

Turkey's Public Diplomacy towards the Balkans*

Ömer ATCI**

Abstract

The problematic of this study is to investigate the activities of cultural diplomacy in the Balkans for Turkey. These activities are valued over Turkey's public diplomacy institutions through interviews made by the author. In this context, the aim of study is to examine of Turkey policies for cultural diplomacy activities in the Balkans with feedback received from the opinions and suggestions of the relevant institutions. In the research, the answer of the question "Is it effective cultural diplomacy activities of Turkey in the Balkans?" was sought. The basic hypothesis of the study is that Turkey's public diplomacy in the Balkans has experienced a transformation of strategic vision. In the context of the hypothesis of the study, the following conclusion has been reached. The public diplomacy activities of Turkish public diplomacy institutions towards the Balkans have a strategic perspective. This paradigmatic development has become especially important since the 21st century.

Keywords: Turkey, The Balkans, Public Diplomacy, Cultural Diplomacy, Soft Power.

Türkiye'nin Balkanlara Yönelik Kamu Diplomasisi

Öz

Bu çalışmanın sorunsalı, Türkiye'nin Balkanlara yönelik kültürel diplomasi faaliyetlerinin, bu faaliyetleri gerçekleştiren kurumlar üzerinden değerlendirilmesi ve Türkiye'deki kamu diplomasisi kurumlarının etkinliğinin nasıl artırılması gerektiği üzerine odaklanmıştır. Bu bağlamda çalışmanın amacı Türkiye'nin Balkanlara yönelik kültürel diplomasi faaliyetleri çerçevesindeki politikalarını, ilgili kurumların görüş ve önerilerinden alınan geri bildirimlerle incelemek, bu incelemeden elde edilen verileri tartışmak ve Türkiye'nin kültürel diplomasisi için uygulaması gereken politikaları önermektir. Araştırmada Türkiye'nin Balkanlara yönelik kültürel diplomasi faaliyetleri etkin midir ve kamu diplomasisi ve kültürel diplomasi faaliyetlerinde rol üstlenen kuruluşlar faaliyetlerini nasıl yürütmelidir sorularından yola çıkmıştır. Çalışmanın temel hipotezi "Türkiye'nin Balkan ülkelerine yönelik kamu diplomasisinde stratejik vizyon dönüşümü yaşanmıştır" önermesi üzerine bina edilmiştir. Çalışmanın hipotezi



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** Dr., İstanbul, Türkiye. E-mail: atci1991@hotmail.com **ORCID** <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9989-0976>

bağlamında Türk kamu diplomasisi kurumlarının Balkanlara yönelik kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri stratejik bir bakış açısı taşıdığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye, Balkanlar, Kamu Diplomasisi, Kültürel Diplomasi, Yumuşak Güç.

1. Introduction

Public diplomacy is a way for all countries facing international challenges or wanting to get results on a world-facing issue, both in their own public opinion and in the world public. Public importance is clear in democratic administrations and it is not possible to realize things that the public does not believe or support today. Culture is the area where public diplomacy is most closely related.

Due to the vital role that culture plays in international affairs, cultural diplomacy is now being discussed more than ever. This is due to the unifying characteristics and human values of the culture. The concepts of intercultural dialogue and cultural diplomacy started to come to the fore widely, especially after the events of September 11 in the USA. The shock on September 11 also caused the US to revive its interest in cultural diplomacy abroad (Scott-Smith, 2019). In this context, cultural diplomacy is a fact that must be achieved for permanent peace; but it alone is not enough. Cultural diplomacy will make peace more permanent if there are other components such as political motivation and economic independence.

Concordantly, the aim of cultural diplomacy is not a unilateral advantage, but it is to shape an image as desired by shaping diplomatic activities as a whole. It covers activities to provide national and intercultural understanding and partnership based on mutual benefit. Therefore, cultural diplomacy can help establish an environment of trust where policy makers can make political, economic and military agreements. Despite policy differences, a positive agenda for cooperation provides a neutral infrastructure for human-to-human relations, accelerates the development of civil society, reduces inter-communal misunderstandings, hatred and terrorist incidents.

Cultural diplomacy, which will be carried out with an effective cultural policy, must reflect the will and will of the society that will be introduced, and must have common values shared by all elements of the society. In democratic societies, individuals fully participate in the decisions taken. This indicates that the decisions have been taken on behalf of the public. Putting public interest in the foreground is important in terms of whether the society is a public or mass society. In mass society, individuals cannot easily express their opinions and thoughts. The form of communication is the most important indicator of whether a society is a public or mass society. One of the most important parameters affecting the form of communication is cultural democracy. In this context, cultural democracy; is that every person has the right to culture, everyone can access the culture and can benefit from the cultural heritage of the country and the cultural existence of humanity according to the needs and conditions of all community members.

Balkan region is a cultural junction point and it is the geopolitical location at the intersection of the European and Asian continents in the Mediterranean region. It is the region where the east and west distinction is clearly drawn at the starting point of the west represented by the European Union. In addition, the First and Second World War started as a result of disagreements in this region and genocide crimes were committed in this region even after the end of the Cold War (Davutoğlu, 2001, s. 120). Especially to the Ottoman Empire in 1920 as Turkey abolished and a new space dominance occurred in the Balkans as a result of the establishment of the republic it has ignited ethnic and

religious divisions in the region. In this context, Turkey should fill the gap resulting from this separation. To support this idea, during the civil wars in the region, both administrations have asked for help from Turkey is one of the first clear indication of sympathy to Turkey (Davutoğlu, 2001, s. 122).

Turkey's economic and political relations in the Balkans were only able to begin after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Ekinci, 2013, s. 9). Turkey's overall policy towards the Balkans during this period was shaped by policies aimed at competing with Greece and joining the EU. Therefore, the development of economic and military relations with the countries of the region has been the main goal. However, despite Turkey's second-most populous army in NATO, Turkey has failed to provide direct assistance to the Balkans due to interference in the Balkans under UN and NATO acquaintances. During the AKP era, which came to power in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, relations with the Balkans began to be culturally oriented rather than security-oriented (Demirtaş, 2013, s. 164).

Based on these points, the aim of this work is to evaluate Turkey's cultural diplomacy activities towards the Balkans through the institutions that carry out these activities and how to increase the effectiveness of public diplomacy institutions in Turkey. Hard power (political, military and economic power) is not the determining factor in determining the position of countries in international relations in a globalizing world with the effect of developments in the field of communication. Therefore, in this article, it is explained that the image and perceptions of countries before the public opinion of other societies can provide more advantages than political, military and economic power in many issues. As a result of this study the following is aimed; Turkey's cultural diplomacy opinions of the relevant institutions to examine policy towards the Balkans and the feedback received from proposals, to discuss the data obtained from these proposals and recommend cultural diplomacy policies for Turkey. The research focused on whether Turkey's cultural diplomacy activities towards the Balkans are effective and how organizations that play a role in public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy should carry out their activities. The main hypothesis of the study was built on the suggestion that "Turkey has experienced a strategic vision transformation in public diplomacy towards Balkan countries".

2. Conceptual Framework

2.1. Concept of Cultural Diplomacy

There is no general consensus in the literature regarding the relationship of cultural diplomacy with the practice of diplomacy, its objectives, practices, activities, time frame or whether the practice is reciprocal. Some consider cultural diplomacy to be a synonym for public diplomacy (Fox, 1999, s. 3), while others consider the external cultural mission of a state to be different practices of international relations (Mulcahy, 1999, s. 4). Although cultural diplomacy is generally assumed to be a subset of diplomacy, little is explained as to why it is a practice of diplomacy. In this context, the objectives of cultural diplomacy include developing a mutual understanding between countries with an application carried out to achieve normative, idealistic goals (Cummings, 2003, s. 1). Other definitions focus more on cultural diplomacy's contribution to advancing national interests, rather than developing mutual understanding.

Cultural diplomacy; cultural activities undertaken or included in a wide range of participants, such as artists, singers and others, are based on cultural relationships such as promoting a state culture (such as a film), the representation of works of art, and the exchange of people such as academics (Mark, 2008, s. 4). Cultural diplomacy activities include, but are not limited to: screening of documentary series abroad, educational

scholarships, scientific and cultural visits from artists, intellectuals and academics both at home and abroad, cultural group performances, artist performances, exhibitions, seminars and conferences, the interaction of libraries (the use of magazines, books and digital materials), broadcasting of festivals abroad, establishment and sustaining lecterns at universities abroad, organization of sports events, gifting books and musical instruments to visitors abroad and diplomatic missions abroad, organization of an UN day, naming a road in another country's capital, the introduction of a national hero. As these activities indicate, cultural diplomacy takes place both at home and in other countries. Sport is an element of state culture and has been recognized more frequently as a very powerful element of cultural and public diplomacy; however, in the past, it has not generally been part of the field of cultural diplomacy. The international broadcast of television and radio programs constitutes cultural diplomacy when done to support the state's foreign policy objectives or diplomacy.

Cultural diplomacy undertakes a number of goals. Traditionally, governments say they undertake cultural diplomacy to achieve idealistic purposes (such as developing mutual understanding, combating racism and uniformization, and preventing conflicts (Mulcahy, 1999, s. 4). Although these idealistic goals often and in practice tend not to be as reciprocal as practitioners intended, they include the idea of a change in a two-way relationship. However, the objectives of cultural diplomacy include the promotion of the state profile (or its strengths) by linking with groups abroad, such as trade, advancing political, diplomatic and economic interests. Other objectives are developing bilateral relations (including economic, commercial, political, cultural, cultural and diplomatic elements), promoting the size of the state (or its strengths), presenting the values of the state, advancing the interests of certain groups, helping to maintain bilateral relations in times of tension, and benefiting stakeholders of cultural diplomacy (Bound et al. 2007, s. 54).

2.2. Cultural and Public Diplomacy of Turkey

With its geostrategic location and a long history, Turkey has always been a country to consider in international politics (Davutoglu, 2001). Since the founding of the Republic of Turkey, various forms of communication have been used to reflect the image of the country. Due to foreign policy concerns such as military coups, Cyprus and the EU accession process, disruptions in Turkish democracy also required a more effective communication policy with foreign countries. For this reason, Turkey uses numerous tools to convey foreign policy messages through government and non-governmental organizations in order to shape global public opinion in its favor. Although Turkey may have found some early examples of public diplomacy in the 1990s, its professionalized public diplomacy efforts only gained momentum with Turkey's growing regional role after the 2000s (Sancar 2015, s. 13-42).

Turkish public diplomacy is largely focused on the country's national image and therefore the nation's brand (Melissen, 2007, s. 2). The creation and sustainability of Turkey's brand has been two-way. Turkey's official public diplomacy emerged in the early days of the young republic. This identity-based public diplomacy is the first layer of Turkey's communication activities. Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the reforms of Atatürk in the political system, education, women's rights, legal and economic system were the main elements of Turkey's new identity and also inspired official public diplomacy activities (Melissen, 2007, s. 3). After this early period, numerous methods of communication were used to place Turkey in the modern West and re-identify the country as a major Western ally in the Cold War.

The second layer of Turkish public diplomacy is political. Today, Turkey has

numerous soft power advantages due to its unique geostrategic location, cultural and historical history. Turkey's contemporary foreign policy issues have required efforts to communicate meticulously about reaching international audiences. Much of political public diplomacy activities are due to negative publicity or lack of publicity. In this context, Turkey does not have national brands. Even when it comes to Turkey's EU membership, a complex positioning dilemma for the country's national brand is underlined (Kemming ve Sandıkçı, 2007, s. 38). In the same trajectory, Turkey aims to strengthen its domestic and international image in promoting itself as both a humanitarian and a major donor and a moral country that guides itself to humanitarian principles. Turkish government and non-governmental organizations are interested in various regions through numerous public diplomacy activities in line with this goal. From these points, Turkey's public diplomacy is based on soft power (Kalın, 2011, s. 5).

2.3. The Balkans in International Politics

Yugoslavia, the richest ethnically and religiously rich country in the Balkans, tried to create a national identity by rejecting Soviet sovereignty, and the country valued the formation of a national identity rather than individual ethnic identities. Thus, the territories and federations of Yugoslavia will be able to stay together. Nevertheless, the influx of ultra-nationalism that began since Tito's death, was particularly summited by Slobodan Milosevic in a speech to 1 million Serbs in the Kosovo Plain in 1989 (Ramet, 2018, s. 306). This date was deliberately chosen and announced that after 600 years after the Ottoman victory in Kosovo, they were in line and would end the occupation of their territory (Demirtas, 2010, s. 57). With this declaration, Milosevic has made clear three goals for the Serbs. These are the end of federative autonomy in Kosovo and Vojvodina territory, the establishment of a kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians to exclude Muslims, and finally the establishment of newly formed republics such as Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia under this rule (Jakupi, 2017, s. 190). Despite these developments, Bosnia and Herzegovina declared its independence in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991, immediately after the collapse of the Soviets, and on March 3, 1992, Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence. But Bosnia and Herzegovina's situation was unlike other countries declaring independence because it is dominated by a Muslim population. Because of this feature, under the leadership of Milosevic, Bosnia and Herzegovina was waged by the Serbian government and genocide crimes were committed (Burg and Shoup, 1999). Although the United Nations has taken decisions such as preventing arms shipments to Serbs, establishing peacekeeping forces, establishing an international tribunal for human rights violations, the Western bloc has not responded adequately to this genocide at the time of the genocide. The European Union, which had yet to recognize itself as a political union with the Maastricht agreement in 1991, demonstrated in the Bosnian war that it could not go beyond being an economic union or did not want to go. Because he has not taken a military or legally satisfactory step in this regard and has agreed to transfer the issue militarily to NATO. Led by the United States, the two sides signed the Dayton Peace Agreement in Paris on December 14, 1995 (Dalar, 2008, s. 98). However, the agreement remains in favour of Serbs (similar to the Palestinian-Israeli issue). Serbs in the region were 34% in population, while the territory given to Serbs was 49%, and Republika Srpska was recognized in the region along the same borders as Bosnia and Herzegovina (Özlem, 2012, s. 34). The Kosovo issue has produced a policy for the resettlement of 400,000 Serbs in the region following Milosevic's 1989 declaration that it will abolish the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina (Jakupi, 2017, s. 208). However, Albanians in this region also thought it was time to declare independence after Kosovo's autonomy was lifted, and only with the opposition of China and Russia in the United

Nations Security Council, the declaration was not fulfilled. Nevertheless, due to rising reports of human rights abuses and massacres against Albanians in Kosovo, NATO has launched an air operation in the region and Milosevic is forced to reach an agreement (Acar, 2015, s. 124). After all these developments, Kosovo declared independence in 2008 and was recognized by the UN. Of course, Russia, Serbia, Greece and Cyprus still do not recognize Kosovo.

At a time when the end of the Cold War and the Western bloc's superiority in the Balkans as the sole dominant force, Turkey's position on Balkan issues was shaped by the perception that these lands were Ottoman heritage. However, in the period up to the early 2,000, Turkey has not been able to develop policies that will go beyond classical diplomatic activities related to the Balkans, acting in accordance with US and EU policies.

3. Turkey's General Foreign Policy Parameters towards the Balkans

The most important supporter of Turkey's cultural diplomacy is the Ottoman heritage (in Turkish, *Osmanlı Bakiyesi*). Although Turkey's soft power, which feeds on the Ottoman past, has raised new Ottomanism claims, Turkish cultural diplomacy has increased significantly, especially during the AKP governments. During this period, the government "invites" management to participate in the governance process (Kaya and Tecmen, 2011). In 2009, President Abdullah Gul stated that Turkey had an unseen force in the context of Turkey's cultural heritage. He also pointed out, that Turkey would have great power with preserving the vitality of Turkey's cultural heritage, that many countries do not have this power and that we should appreciate it (Gul, 2009). However, the Balkans are remembered by Atatürk as places of birth and education by the Turkish people. The Macedonian capital, Skopje, is widely known for the poem of Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, the poet of the Republic period, and the roots of Mehmet Akif Ersoy's family come from Kosovo (Schad, 2015: 12). Today it was the provinces of the Ottoman Empire during Albania, Macedonia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Istanbul's major districts are inspired by the Balkans (such as the Belgrade forest, New Bosnia, Arnavutköy). However, the list of writers, statesmen, etc. with roots and connections in the Balkans cannot be listed in detail here. However, Turkey is aware of these references and the most important force it will use in the Balkans is the Ottoman heritage (Kaya, 2015, s. 13).

The concept of Ottoman heritage is a foreign policy goal spoken by former prime minister Ahmet Davutoglu (2001, s. 318) and laid out from the strategic depth book to identify and demonstrate the importance of the Balkans. Davutoglu states that Turkey should contribute to ensuring the security of Balkan societies, protecting their identities, increasing communication between them, and strengthening their social and economic infrastructure. Turkey's expansion to Balkan countries in the eastern bloc after the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviets was one of the most important foreign political agendas of Turkey as its expansion to Central Asian Turkish states (Murinson, 2006, s. 945). Already the concept of the Turkish world for Turkey starts from the Balkans and extends to Turkey, Central Asia, the Russian Federation and China (Okyar, 2018, s. 412). Nevertheless, until the two thousand years, Turkey's relations with the Balkans have not been as fruitful as expected (Oran, 1996, s. 360). As the cause of this inefficiency, Kosovo interventions and Bosnian war are to be considered. Therefore, Turkey has not really gained its place among the military and political dominance of western powers in the region. Turkey has followed such an ineffective policy until the AKP rule, while the policy of opening to the Balkans has gained momentum under AKP rule Turkey's presence and effectiveness in the Balkans depends strictly on it.

Turkey has characteristics that make the Balkans fundamentally different from the Caucasus and Middle East regions, both historically and up to date. The first is that the

Balkans are the most important and strategic territory of the Ottoman geography. Therefore, it has been dominated by Ottomans more than the Caucasus- and middle east regions and has influenced the region for longer periods (Çelik, 2010, s. 2). The second difference is the Ottoman's cultural and political heritage. Therefore, for Turkey the Balkans are the only region that shares the sociocultural and political heritage of the Ottoman Empire. In this respect, the Caucasus never came under Ottoman rule and mostly remained under the influence of Russia. Although the Middle East was under Ottoman rule it was located in a different geography from the Ottoman in terms of sect, race and culture. Therefore, the only denominator it shared with the Ottoman Empire remained as Islam (Avcı, 2017, s. 110). Due to the United States' equation of Syria, Iran, Russia, especially the Syrian war and energy security reasons, the obligation to maintain the balance in the Middle East, and Russia's dominance in the Caucasus, given the great power gap in the Balkans, which has no relation other than exposure to the policies of the European Union. Third, this region is actually a clear area of influence from all states in the world (Somun 2011, s. 33). Therefore, due to Turkey's deep ties to the Balkans, the vast force gap in this area stands out as the most comprehensive and satisfactory state of both sides.

At the same time, the fact that Turkey's political, social and cultural relations can be seen as a historical responsibility. According to Türbedar (2011, s. 140), this responsibility has some reasons: long historical bond, Turks in the Balkans, Turkey will be affected by crises in the region due to geographical proximity. Turkey's economic trade and economic relations with the region, cultural and social relations in the Balkans provide an advantage for EU membership. However, despite Turkey's second-most populous army in NATO, Turkey has failed to provide direct assistance to the Balkans due to interference in the Balkans under UN and NATO acquaintances. During the AKP era, which came to power in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, relations with the Balkans began to be culturally oriented rather than security (Demirtas, 2013, s. 164).

Within this context, changes in Balkan policy of Turkey have intensified in the economic and sociocultural sphere after AKP's rule. Turkey will increase its economic relations and trade with the Balkan states. These relations with the region will not only be limited to interstate relations, but also with Turkish and Muslim NGOs, political parties and direct people in the region and socio-cultural advantages will be used (Rüma, 2011, s. 134). In this context, it can be said that Turkey's political relations with the Balkans are shaped by the theory of mutual dependence. Therefore, during this period, Turkey's Balkan policies have focused on the areas of economy, culture and diplomacy, which are shaped by soft power (Vracic, 2016, s. 5).

During this period, Turkey shaped relations with countries such as Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina, their former neighbors in the Balkans, on the principle of further improving relations, while with countries such as Serbia should keep relations in the common interests and to ensure that there is no conflict in conflict areas (Demirtas, 2015, s. 7). In line with this goal, Turkey has become more visible in the region by increasing diplomatic visits with Balkan countries. However, Turkey has faced criticism for its further intrusion of its relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina as Turkey's pursuit of creating a new base and hegemony in the Balkans (Türbedar, 2011, s. 142). Nevertheless, with the logic of tighter use of cultural diplomacy tools in the development of Turkey's policies related to the Balkans, it has determined the direction of Turkish foreign policy with activities such as congresses, fairs and tourist activities without visa-free entry and exit between countries. The artifacts built by the Ottoman state in the region have been restored and have started to establish schools, mosques and universities in Muslim and Turkish areas. In the context of this goal, TIKA operates as an important cultural diplomatic agent (Eren, 2008). In addition, tens of thousands of students from Balkan

countries study at universities in Turkey and return to their countries as a member of cultural diplomacy (NTV, 2011). Therefore, Turkey's Balkan policy was strengthened by non-state and non-governmental actors and Turkey began to increase its power in the Balkans.

In the context of economic relations, Turkey has intensified its activities in telecommunications, transport infrastructure and banking and aims to increase its economic-based power in the Balkans (Güçlü, 2019). In line with this goal, the Turkish Ziraat Bank, the first bank with all foreign capital, was opened in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Turkish Economy Bank in Kosovo. In addition, Turkish Airlines is one of the few companies in the Balkans to have flights to all countries. Turkish businessmen meet significantly due to the lack of infrastructure and prosperity in the region. Even Turkish series are followed with interest in the Balkans (İsmail, 2018).

4. Research Method

In this study, Turkish public diplomacy actors were selected as Foreign Ministry, Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), Foreign Turks and Related Communities Directorate (YTB), Ministry of National Education (MEB), Yunus Emre Institute (YEE), Anadolu Agency (AA), Turkish Radio Television Institution (TRT), Disaster and Emergency Management Directorate (AFAD) and The Red Crescent. In addition, considering the impact of civil society in cultural diplomacy, the opinions of non-ruling organizations such as the Human Rights and Freedoms Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH) have been taken. There was no interview with the Ministry of Culture and their answers to the questions about them were obtained. The relevant interviews were conducted by the author from 04 April to 31 July 2019. In order to conduct interviews, Institute of Social Sciences of the Istanbul University requested by the relevant institutions by official letter. The data obtained consists of interviews and written responses with official representatives of the relevant institutions. Written transcript of the relevant interviews and who are interviewed are available in the author's doctoral dissertation (Aıcı, 2019). However, although permission has been obtained from the relevant public institutions for interview questions in the study and institutional answers are requested, the fact that interview analyses have been conducted through the answers given in the study can be considered a limit of this work.

Table 1: Questions Asked to Participants

	QUESTIONS
1	Has there been a strategic vision transformation for Balkan countries in terms of your activities, unlike the practices carried out in the past years? How?
2	What is the importance of Balkan countries in Turkey's public diplomacy activities? What is the proportional weight of activities for Balkan countries in general public diplomacy activities?
3	Who are your primary target audience in Balkan countries? Why?
4	Which of the activities of public diplomacy against Balkan countries are defined as cultural diplomacy? What is the proportional weight of these activities in total public diplomacy activities?

In the context of the research method of the study, Qualitative State Analysis was used in qualitative research methods. In this context, interviews were conducted through the structured questionnaire with the relevant persons from the selected institutions. The

situation to be studied in the Depiction Status Analysis technique can be an individual, institution, group, event, process or environment. One or more cases can be studied in depth in qualitative condition studies. This can focus on how factors related to the situation are investigated with a holistic approach, how they affect the situation or how they are affected by the situation. The situation to be studied in this research is the institutions in which Turkey conducts cultural diplomacy activities. In this study, interviews with representatives of The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, TİKA, YTB, MEB, YEE, AA, TRT, AFAD, KIZILAY and İHH institutions were included in the interviews.

5. Findings of the Study

In this study, each question will be analyzed and compared in itself and on an institution-based basis. However, the answers given are presented in a table and it is aimed to facilitate the follow-up. Tables use two columns. The first column will include the name of the institution and a summary of the answers it gave in the second column. Since this is an article study, detailed contents of the answers can be viewed from the author's doctoral study (Atcı, 2019).

Question 1: Has there been a strategic vision transformation for Balkan countries in terms of your activities, unlike the practices carried out in the past years? How?

INSTITUTION	SUMMARY
MINISTRY of FOREIGN AFFAIRS	Balances between different ethnic and religious groups in the country
TİKA	Equal distance to local groups.
YTB	Contribution to foreign policy goals
MEB	Opening of education consultancy in all Balkan countries.
YEE	No Feedback
AA	The Balkan agency has been opened.
TRT	The Balkan representation agency has been opened.
AFAD	No Feedback
KIZILAY	No Feedback
İHH	Aid has been launched for all ethnic minorities.

Based on the information in the tables, it has been revealed whether public diplomacy institutions have developed a strategic vision transformation for Balkan countries, unlike the practices carried out in the past years. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, TİKA and İHH have identified a balanced policy vision for different ethnic and religious groups in the Balkans. The policies they set in this respect can be considered the most optimal policy for today. Because the most important problem in the Balkans is ethnic and religious separation. YTB has followed a vision parallel to Turkey's foreign policy. MEB has tried to improve its vision with the opening of education consultancy in Balkan countries. The AA has tried to keep the pulse of the region by opening Balkan agency and TRT Balkan representations. YEE, AFAD, KIZILAY did not go to any vision changes.

Question 2: What is the importance of Balkan countries in Turkey's public diplomacy activities? What is the proportional weight of activities for Balkan countries in general public diplomacy activities?

INSTITUTION	SUMMARY
MINISTRY of FOREIGN AFFAIRS	A significant part of public diplomacy activities are aimed at the Balkans.
TİKA	Ottoman geography, close neighbors, Turkish and Muslim population density, because of the gateway to Europe is very important
YTB	Cultural co-operation, academic, scientific and educational cooperation studies for the Balkans are at the forefront by our other public institutions, universities, local governments and NGOs.
MEB	Since it has political, strategic and cultural significance, education consultancy has been opened in all Balkan countries.
YEE	Because it is very important for Turkish foreign policy and vice versa.
AA	The most concentrated area.
TRT	Very important. TV series, news and content produced exclusively for the Balkans region are available.
AFAD	Very important.
KIZILAY	Very important. Proportional weight of Balkan countries in activities is around 30%
İHH	Important. Proportional weight of Balkan countries in activities is around 10%

Based on the information in the tables, the importance of Balkan countries has emerged within the activities of Turkey's public diplomacy. It is the most important pillar of public diplomacy for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs due to the close neighborly and historical ties. For TİKA, the Balkans are very important for reasons such as the density of the Turkish and Muslim populations and the gateway to Europe. It is also important for YTB and YEE; other Turkish institutions in the region are also serving and are organized in particular in the field of education. For MEB, the Balkans have maintained its importance from the Ottoman empire to the present day, and therefore educational attachés have been established in all Balkan countries. For AA and TRT, the importance of the region is increasing and content for the Balkans is being produced due to the fact that cultural codes in the region are in harmony with Turkey. AFAD is one of the humanitarian organizations, so it takes care to stand at equal distance to all regions. The region is also important for KIZILAY and the proportional weight of activities is around 30% and for The İHH it is around 10%.

Question 3: Who are your primary target audience in Balkan countries? Why?

INSTITUTION	SUMMARY
MINISTRY of FOREIGN AFFAIRS	Government agencies, media outlets, business circles, think tanks and universities
TİKA	Our own descendants and Muslim societies
YTB	Peer and kin communities and countries
MEB	Residents in this geography
YEE	Academics, artists, policymakers, journalists and

	opinion leaders
AA	no discrimination
TRT	Peer and kin communities
AFAD	no discrimination
KIZILAY	Our own descendants and Muslim societies
İHH	Albanians and Bosniaks

Based on the information in the tables, Turkey's public diplomacy activities revealed the primary audiences in Balkan countries. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs aims to strengthen its relations with all segments of society based on the general foreign policy context. In this context, it is discussed primarily with official organizations, media outlets, business circles, think tanks and universities. For TİKA, YTB, TRT, KIZILAY other ethnic and religious groups are to be taken into account, but the primary target was chosen as the target of descendants and Muslims. For MEB, YEE and AA, groups from all perks of society are targeted. For the İHH, it is only for Albanians and then Bosnians, although the target is chosen as a primary target.

Question 4: Which of the activities of public diplomacy against Balkan countries are defined as cultural diplomacy? What is the proportional weight of these activities in total public diplomacy activities?

INSTITUTION	SUMMARY
MINISTRY of FOREIGN AFFAIRS	Relations with major universities in the country, scholarships given by our country every year, projects carried out by our institutions such as TİKA, YTB, YETKM, Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet), Kızılay, and Turkish Airlines are important tools that support the increasing visibility of our country and public diplomacy activities
TİKA	No cultural diplomacy activity
YTB	All activities in the region are considered as cultural diplomacy activities.
MEB	All activities in the region are considered as cultural diplomacy activities.
YEE	All activities in the region are considered as cultural diplomacy activities.
AA	No Cultural Diplomacy Activity
TRT	All activities in the region are considered as cultural diplomacy activities.
AFAD	No cultural diplomacy activity
KIZILAY	All activities in the region are considered as cultural diplomacy activities.
İHH	Orphan aid, feast of Ramadan and feast of Sacrifice assistance, %100

Based on the information in the statements, cultural diplomacy activities within the activities of public diplomacy carried out by Turkey's public diplomacy institutions towards Balkan countries have emerged. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs aims to increase the visibility and prestige of Turkey with universities in the Balkans, relations, scholarships, projects carried out by institutions such as TİKA, YTB, YETKM, Directorate of Religious Affairs, KIZILAY, and Thy. TİKA has declared that there is no cultural

diplomacy activity. For YTB, MEB, YEE, TRT and KIZILAY all activities in the region are considered as cultural diplomacy activities. AFAD is a humanitarian organization, so it does not engage in cultural diplomacy as a target. IHH continues its cultural diplomacy activities in the region with a focus on education.

6. Reviews of Findings

The findings obtained from 4 questions asked to the participants were detailed in the section above. In this section, the inferences obtained from the findings were listed and then what to do for Turkish public diplomacy was proposed. Thus, Turkey's public diplomacy activities will be determined by identifying shortcomings for the Balkans, and the proposals will be eliminated in our work. In this context, the questions asked in the study are grouped among themselves. These groups cover Turkey's shortcomings and criticisms of public diplomacy activities towards the Balkans. From this point, the evaluation of the data obtained will be done under the relevant question headings.

In view of Public diplomacy activities of Turkey, the following inferences regarding the importance of Balkan countries have been obtained:

- For all institutions, the Balkans is a very important region for Turkey's public diplomacy activities.
- This importance has emerged as a result of historical ties and common cultural codes from the Ottoman empire to the present day for all institutions.
- The Foreign Ministry's response in the context of the state's official foreign policy is important for Turkish public diplomacy to show its view of the Balkans. In this context, the fact that there are approximately 15 million Turkish citizens of Balkan origin in Turkey increases the importance that Turkey attributed to public diplomacy related to the Balkans.
- The institutions have not commented on the proportional weight of activities for Balkan countries. As humanitarian organizations, KIZILAY and IHH have reported declining rates. In this context, it is seen that NGOs are focusing their assistance in the Middle East and other regions, which are considered more important than the Balkans, as NGOs operate according to the wishes of donors.

As a result, it turns out that institutions have taken a coherent stance within themselves in terms of the importance of Balkan countries within Turkey's public diplomacy activities. Institutions attach importance to their activities in Balkan countries within the framework of their duties and responsibilities. Nevertheless, the inability of NGOs in this regard is that they are driving their activities with the income they receive from donors. This binding is assessed that it is appropriate to provide incentives and assistance to the state-owned NGOs related to the Balkans.

Within the activities of Turkey's public diplomacy, the following implications have been obtained regarding the primary audiences of the Balkan countries:

- For all institutions, the Balkans is a region of special importance to kin and Muslims in terms of Turkey's public diplomacy activities.
- For public institutions, all activities in the region, including their missions, are considered as cultural diplomacy activities.
- AFAD, which has been established in humanitarian aid, and institutions such as AA, which have objective broadcasting standards, have naturally chosen impartiality on such a subject as a priority target. IHH, on the other hand, has focused its primary targets in the Balkans on Albanians and then Bosnians, as it operates according to the wishes of donors.

As a result, Turkey's public diplomacy activities reveal the primary audiences of target in Balkan countries. It is seen that this goal focuses on kin and Muslims in general understanding. However, the fact that public and cultural diplomacy focuses only on a certain ethnic and religious segment will bring along the criticisms of Neo-Ottomanism, which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs emphasizes. Therefore, Turkey needs to set a style of diplomacy that will stand at an equal distance from groups from every religion and nation in the Balkans in order to be an impartial and aid and promotion-oriented public diplomacy. Of course, this cannot be sustained, but it takes a while to understand that previous positive discriminatory policies apply to other groups as well. This binding should target a public diplomacy that prioritizes the values of different cultures in the next few years.

The following implications have been obtained regarding the activities of cultural diplomacy in the activities of public diplomacy carried out by Turkey's public diplomacy institutions towards Balkan countries:

- All institutions except TIKA serve cultural diplomacy in the Balkans in terms of Turkey's public diplomacy activities.
- All activities in the region, which are part of its mission for public institutions, are considered cultural diplomacy activities.
- For NGOs, the issue is considered as education and assistance, and in this way it is thought that cultural diplomacy is served.

As a result, cultural diplomacy activities and the proportional weight of these activities in total public diplomacy activities have not been clearly determined by Turkey's public diplomacy institutions in public diplomacy activities carried out by Balkan countries. Because in the answers given, public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy are perceived equally. However, cultural diplomacy should be a sub-branch or field of public diplomacy. In this context, public and cultural diplomacy trainings should be increased for institutions.

Unlike the practices of public diplomacy institutions in the past years, the following implications have been made as to whether they have developed a strategic vision transformation for Balkan countries:

- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, TIKA and IHH carry out cultural diplomacy activities in the Balkans without ethnic or religious discrimination. The YTB follows a vision that fits the government's foreign policy objectives. MEB, AA and TRT are developing their vision by opening representations on issues related to their fields. Humanitarian organizations such as AFAD and KIZILAY did not need a visionary transformation because there was no change in their mission and would not happen. YEE continues its mission with its current vision as it is still a very new institution.
- IHH has realized the transformation of the most effective and optimal strategic vision as an institutional and in the context of its duties and responsibilities. In the first year, only Muslim and kin groups were helped, but aid to groups from all ethnic and religious groups began to be provided.

As a result, it turns out that institutions are following a coherent policy on whether public diplomacy institutions have developed a strategic vision transformation for Balkan countries, unlike the practices carried out in the past years. Institutions are changing visions within the framework of their duties and responsibilities. However, the annual reports of each institution must be determined annually in annual reports to create a common vision between institutions.

7. Conclusion

In the context of the hypothesis of this study, the following result has been reached. The activities of Turkish public diplomacy institutions towards the Balkans have a strategic perspective. This paradigmatic development has gained importance particularly the 21st century. In this context, cultural diplomacy holds a significant place in Turkey's public diplomacy activities towards Balkan countries.

Cultural industries have become an important sector in national economies and have grown faster than average growth. These industries serve as important components of the new economy (innovation and creativity-based economies). Therefore, Turkey's work on touristic and visual arts should be increased in the Balkans. Turkey should use Balkans as a hinterland limited only by imagination, such as the filming of special series, movies for its cultural accumulation, sharing new tourist destinations with the Turkish people and joint scientific and artistic activities.

International agreements with Turkey should be enable Turkey to support and protect its cultural industry and it should be essential to promote Turkish culture abroad through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and diplomatic actors of Turkish culture. Of course, these reviews should not in any way prevent intercultural interaction, freedom of expression and the main motivation should be the importance of preserving and supporting Turkish culture. However, Turkey's cultural diplomatic agents, especially in the Balkans, should be equally distanced from all ethnic and religious groups.

Today, when internet diplomacy, expectations and imagination are increasing, standard cultural diplomacy activities (visual and performing artists, art companies, writers, cultural groups including festivals, academic exchange programs, student scholarships, exhibitions, road names, movies and television programs, etc.) may show lack of power or lack of new cultural expressions. Therefore, Turkey should develop courageously new cultural forms and expressions. Among them, it is vital that additional funds, political support, the promotion of Turkey's unique heritage of civilization, its popular culture and the promotion of Turkish diaspora and willingness to achieve all of this are provided. Turkish public and cultural diplomacy has come a long way in these areas in the Balkans. However, increasing the sharing of these policies with different ethnic and religious groups should be an important goal of Turkish public diplomacy in the coming years.

Finally, Turkey should form a paradigmatic infrastructure of a Turkish public diplomacy model, which can be used in all international relations, as well as in the Balkans. This model will enable the emergence of cultural policies with the use of concepts and policies that include public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and public relations areas in Turkey's foreign policy and bring together them in a common place. In this way Turkey's partnerships, which begin even in a small area with countries with low cultural relations, can lead to peace and prosperity between countries with medium and long-term policies. In the context of cultural relations with different ethnic and religious groups and peoples in the region, as well as the rest of the world, Turkey should produce policies that are fundamentally receptive to this paradigm.

After all these proposals and measures, Turkey will be able to maintain state sovereignty as an economically prosperous country, which will increase the image of Turkey in the international system by establishing long-term, robust relations based on peace, prosperity and sharing with its immediate environment.

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Özet

Bu çalışmanın sorunsalı, Türkiye'nin Balkanlara yönelik kültürel diplomasi faaliyetlerinin, bu faaliyetleri gerçekleştiren kurumlar üzerinden değerlendirilmesi ve Türkiye'deki kamu diplomasisi kurumlarının etkinliğinin nasıl artırılması gerektiği üzerine odaklanmıştır. Çalışmanın hedefi, küreselleşen dünyada iletişim alanındaki gelişmelerin de etkisiyle uluslararası ilişkilerde, ülkelerin pozisyonunu belirlemede sert gücün (siyasi, askeri ve ekonomik güç) tek başına belirleyici faktör olmadığını, bunun yanında ülkelerin diğer toplumların kamuoyları nezdindeki imaj ve algılarının pek çok konuda siyasi, askeri ve ekonomik güçten daha fazla avantaj sağlayabildiğini ortaya koymaktır. Bu bağlamda çalışmanın amacı Türkiye'nin Balkanlara yönelik kültürel diplomasi faaliyetleri çerçevesindeki politikalarını, ilgili kurumların görüş ve önerilerinden alınan geri bildirimlerle incelemek, bu incelemelerden elde edilen verileri tartışmak ve Türkiye'nin kültürel diplomasisi için uygulaması gereken politikaları önermektir. Araştırmada Türkiye'nin Balkanlara yönelik kültürel diplomasi faaliyetleri etkin midir ve kamu diplomasisi ve kültürel diplomasi faaliyetlerinde rol üstlenen kuruluşlar faaliyetlerini nasıl yürütmelidir sorularından yola çıkılmıştır. Çalışmanın temel hipotezi "Türkiye'nin Balkan ülkelerine yönelik kamu diplomasisinde stratejik vizyon dönüşümü yaşanmıştır" önermesi üzerine bina edilmiştir.

Çalışmada Türk kamu diplomasisi aktörleri olarak Dışişleri Bakanlığı, Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı (TİKA), Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı (YTB), Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı (MEB), Yunus Emre Enstitüsü (YEE), Anadolu Ajansı (AA), Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu (TRT), Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı (AFAD) ve Kızılay seçilmiştir. Ayrıca sivil toplumun kültürel diplomasideki etkisi göz önüne alınarak İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri İnsani Yardım Vakfı (İHH) gibi hükmet dışı örgütün bu konudaki görüşleri alınmıştır.

Katılımcılara sorulan sorular şunlardır:

- i. Faaliyetleriniz açısından günümüzde geçmiş yıllarda yapılan uygulamalardan farklı olarak Balkan ülkelerine yönelik bir stratejik vizyon dönüşümü oldu mu? Nasıl?*
- ii. Türkiye'nin kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri içerisinde Balkan ülkelerinin yeri ve önemi nedir? Genel kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri içerisinde Balkan ülkelerine yönelik faaliyetlerin oransal ağırlığı ne kadardır?*
- iii. Balkan ülkelerindeki öncelikli hedef kitleniz kimlerdir? Neden?*
- iv. Balkan ülkelerine yönelik icra ettiğiniz kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri içerisinde hangilerini kültürel diplomasi faaliyeti olarak tanımlıyorsunuz? Bu faaliyetlerin toplam kamu diplomasi faaliyetleri içerisindeki oransal ağırlığı ne kadardır?*

İlgili mülakatlar 04 Nisan-31 Temmuz 2019 tarihleri arasında yazar tarafından yapılmıştır. Elde edilen veriler ilgili kurumların konuyla ilgili resmi temsilcileri ile yapılan mülakat ve yazılı cevaplardan oluşmaktadır. İlgili mülakatların yazılı dökümü ve kimlerle yapıldığı yazarın doktora çalışmasında mevcuttur. Bununla birlikte her ne kadar çalışmadaki mülakat soruları için ilgili kamu kuruluşlarından izin alınmış ve kurumsal cevaplar istenmişse de çalışmada verilen cevaplar üzerinden mülakat analizlerinin yapılmış olması bu çalışmanın bir sınırlığı olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Çalışmanın araştırma yöntemi bağlamında nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden Betimleyici Durum Analizi kullanılmıştır. Bu kapsamda seçilen kurumlardan ilgili kişiler ile yapılandırılmış soru formu aracılığı ile görüşme gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu araştırmada çalışılacak durum Türkiye'nin kültürel diplomasi faaliyetlerini yürüttüğü kurumlardır. Bu çalışmada Dışişleri Bakanlığı, TİKA, YTB, MEB, YEE, AA, TRT, AFAD, KIZILAY ve İHH kurumlarının temsilcileri ile yapılan mülakatlara yer verilmiştir.

Bu çalışmanın hipotezi bağlamında şu sonuca ulaşılmıştır. Türk kamu diplomasisi kurumlarının Balkanlara yönelik kamu diplomasisi faaliyetleri stratejik bir bakış açısı taşımaktadır. Bu paradigmatik gelişme özellikle 21. yüzyıldan itibaren önemli hale gelmiştir. Bu bağlamda Türkiye'nin Balkan ülkelerine yönelik kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerinde kültürel diplomasi anlamlı bir yer tutmaktadır.

Bu bağlamda Türkiye'nin Balkanlardaki kültürel ve tarihi göz önüne alındığında bu topraklardaki turistik ve görsel sanatlarla ilgili çalışmaları artırılmalıdır. Bu topraklardaki kültürel birikimine özel dizi ve filmlerin çekilmesi, yeni turistik destinasyonların Türk halkı ile paylaşılması, ortak bilimsel ve sanatsal faaliyetler gibi sadece hayal gücü ile sınırlı bir hinterlandı Türkiye'nin kullanması gerekmektedir. Türkiye'nin taraf olduğu uluslararası anlaşmaların Türkiye'nin kültürel sektörünü desteklemesine ve korumasına izin vermesini sağlamak ve Dışişleri Bakanlığı ve Türk kültür diplomasisi aktörleri yoluyla yurtdışında Türk kültürünü teşvik etmek esas olmalıdır. Türkiye cesur yeni kültürel formlar ve ifade biçimleri geliştirmelidir. Bunlar arasında ilave fonların sağlanması, siyasi destek, Türkiye'nin eşsiz medeniyet mirasını, popüler kültürünü ve dünya standartlarında çağdaş sanat uygulamalarını içeren kültürel zenginliklerin tanıtılması ve Türk diasporasına sahip çıkması ve tüm bunları gerçekleştirmeye istekli olması hayati önemi haizdir. Balkanlar özelinde ise Türk kamu ve kültür diplomasisi bu alanlarda önemli mesafeler kat etmiştir. Bununla birlikte izlenen politikaların farklı etnik ve dini gruplarla paylaşılmasının artırılması ilerleyen yıllarda Türk kamu diplomasisinin önemli bir hedefi olmalıdır.

Türkiye, özelde Balkanlarda genelde ise tüm uluslararası ilişkilerinde kullanabileceği bir Türk kamu diplomasi modelinin paradigmatik alt yapısını oluşturmaktadır. Bu model Türkiye'nin dış politikasında kamu diplomasisi, kültürel diplomasi ve halkla ilişkiler alanlarının hepsini içeren ve ortak bir noktada buluşturan kavramların ve politikaların kullanılması ile sui generis kültür politikalarının ortaya çıkmasını sağlayacaktır. Böylelikle Türkiye'nin kültür ilişkileri düşük olan ülkelerle bile küçük bir alanda başlayan ortaklıkları orta ve uzun vadeli politikalarla ülkeler arası barış ve refaha yol açabilecektir. Balkanlar özelinde Türkiye, hem bölgedeki farklı etnik ve dini grup ve halklar hem de dünyanın geri kalanıyla tesis edilecek kültürel ilişkiler bağlamında bu paradigmayı temel alıcı politikalar üretmelidir.