites in Turkey. The new elites of Turkey see the policy in Somalia as a necessity of being Muslim and the keeper of the Ottoman's heritage. They criticise the imperialist policies of Western countries and tries to gain the support of African nations by using the Islam-based religious identity.

Turkish leaders see Somalia as a pivot country for Turkish foreign policy in Africa. Through developing good relations with Somalia for many reasons, Turkey perceived Somalia as a special country which they can produce effort in diverse ways to improve relations with the African people. Perceptions of the ruling elite are mainly toward to improve the influence of Turkey in the old-Ottoman territories and beyond, after the emerging vacuum in the post-ArabSpring era (Cemgil and Hoffmann 2016, p.4). Therefore, Turkey desire to use religious, historical and cultural ties with those countries which are now challenging by many political, economic and social problems. Moreover, Turkey aspires to gain support of these countries as in part of its humanitarian diplomacy strategy. This is not because it is important to obtain support from the ruling elites of aid receiver countries but also ordinary people who challenge with food, water, health issues.

Davutoğlu also stresses the importance of the horn of Africa for the future plans of the Republic of Turkey. In his perspective, the region is located in an influential area of Turkey. He says “The Turkish-Arab world has a geo strategic zone from Kars (Turkey) to Morocco and Mauritania, from Sinop (Turkey) to Sudan and from the Straits of Istanbul to the Gulf of Aden. We want to turn this zone into a zone of security, prosperity and economic integration” (Davutoğlu 2010).

Considering context of neoclassical realism, perceptions and attitudes are crucial to understanding how elites aspire to use material and nonmaterial power of state. What are the priorities of policy makers? It is widely accepted that AKP's elites wishes are not limited to economic strength or regional power, rather seeks to be visible all around the world including Sub-Saharan Africa and particularly in Somalia. And, as it will be mentioned in the next chapters, these elites have been

using the power vacuum in the Middle East and Africa which has emerged with the decline of the United States and the shift of power in the international structure.

2.4. Global Shift in World Politics

In order to understand the engagement of Turkey in Africa and particularly in Somalia, it is necessary to review the position of Turkey in the international environment. Arguments of emerging powers have come into existence after the hegemony declined, and Turkey is an emerging power seeking to fill the power vacuum in Somalia. In this part, I will first discuss the concept of hegemony appeared after the World War II. In doing so, the debate on the decline of the US will focus on the shifted global structure will be examined through evaluating recent discussions. By following these discussions, the concept of emerging powers and their broad activism seeking to fill out the power vacuum caused by the decline of the US will be examined in this part of my study.

Besides my theoretical explanation of issues, this chapter is critical to understand Turkey's engagement in Somalia regarding humanitarian diplomacy which developed by shift in global power dynamics in the international politics. Recently, there has been a power vacuum in the African continent like in the Middle East. Some scholars evaluate the emergence of such space due to the decline of the US. The US foreign policy activities under the Obama government demonstrate that the US cannot challenge with the rising problems of the Middle East and Africa alone. As such, the US brought a limit to its frontiers in foreign policy. Rather the US conducts its foreign policy by itself. It began by directing issues to

intergovernmental organisations because issues have become more multidimensional and the US is weakened to solve them directly (Sing 2012). These inclinations show that the US had reduced its foreign policy so that the vacuum in the regions increased. Thus, emerging powers have been used such dynamics and increased their activities toward developing or third world countries such as Somalia.

This chapter will question whether Turkey is an emerging power or not through discussing the material capabilities of the Turkish State, the agency in the region and emerging donor countries. The evidence will be picked up to find reliable result from these discussions in the matter of the being emerging power in the literature. This chapter is also crucial to generalise Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia as it is necessary for scientific knowledge. Turkey's engagement in Somalia is not very different from the activism of Brazil, China, India as it will be mentioned in following chapters.

2.4.1. The American Hegemony

In the historical context, the concept of the hegemony or hegemonic power has gained popularity after the WWII in the field of international relations. The hegemony is described as the dominant position of the US in the world system by most of the scholars. The US has emerged as a hegemonic state not only due to its significant military power in the world, but also started to extend its political and economic influence all over the world. Alongside the material supremacy of the United States in the world politics, the US's global hegemony implies the diffu-

sion of cultural and ideological values of Americans as a dominant power across the world (Shor 2010, p.65).

According to Gramsci, hegemony emerges when there is a consensus which made through absorbing the cultural and moral values and world views and related implementation of the dominant class by the under-class. Hegemony, thus, means to incorporate all of the elements of the system through creating persuasion, partnerships and a general cooperation rather than using force and commanding (Lears 1985, p.568).

Hegemony perception of Gramsci is used by Robert Cox in the literature of the international relations. Cox (1983) describes hegemony as: “World hegemony is describable as a social structure, economic structure, and political structure; and it cannot be simply one of these things but must be all three.”(p.62) World hegemony, furthermore, is expressed by Cox (1983) as a “universal norms, institutions and mechanisms which lay down general rules of behaviour for states and for those forces of civil society that act across national boundaries - rules which support the dominant mode of production.” (p.62).

One of the most influential scholars in structuralism school is Emanuel Wallerstein who sees the emergence of a hegemony from the eyes of historical structuralism. From the historical structuralism perspective, Wallerstein refers to state’s domination in the world economy particularly in production, trade, and finance. Also, Wallerstein does not ignore the importance of military and cultural influence of the hegemonic state alongside the economy. For him, hegemonic power could also extend its military power particularly on the basis of sea and cul-

tural impact through using the economic supremacy (Wallerstein 1984, p.17) In doing so, Wallerstein (1984) defines the hegemony as “power can mostly impose its rules and its wishes (at the very least by effective veto power) in the economic, political, military, diplomatic and even cultural areas”(p.38). Thus, Wallerstein points to the American hegemony 1945-1970.

Neoliberalism sees the emergence of a hegemonic power in terms of the distribution of power in the international system by referring to military, economic and technological capabilities of states. Nevertheless, the physical supremacy of a states is not enough for sustainability of the international system. Alongside the material capabilities, dominant states could sustain its influence on the secondary power with the “substantive beliefs” (Ikenbery and Kupchann 1990 p.83). In doing so, hegemonic power enforces its desires through governing international relations. Keohane and Nye (1977) explain this by stating that “hegemony as relations, and willing to do so one state is powerful enough to maintain the essential rules governing interstate” (p.44).

All of the definitions of hegemony stated above include not only material capabilities of state but also require a moral and ideological supremacy of the hegemonic power. In the shadow of 2008 financial crises, material capabilities of the US regarding fiscal crises and uncertainty of dollar has become debatable. Also, Afghanistan and Iraq operations have increased the questions about the hegemony of American military. Moreover, the passive standing to the international issues recently such as to the Syrian crisis has increased the debates on the hegemonic position of the US in world politics. Rising of “non-western coun-

tries” such as China, India, Brazil and shifting of the global structure in the last decade have also added the debate about the abolishment of such a hegemony. So that, the international system that established on the economic capability of the US is being rethought again by the scholars (Dumenil and Levy 2009; Layne 2012). In the next section, debates of the decline and its outcomes in the international politics will be explained.

2.4.2. Decline of the United States

The decline of the U.S is one of the most growing debates in the field of international relations not only for last ten years but also for last fifty years. Twenty years after beginning of the cold war, in the Vietnam War, declining of the hegemony of United States was questioned by the international society and also domestic politics that referring the US.’ weak response and unsuccessfulness in the Vietnam war. Few years before the end of the cold war, the international society has faced the fifth decline debates of the United States in response to national debates and crises of the United States (Huntington 1988).

However, the US has become a pure dominant power of the world regarding the political, economic, military and ideological spheres after the Cold War. Besides, the US has handed the moral supremacy in the world politics by referring to the norms, values and rules in the international system with the collapse of the balancing ideological and economic power of Soviet Union in the world politics. As the most famous example, Fukuyama announced the triumph of liberalism (Fukuyama 1989). The announcement was also welcome the moral and ideological American Empire as it is the world hegemony. The fact is that the process

after the cold war went in favour of the US. At that time, there was no debate about the American Hegemony in the international society. The US has stood as the world's largest economy, a place where the world's leading universities located, and many of its biggest companies. The US military is also incomparably stronger than any rival in the world. In that way, the US spends almost as much on its military as the rest of the world put together (World Bank Military Expenditure).

Iraq and Afghanistan were seen as a turning point in the American history. Given the response to the war on terror concept of the George W. Bush and the following period of the 9/11, wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have demonstrated the limits of the American power since the end of the Cold War. Also, the destructive financial crises which started with the collapse of Lehman Brother in 2008, has shown the economic borders of the US. These are the material limitation of the American power (Baceveich 2011). For this study, the decline of the US will be underlined in reflects to emerging new powers. Zoellick (2010, p.41) describes the new era as the Third world due to fast growing economies of developing countries will lead to also political and systematic change in the system. Gratius (2008) stresses that decline is an inevitable process for America, and the new world will base on the domination of the Asian power within a short period of time.

On the other hand, there are also rejections to the arguments of decline of the US even though those emerging powers are growing economically. The opposition against the arguments of the declining of the US claim that the emerging

powers have no sufficient material capabilities compared to America. But our point is not to analyse the capabilities of states in a comparative manner, but to evaluate the agency of the US by looking at its capacity historically from World War II. Scholars described the relatively decline in the system since the raising of the globalisation, increasing multinational crises. According to them, even though there has been relatively fall, the absolute decline is still related to management or non-management of the US. Besides, some scholars also claim that relative decline is inevitable so that it is faced with the power vacuum. But such a gap is not being filled by the emerging powers such as China, India, and Brazil so that America would stand hegemonic in the system is inevitable (Kappel 2010).

The debate on the American decline is also related to globalisation and changing the definition of power. Although America is still the dominant power regarding material capabilities of states particularly in military means, nowadays power definition has gained diversity. Nye (2011) claims the decline of the U.S as relatively happened. He points out the US is still the dominant player through leading military and economy companies, the supremacy of the culture and language, and capitalism as it is a paramount aspect of the American power. However, the definition of power gained different meanings that implies non-military instruments of power. For instance, the term of “soft balancing” requires the use of diplomacy, international institutions, and international law to constrain and delegitimise the actions of the US (Layne 1998, p.8). Therefore, this thesis argues that the US has been relatively in decline in the last decade even though the country maintains its supremacy compare the other states.

2.4.3 The Power Vacuum in International Politics

"Changes anywhere in the world that would challenge U.S. hegemony spell chaos and constant alarm." (Chernus, 2006, 202 cited in Shoor).

The shifting of power is not limited to the global economy which is very dependent on the US and European countries. Such a shift also had led to a power vacuum in geopolitics. Although the definition of power vacuum is flue in the field of international relations. Power vacuum is primarily defined by Roy (1995) as "the influence of a dominant country is seen to recede in a given region, at least one of the other regional states, previously restrained by the erstwhile hegemon, attempts to expand its power" (p.46-47). In other words, decline of a hegemonic power leads to rise of another in a general context. Most of the time, such a change emerges with the military and economic supremacy of a hegemon.

On the other hand, Roy (1995, p.49) stresses that there could be more than one rising power. These powers could use the opportunities and challenge the existing hegemonic power regarding economic, cultural and diplomatic fields. In this way, rising power could increase their capabilities and catch the power of the existing hegemonic power.

Considering this study, the US has started to lose its economic superiority which will lead lose of its hegemony in geo-politics (Rostiashvili 2012, p.38). While the US is in decline, China is seen as the new potential global hegemon (Layne 2009). Other countries such as Turkey, India, Brazil may not be called as

global, but the obvious thing is that such emerging powers very famous than the global ones nowadays. Through playing a very active role in world politics especially in specific regions, Turkey can be qualified as an emerging power in the last decade. By following this argument, I will analyse rising of new players namely emerging powers and their activism to fill such power vacuums in the international politics in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3 EMERGING POWERS and HUMANITARIANISM

3.1 BRICS and Beyond

In the very beginning of the millennium, global society has faced a new concept namely emerging market economies referring BRIC countries, namely Brazil, Russia, India and China (O'Neill 2001). According to estimations, these countries would be larger economies than most of today's developed economies of the G7 countries by 2050. When South Africa joined to this group of countries, the group started to be called as BRICS countries. At the beginning, the BRICS countries represented the engine of the growth of new demands and spending its power to prevent slower growth in the advanced economies (Wilson and Purushothaman 2003). Following years, scholars have paid attention to the content of BRICS, and started to examine those states in the context of political, military, diplomatic and social features.

There is still growing literature about the BRICS countries in respects to the outcomes of newly growing economies in the world politics. The concept currently has been evaluated by new approaches. The BRICS has also been started to be called by new names such as rising new powers, emerging countries and emerging powers. Alongside BRICS countries, other fast growing economies such as Turkey, Indonesia, Mexico, Nigeria have been started to be called as emerging market economies as well.

Nevertheless, the most well known emerging powers are Brazil, India, China, and Russia which are distinguished by their international and domestic levels. They are not similar in various dimensions such as geographies, ideological back-

grounds, regime types, populations, economic systems, natural resources and military spending. For instance, China has been easily regarded as global power rather than emerging power because of its enormous economic and trade growth. Or Russia has already been as a significant power in the Cold War era. Concerning their domestic level, India is the most crowded country governed by the democracy alongside the Brazil while PRC is a Marxist Republic, Russia has an authoritarian democracy (Armijo 2007, p.8). Also, while Russia and China are permanent members of the UN Security Council, Brazil and India are not. Therefore, BRICS countries are not composed of similar states that have same political, economic and military levels.

By following this point, the questions have been raised seeking to understand the central features of these countries in international politics and their shared features. Broadly speaking, these states represent the shift in global structure in world politics and new source of material and diplomatic power (Hirs 2013). These countries have a significant potential to influence and shape the near future, while the US has been in a relative decline in the last decade. When criteria or elements of the BRICS countries considered regarding the emerging power literature, this study employs the criteria of being “regional leaders, economic actor and their capability of making substantial aid to countries in need” (Howerd 2014, p.108).

It is widely accepted that the driving forces of the BRICS countries are their fast growing economies and increasing manufacturing capabilities. Brazil, Russia, India, and China are among the top ten significant economies of the

world, ranking 9th, 12th, 7th and 2nd respectively by 2015. South Africa raised to 32 (World Bank Data GDP 2015). The group has constituted a share of about 25% of the world GDP in PPP terms compared with 16% in 2000. Since those states have not been too much influenced by the 2008 financial crises very much as much as the developed countries, they showed the positive signals to the global society for near future (Hurrell 2010, p.19).

Besides, these countries can be categorised as industrial countries which have been trying to extend and diffuse manufacturing capabilities of their industrial spheres. Also, emerging powers have vast natural resources and human resources. Brazil, China, and Russia could be seen as energy superpowers of the world (Wilson 2015, p.224). Considering the human resource capabilities of countries, these states have significant populations. On the other hand, they have substantial military capabilities, while China and Russia have already enormous military capabilities, Brazil, India, and South Africa are increasing their military capabilities as well.

Secondly, all of them could be regarded as a “regional power” in their regions. The regional leader is often defined by its largest military capability as well as its economic and political capabilities in the region and it can use these capacities in the organisational, institutional and ideological manner in the region (Nolte 2010, p.57). Douglas (2002) defines regional powers as ‘dominant local state(s) supervising local relations’ (p.49). The BRICS countries have been increasing their relations and integration into the regions regarding the political, economic and diplomatic contexts.

China is apparently accepted as the regional power in Asia. On the other hand, South Africa is one of the most important African states that receives massive migrate influx from other African countries. Thus, South Africa has been playing a significant role in resolution processes of the political problems of African nations. Russia has an increasingly dominant role among the post-Soviet countries. Brazil plays an important part in solving the problems in the region of South America. For instance, it plays a mediator role in the border dispute between Bolivia and Peru (Hurrel 2010). These states are part of several regional organisations and institutions. They integrated their neighbourhood in their region by doing economic, trade, security, organisational and also institutional agreements and reforms.

Apart from their economic capabilities and being regional powers, the BRICS countries represent the change in the global affairs and governance. The BRICS countries demand a reform over the establishing international and institutional regimes such as IMF and World Bank, which were created after the WWII. Imbalance in the U.N security council for U.N and democratisation demands are one of the significant perceptions of the BRICS countries in the last decade. (Robert and Armijo 2014). It is very clear that BRICS countries represent the non-Western or non-American allies countries. They have developed in “South” or third world and now demanding more participation and representation in the global affairs with the driving forces of the growing economies.

Lastly, these countries have become foreign aid provider countries to developing countries in Africa, Latin America, Middle East and Asia. Woods

(2008) stresses that emerging powers often employ foreign aid policy. This is because they seek alternative ways for foreign aid considering DAC countries. The foreign aid and humanitarian assistance policy of the BRICS countries were produced as a result of seeking cooperation through developing countries in order to gain supports of the aid-recipient countries in the United Nations (Kreguland 2008). As earlier mentioned, these states have substantial potential to influence and shape the near future, while the US has been in a relative decline in the last decade. Considering this study, emerging powers are seen as the most significant player that fill the vacuum when the US is in decline.

Alongside the BRICS countries, there are also several categorisation regarding emerging powers in the literature. For Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey, the term MINT is used and it implies that next emerging economies would be the MINT countries rather than the BRICS. CNAS and the German Marshall Fund consider Turkey, Brazil, India, and Indonesia as the new emerging powers in the process of the shift in international politics and economy (Kanat 2014 p.73).

3.2 Is Turkey an Emerging Power?

As earlier mentioned, there are also several countries that are categorised as an emerging power, alongside the BRICS countries, which they emerged as a result of the increasing material capabilities, growing political, diplomatic, cultural activism in their regions and global arena. In the literature, many studies regarded Turkey as emerging power or rising power. Öniş and Kutlay (2013, p.1) describes Turkey as emerging power or rising power. Müftüler - Baç (2014) sees Turkey as an emerg-

ing power because it has material capabilities and has an active role in the global security governance. Dal (2016) conceptualises Turkey as rising middle power regarding the preferences, capabilities, and strategies. Howerd (2014, p.23) characterises emerging power approaches as “regional leaders, economic actor and important aid is given countries” will be tested by this section for Turkey considering the most known examples BRICS countries.

It is widely accepted that Turkey’s foreign policy has started to experience some changes since the millennium. Increasing economic capabilities, growing roles in the global organisations and institutions, mediator roles in the international conflicts, increasing foreign aid provider policies for developing countries can be claimed as the main driving forces that create such a change (Müftüler-Baç 2014).

Tzirruas (2014) describes the emerging Turkish foreign policy in two periods. The first period is between 2002-2011 when the AKP government has carried its foreign policies with driving forces of the international environment and increasing of material capabilities. With increasing material capability of Turkey and excellent geopolitical position thereof, AKP government acquired soft power strategies to boost its economic expansion. They also tried to increase relations with both Middle Eastern Countries and the European Union to extend its financial capabilities.

Kirişçi (2009, p.29) describes that the changing Turkish foreign policy and shift in Turkey’s position in the international politics in last decade are related to Rosecrans’ concept of trading state and Putrans’ concept which suggests that

there are two level diplomatic games in economic sphere. According to Institutional analysis of them, new dynamics of Turkish foreign policy is also closely associated with Turkey's emergence as a "trade state". Growing economic relations with the neighbouring countries are not only about government to government relations. Rather, there are increasing connections with business organisations and institutions of those countries in which TOBB and TÜSİAD are playing a crucial role. This situation helped to realise the transformation of Turkish foreign policy and pushed Turkey to conduct a more active foreign policy in the economic sphere (Kirişçi 2009; Kirişçi and Kaptanoğlu 2011).

In doing so, Turkey has been one of the fastest-growing economies in the world behind China in the last decade, even though its growth got slowed lately. Turkey is a member of G-20 which was organised in 2003 to bring the largest 20 economies of world together. By 2014, Turkey is the 17th biggest economy, and the Turkish government aspire to be one of the largest ten economies in the world by 2023 (World Bank, 2014). For this purpose, Turkey has also started to expand its economical relations in the region. In this framework, Turkey signed 18 free trade agreements with its neighbours by 2014 (Ministry of Economy-Free Trade Agreements 2016). Besides, Turkey had already joined the Customs Union in 1995 with European countries. The EU is still Turkey's most significant import and export partner. Statistically, Turkey ranks 7th in the EU's top import destinations and the 5th in export (EU Trade Commission).

When one considers the military capabilities of Turkey which is measured by the army strength, standing army, firepower, conventional weapons, and other

tangible elements of country's capability, Turkey is the 8th out of 126 countries in the militaristic capability by 2015. Furthermore, Turkey has one of the biggest military armies in the region. Also, Turkey has historical and very significant links with NATO, the Council of Europe, G-20, Organisation for Islamic Conference in terms of preventing assurance and compliance (Müföler-Bac 2014).

On the other hand, some scholars distinguish emerging powers and traditional middle powers through separating behavioural differences rather than their material capabilities. Jordaan (2003) defines emerging middle powers as “reformist and not radical global change, exhibit a strong regional orientation favouring regional integration but also seek to construct identities distinct from those of the weak states in their region” (p.165). Indeed, Turkish foreign policy distinguished in recent times when behavioural differences such as conflict resolution and mediation, humanitarian diplomacy and development cooperation, intercultural dialogue especially in its own region as an emerging power are taken into account. It is also an explanation of neoclassical realism in regard to the behavioural outcomes of states (Rose 1998).

Turkey, for instance, played a mediator role in the peace talks between Israel and Syria in 2005. Besides, it hosted Israeli-Palestinian meetings and embodied the negotiations between Al-Fatih and Hamas in Gaza (Aras 2012, p.8-9). Turkey also participated in the peace talks between in Iraq, Lebanon, Kyrgyzstan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia. Therefore, Turkey has become a mediator state in the last decade. Also, Turkey and Finland introduced the

Friends of Mediation group with the support of the UN to solve conflicts by negotiations (Aras 2012, p.9).

The last criteria for regarding Turkey as emerging power is the increasing humanitarian aid which is one of the crucial aspects of Turkish foreign policy in the last decade. When AKP came to power, Turkey has started to increase its foreign aid and humanitarian assistance to developing countries. Foreign aid rose from 67 million dollars to 2.53 billion dollars, from 2003 to 2012. In 2014, Turkey was the third largest donor country in the world (Global Humanitarian Assistance 2015). Davutoğlu describes the humanitarian diplomacy of Turkey as being an “emerging donor country” (Foreign Affairs 2014). This criteria will also be analysed widely in the next chapters by discussing the Humanitarian Diplomacy of Turkey in Somalia.

Broadly speaking, whether Turkey is regarded as near to BRICS or MINT countries, it is widely accepted that Turkey has shifted from a traditional middle power to an emerging power, particularly in terms of the behavioural aspects of state with its rising material capabilities. In this chapter, Turkey's structure and position in the world are explained by following the common elements of BRICS countries such as their fast-growing economies, being a regional power by participating in the regional and global institutions and their increasing role in providing foreign aids. When these implications and finding are taken into account, Turkey can be clearly described as an emerging power.

3.3 New Humanitarianism from Emerging Powers

By the end of the Cold War, there was a huge expectation about establishing the peace in the world. Fukuyama (1989) describes the new era as “diminution of the likelihood of large-scale conflict between states” (p.18). However, with the end of the Cold War, the scale of conflicts have gained a diversity. In other words, the collapse of the Soviet Union has led to increasing of turmoils in the fields of ethnic, religious, cultural and also economic including natural resources. 1992 Yugoslavian War, 1994 Rwandan War and 1991 Somalian War took place right after the Cold War (Sandole 1992, p. 2-4). By the turn of the millennium, the world has also started to face new challenges such as food crisis, climate changes, extreme poverty, urbanisation, water scarcity, energy security, migration and population growth. Moreover, established international regimes and institutions have not been responsive toward such issues, particularly the US could not provide a strong response to such a change at that time (Gelsdorf 2010, p.3). Therefore, at the very beginning of 2000s, humanitarian activism including humanitarian aid, humanitarian diplomacy and humanitarian assistance have found new players namely emerging powers in world politics (eds. Lettinga and Trost 2015).

In the following sections, I will analyse emerging power activism by examining their motivations and strategies from various approaches. It is also important to understand Turkey’s engagement in Somalia in terms of humanitarian diplomacy. Although Somalia is a unique example in Turkish foreign policy, it is not that much unique in international politics. Many emerging powers conduct their humanitarian policy in the world politics to improve relations with developing countries through helping their development. Also, such a policy is related to a

power vacuum in developing regions which emerged by the relative decline of Western powers.

3.4 Motivations and Strategies of Emerging Powers

Nowadays, many emerging powers have been proactive in the developing parts of the world particularly in Africa since the very beginning of 2000s. Although China and India were among the first countries which introduced humanitarian and development assistances in Africa, Brazil, Turkey, Russia and Malaysia followed them later on. Humanitarian aids provided by these countries went beyond the basic needs, namely food, water and housing. By doing so, they also have tried to establish sustainable long-term corporations with developing countries in terms of infrastructure assistance and military training.

For instance, China has been one of the most influential supporters of the developing countries, mainly African countries, regarding economic cooperation and development assistance whereby state and private firms since the 1990s. While Chinese assistance is much more focused on the infrastructure and capacity building (Brautigam 2011), India uses the concept of “disaster diplomacy” which means to overcome the disaster through institutional and policy channels (Özkan, 2010). Besides, India also established the development partnership administration (DPA) to coordinate the foreign aid for developing countries (Edits, Lettinga, and Troost, 2015). Brazil has been distinguished from others in the field of “South-South” cooperations in terms of the humanitarian aid and long-term development assistance including human and technological transfer for developing countries (Edits, Lindert, and Troost, 2014, p.14). On the other hand, Turkey calls its grow-

ing aid policy as “humanitarian diplomacy” referring to “multidimensional proactive foreign policy” (Çevik 2014). When the reasons of the increasing aid from emerging powers are considered, there are several economical, diplomatic and ideological explanations. Following sections examine the motivations of emerging powers to increase humanitarian aid to particular countries.

3.4.1. Economic Motivations of Emerging Powers

It is not surprising that one of the most significant factors that motivated the emerging powers to increase the amount of aid is the economic concern of these states. Howard (2014) explains the current foreign aid policy of emerging powers by taking their economic interests into account. They can use humanitarian aid to establish a strong trade ties with the developing countries. For instance, the trade between BRICS and Africa increased from 27 billion US dollars in 2002 to nearly 300 billion US dollars billion in 2012. It is expected to exceed 500 billion US dollars in 2015. On the other hand, trade between the US and African countries has been declining in the last four years (International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, 2016). One of the significant data about the relations between aid and trade comes from Turkey. Turkey has signed 17 free trade agreements by 2014 and not surprisingly, 16 of those whom Turkey signed a free trade agreement with are one of the top aid recipient countries from Turkey (Ministry of Economy-Free Trade Agreements 2014).

Economic cooperation between aid provider and recipient countries is not limited to only trade relation, but also development assistance. Such a link can also be called as “South-South” cooperation in recent times. South-South coopera-

tion implies the “developing countries that deliver expertise and financial support to foster the economic and social welfare of other developing countries.”(Kimmerly Fordelone and Zimmerman 2010, p.726). Nowadays, emerging powers have been distinguished from the western powers since it provides sustainable long-term relations between states. The current policy of Brazil which aims to “produce projects providing social development and knowledge for improvements” is distinguished in African countries particularly in Mozambique. Brazil has been establishing long term relations with Mozambique in the field of agricultural developments (Sousa 2008, p.2). Furthermore, China, India, and Turkey are very active in Africa with respect to provide developmental assistance to states and private firms while Western powers were seen as being passive in the region. For instance, increasing capabilities of Turkey in construction sector have been transferred to the African countries in the last decade. Turkish construction firms, therefore, have become more visible in Africa (Shinn 2015).

3.4.2. Diplomatic Motivations of Emerging Powers

The aid motivation of emerging powers is not limited to the economic benefits in developing countries. Aid policy also provides a diplomatic cooperation between emerging powers and developing countries. First of all, aid policies of emerging powers could create a peaceful relationship between countries. Channels of aid provides a reliable communication between countries. Such a channel, also, avoids armed conflicts between aid provider and recipient states. In other words, emerging powers use aids to set up new alliances in the region (Morgenthau 1962 p.301).

Moreover, emerging powers seek the support of aid recipient countries in international institutions and organisation regarding the international and regional issues. As it can be seen in the example of Turkey, Turkey sought the support of underdeveloped and developing world in order to be a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 2009. As such, aid provider and recipient states not only improve their economic ties, but also set up a cooperation in various aspects of politics. For instance, many emerging and underdeveloped states demand democratisation of the established regimes, institutions, and organisations which were created after the WWII by the leadership of the US (Armijo and Robert 2014). In doing so, they also established an ideological cooperation among each other as the next section will examine this issue.

3.4.3 Ideological Motivations of Emerging Powers

Emerging powers have also tried to expand their influence in developing parts of the world through ideological motivations. It is because emerging powers have a strong historical, language, religious and cultural ties with many countries which are also aid recipient countries.

For instance, while Brazil's South-South cooperation mainly includes the Portuguese-speaking countries which reflects 77 percent of its total assistance in Africa (ECOSOC 2008 cited in Mthembu 2013, p.15), India particularly focuses on Bhutan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka as these countries are religious and cultural partners of the India. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia has been one of the significant financial supporters of the Post-Soviet countries. Russian policy is based on its historical roots as Russia sees itself as the representative

of the post Soviet states and Slavic nations (White 2011). China has been distinguished from other countries with its development model which implies the combination of authoritarianism and economic capitalism. On the other hand, China has been criticised because of its level of democracy and human right abuses for a long time especially by the Western countries. Sun (2014) sees the increasing Chinese aid to the African countries as an opportunity to export Chinese economic model. Since Turkey considers itself as the successor of the Ottomans and Muslim societies, it has also been proactive especially in the Muslim countries such as Sudan, Somalia and Tunisia.

Further, when the political leadership of emerging powers is considered, it is very clear that they aspire to extent their influence over states in different parts of the world. Most of the emerging powers, namely China, Russia and Turkey, are governed by a strong leadership. Although realists ignore domestic variables, neoclassical realists underline the importance of domestic political attitudes since material capabilities of states are interrupted by the policy-makers.

In doing so, as declared in the Sanya Summit of BRIC's countries in 2011, one of the most significant motivations of emerging powers in providing foreign aid is to improve their economical, political and ideological including cultural, religious and historical relations with developing countries.

3.5 Strategies of Emerging Powers

Emerging Powers have been distinguished from traditional donors in the way of their distribution of aids. Traditional donors which are mainly OECD countries promoted economic assistance to underdeveloped and developing countries by the

organisation of DAC (Development Assistance Committee), created in 1961. Alongside DAC, The Official Development Assistance (ODA) was also established to control the aid targets and assessments of funding the economic assistance (OECD, 2013). Nowadays, most of the OECD countries provide aid under the leadership of DAC, so that, the economic assistance has been conducting by the hegemony of the DAC over fifty years. However, emerging powers have challenged these already established regimes in the field of the humanitarian aid. Thus, they followed different strategies to provide aid which will be discussed in the following sections.

3.5.1 Mutual Interest

Humanitarian aids provided by OECD countries are based on the common values, norms and rules. Also, DAC countries guarantee a requirement stating “a grant element of at least 25% is required to qualify as “support,” with an additional mutual disapproval of “tied aid” for Less Developed Countries” (Sato, Kobayashi, Shiga and Kondoh 2010,p.13). In other words, OECD countries agree upon giving humanitarian aid without considering the national interest of these countries in providing humanitarian aid. On the other hand, emerging powers see the humanitarian aid as an opportunity to increase economic relations with developing countries as it has been mentioned in the section of economic motivations. In doing so, one of the principal strategies of emerging powers is to set up relations based on mutual interest with the aid recipient states. Most of the aid relations between emerging powers and aid recipient countries improved the economic, diplomatic and social ties between countries (Howard 2014, p.11). For instance, Turkish and

Somalian relations began with economic assistance provided by Turkey to Somalia. This relation of humanitarian aid opened a channel for improving economic and military relations between the two countries. Kani Torun describes Turkey's approach to Somalia by stating that "Turkey wanted to expand its influence, Africa as we wanted to improve our bilateral relations with not only Somalia but also with other African countries for mutual benefit. We call this a win-win situation. Somalia is a part of this strategy." (Torun 2014 cited in Tank, 2015, p.3).

3.5.2. Bilateral Relations

Considering differences between traditional actors and emerging powers regarding their aid strategies, while DAC countries use international institutions and Non-Governmental organisations to provide the aid, emerging powers tended to use bilateral channel in order to distribute aids. Such a relation could be described as a government to government or state to state relations. Indeed, this strategy of emerging powers is very helpful to understand the reason of humanitarian activism of emerging power and also, Turkey's engagement in Somalia regarding its humanitarian diplomacy. On the other hand, some scholars claim that emerging powers have not established an institution like ODA, rather they have been following the bilateral way in providing aid (White 2011). As chapter 4 discusses, Turkey has also been distinguished from traditional donor countries in regard to humanitarian aid. Some scholars describe Turkish way of providing humanitarian aid as "Turkish Model" (Gilley 2015; Haşemi 2014). This model can be seen more than just state to state relations. Rather, it can be defined as foreign state-local society relations. Besides that, Turkish model reflects to statistics. For instance, Tur-

key's participation in ODA has decreased from %60 to %4.4 from 2003 to 2012 (Hausmann 2014, p.16).

Apart from mutual interest and bilateral relations, emerging donors are differentiated from traditional donors in several ways. Emerging powers have been attempting to employ firstly their national goods for providing humanitarian aid (Gilley 2015). Besides, emerging powers are seen as less transparent than traditional donors in terms of tracking and control of the humanitarian aid. Since the lack of international institutions and organisations like OECD, there is no control mechanisms on the humanitarian aid comes from emerging powers. Also, emerging donors do not provide sufficient information about humanitarian aid. According to analyses of Overall Transparency Index, non-DAC countries (emerging powers) are far away from the criteria of DAC in respect to the accountability and the transparency of the assistance (Palagashvili and Williamson 2014, p.9-10).

CHAPTER 4. TURKEY'S HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY IN SOMALIA AS AN EMERGING POWER

4.1 Introduction

In August 2011, The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) had a conference in Istanbul where OIC countries promised to give \$350 million as an economic assistance to Somalia. After the conference, then Prime Minister of Turkey now President of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, visited Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia, who was the first leader from outside Africa to travel to Mogadishu since 1991 (BBC 2011).

The timing of Erdoğan's historic visit to Somalia is one of the significant stop of the growing trends of Turkish foreign policy between 2010 and 2013 in general context. Thanks to its fast growing economy and changing in international environment particularly in the Middle East, Turkey started to seeking influence over a wide territory including the Middle East, Balkans, Caucasus and East Asian and Sub Saharan Africa. In other words, growing material capacity of state and increasing activism of Turkish foreign policy and its scope have peaked between 2010 and 2013 in both Western World and post-Ottomans space.

In the following period of visit to Somalia, Erdoğan also made various historic visits to the Middle Eastern countries such as Egypt, Libya and Tunisia in the context of the Arab Spring which has paved the way for Islamists and pro-Turkish governments to take power in a number of Arab countries (Arman 2015). Turkey has emerged as a model country for the muslim-Arab countries since its democratic-secular regimes and fast growing economies. Many Arab countries

and its peoples welcomed Turkey's increasing political and cultural activism in Arab world. Public opinion surveys between 2010 and 2012 showed that approximately 60 percent of the Arab public saw Turkey as a model and believed that Turkey could contribute positively to the transformation of the Arab world. In short Turkey has been started to show as a model muslim country to the Arab countries during the Arab Spring (Kirişçi 2013). The prime minister of Turkey Erdoğan and undoubtedly the most important figure of Turkish Politics emerged as a hero of Arabian streets in this period.

Erdoğan and western world had also such a honeymoon between 2010 and 2013. The relations with EU and U.S reached President Obama declared that "Erdogan was one of five world leaders with whom he felt the closest relations". Former Secretary of U.S Hillary Clinton said that Erdogan's leadership in the Middle East, stating in 2011, at the early stage of the Syrian crisis, that the United States would follow Turkey's lead (Fradkin and Libby 2013). According to important authors in the West, "Erdoğan's Turkey shows political Islam does not need to be an enemy of modernity" (Hürriyet Daily News 2011).

Apart from Turkey's growing interest to Somalia and Middle Eastern countries, Erdoğan and Davutoğlu also visited problematic muslim population regions of the world such as Beijing, Myanmar, Kirkuk and Gaza. Therefore, it can be claimed that Turkey's engagement in Somalia is one of the growing trend of the Turkish foreign policy between 2010 and 2013. The increasing activism of foreign policy and its scope have reached to Somalia.

Thus, Somalia has become a face of changing Turkish foreign policy. Furthermore, Somalia has been the biggest recipient of foreign aid in Africa which

received the aid mostly from Turkey and it has always been found in top three of the Turkish aid list in the last five years (Vauge 2016, p.2). The rapprochement which began with the humanitarian aid includes food, health, shelter, infrastructure and water management proceeded towards further establishment of the military base and militaristic training (ICG 2012). Turkey expects to open its first military base in the horn of Africa which is under construction. Besides, the Somalian Police Forces are being trained in Turkey nowadays (SaferWorld 2015).

On the other hand, since Turkey has been played an active role in war against the Al-Shaab, Turkish institutions and people have become one of the most important targets of the terrorist group in the Somalia. Turkish delegations and embassy were attacked by the Al-Shabab several times. More than 10 people lost their lives and many wounded in the attacks through the last decade.

Also, Somalia has been facing several challenges due to internal problems such as conflict between tribes, territorial issues and cultural diversity since the creation of the independent Republic of Somalia. Nevertheless, it is very clear that tribalism is the reality of Somalia and will continue to occupy its dominant position in the near future. Therefore, Turkey demands to play a mediator role to solve fundamental problems of Somalia. It can be said that Turkey has become one of the most important political actors in the domestic politics of Somalia through playing a proactive role in the state building and peace building process of the country (Akpinar 2013, p.747).

In this framework, this chapter discusses the humanitarian diplomacy of Turkey in Somalia regarding practices and institutions as it resembles the chang-

ing face of Turkish Foreign Policy. Besides, geopolitical, economical and diplomatic motivations of Turkey are given to understand the neoclassical assumptions of Turkey in Somalia, more importantly in the horn of the Africa. As it will be mentioned, Turkey's activism in Somalia is based on the long-term interests such as diplomatic cooperation in the international institutions and organisations, strategic partnerships in the field of the military and economic and cultural ties with the Somalian people through education and training.

4.2 Background of Turkey-Somalia Relations

Historically, relationship between Somalia and Turkey goes back to the Ottoman Sultanate. Although there were no official relations between Somalians and Ottomans, historians argue that Ottomans supported Somalians and local people against the Ethiopians and Portuguese during the colonisation process of Somalia. Indeed, there was a growing struggle between Ottomans and Portuguese in the Horn of Africa at that time, and it is not surprising to see that Ottoman's influence in the land of Somalia due to its geopolitical significance and the large Muslim population (Özbaran 2009).

The relationship between Somalia and Turkey in modern times was introduced in 1979 and embassies were opened in the same year in Somalia and Turkey. It is interesting that Somalia was also the first state which took development assistance from Turkey in 1985. After the collapse of the government which is followed by a bloody civil war, Somalia was placed on the agenda of the international society and Turkey joined in the peace-keeping operations of the UN. Turkey was also one of the members of the peace-keeping operations of the UN at

the beginning of 1990s. General Çevik Bir was appointed as the force commander of the UN operation in 1991. However, the failure of the peace-keeping operations and ongoing civil unrest influenced the relationship between Somalia and Turkey. Turkey had been stood away from Somalia for a long time until 2011.

In 2007, Turkish Prime Minister Erdoğan and the President of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed came together in the Adiba Summit of African Union. In that summit, Erdoğan was invited by the Somalian President to Somalia to discuss the current situation in Somalia. However, this meeting never happened. In the following period, the two leader also met in the General Assembly of the UN in 2009 to discuss the general situation in Somalia.

At the beginning of 2011, even though Somalia was kind of a failed state since 1991, the humanitarian crises peaked as a result of the extreme drought. The country faced a terrible famine between 2010 and 2012. As a consequence of the famine, 226.000 people lost their lives and more than 4 million Somalian had to migrate to the neighbouring countries. In July 2011, the UN declared the famine in the southern part of Somalia and called the international society to prevent the humanitarian crises in the country. Since then, Somalia has been on the agenda of the international society with its humanitarian crises. At the same time, many countries withdrew their delegations from Somalia and warned their citizens not to travel to Somalia due to the security problems in the country.

On the other hand, despite the western nations were warning their people about the dangerous situation in Somalia and particularly in Mogadishu, Turkey

was preparing to make one of the historic visits to Somalia. Erdoğan made this significant visit with the large number of statesmen, business person, civil society groups, and well-known figures such as the Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoğlu, Deputy Prime Minister Bekir Bozdağ, Minister of Family and Social Policy Fatma Şahin, Minister of Health Recep Akdağ, and Minister of Food, Agriculture and Livestock Mehdi Eker. Alongside the politicians, the entertainment artists such as Sertab Erener, Nihat Dogan, Ajda Pekkan, Muazzez Ersoy, and the prominent businesspeople such as the President of TÜSIAD, Ümit Boyner, and the President of ASO, Nurettin Özdebir were among the participators of the visit. In this framework, the visit of Erdoğan might be seen as a turning point in the relationship between Turkey and Somalia in 2011 (BBC 2011). Since then, the relationship between Turkey and Somalia has started to improve not only in the field of humanitarian assistance, but also, Turkey has begun to influence the field of the security, diplomacy, and economy in the Horn of Africa as the next section will examine these in greater detail.

4.3 Motivations of Turkey in Somalia

Turkey's engagement in Somalia has also several dimensions including geopolitics, economics, diplomacy and politics. As an emerging power, Turkey is one of the largest economies in the world and seeking new markets particularly in Africa to continue to contribute to the continent's sustainable development in the near future. Turkey's economic expansion policy in African countries was introduced in 2005 named as "Africa Year". In the following period, Turkey's economic ex-

pansion was followed by geopolitical, diplomatic and political motivations. The following sections analyse the motivations of Turkey in Somalia since 2011.

4.3.1 Geopolitical Motivations of Turkey: Power Vacuum in Somalia

Somalia gained its independence in 1960 and named as Somali Republic when the long rule of Great Britain and Italy ended. However, Somalia was ruled by democracy for a very short time period. In the 1969, Somali experienced a military coup for the first time taken place by General Mohammed Siad. White (2009) describes the period under the military coup as “people felt increasingly alienated by their own government, which led them to define themselves more by tribal association than nationality” (p.1). Indeed, the following period after the military coup, Somalia has never been a “state” in the textual terms. Soon after, the country started to shake with external and internal problems. The war with Ethiopia in the shadow of rivalry between the United States and Soviet Union and competition among tribes have opened a way of collapsing state mechanisms in the country. Although Siad was overthrown and forced to leave the country, the new regime could not provide the consensus among tribes. Then, the country went into one of the worst bloody civil wars in the near modern history while the rest of the world started to welcome new era named as the Post-Cold War (Poole 2005). After the Cold War, the United States introduced peace keeping operations in Somalia named as UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II to avoid the human suffering and starvation. However, operations were not successful. Moreover, two US helicopters were shot down known as “Black Hawk Down Incident” which led to the isolation of the country by the US and rest of the world. Since then, Somalia has not

been found a place in the priorities of American Foreign Policy, even, the US closed its embassy in 1991 and opened it again in 2014 (Bruton 2016, p.6).

Somalia was divided into several regions during the civil war which started at the beginning of 1990s. Nowadays, there are three main regions in the land of Somalia which are Somaliland, Mogadishu(Somalia) and Puntland. However, when the civil war gained its speed in 2012 between the Islamic army organisation Al-Shabab and the Somalian army, the capital Mogadishu was occupied by the Al-Shabab. In 2012, The UN Secretary-General Ban-ki Moon made a call to international society to avoid the “power vacuum” and added that the “international community must strengthen security and increase aid in order to head off the warlords.” (Al-jezeera, 2012). By the time of this important call made by the Ban Ki Moon, Erdogan travelled to Somalia. Wasuge (2016, p.5), a researcher in Mogadishu, describes the timing of Erdogan’s visit as the following:

“It occurred at a time when much of the rest of the world was keeping an arm’s length, largely engaging by remote control from offices in neighbouring Kenya, with the occasional short trip to Mogadishu’s heavily fortified airport. Feeling ignored by the outside world, that their country had become a byword for failed state, Somalis were energized by the visit.”

It is very clear that when Turkey started to engage with Somalia, there was a power vacuum not only in the domestic sphere, but also many states including the US and UK were standing far away from Somalia due to security concerns. Thus, this power vacuum has been the main factor which opened a channel for

Turkey to engage in Somalia. In the following sections, I will analyse other motivations of Turkey such as economical, diplomatic and ideological.

4.3.2. Economic Motivations of Turkey

The robust development in Turkey's economy in the last decade extended its frontiers in the Turkish Foreign Affairs. Becoming an emerging power, with the rank of 17th largest economy in the world by 2014, increased the activism of Turkey in the international arena. In that way, seeking new markets has been a major principle of Turkish Economy in the AKP period. Since the African countries still have large potential for emerging market economies, Turkey improved its economic policies towards the African countries as it is an emerging power. In this sense, Turkey named the year 2005 as the "African year" which also means that the year 2005 was a year indicating the increased economic relations with Africa (Enwere and Yılmaz 2014, p.223).

In following period, Turkey opened "Commercial Consulates" in 26 African countries and signed Trade and Economic Cooperation agreements with 38 countries. Besides, Turkey established business councils with Sub-Saharan countries. Thus Turkey's bilateral trade with African countries increased three times from 2003 to 2015 and Turkey achieved 17,5 billion USD in 2015 out of this bilateral trade with African countries. Also, trade volume with Sub-Saharan Africa expanded to 6 billion USD in 2015 (Foreign Affairs 2016). Turkey expects to reach \$50 billion of trade volume with African countries by 2023 in the framework of "2023 goals" of the government (Anatolia Agency 2014). On the other hand, The United States trade volumes with sub-Saharan African countries de-

clined since 2011 (International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development 2016).

The power vacuum in Somalia presents large economic opportunities for Turkey. The growing relations between Turkey and Somalia reflects by the statistics. Turkey's bilateral trade with Somalia increased 72,3 million USD in 2015. Construction, goods and services occupy the most amount of trade between these two countries (Foreign Affairs 2014). More importantly, Turkish companies became priority choice for the investment in Somalia as a result of mutual interest of emerging powers. Turkey manages the Somalian airport since 2014. Besides, one of the most important investments of Turkey in Somalia is the Somalian seaport which has a very significant geographical position in the country. The seaport will be managed by the Albayrak Group, a Turkish company, in the next 20 years. (Daily Sabah 2015).

Thus, trade relations and economic cooperation has increased between Turkey and Somalia in the last decade since Somalia presents many more economic opportunities for Turkey. Even though Somalia has lack of technical knowledge in the field of economy, Somalia still has a substantial economic potential. Also, internal conflicts influenced Somalian economy in a negative way. When Somalia overcomes the difficulties in domestic arena, it can be strongly claimed that Somalia would be one of the most important economic partner of Turkey in Sub-Saharan Africa in the near future.

4.3.3. Diplomatic Motivations of Turkey

Considering the shift in the Turkish Foreign Policy, Turkey has started to establish close diplomatic relations with African countries, thus, it increased the number of

embassies in Africa in recent times. The number of Turkish embassies extended from 12 to 39 in the last 10 years in Africa. Most of the new embassies was opened in Sub-Saharan Africa (Foreign Affairs 2014). The following period of Erdogan's visit to Somalia, Turkey opened an embassy in the capital, Mogadishu. Meanwhile, the embassy of Turkey in Mogadishu has been closed since the 1991 until it is reopened again in August 2011. Turkey also began sending flights to Somalia on March 2012 via Turkish Airlines (THY). Nowadays, there are daily flights from Istanbul to Mogadishu (TRT World 2015).

While Turkey was conducting these policies in Somalia, many states were avoiding from the country due to its security problems. Instead of opening an embassy in Somalia, many countries preferred to open their embassies in neighbouring Kenya. Although China is well-known to start the engagement with Africa, the Chinese embassy in Somalia is reopened in 2014 (Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Somalia 2014). Two decades after the Black Hawk incident, Secretary of State of the US John Kerry visited Somalia and promised to improve relations with Somalia while Turkey had already been an influential actor in Somalia in last four years. Therefore, improving relations with Somalia was crucial to Turkey, while other states have been avoiding establish relations with Somalia.

Alongside the human suffering, Somalia is a state which was isolated from the rest of the world. For a long time, Somalia keeps its place in the agenda of the human rights and Least Development Programs. Supporting Somalia has become a remarkable project of Turkey in international area. In 2010, Istanbul held the first Somalia conference by taking support of the UN. In the conference, there were representatives of 55 countries and 12 international organisations including

the UN Secretary General, the African Union and the Islamic Cooperation Organisation (Özkan 2014). The second Somalia Summit was held in Istanbul 2012 named as “Somalia’s Future: Goals for 2015” (Foreign Affairs 2012). Also, Turkey held the world’s first humanitarian summit with the support of the UN in May 2016.

Broadly speaking, Turkey has been distinguished in the field of humanitarian actions in recent times. As a third dimension of Humanitarian Diplomacy based on Davutoğlu’s perspective, Turkey desires to represent humanitarian policies in international politics. Özkan (2014, p.1) describes relationships between Turkey and Somalia as “litmus test” which demonstrates improving relations with other African countries. Consequence of Turkey’s humanitarian policy would determine the behaviour of the rest of the African countries towards Turkey in the near future. In the process of Turkey’s candidacy for having a non-permanent seat in the UN Security Council in 2009, Turkey took the support of 51 of the 53 African countries.

4.3.4. Ideological Motivations of Turkey: Political Will

Turkey’s engagement in Somalia cannot be understood without thinking the ideology of Turkish Foreign Policy and political will of Turkey in sustaining foreign policies in the last decades which is mentioned earlier in the beginning of this study that explains assumptions of neoclassical realism. Although Turkey has some economic and diplomatic interests in Somalia, such a large attitude cannot be explained by taking only the national interests of state into account. Turkey has been taking a lot of risks in Somalia in terms of both security and economic means.

On this way, one of the significant assumptions of the neo-classical realism comes forward to explain such a situation. The ideological perspective of ruling elites has become a significant driving force of Turkey in Somalia. When Turkey started being active in Somalia, the country was under the threat of Al-Shabab and internal conflicts between tribes. There was no security in many parts of the Somalia. Furthermore, Turkey has become the most important targets of these terrorist groups because Turkey has direct relations with the Somalian people. So that, Turkey lost its soldiers and citizens as a result of suicide attacks of terrorist organisations against Turkish Embassy in Somalia 2013. However, Turkey maintained policies in Somalia. Davutoğlu said after the bomb attack that “there will be no change in Turkey’s policy towards Somalia and Turkey will continue to stand by Somalian people” (Foreign Affairs 2013). Former President of Turkish Grand National Assembly, Cemil Cicek, stressed anti-Turkey policies in Somalia after the suicide attack by saying that “We understand that we stepped on someone's foot” and he added that “Turkey becomes more effective in that region every other day Turkey tries to show the increasing of life standards there by holding humanitarian projects via different ways and methods” (Hürriyet 2013).

In the following period, Al-Shabab carried on its targets against Turkish personals, soldiers and embassies in Somalia for several times. Ahead of the President Erdoğan visiting Somalia, Al-Shabab exploited a bomb in the hotel where the Turkish delegation was waiting Erdoğan (Anadolu Agency 2015). The last attack targeted Turkish teachers in 2016 in which two Turkish citizens and four Somalian lost their lives when they were going to go their home (Reuters 2016). Thus, it is very clear that Turkey faced serious challenges with the immense secu-

rity problems in Somalia. This is why a very strong political will promoted continuity and sustainability of the Turkey's policy in Somalia.

Davutoğlu also employs an ideological rhetoric to describe relations between Turkey and Somalia "Our destiny is tied to the destiny of the Somalian people ... this is a strategic choice" (cited in International Crises Group 2012, p. 3). In so doing, Davutoğlu explained his views in Somalia as:

"Somalia became a symbol of Turkey's perspective on the African continent and our wish to establish brotherhood with other African countries. We came to Somalia to show our solidarity with the brothers and sisters of Somalia, but this is not just for one day, we will continue to work for our brothers and sisters, and we will never leave them alone. There was a perception that nobody can go to Mogadishu; we try to destroy the perception. We came - many others can come" (BBC 2011).

On the other hand, this ideological perspective is not limited with the ruling elites in Turkey. The domestic variables including civil society, particularly Islamic NGOs have also been playing important role in humanitarian diplomacy of Turkey in Somalia. The next section analyses the domestic factors which influence Turkey's policy in Somalia.

4.4 Humanitarian Diplomacy of Turkey

With the increasing visibility of human sufferance in the global society, international relations have started to face a new term which is called as humanitari-

an diplomacy. According to International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), there are 89 different definitions of humanitarian diplomacy (Akpınar 2013, p.737). Although there is no consensus on the definition of Humanitarian Diplomacy in the literature of international relations, humanitarian diplomacy implies the humanitarian activism of states and non-state actors towards humanitarian crises including food crisis, climate changes, extreme poverty, water scarcity, migration, internal violence and population growth (Regnier 2011). On the other hand, humanitarian diplomacy also refers to “national co-operation agencies and ministries such as foreign affairs, defence, development and civil protection comprising humanitarian aid departments to respond to domestic or international emergencies” (Regnier 2011,p.1212). Davutoğlu describes the humanitarian diplomacy approach of Turkey in three dimensions. The first aspect of humanitarian diplomacy refers to providing independent mobilisation of Turkish citizens; the second aspect refers to protection of people who are facing crises in their geography regardless of their nation and religion; and last aspect refers to representing human-oriented policy in international organisation and institutions mainly in the UN (Davutoğlu 2013, p.867-869). In doing so, Davutoğlu’s approach implies the expansion of Turkish Foreign Policy, particularly towards the former Ottoman regions. In order to achieving this purpose, the humanitarian policy has become an important instrument of the Turkish Foreign Policy in the last decade. However, policies of Davutoğlu led to debates about frontiers of Turkey’s humanitarian policy towards foreign states.

The second dimension of humanitarian diplomacy contains important points which sheds light on the Turkish Foreign Policy in the last decade. The ar-

gument of “regardless of nationality and religion” challenged with the established regimes came from the Westphalian state system which is based on the national identity. As different from this system, the multidimensional identity-based approach of Turkey includes historical and geographical ties (Haşhemi 2014, p. 139). In this way, geographical imagination of Davutoğlu substantiated as humanitarian activism in Muslim countries. On the other hand, realists consider the humanitarian policy as “duties beyond borders” which legitimizes the foreign policy of states by providing humanitarian aid (Akpınar 2013, p.738).

To sum up, Davutoğlu’s humanitarian diplomacy also demonstrates that the change in Turkish Foreign Policy is not limited to the assumptions of the nation-state. Rather, Turkey seeks a long term relation with developing countries in the fields of politics, economics and culture. Hence, Humanitarian diplomacy has many responsibilities in extending Turkish foreign policy.

4.5 Turkey’s Humanitarian Diplomacy in Somalia: Turkish Model

Turkey’s humanitarian diplomacy, as an emerging power, is distinguished from traditional actors in several ways. First of all, it should be noted that Turkish Model implies the direct relations with ordinary people in Somalia. As one Somali describes “Turkey is the McDonalds of Mogadishu. Its flags are as omnipresent in the city as the golden arches of McDonalds fast food restaurants are in the US” (cited in Harper 2013, p.64). Somali president Hassan Sheikh Mahmud defines the Turkish model as:

“The Turkish model in Somalia is very, very clear ... They said we want to do this thing in Somalia, and they do it. They don't have the restrictions that many of the Western world has got. They are there. They come there, starting from their top leadership, the prime minister of the country with his family.... They are building or implementing projects that are really tangible ones (Mahamud, 2013, cited in Tank, 2015, p.4).”

Like many other emerging powers, Turkey has been using bilateral relations for providing aid. However, Somalian case has more special attitudes which is related to the failure state mechanisms in Somalia. In other words, there is no state mechanism in Somalia to create bilateral relations in the very beginning of humanitarian activism of Turkey. Although Somalia establishes some fundamental mechanism of state, there is still a large vacuum regarding institutionalisation of those mechanisms. So that, Turkey uses their own personals including soldiers and statesman to fill the vacuum in Somalia. TIKA (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency) is the most important state institution of Turkey in Somalia which was established in 1992. However, TIKA was seen as passive until the AKP government came to power in 2002. Since then, TIKA has become the most significant instrument of Turkish Foreign Policy toward Balkans, Middle East, Caucasus and African countries (Tank 2015, p.3). In the same period, TIKA also increased its capabilities apart from the humanitarian aid. The Agency has started to develop educational and cultural projects for developing countries such as restoration of Ottoman heritage. TIKA is not the only institution of Turkey working ac-

tively in Somalia. Emergency Management Agency (AFAD), Religious Affairs Directorate in the Prime Ministry and the Turkish Red Crescent are the main state institutions which are used for providing aid in different parts of the world (Saferworld 2015, p.9).

Therefore, TIKA and other state institutions have become major players in Somalia. The activism of TIKA which began with humanitarian aid went through further improvements such as education, health, agriculture, infrastructure and water management (Foreign Affairs). Alongside the TIKA, NGOs have been very active in Somalia as earlier mentioned. These state institutions and activisms of NGOs constitutes the “Turkish Model” in Somalia (Haşimi 2014, p.133-138). Almost all aids are provided by using direct ways in Somalia through bypassing the international institutions and organizations. In other words, the institutions of Turkish state and NGOs created direct relations with local partners in Somalia. The Turkish Model which is constituted by these activisms and policies is defined by Ali (2010, p.72) as:

“While traditional powers are on the periphery waiting for Somalia to stabilize before investing, Turkey is investing in the stabilization of Somalia. Ankara is rebuilding roads, schools, hospitals, and airports, and is also helping with other infrastructure projects. By bypassing the bureaucracy of the UN and delivering humanitarian aid directly to Somalia’s needy people, Turkey is laying the foundation for its unconventional foray into Africa. It is

sending a powerful and resonating message that Turkey does business unlike anyone else”.

The Somalian case demonstrates the new Turkish Foreign Policy which is able to set direct relations with the local people through establishing a Turkish Model. Thus, Turkey, different from the other emerging powers, goes beyond the bilateral relations in terms of state to state relations. The visible and tangible relations of Turkey and Somalian people are seen as the main features of Turkish Model by the Somalian (Wasuge 2016, p.23). However, such a policy also led to concerns in Somalia in the way that international institutions and organisations challenge Turkey in providing economic assistance and humanitarian aid to Somalia. On the other hand, Turkey’s Humanitarian Diplomacy can be observed in different implementation with state and non governmental organisations as it will be mentioned in the following sections.

4.5.1. Food, Water and Shelter Assistance

Turkey’s humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia began by providing the basic human needs of the locals. Distributing foods, pharmaceutical, food and hygiene products, has gone further, and these initiatives gave further implications in the field of health, education and development assistance. According to the data of TİKA (2016), Turkey has provided more than 22,000 tons of humanitarian aid including pharmaceutical, food and hygiene products which cost 50 million dollars as well as supplying 15 airlines and eight maritime since 2011. TİKA has drilled a total of 37 water wells in Somalia since 2011 (including Somaliland). According to 2016

Somalia Report of TİKA, potable and running water needs of about half a million people have been met through these projects (TİKA 2016).

The Turkish Red Crescent has also played a significant role to ensure the fundamental needs of the Somalian. The state institutions of Turkey settled mobile bakeries and kitchens in the Jazeera Tent City to provide the necessities of three hospitals, four disabled centres, 19 orphanages and child rehabilitation centre. The Turkish Red Crescent also provided tents for 3,175 families in Somalia. In this small tent city, The Turkish Red Crescent has been working in cooperation with UNICEF to fulfil the needs of the children (TİKA 2016).

Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) of Turkey is an another state institution which has played an active role in the Somalia. Named as “Somalia Potable Water Supply” which was supported by the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works dependent on Ministry of Forestry and Water Affairs, AFAD established 20 draw wells of potable water and utility water from which almost 175.000 people benefited (AFAD 2013).

4.5.2. Health Service Assistance

Somalia faces some pressing health problems for a long time. The country challenged with a famine since 2011. Therefore, the lack of effective health service is still the main issue in Somalia. Thus, Turkish state institutions and NGOs provided health service in the capital Mogadishu, Somaliland and other parts of the country since 2011.

In this sense, 200 beds were opened in Somalia-Turkey Training and Research Hospital in Mogadishu by the President Erdoğan in 2015. The hospital is

seen one of the most modern hospitals in the Horn of Africa so that the hospital is also planned the health centre of the region in the following years. Since 2011, Turkish Ministry of Health established four regional hospitals in the capital Mogadishu and around the city. More than 350.000 people have benefited from the health service provided by Turkey so far, and it costs 16-million-dollar assistance including ambulances, power generators, and medications in the field of the health service (TİKA 2016).

Alongside the new hospitals, TİKA also started to renovate existing hospitals in Somalia such as Berbera Hospital and Galkoya Hospital. Hence, Turkish state institutions and NGO's, nowadays, are operating the three hospitals and several regional health centres in Somalia. More importantly, these health centres jointly governed by Turkish and Somalian health members.

4.5.3. Infrastructure and Transportation Assistance

Since infrastructure and construction are the dynamic sectors of Turkish economy both at home and abroad, Turkish investments have been occupying the many needs of Somalian since 2011. In this sense, the Mogadishu's Aden Airport was modified by Turkish companies and started to work for international flights since March 2015. Another important transportation location is the seaport which has a geopolitically substantial position in the country and was reopened by Turkish companies in 2015 (TİKA 2016).

In terms of infrastructural investments, Turkey has been the only foreign state who is responsible for constructing roads between critical locations such as

government buildings, airport, seaport and centre of the capital Mogadishu. Besides, Turkey assists Somalia regarding the training and technical sense.

4.5.4. Education and Training Assistance

Turkey and Somalia nowadays going to go for a long term cooperation for the future of Somalia. In this context, education and training of the Somalian people have occupied a significant place in the Turkish Humanitarian Policy that can be seen as a strong element of Turkey's activism in Somalia.

In this framework, apart from the NGOs, state institutions opened some educational and training schools such as nursing school and technical vocational high school in Somalia. Besides, Civil Aviation Applied Training Centre in Mogadishu and professional schools in electricity, construction, textile plumbing, mechanics, and hairdressing are recently being constructed by the Turkish government in cooperation with the Somalian government.

Turkish state institutions have also been carrying out projects out of Somalia. In Somaliland, Galkayo Vocational Training Centre and the Centre for Youth and Sport are being built by Turkey to ensure the construction, furnishing and training needs of the Somalian people.

An increasing number of scholarships is another dimension of Turkish Humanitarian Policy. In this regard, Somalia receives the highest number of Turkish Government scholarships granted to the 2000 students from Sub-Saharan African countries. Many Somalian students were currently receiving scholarships from Turkish government as well as private fundings in Turkey (TİKA 2016).

4.5.5. Capacity Building Assistance

Turkey has been playing an important role in the capacity building process of Somalia in recent times. Particularly, the lack of human resource has been one of the reasons which led to the collapse of the state in the near past. Turkey and Somalia have been engaging in close cooperation in terms of human resource. Two states have signed several agreements between institutions of Somalia and Turkey to increase the human resource capacity of Somalia.

In this framework, Turkish Foreign Ministry has been organising training programs for the young candidate Somalian diplomats since the 2014. A total of 22 diplomat candidates who came from both Somalia and Somaliland participated in the joint program so far. Besides, Turkey supports the development of communication systems of some diplomatic missions of Somalia in terms of the data centre.

As a result of the civil war and the competition between tribes, the local administrations of Somalia were almost collapsed. Even today, many local administrations are governed or operated by the lack of sufficient human resources. Many cities are lack of the basic and fundamental needs such as discharging of waste. In order to re-establish the local state institutions and supporting the former local administration are vital for the ordinary Somalian. Therefore, TIKA and Istanbul municipality have organised training programs to support urbanisation process of Somalia in the following period of the destructive civil war. In this regard, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in coordination with Union of Turkish World Municipalities (TDBB) was organised these trainings for the Somalian people.

Turkey and Somalia are also in cooperation regarding to rehabilitate the judiciary system of the country which is important to gain the trust of the local people against the system and maintain the peace-building process of the state. In this context, 15 senior judiciary members of Somalia joined in training and seminar programs on "Turkish Judicial System" at the Justice Academy of Turkey in January and November 2015. More importantly, Turkey has been playing significant role the in the revision of the constitution in recent times.

In cooperation of TİKA and TRT, Somalia is being prepared to build a new radio station in the near future. Also, The Headquarters of Somali Congress of Trade Unions is being renovated by TİKA and HAK-İŞ (TİKA 2016). As such, Turkey has been playing a significant role in terms of the capacity building process of Somalia. Nowadays, most of the institutions and members of these institutions have been developed with the guidance of Turkey. Such a cooperation is also important to assume the sustainability of the relations in the near future. As an emerging power, Turkey have tried to gain influence in the future elite's of the country.

4.5.6. Security Assistance

It is widely accepted that safety and instability are the main challenges of Somalia since the beginning of the 1990s. Moreover, rising of the Al-Shabab in recent times have added to the security problems of Somalia. Nowadays, Mogadishu is seen as one of the most dangerous cities in the world and many countries warn their citizens not to travel to this city.

For a long time, Somalia have suffered from lack of official security institutions and their members. The private security sector is still very popular

throughout the country. In this regard, Turkey has started to support development in the field of the security in recent times. Two states have organised several visits to increase the capabilities of Somalia. In 2016, Mr. Mohamed Sheikh Hasan who is the Director General of Somalia Force visited Turkey. In this visit, Departments of Special Operations, Counter-Terrorism, and Intelligence of Turkish National Police gave briefings to the Somalian delegation. Also, a total of 144 members of the Somalia Police Force trained in the Turkey between 2012 and 2015 in the name of the “Heegan Plan.”

Turkish Army and Somalia Army also have been going to cooperation to increase technical and human resource capability of the Somalian Army. In this framework, the Turkish General Staff plans to open training centres and military academies in Mogadishu in the name of "Anatolia-Somalia Joint Military Training Centre”, where a Turkish Military Task Force will be providing training by the needs of the Somali Armed Forces (TIKA 2016).

Regarding training of the Somalian, a total of 60 officers and 50 non-commissioned Somali officers were trained in Turkey, who returned to Somalia in July 2014 to resume their duties. Besides, totally 85 officers and 38 non-commissioned officers were received in Turkey in November 2014 for a year-long training. Currently, 56 cadets are being received in the long-term training at military schools. For the years of 2016 and 2017, 278 cadets will be training in Turkey. Also, 18 students foreseen to become teachers in Somali War Academies, are now studying in the Turkish universities. 3 Generals and 7 Colonels of the Somali Armed Forces had training as well in November 2013.

As a result of the Military and Financial Cooperation and Assistance Protocol between Turkey and Somalia, and aid-in-kind, approximately 2 million 650 thousand US Dollars was given for the purchase of technical needs of Somalian National Army. For the 2014 and 2015 financial years, the Turkish General Staff also supported to 20.7 million Turkish Liras (7 million USD) in total to Somalia in the field of security.

4.6 Domestic Influence and Islamic NGOs

Domestic determinants in Turkey's engagement in Somalia is not limited to ruling elites. Rather, there has been growing awareness in the Turkish Society particularly among Islamic conservative grounds. It can be claimed that such an orientation and help of the population constitute a significant driving force of the government to continue to provide sustainable aid to Somalia. For instance, a campaign of the government successfully increase attention to humanitarian crises in Somalia in the holy month of Ramadan in 2011. In this way, public donations through NGOs working for Africa increased from 56 million dollars to 280 million dollars from 2005 to 2013 (Safe World 2015, p.4). The public donation for Somalia achieved 130 million dollars in the last five years (Presidency of Turkey 2016).

On the other hand, the Islamic NGOs, mainly the Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH) and Gülen movement, have been very active in Somalia through using human resource despite security problems. They worked co-ordinately with the local partners. Cataract operations, building schools and hospitals, training the Somalian personnel are the main subjects of these NGOs in Somalia. More importantly, these NGOs have strong links with the ordinary people in So-

malia since they could create the common languages regarding to religion and history. Thus, these activisms of Turkish NGOs facilitated Turkey's engagement in Somalia (Özkan 2015, p.48-49). The next section discusses the role of the NGO's in Somalia.

4.6.1. IHH (The Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief)

Turkey's leading Islamic charity foundation IHH (The Foundation for Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief) is one of the largest umbrella organisations in Turkey in terms of humanitarian assistance. IHH has made a significant contribution to the humanitarian diplomacy of Turkey, particularly in Somalia since 2011. Founded in 1992 in Istanbul, IHH has been working to deliver humanitarian aid to people who are in need, who are in a war, who are suffering from famine all around the world regardless of their race, religion, sect, or language (IHH). IHH has recently become one of the assistants of the Turkish foreign policy especially towards Muslim countries and former Ottoman territories. Since IHH and its headquarters have the significant ties with the Muslim countries in the context of the leadership, civil society, and wing leader, IHH has been playing a facilitating role between relations Turkey and Muslim countries as in Somalia. As IHH is different from other NGO's, it has been working actively in Somalia since the middle of the 1990s by cooperating with the local people and some organizations. Therefore, IHH was already in Somalia before Turkey officially introduced its humanitarian diplomacy to Somalia so that IHH made a positive contribution to Turkey's activism in Somalia (International Crises Group 2012, p.12).

Discussing the activism of IHH in Somalia, the humanitarian aid which began delivering the Qurbani and drilling the water wells went further implications such as the foundation of the university, building hospitals and training the Somalian in humanitarian relief organizations. Since the mid-1990s, IHH drilled 370 water wells in Somalia. In the following period of the visit of Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the activism of IHH gained momentum in Somalia. Regarding humanitarian aid, IHH distributed humanitarian assistance to 2.5 million people by spending 20 million USD. To improve health conditions of the locals in Somalia, IHH operated the free cataract surgery for 12.000 people since the fact that cataract is one of the leading health issues in the Somalia. More than 1.500 refugees were placed in humanitarian camps, and over 10.000 children were sponsored by the IHH to meet their needs. Also, 14 mosques were restored as well as the Qurans were freely distributed by the IHH across the country. In this way, IHH and Zamzam Foundation opened the Anatolia Education Center in 2013 and settled 1500 students into the centre (IHH 2016).

IHH has participated in long termed projects in Mogadishu in cooperation with TİKA. In this framework, the first agricultural school in the country was founded in capital Mogadishu in 2013 and transformed the University of Zemzem in the following period. The University offered theoretical and practical training courses to farmers in the context of soil cultivation, seeding, weeding, irrigation, seed production and conservation, apiculture and animal husbandry (TİKA 2016).

Besides, IHH has tried to cooperate with the other international humanitarian organizations such as Qatar Red Crescent. By this cooperation, 10.000 tons

of emergency humanitarian aid was provided by IHH and Qatar Red Crescent. Also, a primary school was opened by these organizations where more than 200 students were placed. Tropical Disease Centre, opened by IHH and Qatar Red Crescents in Afgoive City in Shabelle to provide a free-of-charge health against epidemic diseases such as malaria, anaemia, hepatitis, dermatological diseases, diarrhea, dysentery, typhoid, and measles (IHH 2012). Moreover, IHH and the Saudi Arabia-based Islamic Development Bank (IDB) are currently building 36 solar-powered water wells in Somalia costing over \$6 million.

4.6.2. Kimse Yok Mu (Is Anybody Out there)

Kimse Yok Mu (KYM, “Is Anybody Out There”) was also one of the proactive Islamic NGOs in Somalia which is the branch of the Fethullah Gülen group. However, nowadays, all institutions of the movement have been impounded by the Turkish state as a result of 15th July failed coup attempt that was made by Fethullah Gülen group. As a result, these organizations and schools of the Fethullah Gülen in Somalia were either shut down or impounded, and the workers and teachers working in these institutions were displaced from Somalia. In this displacement and impoundment, the support of the elites and locals of the Somalia was very substantial to understand the close relations between Somalia and Turkey regarding the political solidarity. Somalia was, therefore, the first state which closed the Gülen institutions in abroad after the 15 July Coup Attempt. Hence, Turkey’s humanitarian diplomacy has worked very well and got a really favourable response by Somalia.

Considering the activism of the Gülen group also named as FETÖ Terrorist Organisation as it defined by the decision of the National Security Council of Turkey, the organisation sent about 23 tons of emergency aid,, to the country and distributed to the needy people since 2011(International Crises Group 2012, p.4) KYM also sent a total of 15 doctors to Somalia to assist the people. The organisation also provided directly or through partners, 100 wheelchairs, 1,400 Meals for prisoners, (International Crises Group, 2012, p.4). They opened the policlinic in one of the biggest refugee camps in Somalia and delivered more than 150.000 medicine in Somalia. They regulated training programs for 250.000 people since 2011 as the report of the organisation states. The main features of this hospital are training and research as it includes the education in the medicine and nursery so that this clinic aimed at training the future doctors and nurseries in the future of Somalia (International Crises Group 2012, p.4).

Regarding the educational activism, the organisation opened two schools: Bedir Turkish College in Mogadishu and Vifak Turkish College in Somaliland. Alongside education, the organization operated training schools for the women such as couture.

Nowadays, all these institutions have been transferred to the Somalian state by Turkey to show the solidarity between Turkey and Somalia. After the failed coup attempt, Foreign Minister of Somalia, Abdusalam Hadliye Omer said that “It’s very important for us to stand with Turkey, it’s a big country, and they are our friends.” He added that if the coup were successful, Somalia would have

suffered from the lack of assistance from Turkey since Turkey provides to Somalia about \$25 million humanitarian aid per year (Voanews 2016).

Yardımelı Association is also one of the Islamic NGOs that has been carrying out the humanitarian activism in Somalia since 2011. The organization built one of the largest Maternity and Children's hospitals in Africa. This Hospital has a capacity of 100 beds and consisting an emergency, surgery and an observation room, as well as laboratories, pharmacy, new-born care, intensive care, mosque and conference hall (Yardımelı 2016).

Doctor World Wide Turkey has also been carrying out health service in Somalia for a long time. Mogadishu Şifa Hospital and İbn-i Sina Health Occupation High-School were operated by the Doctor World Wide Turkey in Mogadishu. The school offers Laboratory Technician, Nursing and Midwifery training for the Somalian. The association plans to open new branches within few years such as Pharmacy to solve the human resource problems of the state (Yeryüzü Doktorları 2015).

Given all these developments and humanitarian assistance to Somalia through state institutions and NGOs, it can be said that Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy towards Somalia has been widely supported and promoted by the Non-Governmental Organisations and Humanitarian Associations at the national and international level since 2011. This reality is an evidence to understand the domestic pressure in Turkey in assisting to Somalia. Turkey's active policies, particularly in Muslim countries, are more than welcomed by the Turkish society after the 2000s.

4.7 Turkey as a Political Actor in Somalia

The relations between Turkey and Somalia demonstrates further implications in the field of politics. Nowadays, the literature discusses whether Turkey has become a political actor in Somalia (Özkan and Orakçı 2015, p.1). Turkish government has realised that fragmented demographic structure of Somalia and the lack of state mechanisms constitute major challenges in Somalia. So that, Turkey expanded its policies through supporting peace building and state building process of Somalia. Davutoğlu said that “without national reconciliation, we cannot have a real political achievement, as well as real humanitarian development, when there are de facto authorities in different parts of Somalia” (Davutoğlu, 2015).

One of the political activism of Turkey is playing a mediator role in Somalia. During the civil war, Somalia had divided into several regions, mainly capital Magadishu, Somaliland and Putland. Somaliland and Putland emerged as semi-autonomy regions (Harper 2013, p.165). Also, Somaliland could be seen as another regional centre and relatively stable part of county located in the North West of Somalia. Somaliland declared independency in 1991 as a result of the Civil War. Since the beginning of the Civil War, all peace talking could not be successful. However, Turkey’s efforts in Somalia’s peace building was welcomed by the all groups in Somalian Civil War due to Turkey’s direct relations with each group and Muslim identity (Harper 2013, p.165). In the last five years, Turkey brought Mogadishu and Somaliland together to negotiate the peace. To establish the peace in domestic sphere, several meetings were held by Turkey. The last meeting was held in Istanbul between the leader of Somaliland and President

Mahmood in Istanbul. Turkish Government has appointed a Special Envoy in order to assume a more effective role in the peace building process between Somalia and Somaliland (TIKA 2016).

Besides, Turkey attempted to set regional cooperation for stabilization of Somalia. In 2013, Kenya and Turkey have agreed upon to work together to establishing the stabilization of Somalia. Also, Turkey and the African Union agreed on to work together against Al-Shabab. (Saferworld 2015, p.8)

In discussing the political role of Turkey, Turkey has been also proactive in state-building process of Somalia. Even though Somalia has serious security problems, Turkey has been supporting Somalia for its institutionalisation and having countryside security in the state-building period. Apart from the security assistance, Turkey also endeavoured to develop economic capabilities of Somalia in the state-building process. In this framework, Turkey pays importance to build Somalian state. Turkey's goals in state-building of Somalia can be listed as the following. First, developing capabilities of state institutions and services; Second, supporting Somalia to have a voice in establishing their own state; Third, helping Somalia for strengthening its state legitimacy; Finally, to make Somalia a self-sufficient country. In doing so, Turkey supported the developing Somalian State capabilities through appointing Turkish experts to Somalian Federal Government. For instance, The Ministry of Turkish Foreign Affairs supports to Turkish Central Bank to send its experts to future Somalian Central Bank for training the Somalian officials. Some local officials working in Somalia Federal Government attended trainings in local government in Turkey. And, the Somalian Federal Gov-

ernment received \$4.5 million aid from Turkey between June and December 2013. For the Turkish officials, this support is provided to overcome the challenges in paying salaries of the Somalian officials and security forces. Turkish Government confirmed to maintain monetary assistance to Somalian Federal Government again in 2014 (Saferworld 2015, p.9).

On the other hand, these endeavours of Turkey are criticised by international society. Establishing military base and unilateral relations between Somalia and Turkey have led to various concerns in the international society. Brussels-based International Crisis Group (International Crises Group 2012, p.1) published a report about the activism of Turkey in 2012 while Turkey's activism has not been achieved to reach to military spheres. The report concerns the unilateral strategy of Turkish humanitarian aid. It thus claimed Turkey interfered the domestic affairs of Somalia and named Turkey's activism as "adventurism" (International Crises Group 2012, p.1).

CONCLUSION

In the last decade, the emerging powers played a dynamic role in Africa where western powers; particularly the US started to retreat. Thanks to their efforts associated with the economic capability, emerging powers have become more visible in such areas, so they have appeared as active players in Africa. In so doing, the emerging powers generally applied to humanitarian and foreign aid diplomacy in this region as they see them efficient and profitable policy instruments. These humanitarian aid policies thus have opened a large channel for conducting more various policies and establishing collaboration with the countries in Africa. The emerging powers such as China, Brazil, and Turkey, therefore, have taken advantage of their conduct of humanitarian policy to have an economic, military and political collaborations with the countries in Africa as this thesis has illustrated Turkey's involvement in Somalia through humanitarian aid diplomacy as evidence (Howard 2014).

This thesis argued that the humanitarian policy could have a far greater impact in improving the relations between aid provider and recipient country. The humanitarian policy could be seen as a mediator that open a channel for further developing relations between the beneficiary and grantor country. By steadily providing humanitarian aid, the grantor state could utilize a broad range of economic, political as well as the military cooperation with the aid recipient country. Emerging powers thus employ humanitarian diplomacy to develop its economic and political assets.

Normally emerging powers act accordance with economic motivations (Howard 2014). To benefit from a market of aid recipient country, emerging economies develop policies in line with their financial interests. This thesis investigated that how the emerging countries develop strategies to utilize political, economic and military assets through humanitarian assistance. Thus, this study set out to determine the reasons, motivations, and strategies of the emerging powers in performing humanitarian assistance to the aid receiver countries. In doing so, this thesis has raised the case of Turkey's engagement in Somalia through humanitarian diplomacy by concentrating on the motivations, the changing foreign policy and activism of Turkey in conducting its foreign aid diplomacy in Somalia. Examining reasons and motivations of Turkey to do foreign aid to Somalia, the ideological, diplomatic and geopolitical motivations come forward instead of its economic motivation. The findings of this study suggest that the shifted foreign policy of Turkey thereby changing ideological structure and policy priorities of Turkish foreign policy have played a major role in the engagement of Turkey in Somalia. On the other hand, this research supports the idea that Turkey specifically selected Somalia to do humanitarian assistance since Somalia is compatible with Turkey's current policy priorities: identity politics and geopolitics. Taken together, the implications of this research suggest that Somalia is a unique example among the aid recipient countries of Turkey in terms of motivations of Turkey in providing humanitarian aid.

This thesis showed that the Somalia case constitutes a substantial pattern of Turkish foreign policy. In the last decade, Turkish foreign policy has extended its frontiers in post-Ottoman territories and other parts of the world by its "Neo-

Ottomanism” patterned Turkish foreign policy. Since Somalia was a territory that interacted with Ottoman Empire and its nature of the population is very compatible with Turkish policy priorities, Somalia became a significant country with the changing foreign policy of Turkey after the 2000s (Özkan 2014). As Chapter II explained, the conservative transformation of the Turkish ruling elites, increasing number of the Islamic NGOs in Turkey, and Turkish popular support emerged as solid components of Turkey’s ideological motivation. The thesis thus found out that the changing foreign policy assumptions such as identity politics and geopolitics as well as the internal motivations have been main driving forces in conducting foreign aid policy in Somalia.

Considering the geopolitics, the power vacuum which emerged as a result of the diminishing hegemony of the US and western powers in the Somalia has been begun to fill by Turkey. The findings of this thesis thus present significant implications for the understanding of how power vacuum is filled by the emerging states and in which strategies emerging countries perform to fill the power vacuum which emerged after US hegemony. The investigation into the reasons, motivations and policy tools of Turkish humanitarian policy in Somalia, therefore, provides further evidence for understanding the behavior and strategies of the emerging states. Understanding how they perform their strategy, this thesis has shown that as Turkey is an emerging power has conducted humanitarian diplomacy as a mediator for further developing relations between Somalia and Turkey.

Examining diplomatic, economic, ideological and geopolitical motivations of Turkey through neoclassical realism, this thesis demonstrates that how the humanitarian diplomacy became a productive and profitable policy instrument in the foreign policy of countries that are utilizing existing assets to increase. This thesis, therefore, supported the idea that Turkish humanitarian diplomacy provided a large channel for Turkey in extending its military, economic and diplomatic relations with Somalia. Chapter IV showed these evidences and implications to confirm this argument. One of the significant implications is that Turkey became an important economic and trade partner of Somalia (Foreign Affairs 2016). Moreover, Turkish companies operate the largest investment in capital Mogadishu. Regarding political and military relations, Turkey plans to open its first military base in the Horn of Africa. As thesis examined, Turkey intends to open a military base, training the Somalians officials and soldiers, gives a scholarship to Somalian students. Turkey thereby attempts to have a role in the state-building process of Somalia. By evaluating these findings and implications, this thesis analyzed that the humanitarian diplomacy of Turkey has been a leading actor to carry forward these policies and developments. This thesis has shown that the developing economic and military relations between two countries are returns of Turkish humanitarian aid in Somalia. By providing core and fundamental needs of the Somalians, Turkey simultaneously maximized its interests and set to stimulate political, economic and military cooperation with Somalia. Humanitarian diplomacy, therefore, provided a long-term diplomatic, economic and military cooperation with Somalia and Turkey.

These findings include many avenues for improvement and consequences of Turkish humanitarian diplomacy in Somalia. Looking at the predictions on the foreign policy of Turkey, the consequences of Turkey's "independent" policies may pose a question about whether these policies affect the Turkey-European Union (EU) relations and Turkey-U.S ties in a negative way. As Turkey a candidate member of EU, the Turkish Model may lead conflict between EU values, norms and rules in Somalia (Aynte 2012, p.5). Also, Turkey's military activism in Somalia can pose a danger in NATO membership even though there is no attention is paid by the NATO and U.S concerning Turkey's activism in Somalia. Considering geopolitics, the military activism of Turkey in Somalia is crucial respecting growing sectarian tendency between Iran and Saudi Arabia in Yemen and more importantly balance of power in the region. Since Turkish humanitarian diplomacy is continuing, more research and information on the activism of the emerging powers and their humanitarian assistance policy by the lens of the Neoclassical realism would help us to establish a greater degree of accuracy and analysis on this matter.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AchillesK, Sazak O, Wheeler, T and Woods, AE 2015, “Turkish aid agencies in Somalia risks and opportunities for building peace”, Saferworld, Istanbul Policy Centre available from <http://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/893-turkish-aid-agencies-in-somalia-risks-and-opportunities-for-building-peace> (May 22 2016).

Akpınar P 2013, “Turkey’s peacebuilding in Somalia: the limits of humanitarian diplomacy”, *Turkish Studies*, Vol 14, No 4, pp 735-757.

Ali, A 2011, “Turkey's Foray into Africa: A New Humanitarian Power?”, *Insight Turkey*, Vol 13, No 4, pp. 66-73.

Al-jazeera, June 2012, *UN chief warns of 'power vacuum' in Somalia*, available from <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/europe/2012/06/20126252059528602.html> (May 22 2016).

Anadolu Agency 2015, *No going back' for Turkey-Africa trade 2001* available from <http://aa.com.tr/en/world/no-going-back-for-turkey-africa-trade/82559> (May 22 2016).

Anadolu Agency 2016 “*Turkish FM: Erdogan to visit Somalia despite bomb attack*”, 13.04.2016 available from <http://aa.com.tr/en/turkey/turkish-fm-erdogan-to-visit-somalia-despite-bomb-attack/81427> (May 22 2016).

Anadolu Agency 2016, “Erdogan suggests Muslim cooperation against terrorism “available from <http://aa.com.tr/en/turkey/erdogan-suggests-muslim-cooperation-against-terrorism/554613> (May 22 2016).

Aras, Bülent 2012, “Turkey’s Mediation and Friends of Mediation Initiative”, *Center for Strategic Research*, available from http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/SAM_Papers_No.4-Dec12.pdf(May 22 2016).

Armijo, LE 2007, “The BRICs countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) as analytical category: mirage or insight?”, *Asian Perspective*, vol. 7 no. 42.

Armijo, LE& Roberts, C 2014, “The emerging powers and global governance: why the BRICS matter”*Handbook of Emerging Economies 503-520*. available from <http://www.hunter.cuny.edu/polsci/faculty/Roberts/repository/files/BRICS%20-%20Global%20Governance%20Final%20July%202013%20.pdf> (May 22 2016).

Aynte, A 2012, "Turkey's Increasing Role in Somalia: An Emerging Donor?", Al Jazeera Centre for Studies, 1-5, <http://studies.aljazeera.net/mritems/Documents/2012/3/22/201232213350836734Turkeys%20Increasing%20Role%20in%20Somalia.pdf>

Baceivich, A 2011, "Was the Iraq War Worth It ?", Council on Foreign Relations available from <http://www.cfr.org/iraq/iraq-war-worth-/p26820> (May 22 2016).

BBC 2011, "Somalia famine: Turkish PM Erdogan visits Mogadishu" 19 August 2011 available from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14588960> (May 23 2016).

Bilgin, P and Bilgiç, A 2011, "Turkey's "New" Foreign Policy toward Eurasia", *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, vol. 52 no. 2, 173-195 available from <http://yoksis.bilkent.edu.tr/pdf/files/10.2747-1539-7216.52.2.173.pdf> (May 23 2016)

Brautigam, D 2011, "Chinese Development Aid in Africa. Rising China" available from <http://www.american.edu/sis/faculty/upload/brautigam-chinese-aid-in-africa.pdf> (May 23 2016).

Bruton, B E 2014, Somalia: A new approach, Council on Foreign Relations, Council Special Report no.52 available from <http://www.cfr.org/somalia/somalia/p21421> (May 23 2016).

Çevik, S 2014, "An Emerging Actor in Humanitarian Diplomacy", Ankara Siyasal ve Ekonomik Araştırmalar Merkezi available from <http://asem.org.tr/tr/publication/details/88/An-Emerging-Actor-in-Humanitarian-Diplomacy> (May 22 2016).

Daily Sabah, August 23 2015, *Albayrak Group to operate Somali's Mogadishu Port*, available from <http://www.dailysabah.com/money/2015/08/24/albayrak-group-to-operate-somalis-mogadishu-port> (May 23 2016).

Daily Sabah, April 28 2016, President Erdoğan: Turkey only hope for Muslim world, available from <http://www.dailysabah.com/politics/2016/04/29/president-erdogan-turkey-only-hope-for-muslim-political> (May 22 2016).

Daily Sabah, First Turkish military base in Africa to open in Somalia, available from <http://www.dailysabah.com/diplomacy/2016/01/19/first-turkish-military-base-in-africa-to-open-in-somalia> (May 22 2016).

Davutoğlu, A 2001, *Strategic depth*, Küre publishes, 1st.

Davutoğlu, A 2010, "Davutoğlu Addresses Turkish-Arab Forum on Strategic Zone, PA Unity, Iraq, Iran".

Davutoğlu, A 2008, "Turkey's foreign policy vision: An assessment of 2007", *Insight Turkey*, vol. 10, no.1, pp. 77-96.

Davutoğlu, A 2013, "Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy: objectives, challenges and prospects" *Nationalities Papers*, vol.41, no.6, pp. 865-870.

Davutoglu, A 2015, "Speech at London conference on Somalia", available from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H4B7UJZReLc> last access (September 1 2016).

Da Sousa, SLJ 2008, "Brazil as a development actor: South-South cooperation and the IBSA initiative" *FRIDE Comment, Fride*.

Duménil, G. & Lévy, D 2009, "The Crisis of Neoliberalism and US hegemony.", *Kurswechsel*, vol 2, pp.6-13 available from http://wh.agh.edu.pl/other/materialy/678_2015_04_21_22_04_44_Dumenil%20and%20Levy_The%20Crisis%20of%20Neoliberalism%20and%20U.S.%20Hegemony.pdf (May 22 2016).

Dunne, T & Schmidt, B C. Author(s) Schmidt, Brian C. Source 2011, "The Globalization of World Politics : an Introduction to International Relations" Publisher Oxford University.

Durotoye 2014, "The MINT Countries as Emerging Economic Power Bloc: Prospects and Challenges" *Developing Country Studies*, vol.4, no15, pp. 99-107.

Ellis, R 2013, "Sunrise" over Istanbul", *Gatestone Institute*, available from <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/3793/sunrise-over-istanbul> (May 22 2016).

Enwere, C., & Yilmaz, M. 2014, Turkey's Strategic Economic Relations with Africa: Trends and Challenges. *Journal of Economics and Political Economy*, vol. 1, p 2, 216-230.

Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Federal Republic of Somalia, 2104 available from http://so.chineseembassy.org/eng/zsgx_1/t1201028.htm (May 22 2016).

European Commission, Countries and Region: Turkey Available from <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/countries/turkey/> (May 22 2016).

Fradkin H and Libby 2013, "Erdogan's Grand Vision: Rise and Decline", *World Affairs*. available from <http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/erdogan%E2%80%99s-grand-vision-rise-and-decline> (September 22 2016).

Fukuyama, F 1989, "The End of History?, The National Interest", available from <https://ps321.community.uaf.edu/files/2012/10/Fukuyama-End-of-history-article.pdf> (September 22 2016).

Gelsdorf, K 2011, “Global challenges and their impact on international humanitarian action” Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs available from https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/Documents/Global_Challenges_Policy_Brief_-_Jan10.pdf (May 22 2016)

Gilley, B 2015, “Turkey, Middle Powers, and the New Humanitarianism”, *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol.20, No1, pp. 37-57.

Global Humanitarian Assistance 2013 Top 20 government contributors of international humanitarian assistance in 2013 available from <http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/chart/top-20-government-contributors-of-international-humanitarian-assistance-2013> (May 24 2016).

Global Humanitarian Assistance 2014 Report, available from <http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/GHA-Report-2014-interactive.pdf> (May 22 2016).

Global Humanitarian Assistance 2015 Report, available from <http://www.globalhumanitarianassistance.org/report/gha-report-2015> (May 22 2016).

Gratius, S 2008, “The international arena and emerging powers: stabilising or destabilising forces?”, *Peace and Security Programme, FRIDE*

Grigoriadis, IN 2010, “The Davutoglu Doctrine and Turkish Foreign Policy”, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy Working Paper 8, pp.1-12. available from http://www.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/%CE%9A%CE%95%CE%99%CE%9C%CE%95%CE%9D%CE%9F-%CE%95%CE%A1%CE%93%CE%91%CE%A3%CE%99%CE%91%CE%A3-8_2010_IoGrigoriadis1.pdf (May 22 2016).

Harper, M 2013, “Somalia: Whose Country Is It, Anyway” *Fletcher F. World Affairs*, vol 37, pp. 161-166.

Hausmann, Jeannine, and Erik Lundsgaarde 2015, “Turkey’s Role in Development Cooperation.” 2015 United Nations University Centre for Policy Research November 2015 pp. 2-9 available from http://i.unu.edu/media/cpr.unu.edu/attachment/1801/UNUCPR_TurkeysRoleinDevelopment_HausmannLundsgaarde_.pdf (May 22 2016).

Haşimi, C 2014, “Turkey’s Humanitarian Diplomacy and Development Cooperation” *Insight Turkey*, vol. 16, no.1, pp.127-145.

Hirst, M 2013, “Emerging powers and global governance”, pp. 1-12 available from <http://www.udesa.edu.ar/sites/default/files/paperhirst2.pdf> (May 22 2016).

Hoffmann, C., & Cemgil, C. 2016. "The (un) making of the Pax Turca in the Middle East: understanding the social-historical roots of foreign policy", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, pp. 2-22.

Howard, MD 2014, "*Foreign aid from emerging powers*" PHD Thesis, The University of Utah.

Huntington, S. P 1988, "The US Decline or Renewal?", *Foreign affairs*, vol. 67, no. 2, pp. 76-96.

Hürriyet Daily News, 29 June 2013 "*Somalia attack shows that Turkey stepped on someone's foot*". available from <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/somalia-attack-shows-that-turkey-stepped-on-someones-foot-parliament-speaker-cicek.aspx?pageID=449&nID=51662&NewsCatID=338> (May 22 2016).

Hürriyet Daily News, 18 December "*Erdoğan makes cover of Time's Europe, Asia-Pacific issues*" available from <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=erdogan-makes-cover-of-times-europe-asia-pacific-issues-2011-11-18> (September 16 2016).

IHH 2012, available from <https://www.ihh.org.tr/en/news/somalia-healthcare-center-fights-epidemics-1530> (September 11 2016).

IHH 2016, available from <https://www.ihh.org.tr/en/search?q=Somalia> (September 11 2016).

Ikenberry GJ and Kupchan CA 1990, "Socialization and Hegemonic Power", *International Organization* Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 283-315.

International Crisis Group 2012, "Assessing Turkey's Role in Somalia." Crisis Group Africa Briefing, No 92. available from <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/horn-of-africa/somalia/b092-assessing-turkeys-role-in-somalia.aspx> (May 22 2016).

International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development, 2016, *Analysis and news on African trade and sustainable development: trade between the United States and AGOA countries continues to decline* available from <http://www.ictsd.org/bridges-news/bridges-africa/news/trade-between-the-united-states-and-agoa-countries-continues-to> (May 22 2016).

Jordaan, E 2003, "The concept of a middle power in international relations: distinguishing between emerging and traditional middle powers", *Politikon*, vol. 30, no1, pp. 165-181.

Kanat, K. B 2014, "Theorizing the Transformation of Turkish Foreign Policy", *Insight Turkey*, vol,16, no.1, pp. 65.

- Kappel, RT 2010, "On the Economics of Regional Powers: Comparing China, India, Brazil, and South Africa" No:45, pp. 1-51 available from http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1679684 (May 22 2016).
- Keohane, RO 2012, "Twenty years of institutional liberalism", *International Relations*, 26, no 2, pp. 125-138.
- Keohane, RO and Joseph Nye 2001, *Power and Interdependence*. New York: Longman.
- Kitchen, N 2010, "Systemic pressures and domestic ideas: a neoclassical realist model of grand strategy formation" *Review of international studies*, vol. 36, no.01, pp. 117-143.
- Kirişçi, K 2009, "The transformation of Turkish foreign policy: The rise of the trading state", *New Perspectives on Turkey*, vol. 40, pp. 29-56.
- Kirişçi, K & Kaptanoğlu, N 2011, "The politics of trade and Turkish foreign policy" *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 47, no.5, pp. 705-724.
- Kirişçi, K 2013, "The Rise and Fall of Turkey as a Model for the Arab World", Brookings Institutions. available from <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/the-rise-and-fall-of-turkey-as-a-model-for-the-arab-world/> (September 9 2016).
- Kondoh, H, Kobayashi, T., Shiga, H., & Sato, J. 2010, " Diversity and transformation of aid Patterns in Asia's "Emerging Donors" *JICA-RI working paper*, 21.
- Kragelund, Peter 2008, "The Return of Non-DAC Donors to Africa: New Prospects for African Development?" *Development Policy Review*, vol.26,no.5, pp. 555-584.
- Layne, C 1998, "Rethinking American grand strategy: hegemony or balance of power in the twenty-first century?", *World Policy Journal*, vol.15, no.2, pp 8-28.
- Layne, C 2009, "The waning of US hegemony-myth or reality?" *A review essay. International Security*, vol. 34, no.1, pp. 147-172.
- Layne, C 2012, "This time it's real: The end of unipolarity and the Pax Americana", *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 56, no.1, pp. 203-213.
- Lears, TJ 1985, "The concept of cultural hegemony: Problems and possibilities.", *The American Historical Review*, pp.567-593.
- Lettinga D & Troost L 2015, "Shifting Power and Human Rights Diplomacy- Brazil" Amnesty International Netherlands available from https://www.amnesty.nl/sites/default/files/public/rising_power_brazil.pdf (May 23 2016).

Lettinga D & Troost L 2015, *Shifting Power and Human Rights Diplomacy India*, Amnesty International Netherlands available from https://scholar.princeton.edu/sites/default/files/rmukherj/files/mukherjee_amnesty.pdf (May 23 2016).

Manning, Richard 2006, "Will 'Emerging Donors' Change the Face of International Co-operation?" *Development Policy Review* vol. 24, no.4, pp. 371–385.

Mearsheimer, JJ 2007, "Structural realism. International relations theories: Discipline and diversity" pp. 83 available from <http://mearsheimer.uchicago.edu/pdfs/StructuralRealism.pdf> (May 23 2016) .

Milner, H and Moravcsik A, 2009, *Power, Interdependence, and Non- State Actors in World Politics*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Morgenthau, Hans 1962, "A Political Theory of Foreign Aid." *The American Political Science Review* vol. 56, June, pp. 301–309.

Mthembu, P 2013, "The Rise of Emerging Powers as Sources of Development Cooperation in Africa: The Political Economy of China and India's Development Cooperation Strategies in Africa, 8th Pan European Conference on International Relations Warsaw, Poland 18th – 22nd September 2013" available from http://www.eisa-net.org/be-bruga/eisa/files/events/warsaw2013/Mthembu_The%20Rise%20of%20Emerging%20Powers%20as%20Sources%20of%20Development%20Cooperation%20in%20Africa.pdf (May 22 2016).

Murphy, T. & Woods, A 2014, Turkey's International Development Framework Case Study: Somalia. Istanbul Policy Center, 2. available from <http://ipc.sabanci-univ.edu/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/SOMALIISBN11.pdf> (May 22 2016).

Müftüler-Baç, M 2014, "Turkey as an emerging power: an analysis of its role in global and regional security governance constellations". *Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies Research Paper No.52*, pp. 1-15 available from http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/31325/RSCAS_2014_52.pdf?sequence=1 (May 22 2016).

Nadkarni, V., & Noonan, N. C. (Eds.) 2013 *Emerging powers in a comparative perspective: the political and economic rise of the BRIC countries*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA. 1-239.

Nolte, Detlef 2010, "How to compare Regional Powers: Analytical Concepts and Research Topics." *Review of International Studies* 36, no. 4.

Nye, J. S 2011, The misleading metaphor of decline. *Wall Street Journal*, 14.

ODA Definition Official development assistance – definition and coverage available from <http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/officialdevelopmentassistancedefinitionandcoverage.htm> (May 22 2016).

- O’neill, J 2001, “Building Better Global Economic BRICs. Goldman Sachs Global Economics Paper” no: 66, pp. 1-15.
- Özbaran, S 2009, *Ottoman Expansion Towards The Indian Ocean in The 16th Century*, İstanbul Bilgi University Press.
- Öniş, Z & Yilmaz, S 2009, “Between Europeanization and EuroAsianism: Foreign Policy Activism in Turkey during the AKP Era”, *Turkish Studies*, vol.10, no.1, pp. 7-24 .
- Önis, Z 2011, “Multiple Faces of the" New" Turkish Foreign Policy: Underlying Dynamics and a Critique”, *Insight Turkey* vol. 13, no.1, pp. 47-65.
- Öniş, Z., & Kutlay, M 2013, “Rising powers in a changing global order: the political economy of Turkey in the age of BRICs” *Third World Quarterly*, vol.34, no.8, pp. 1409-1426.
- Özkan, M 2010, “Turkey's rising role in Africa”, *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, vol.9, no. 4, pp. 93-105.
- Özkan, M 2010 “The Need for India to Engage in ‘Disaster Diplomacy with Pakistan” available from http://idsa.in/idsacomments/TheNeedforIndiatoEngageinDisasterDiplomacywithPakistan_mozkan_180810 (May 23 2016)
- Özkan, M 2014, *Turkey’s Involvement in Somalia: Assessment of a State-Building in Progress*, İstanbul, SETA.
- Özkan, B 2014, “Turkey, Davutoglu and the Idea of Pan-Islamism”, *Survival*, Vol. 56, no.4. pp. 119-140.
- Özkan M & Orakçı S 2015, “Viewpoint: Turkey as a “political” actor in Africa—an assessment of Turkish involvement in Somalia”, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, vol .9, no. 2, pp. 343-35.
- Parlar Dal, E. 2016, “Conceptualising and testing the ‘emerging regional power’ of Turkey in the shifting international order” *Third World Quarterly*, pp.1-29.
- Palagashvili, L & Williamson, CR 2014, “Ranking Foreign Aid Agency Best Practices: New Donors, New Findings” available from http://www.claudiam-williamson.com/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/Palagashvili_and_Williamson_-_Manuscript_1_6_2016.38113927.pdf(May 22 2016).
- Powell, R,1991, “Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory”, *American Political Science Review*, vol. 85, no.04, pp. 1303-1320.
- Poole, WS 2005, *The Effort to Save Somalia, August 1992-March 1994*. Joint Chiefs of Staff Washington DC Joint History Office.

Presidency of Republic Turkey 2016, "Somalia has become a symbol of the relations we wish to establish with our brothers in Africa", available from <http://www.tccb.gov.tr/en/news/542/39918/somalia-has-become-a-symbol-of-the-relations-we-wish-to-establish-with-our-brothers-in-africa.html> (May 23 2016).

Régnier P 2011, "Changing Actors and Evolving Practice The emerging concept of humanitarian diplomacy: identification of a community of practice and prospects for international recognition" *International Review of the Red Cross*, Volume 93 / Issue 884 / December , pp 1211-1237.

Reuters Africa 2016, Two Turks among six killed in gun attack in Somalia's capital available from <http://af.reuters.com/article/somaliaNews/idAFL5N1725Z8>, (May 22 2016).

Rose, G 1998, "Neoclassical realism and theories of foreign policy" *World politics*, vol. 51, no.01, pp.144-172.

Rotberg, R. I 2003, *Failed States, Collapsed States, Weak States. State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*, Harrisonburg: RR Donnelley.

Rostiashvili, K 2012, "The USA: Challenges of the Superpower " *Journal of Global Analysis*, vol. 3, no.1, pp. 25-51.

Roy, D 1995, "Assessing the Asia-Pacific 'power vacuum'" *Survival*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp 45-60.

Sandole, DJ 1992, "Conflict Resolution in the Post-Cold War Era: Dealing with Ethnic Violence in the New Europe. *Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution*, George Mason University. available from http://scar.gmu.edu/wp_6_sandole.pdf (May 22 2016).

Shor, F 2010, "War in the Era of Declining US Global Hegemony" *Journal of Critical Globalisation Studies*, vol. 1, no.2, pp. 65-81.

Sing, R 2012, *Barack Obama's post-American foreign policy: the limits of engagement*, Bloomsbury Academic

Smith, K, Fordelone, TY& Zimmermann, F 2010, "Beyond the DAC: the welcome role of other providers of development co-operation" *DCD Issues* available from [Brief:https://www.oecd.org/dac/45361474.pdf](https://www.oecd.org/dac/45361474.pdf) (May 22 2016).

Sözen, A 2010, "A paradigm shift in Turkish foreign policy: transition and challenges" *Turkish Studies*, vol.11, no.1, pp. 103-123.

Sun, Y 2014, “Africa in China’s foreign policy”, The Brookings Institution, available from http://urban-africa-china.angonet.org/sites/default/files/resource_files/africa_in_china_yunsun_2014_0.pdf (May 22 2016).

Tank, P 2015, “Turkey as a humanitarian actor: the critical cases of Somalia and Syria”, *The Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre*, pp.1-5 available from http://www.peacebuilding.no/var/ezflow_site/storage/original/application/e322a62c1a18b503d37ca6dca4b2188b.pdf(May 22 2016).

Tank, P 2013, Turkey’s new humanitarian approach in Somalia, *The Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre*, pp 1-3 available from http://www.peacebuilding.no/var/ezflow_site/storage/original/application/bbea860140d9140ccbcb6c5d427b4f28.pdf (May 22 2016).

TİKA 2016, Somalia Report. available from <http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2016/Prestij%20Eserler/SOMAL%C4%B0%20YEN%C4%B0.pdf> (September 1 2016).

The National World, “Turkey moves ahead with new constitution”, available from <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/europe/turkey-moves-ahead-with-new-constitution>(May 22 2016).

The Second İstanbul Conference on Somalia, Final Declaration, 2012 available from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/the-second-istanbul--conference-on-somalia_-final-declaration_-1-june-2012_-istanbul.en.mfa (May 22 2016).

TRT World 2015, Al Shabab: Dark Shadow over Somalia available from <http://www.trtworld.com/in-depth/al-shabaab-dark-shadow-over-somalia-426> (May 23 2016).

Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2014 Turkey-Africa Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, available from <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relationships.en.mfa> (May 22 2016).

Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2014 , “Foreign Minister Davutoğlu “21st century will be the century of Africa and Turkey”, available from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/foreign-minister-davutoglu-_21st-century-will-be-the-century-of-africa-and-turkey.en.mfa May 22 2016).

Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2014,”Relations between Turkey and Somalia”, available from <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-somalia.en.mfa> (May 22 2016).

Turkey and Somalia: Making Aid Work for Peace 2015, Saferworld and Istanbul Policy Center, March Report. available from <http://www.saferworld.org/resources/view-resource/892-turkey-and-somalia-making-aid-work-for-peace> (May 22 2016).

Turkey's Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa Shifting Alliances and Strategic Diversification, Chatham House, David Shinn Africa Programme, 2015 available from https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/20150909TurkeySubSaharanAfricaShinn.pdf (May 22 2016).

Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs "Davutoğlu: Turkey will not change its policy towards Somalia" available from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/foreign-minister-davuto-glu-_turkey-will-not-change-its-policy-towards-somalia.en.mfa (May 22 2016).

Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Davutoğlu: Turkey will not change its policy towards Somalia" available from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/foreign-minister-davutoglu-_turkey-will-not-change-its-policy-towards-somalia.en.mfa (May 22 2016).

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Ekonomi Bakanlığı 2016, Serbest Ticaret Anlaşmaları, available from <http://www.ekonomi.gov.tr/> (May 22 2016).

Tziarras, Z 2014, *Turkish foreign policy towards the Middle East under the AKP (2002-2013): a neoclassical realist account*, PHD Thesis, University of Warwick.

Üçbaş, Ü 2014, "Neoclassical Realism in Analysing the CrisisManagement" *The Comparative Analysis of Foreign Policy* ECPR General Conference 2014, Glasgow, pp. 1-12 available from <https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/f914c830-a88f-4b77-84d0-d84ca31b0725.pdf> (May 23 2016).

Visentini, P 2014, "Africa and the Emerging Powers: The South and The Unholy Cooperation", *Brazilian Journal of Strategy & International Relations* v.3, n.5, pp. 41-67.

Voanews 2016 available from <http://www.voanews.com/a/somalia-condemn-turkish-coup-attempt-closes-projects-linked-to-gulen/3421160.html> (September 3 2016).

Walker, J 2011, Introduction: The Sources of Turkish Grand Strategy- 'Strategic Depth' and 'Zero-Problems' in Context. LSE IDEAS, SR007, London School of Economics and Political Science, pp.7.

Wallerstein, I 1984, *The politics of the world-economy: The states, the movements and the civilizations*. Cambridge University Press. 1-168

Waltz, KN 2000, "Structural realism after the Cold War" *International Security*, vol.25, no.1, pp. 5-41.

Wasuge, M 2016, “Turkey’s Assistance Model in Somalia: Achieving Much With Little” The Heritage Institute for Policy Studies, pp. 1-30.

Weiss, TG & Abdenur, AE 2014, “Introduction: emerging powers and the UN—what kind of development partnership?”. *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 35, no.10, pp. 1749-1758.

White, JP 2009, “Civil affairs in Somalia”. *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, available from <http://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/civil-affairs-somalia> (May 22 2016).

White, S 2010, “Emerging Powers, Emerging Donor: Teasing Out Developing Out”, Centre for Strategic and International Studies, pp. 1-14 available from http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/34A10BAC387AAC7E49257838001252DC-Full_Report.pdf (May 22 2016).

Wilson, D., & Purushothaman, R 2003, “Dreaming with BRICs: The path to 2050”, *Goldman, Sachs & Company*, vol. 99, pp.1-75 .

Wilson, J. D 2015, “Resource powers? Minerals, energy and the rise of the BRICS”, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No.2, pp. 223-239.

Woods, Ngaire 2008, “Whose Aid? Whose Influence? China, emerging donors and the silent revolution in development assistance.” *International Affairs*, vol.84 no.6, pp. 1205–1221.

World Bank Data 2014, GDP ranking. available from <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/GDP-ranking-table> (May 22 2016).

World Bank Data 2016, Turkey Overview, available from <http://www.world-bank.org/en/country/turkey/overview>, (May 22 2016).

World Bank Data 2015, Military expenditure, available from <http://data.world-bank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS> (May 21 2016)

World Bulletin Turkey 02 February 2015, Monday Erdogan calls for change in UN Security Council available from <http://www.worldbulletin.net/news/154225/turkey-erdogan-calls-for-change-in-un-security-council> (May 22 2016)

Zoellick, R 2010, “The end of the Third World”, the *International Economy*, pp. 40-43 available from http://www.international-economy.com/TIE_Sp10_Zoellick-.pdf (May 22 2016).