Hacettepe University Graduate School Of Social Sciences

Department of International Relations

THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFLECTIONS OF NATIONAL BRANDING IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

Kseniia ROGOZA

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2018

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ABSTRACT

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Global interconnectedness has gained pace with globalization, meanwhile the global pursuit of wealth and power have resulted in unanticipated variations among countries. Racial, cultural, ethnic and increasingly political differences have become more prominent and each country feels the urgent need to have a competitive identity. This need becomes the most important concern for national security and each country's development prospects as this thesis will demonstrate. Contemporary world politics can be openly considered as a struggle for competitive brands in the sense that the most effective and successful brands will attract global investors and will contribute to the nations' prosperity in a broad sense, i.e. economic growth, economic development. In addition, foreign policy and national security goals will be positively influenced by successful national branding. As it will be argued in this thesis, conducting a successful national branding strategy in foreign policy as a relatively new kind of soft power would increase the role of states in international political arena and would facilitate achieving states national interests in the broad sense. Worldwide recognition of the state depends on the successful promotion of well-established and high-quality brands, since any market interaction based on "demand-supply" relations has a political component and operates through the marketing strategies of "promotion of trade marks". It is very common that such strong brands are seeking certain monopoly power in the global political economy, this thesis will scrutinize Turkey's practices in national branding, which would serve as an important and strategic tool in its relations with the outside world. In line with this analysis, this study aims to examine how national branding strategy might help to enhance Turkey's image in the world political arena and how strategy as soft power would benefit the state. At this point, the linkage between Turkish foreign policy and national branding will be established and the contribution of successful branding to Turkish image will be discussed. Finally, policy recommendations will be given with regard to promotion of Turkish national interests in the world with the aim of maintining balanced foreign relations.

Key Words

National branding, political economy, Turkish foreign policy, soft power, public diplomacy

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis aims to analyze the use of national branding as an instrument of soft power in Turkish foreign policy. To this end, it scrutinizes the active development of branding of territories and highlights the need for a deep, systematic and scientific understanding of national branding as a tool to enhance the attractiveness of the region. The need to take into account a number of conditions and factors in the development of a certain image of the territory requires a clear understanding of the goals, a need for a unique strategy in each case and a proper evaluation of the effectiveness of the applied tools. In recent years, the topic of branding of individual territories - cities, regions or even countries - has acquired special relevance.

In the modern world, the issue of creating a brand of the territory and its integration into the internal and external environment is one of the key topics when discussing the well-being of the territory and the possibility of attracting various target groups (investors, tourists, residents, workers). This is a long process, which must take into account many factors. Obviously, the more relevant the topic becomes, the more attention it draws among stakeholders, so the degree of scrutiny and discussion of territory branding is growing every day and affects many countries, regions and cities of the modern world. For the first time, the concept of "place branding" was used by Simon Anholt in 2002, who is an independent consultant on politics, brand strategy and state diplomacy. Another important contribution to the study of the development of the territory and the processes of its branding and marketing was made by Philip Kotler, a famous American marketing specialist. The book, which he co-authored with Christer Asplund, Irving Rein and Donald Haider, entitled "Marketing places Europe: How to attract investments, industries, residents and visitors to cities, communities, regions and nations in Europe" is one of the first and most important publications that reveal the problems of development of territories by creating brands, conducting systematic analysis and creating a strategy to increase the attractiveness of the territory to draw resources. Also, a contribution to the practical study of this issue was made by agencies specializing in studying the territories for the purpose of creating a brand, introducing it into the consciousness of residents and potential target groups, monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness (for example, "Brand Finance", "Future Brand" etc.). As for

the issue of identifying the concepts of national branding and public diplomacy, which often takes its place in the studies on this topic, the greatest contribution to its consideration was made by Grigory Szondi, who has carried out a comparative analysis of the two concepts in his works.

The process of globalization has led to a reduction in distances, which facilitated the way to exchange knowledge, conduct business with various partners. However, the reverse effect of this process was that places, goods, as well as ideas that were previously inaccessible are now in the public domain. In modern conditions, the territory begins to compete with other territories for attracting resources, consumers, investors, tourists, etc. Under the conditions of globalization, rapid economic development of cities, regions and countries and increasing competition, the brand of the territory becomes an actual distinctive advantage. Globalization currently expands not only the areas of interaction of political actors, but also broadens interests, forcing states to pursue an active policy outside their territory. The 21st century can be described as the next period of struggle for spheres of influence on the world map of the main political players and the emergence of new actors. It is for this reason that gradually more and more countries are beginning to focus on the formation of their own brand.

Similarly, with the onset of the era of globalization, the system of international relations has radically changed. New actors appeared on the world stage, who were able to exert a powerful influence on the course of world history. The new group of international actors faced completely new problems and challenges that had not been encountered before. And, finally, new dimensions of power and new sources of power appeared in the struggle for world domination. One thing remained unchanged - the goals of all international actors are power, weight and influence in the world arena. The multifaceted nature of the process of globalization has reduced the space for the use of traditional power mechanisms by states and has led to a change in the models of global competition. In the new era, economic success, ideological persuasiveness and cultural attractiveness of the country became more important factors of influence than military power and possession of nuclear weapons (Nye, 2004).

Thus, national branding of the country is considered in this thesis as an instrument of "soft power". The concept of "soft power" was introduced by the Harvard scientist Joseph Nye, and it became an answer to those transformations that took place in the international system at the turn of the 20th and the 21st centuries. It became the symbol for new trends in international relations, the main among them being, according to Anatoliy Torkunov, "the competition of values and models of social, state and socio-economic development" (Torkunov, 2012, p.4). "Soft power" began to act as an important foreign policy tool that can ensure world domination. The novel contribution of the Harvard scientist played an important role in the development of the theory and practice of international relations. Experts argue that "soft power" has become a central concept for understanding contemporary international relations, as well as being a key concept for the development of a conceptual dictionary of international relations both in matters of practical diplomacy and in the study of the nature of power. The concept has firmly entered the foreign policy practice of many countries of the world. Owing to the popularity of the concept, governments began to actively implement communicative strategies in foreign policy; to achieve the trust of their partners, to shape their country's image in the media and to establish close ties with foreign audiences. The main argument of this thesis is that national branding should be considered as one of such tools.

Today, the concept of "soft power" and national branding, as well as the possibility of their use are of particular importance for Turkey. The events of 2015-2016 - a renouncement from the political strategy of "zero problems", participation in military operations in Syria and a series of internal problems, the apogee of which was the attempted coup in July 2016, prove that "hard power" tools are capable of ensuring the implementation of foreign policy goals only in the short-run. In the long-run, for mutually beneficial international partnerships and relations, other mechanisms are needed. Such relations would, of course, contribute to a stable domestic economic environment in addition to other benefits. The policy of "soft power", in particular the creation of a positive image of the country and its promotion through national branding, makes it possible to activate those resources of external influence that may prove more effective in the modern world within the context of globalization. The Turkish leadership recognizes the need to update the foreign policy toolkit to promote Turkey's

national interests and establish regional dominance (Dalacoura, 2017). Currently, it is vital for Turkey to work on the conceptualization of the national branding strategy at the highest political level. Since the first mentions of national branding by the Turkish leadership in 2014-2015, separate departments have been set up in several state structures, which were entrusted with coordinating the country's national branding strategy within the framework of Turkish foreign policy. Over the past period, the Turkish strategy of national branding has acquired its own shape and foreign experts began to seriously take it into consideration. Despite the relative novelty of Turkish national branding, analysts in this field recognize its significant progress and potential for further development. In order to further improve the national branding of Turkey as an instrument of "soft power" and to make a novel contribution to the literature, thesis aims to conduct an analysis of the previous academic work in this direction and to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the Turkish model.

The object of the research is the political and economic elements of national branding in Turkish foreign policy.

The subjects of the research are the main strategies and tools of national branding of the Turkish Republic.

The purpose of the research is to determine the specifics of the use of soft power tools in Turkish foreign policy, as well as its effectiveness in the international interactions between Turkey and the world. To achieve this goal, a brief review of Turkish foreign policy will be conducted, with an emphasis on the application of the concept of "soft power". A special attention will be given to Kemalism, as the basic ideology of the Turkish Republic, one of the main postulates of which - "Peace at Home. Peace in the World" - is an essential example of Turkey's "soft power". Another concept that will be underlined in this thesis is "zero problems" strategy, with its main principles of non-interference and "soft" expansion. In short, this thesis aims to set forth the national branding of Turkey as a method of increasing the competitiveness of the state and as an instrument of "soft power" for promoting the country's national interests in foreign policy.

Among **the goals of this research** is to develop an understanding of the similarities and differences between territorial and product brands, and recognize how the area becomes a "commodity" that can be "sold." Further to study the national branding as a complex multi-component process to improve the competitiveness of the country; analysis of national branding as a unique process of increasing the level of the attractiveness of the state and study of the basic approaches to the creation of national branding. Among other things, it is necessary to study the essence of the "soft power" policy, exposing the concept of public diplomacy from its toolkit, its comparison with the concept of national branding, and also revealing the possibility of their joint use to expand Turkey's political and economic influence in the international arena. To fulfill the set goals, theoretical and methodological approaches of territory branding and theoretical and methodological approaches in the development and use of soft power will be considered in this thesis. Additionally, a comparative analysis of the concepts of public diplomacy and national branding as tools of soft power will be conducted. And finally, the experience of the Turkish Republic in managing the toolkit of soft power in foreign policy will be analyzed, the brand-forming resources of the Republic of Turkey will be identified, the success of the national branding campaigns of the country will be analyzed and direction of the development of Turkish national branding will be determined.

It can be claimed that based on the existing examples of current national strategies of Turkey, the branding of the country successfully fulfills its functions and has a positive impact on the development of the image of the state. However, the inefficient use of the "zero problems" strategy and the sharp transition to more stringent foreign policy instruments worsen the image of the country in the eyes of the world community and thereby, minimize the positive results achieved through the successful promotion of the country's branding strategy. The role of the brand in the development of the territory is determined by the formation of a positive image and the growth of economic and social indicators. Yet, the current course of foreign policy of Turkey - going against the ideology of the promoted brand - reduces its effectiveness.

Despite the huge potential of Turkey in the economic, investment and cultural-tourism spheres, the reasons for mediocre results of its national branding are related to the

inconsistency of the branding campaign's positioning of the state in the international arena and the real image of the state earned in the aftermath of the tough foreign policy of recent years. Such inconsistencies in the real and projected image of the country are the main obstacle to the real development of the national branding of any country, and this problem is especially relevant for Turkey. One of the main arguments of this thesis is the need to recognize the importance of the fact that the ideals and principles that the country promotes by national branding must correspond to the real state of things inside the country. Otherwise, branding, which promotes values that do not correspond to the real state of things in the country-brand, will lose consumers' confidence, and as a consequence, will begin to work against the country. In order to avoid such a situation for Turkey, another argument in this thesis is the necessity of simultaneous use of public diplomacy and national branding as tools of "soft power", and conducting a liberal foreign and domestic policy of the state for the formation and promotion of an appropriate and positive image.

In Turkey, the branding processes of territories also emerged and developed in the new century, as many cities and regions began to look for their strengths to form a single internal and external concept of the territory that would meet the modern needs of various target groups. To date, the problematic of place branding is being discussed quite actively in state structures of Turkey, such as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey, Tourism Managers and Travel Agents Association (Turizm İşletmecileri ve Seyahat Acentaları Derneği), The Assembly of Turkish Exporters (Türkiye İhracatçılar Meclisi), Ministry of Economy of Turkey and others. With their support, a lot of conferences are held with participation of a large number of experts from various fields (advertising, branding, economics, urban planning, etc.), representatives of city administrations and business analysts, who gather to conduct discussions on theoretical and practical aspects of the creation and development of country's brand and brands of its individual regions.

This thesis consists of an introduction, four chapters and a conclusion. The introduction comprises all the basic elements and assumptions on which the research is based. The first chapter describes the general theoretical aspects of territory branding, identifies the differences between branding and marketing of territories, and also reinforces the theory

with examples from international practice. The second chapter deals with the notion of "soft power" and considers the place of national branding among its tools. To this aim, the section provides an overview of the main liberal theories and tendencies in consequence of which the concept of "soft power" arose. In the third chapter, emergence of the concept of public diplomacy is considered as one of the tools of "soft power" and the correlation of this concept with national branding is made. The final chapter is devoted to the problems and peculiarities of Turkish foreign policy, with emphasis on the use of soft power and an analysis of the existing national branding programs in Turkey. This chapter discusses the most revealing examples of Turkish branding, supplemented by the position of the country's national brand in several expert ratings. The main features and barriers to the creation and promotion of the country's brand in accordance with the foreign policy pursued by the country are studied, as well as the main trends of this phenomenon in Turkish practice. The conclusion summarizes the thesis and gives policy recommendations.

CHAPTER 1 NATIONAL BRANDING

1.1 THE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL BRANDING
1.1.1 Branding As a Process of Brand Management

Branding is currently one of the most important processes that contribute to product differentiation among competitors. It also aims to form, attract and retain brands' target audience. Branding is a powerful tool in the battle for consumer's loyalty. It is a complex set of marketing activities focused on the selection, formation and consistent promotion of rational, functional and emotional attributes of the company, product or service in its target market. These attributes, combined by the trademark, are important for the target consumers and aims to meet their needs and expectations in the best way (Kapferer, 2012, pp.31- 38).

According to David Aaker, brand's attributes must fulfill three main functions: promotion of the awareness of the brand, which refers to the strength of a brand's presence in the consumer's mind; provision of maximum distinctions from competitive brands; maintaining brand loyalty and full expression of the brand's content (Aaker, 1996).

In the current era, anything can become a brand - shop, product, government, person, and even a territory, city, region or country. There is a classification of brands by its object type, provided by one of the leading experts on branding theory Lynn Upshaw. He has identified the following types of branding (Upshaw, 1995):

Product branding: This is the very first type to appear on the market. Brands of this type are quantitatively superior to the other brand types and are remembered by consumers in the first place. Thus, they are the basis of branding (pp. 215-217).

Service branding: Brands that fall into this group are less visible in the market since they introduce intangible services. For example, retail network itself is the service brand, although it promotes the sale of product brands (p. 227).

Personal branding: It is a marketing tool commonly used by athletes, actors, politicians, businessmen, etc. The main feature of this category of "brands" is that their popularity extends beyond the scope of professional activities. Therefore, famous sportsmen and

politicians appear in commercials, singers in movies, and the actors and businessmen carry out various public actions (trying to promote their "brand" outside the field of their activity) (pp. 231-233).

Branding organization: This group includes brands of corporations, NGOs, political parties, educational institutions. This type is closely intertwined with the product and often personal branding. Thus generally companies' products come out as a reflection of corporate culture of the company, whose main goals are to understand customers needs and provide them with the product/service that will help them achieve it. Successful, influential and aspiring leader with his/her personal image also sometimes becomes a brand of company (e.g. first associations for Apple company are Iphone and Steve Jobs, even though he is gone). By participating in the organization of different events or sponsoring them, companies promote to market their corporate culture, employees and contribution of the brand to the community (p. 244).

Place branding: It involves cities, countries, and regions. This type of branding is most prevalent in the tourism sector. Place branding formed the basis of national branding, which, in one way or another, includes all the features of the other branding types (p. 256).

Initially, the platform of any brand is built on four levels, each of which affects the perception of its users (Latipova, 2011):

•*Values* These are associations caused by emotions established by the brand and situational models that meet the value orientations of the intended target audience;

•*External attributes* are responsible for the range of recognizable elements and visual images that are used in the packaging, advertising, and brand placement;

•*Reputation* is the brand image, which is composed of the knowledge about the life and existence of the brand and on which the loyalty of the target audience that finds this knowledge reliable is built;

•*Pricing policy* allows taking a particular niche on the segmented market.

Stages of the creation of a brand may vary depending on the situation and the conditions in which brand is growing. The process includes the following steps:

- Formulation of desired goals

- An analysis of the market and competitors,

- Planning, forming the essence of brand strategy management,

- Brand building, providing brand's definition and developing its strategy,

- Building communication lines and monitoring,

- Brand implementation (Gianfagna, 2017).

Branding aims to influence long-term preferences of the target audience, based on the joint action of all the attributes of the brand and its forms of communication aimed at the consumers.

The main objective of the brand is not only to establish itself in the minds of consumers but is also to raise the level of self-development so that at least 60% of the users of this product category could easily identify it by some of its principal features. The brand is all that distinguishes one particular product from another. Namely, it is combination of verbal, visual and other elements on which the user can differentiate the product from the others, without even seeing the name (Randall, 2004, p.216). It can be claimed that branding is a science, which is developing on a large scale in today's global political economy. It tries to reach the deeper consciousness of the consumer and makes changes in the structure of the market. However, within the context of this research, it will be shown that branding is interesting from another point of view; the efforts for the creation of the brand can be applied not only to the goods or objects with certain physical characteristics but also to such complex objects as territories. May it be a city, country or a specific region, they all consist of quantitative and qualitative resources, such as political, economic, social and cultural dimensions of life, as well as of emotions and associations that exist in the perception of the internal and external audiences. At this point, questions arise regarding the possibility of a country to become a full-fledged brand, how it could be formed and presented, what the nature and purpose

of the territorial brand would be, on what foundation it would be formed, and finally, what its development perspectives are.

1.1.2 Place Branding: Nature, Background, Basic Concepts and Their Correlation

In the contemporary world, countries, regions, and cities actively compete to attract global investment and tourists as well as struggling to increase the employment rate and welfare of the region. The success of this struggle depends not only on proper administrative policies but also on the ability to develop the strengths and restrain the weaknesses, the capability to predict future economic growth or to foresee the possible threats, and the capacity to ensure ways for their prevention. Creation and development of the territorial brand is a long and resource-intensive process that requires long-term strategies and confidence in the loyalty of the consumer.

The concept of "place branding" was introduced by Simon Anholt in 2002. However, there is still no single precise definition of this concept. Anholt (2010, p.1) himself says that "it is difficult to see how a field of study or practice can mature unless some kind of consensus is reached on the definition of the field, so the issue is long overdue for resolution". A lot of authors depending on the field of their studies provides different definitions of the concept. Thus, Van Ham (2010, p.1) gives his definition from political standpoint, saying that "place branding can be considered an effort to manage, if not necessarily wield, the social power of a geographical location by using strategies developed in the commercial sector". Ashworth and Kavaratiz (2007) provides a marketing position, stating that "place branding is defined as the practice of applying brand strategy and other marketing techniques and disciplines to the economic, political and cultural development of cities, regions and countries". Zenker and Braun (2010) in turn form a psychological definition of place branding - "a network of associations in the consumers' mind based on the visual, verbal and behavioral expression of a place" (2010, p. 5). There are a range of terms, such as place branding, state branding, branding of territories, national branding, etc. that may be used interchangeably. Yet, they all belong to the place branding category. This thesis focuses on the concept of national branding, since, first of all, it is the most frequently used type of branding in the context of promoting the country brand. Thus to avoid repetitions national branding, place branding and county branding terms will be used interchangeably in this thesis.

Secondly, this concept involves all of the branding types described above in one way or another. Taking into account all the peculiarities of national branding, the following definition can be derived:

National branding is the complex set of measures in the field of exports, tourism, culture, foreign and domestic policies and investments to develop and implement strategies for the promotion of a country's identity (Tukarkina, 2011, p.111).

National branding is aimed at:

- outsourcing,

- developing domestic markets,

- overcoming the shortage of various resources,

- the purposeful shaping of consumers' understanding of the "uniqueness" of the territory,

- raising awareness of the territory,

- improving country's image by means of the different tools (communication, marketing tools, public diplomacy, etc.)

Place branding should reflect the significant advantages of the territory and be based on its historical roots and reflect the traditions and behavioral peculiarities of its inhabitants. The brand should combine the preferences of the population, cultural traditions, economic and political activities, communication within the internal environment and the relationship between the internal and the external world. It should also consolidate the development strategy of the territory and the values that it is ready to offer to individuals.

When the conceptual background and the historical roots of this phenomenon are taken into consideration, it is clear that the processes that we call at the present branding and marketing have existed in one form or another ever since the emergence of statehood and the emergence of the boundaries between lands. The influx of new residents to any territory, as a rule, was always accompanied by the growth of its welfare: The territory expanded, industry and trade developed, leading to the creation of new jobs and

attracting even more residents. Initially, the city would manage to become a center of attraction by creating a religious center where the rush of pilgrims would be observed. Then, the status of the city would change and reach a new level. Universities (Oxford, Cambridge, etc.) have developed the same way. Universities have been founded and hence, urban environment of these cities has rapidly emerged with professors and students. America was discovered in the 15th century, and this was accompanied by a massive influx of Europeans into this new territory. The new continent has introduced vast expenses for living with its abundant resources that were needed to be explored, produced and processed. Cities have emerged as centers of trade and international ports. Furthermore, development in different areas of certain industries and products can be considered as the first steps towards conscious marketing activities aimed at city promotion in such a way that, a unique product manufactured in a city began to be associated with it. Subsequently, the names of countries and cities have started to include the ideological and industrial character. For instance, the name of Liberia comes from the word "liberty", and different regions were named by the goods produced there such as the French province of Champagne or Cognac. Subsequently, place brands directly began to develop, with their sets of values and visual images.

In the meantime, the concept of public diplomacy emerged. Public diplomacy can be defined as actions aimed at building long-term relationships which protect the objectives of domestic and foreign policy, and provides a better reflection of the values and institutions of the state to the outside world (Cull, 2006). National branding is being frequently compared and sometimes unified with this concept. While the broader distinction between these two concepts will be made in further chapters, it is required to note here that, the development of public diplomacy and the concepts of "image" and "reputation" also contributed to the understanding of the need to present a positive image of the territories. This is because territories themselves might become the product and the brand that represent their people, resources, goods produced there, in addition to protecting their interests and fight for their target groups. Hence, territory, as any other product or brand, needs a good marketing strategy to become successful.

Place branding as a strategy focused on increasing the competitiveness of the territories and this is closely linked with the concept of the territorial image. The image here is a

broader concept and is seen as "a set of emotional and rational conceptions arising from the comparison of all attributes of the country, its experience and rumors that affect the creation of a certain image" (Pankruhin, 2010, p.51). The territorial image is a set of sustainable characteristics, artificially created and delivered to the target groups; it is the reputation of the territory and particularity of its perceptions. The image is the consumer's inner vision of the territory, substantially formed through the influence of the media. Media conveys processed information to people regarding the actions of the authorities, the life of the citizens, main cultural attractions, domestic and foreign policies and many other aspects of life in the country, region or city. Territorial image differs by variability, complexity and direct dependence on the development of the area and change in its characteristics. The image can be formed both among the citizens and among external groups through a combination of objective and subjective views of their members. The brand, in turn, is formed on the basis of the image but it carries the values that reflect consumers' needs. The brand is a deeper concept, revealing the essence of the territory from the inside with all its positive, appealing characteristics. An important point in comparison and correlation to these concepts is that the image of the territory only reflects events occurring in that specific region. Yet to enhance the competitiveness and attractiveness of the territory, it is important not to promote the desirable yet nonexistent image but to generate the new positive image, using the existing characteristics. The truthfulness of the existing image is the key to the success of its promotion campaign, namely branding.

1.1.3 The Main Stages of the National Branding

The process of place branding involves a difficult multifunctional complex set of actions, which should take into account a number of factors that determine the success of the branding campaign and an ensuing development of the branded territory. All the multidimensional elements that constitute the national branding process are characterized by their uniqueness in each individual case (for each territory, city, country). Nevertheless, it is possible to identify the main stages that comprise the process of place branding and to which the developers are paying the most attention: Designating the territory as a "product", setting goals and objectives, choosing the target groups, conducting analyses, outlining the development strategies, creating the visual

identity, searching channels of communication for the promotion and development of the brand (Kapferer, 2012). Each of these aspects requires a separate detailed assessment because they are the musts, without which the national branding process cannot be successful.

1. Designation of the state as a carrier of the future brand involves setting goals and objectives.

In the contemporary world, anything including the state may become a "good", since a state also tends to have its own mission, philosophy, a certain set of values and a place in the market. National brand and product brand have similar internal structures, but they differ in their characteristics that should be taken into account when developing a state brand:

•*The identity of the brand*. Goods generally have one allocated advantage, which is often used as a unique selling proposition (USP) a marketing campaign promoted to convince customers to switch brands or to differentiate products from one another. Meanwhile, the state should have a diversified image, which should have historical development roots and include various elements (geographical, natural, resource features, cultural and national policy of the state, symbolism), emphasizing the integrity of the territory. Simon Anholt (2005) in his book entitled *Brand America* proposed a concept of the competitive identity which was presented in the shape of a hexagon. The vertices of the hexagon refer to the important components of the territory, which transmit information to the outside world and forms the national image (Figure 1).

Figure 1. The Nation Brand Hexagon. ("About NBI", 2017)

This model structures the concept of place brands' identity and is one of the most demonstrative models that explains main components of the national branding.

•*Target audiences*. The target audience of the product is its direct customers, whereas place brand has two target groups: the internal group (residents) and the external group (tourists, businessmen, investors). To build a successful national brand, it is crucial that the interests, tastes, preferences and needs of both groups are considered.

•*The purposes of creation*. Product brand is created in the first place for an economic purpose that is, to increase sales, while social purposes are prevalent for the national brand. It aims to improve the quality of life of the inhabitants of the state through the creation of an attractive image, allowing the development of the territory as a whole.

•*The lifetime of the brand*. National brand, as well as the product brand has its life cycle. Accordingly, Latipova (2011) in her article entitled "*The Life Cycle of Tourist Destinations and Their Competitiveness*" identifies three stages of national brand life cycle. First is the *stage of development* when the branding region is already quite competitive, foreign relations are established, but the flow of people and investment are not massive. The second one is the *stage of prosperity* when the knowledge of the territory grows promptly and the investments increase. The final stage, depending on

the actions of the administrative authorities and interest groups, can be determined as the *stage of stagnation, decline or revival*. "Tourist destinations are very dynamic and manageable in their development. Their life cycle, in contrast to the product life cycle, is uninterrupted, it extends into new forms. The duration of the life cycle stages depends largely on the places' capabilities" (Latipova, 2011). The life cycle of the national brand, in any case, is much longer than the life cycle of the product brand.

•*Design*. Generally, each brand has its visual attributes as they help to identify a certain product among its competitors. Yet, if the design of the product and creation of its logo and packaging is easy to make in such a case the designer will be the one to create brands identity. The case of the national brand might be more complicated, due to the fact that nation already has its natural and inseparable identity which architect of its design and logo should transfer to a broad audience, while making it as definite as possible.

•*Cost*. Product brand has a market value, while the place brand has more symbolic funds. It is not easy to estimate the cost of the territorial brand, although some companies have already taken such attempts; e.g. Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung (Society for Consumer Research)(GfK) consulting firm led by Simon Anholt proposed to calculate the cost of the place brand, claiming that it is a part of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) (Mesheryakov, 2008, p.64).

The development of each area depends on many internal and external factors such as the political, economic and social situation, the impact of which is obvious both at the stage of the territory growth and at the stage of crisis. The process of place development can be cyclical, and to shorten the crisis stage, reasons leading to difficulties and tools avoiding them have to be explored. Philip Kotler (2005) has formed schemes of territorial growth and territorial crisis dynamics, the final stages of which appear to be the same. The scheme of national welfare growth goes through the following trend: The place becomes attractive for both internal and external target audiences, then the key industries of the area start developing, which causes the influx of residents, workforce and investment. Next, the real estate prices increase and the demand on the infrastructure increases as well, that leads to the growth of social needs and eventually to increases in tax rates. Finally, the residents have to leave the area in order to reduce

their expenses. The dynamics of the internal crisis of the territory is as follows: The place becomes unattractive due to the crisis of the main industry or company, which causes the infrastructure to deteriorate, unemployment and the budget deficit increase. As a result, residents leave the area, investments decline together with labor force participation, tourism activities come to a halt, social spending increases, banking system goes into turmoil and corruption occurs. As a result, the image of the city worsens. Finally, same as in the previous scheme, the area ends up with increased taxes (p. 34-35). However, it can be assumed that if national brand had been developed and managed correctly, then, after a crisis stage, the territory could reach a new level of development. To avoid a further decline, it is important to maintain a positive image of the city and to develop new industries.

Development of the territory depends on external factors as well, such as:

- Technological development (optimizes business processes and saves the time for information exchange);

- Globalization and competition (some regions begin to specialize in specific industries, and this leads to an increase in investments allowing these regions to compete with larger territories);

- Political activity (depends on the nature of the relationship between the territories, the level of the government interference in commercial activity and direction of territories' development) (Aaker, 1996).

The proper response of the authorities and stakeholders to the change in internal and external factors determine the dynamics of the effective development of the territory.

The next important step in the development and promotion system of the place brand is setting goals and objectives. Grasping the perspectives of the place brand development and the potential of the territory results in a more objective view on the situation and helps to set realistic goals. What needs to be achieved? Who should be involved? What should be the basis of the brand? On what image should it be build? What tools should be used? Which brand is supposed to be the "output"? These and many other related questions have to be answered at the very beginning of brand development. Defining

the goals, formulating plans and taking the necessary steps to achieve them are the most important aspects of any project, as these constitute the main orientation points for the future work.

2. Target audiences of the place brand.

Defining the target audience is one of the critical stages of the place brand building. The presence of several target groups, each of which has its specific needs and attraction characteristics, is an important feature of the place brand. In the study of the phenomenon of place branding, there are several specific target groups which will be discussed further, and different approaches are required in order to attract their interest. Below some of the target groups are listed.

•The population of the territory. The inhabitants of the region constitute one of the most important target audiences. They are the bearers of the brand and their acceptance of the new place identity is the main purpose of their involvement in the formation of the brand. Andrea Insh (2011) comments on the impact of the role of this target group as:

> "The underestimation of the influence that citizens have on the formation and development of the brand, can be detrimental to the goals and objectives of its initial strategy. Perhaps it is impossible to satisfy the wishes of all the citizens, but their views must be considered when creating the brand of the nation. After all, they will "live and breathe" in its atmosphere. Own feelings about the place where they live, work and entertain, people can broadcast to tourists and visitors in the form of recommendations or complaints. Residents' skills, talents, and business acumen also contribute to the growth and prosperity of the region. One way or another, but the citizens increase value of their homeland's brand" (p.8).

It is also important to understand that people who move to another area for work also become residents later on. The welfare of the territory depends on the environment in which people live and on the opportunities that are available to them; housing, education, infrastructure, safety, environmental concerns, labor force participation, social conditions, the possibility of self-realization, etc. Obviously, not all areas can position themselves as an ideal place to live, but each of them is able to allocate its strong key advantages so that potential residents can be attracted. Diverse, skillful population, interested in the life of its region would become a powerful lever in strengthening the brand of the territory and its positive image.

• Visitors. Visitors of the city, country or region are the second target group whose involvement would also contribute to the creation of a successful place brand. Visitors can be tourists and travelers, they can also be people engaged in a business trip, whether for scientific (conferences, seminars, industrial meetings) purposes, sports or business events. Touristic destinations are also divided into several types: eco-tourism, cultural and educational tourism, shopping tourism, tourism based on visits to relatives or friends. This broadness allows to expand methods of attraction (Kotler et al., 2005). For visitors of the region to feel more comfortable in a foreign territory, it is necessary to develop infrastructure and HoReCa (HotelRestaurantCafé) sector as much as possible. This will increase the level of satisfaction stemming from hospitality and loyalty of the outer group's members. Modern communication channels have long allowed potential visitors to get a complete overview of a particular area before making a choice. There is an immediate availability of pedestrian and driving routes, shopping guides, reviews of sightseeings, hotels, theaters and restaurants. It is important to keep track of the flow of information to understand what associations and emotions cause one or another object located in the territory and which sites are the most visited. Formation of a development strategy regarding the touristic destination area is an essential step towards creating a positive image of the region.

• Businessmen, investors, representatives of industries. Representatives of this group significantly contribute to the development of the territory as a financial center, promote the development of its infrastructure and industrial production. Given the rise of unemployment in most developed countries of the modern world, the issue of the involvement of businessmen and investors in the development process of the territory is now the most acute. In addition, every company is willing to hire skilled workers and wants to provide them the most comfortable and productive environment for working and living as an extra motivation. Based on this, it can be stated that the area should have not only the right economic, legislative and resource base for investment but, also provide a suitable environment for the companies to grow and their employees to live. Regional authorities should be interested in maintaining and developing existing businesses, as well as attracting new businesses to create broad networks.

It is also important to pay attention to the export markets, as it reveals a strong interrelation. On the one hand, if the region produces and exports high-quality goods, then these goods "advertise" the region and generate interest. On the other hand, if the area has already established itself in front of the outside groups, then it spreads this positive image to its goods sold abroad (Kotler et al., 2005, p.328, 349). It is, therefore, important to develop and reflect the brand in the exports and to have an important impact in the export markets. This way strong distribution networks can be built.

When talking about target groups, it is essential to realize what people pay attention to in their travel decisions regardless of the purposes. Place branding is a mediator between the territory and its potential target audience, it reduces the number of communication obstacles and draws attention to the positive characteristics of the region, which play a crucial role in attracting consumers.

3. Research and analysis.

After studying the inherent features of the territory as a "product" and defining its main target groups, one of the most important stages of the place brand construction is to conduct research. Research activities in the process of branding can be divided into two parts; external and internal. The study of external factors aims at understanding the conditions of the market, investigating the activities of the competitors, analyzing consumer behavior and defining main vectors of development. Internal researches relate directly to the territory. It primarily defines the level of territories' general welfare and the level of infrastructure development. The strengths, weaknesses and the main problems faced by the residents and visitors are determined in this research. Afterwards, analysts identify the key competitive advantages of the region and aspects of its internal development, which must be further developed and improved. Conducting research and analyzing public opinion should be a permanent part of marketing and social policy of the territory. Public opinion helps to understand the condition of the market, do long-term planning, and provides the ability to adapt quickly to a changing environment. All of these provide correct predictions and contributes to the progress and development of the territory

One of the most popular methods of situational analysis to be used in the development and promotion of the brand is the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT) analysis. SWOT analysis helps evaluate internal and external factors affecting the development of the object. As stated above, it is a matrix, divided into 4 parameters: S- strengths, W - weakness, O - opportunities, T - threats. SWOT analysis is also useful in ranking these parameters to assess the extent of their influence and the possibility of their occurrence. This approach is able to cover most of the influential factors. Their analysis provides an opportunity to highlight the development opportunities and the advantages of the territory over its competitors, as well as predicting possible threats and preventing their occurrence. It is crucial to understand that any study turns to be ineffective with a non-recurrent approach, as marketing and branding activities involve repetition and the conduct of various research projects on a continuous basis for total control over the situation. Alexander Pankrukhin (2010), who is the scientific director of the Guild of the Marketing, vice president of the Academy of Imageology, in his article entitled "*Territory Research: Marketing Approach*" speaks on the SWOT-analysis and its features regarding the use of this method for the study of the territory. The main achievement of the modern SWOT-analysis, according to the author is a movement towards the development dynamics account. This is principally important for place marketing since only developing territory may be considered modern and especially attractive. In his work, Pankrukhin mentions that in 1982, Prof. H.Weihrich clearly demonstrated and proved the feasibility of the regular SWOT analysis in monitoring mode. He proved how during the construction of the strategy, it is important to display the analysis of dynamic strength and weaknesses changes of a studying object and how vital is the analysis of the opportunities and threats of the competitive environment (Pankrukhin , 2010, p.28). SWOT of territories is not an exception. It cannot reveal its full potential if it is carried out only once (p.41).

In conjunction with the SWOT-analysis, it is necessary to audit the territory in order to get the necessary information about the factors that make the region attractive and the activities of the major competitors. Since the territory is a large complex object, it is advisable to create the research working groups that will conduct research in various fields such as natural resources, infrastructure, educational environment, the conditions for the development of business and industry, social and economic programs, etc. The

activities of the competitors should be investigated on similar parameters to compile comparative characteristics that will help identify strengths and weaknesses. Furthermore, understanding of the major competitors planning could lead to strategies that would results in creating partnerships and this would enhance the region's competitiveness in the future.

Residents of the territory (both the existing and potential ones) are the most important influence group and the future carriers of the brand, thus, most of the research resources should be used specifically for communicating with them. Within the context of territory studies, it is possible to use techniques such as conducting anonymous surveys on the streets and in crowded areas, conducting surveys among segmented audiences (e.g. students, pensioners, young families, workers of the various sectors, drivers and etc.). The results of such surveys will reflect both positive and negative opinions. Therefore, the place brand development plan can be constructed accordingly.

Research should expand the vision of the situation and narrow the scope of further strategic planning. It should cover all aspects of regional activity and repeatedly carry out analytical analyses, which will give the opportunity to evaluate the effectiveness of the plan and understand the directions for future activities.

4. Creation of the place branding platform and elaboration of the development and positioning strategies.

When developing any brand, after setting goals, identifying main target groups and conducting research, comes the most important stage - creation of the brand platform and elaboration of its development strategies. At this stage, original objectives are compared with the actual situation during the course of the research. The future prospects of development should be correlated with the objectives of the project so that a unified long-term strategy is created.

The brand platform is closely linked to its basic concept and strategy. The platform has to reflect all the features and capabilities of the territory. It must cultivate its benefits in accordance with the objectives and needs of the target groups. It also should reflect the level of differentiation in the territory and work with the brand values that will resonate with the population and potential residents in the first place. Brand values may be linked

with the direction of its development and may also be reflected by the emotional, social and cultural aspects.

The architecture of the brand has to be based as well on a variety of elements, which may be independent brands associated with the territory: Heraldry, historical monuments, cultural elements, companies, product brands, events or personalities. While discussing the idea of the brand, it is worth mentioning that it cannot appear "out of nowhere" and should be embedded in the existing conditions of territorial development. It should be developed on the platform that currently exists and reflect the prospects for the formation of the future brand. Denis Vizgalov (2011), author of the book entitled *City Branding*, reflecting on this idea explains that the identification and figuration of the main idea and the city's identity cannot be done according to a predetermined plan. Vizgalov claims that all brands' concepts, which were developed under such scheme, failed without exception. The idea of the brand cannot be obtained as the desired potion by mixing the known substances in the right proportions. One can only create the conditions under which the idea most likely may occur (Vizgalov, 2011, p. 64).

At this stage of the territorial brand formation, it is important to ensure that there is no discrepancy between the brand positioning with its major competitive advantages and the real level of development of the territory. Inconsistency and inability to fulfill the expectations of the alleged promise damages the image of the brand. Development of the area is a major step in promoting the territory that can occur in different directions: the search for the authentic features and emphasis on identity; improvement of all types of infrastructure; the development of social programs based on improving the lives of citizens; work with major attractions and entertainment elements.

After reaching the main idea of the brand and creating a platform based on the core values of its target groups, the question arises regarding the selection of the correct positioning of the brand. Correct place brand positioning ensures that the territorial brand ranks higher in the minds of potential consumers compared the competitors. Positioning helps to recognize, distinguish and prefer one region to another, based on the ideas embodied in the brand and the benefits that the territory is ready to provide. Here again, it is important to take into account on which target audience actions will be

aligned and on what positioning of the place they will be based. This can based either on innovative development, a high level of social life or on the deep historical roots, etc.

Positioning is the basic element in the further strategy development for both the brand and the territory. With a weak platform, which does not reflect the core mission, the values do not correspond and are not based on real unique features of the territory. Hence, creating and developing a successful brand becomes impossible.

5. Development of a visual identity of the territorial brand.

The visual attributes are among the most crucial elements in the development of the brand because they are responsible for the recognition, memorability and creation of an associative array in the consumers' consciousness. National brand, in this case, is not an exception. A unified corporate style and visual image gains the trust of the consumers. Their harmonious use in the urban environment increases memorability and underlines the unity and relevance of the national brand concept. In national branding, attributes such as a logo (symbol), tagline and corporate identity are usually used. When developing the visual identities of the brand, it is important to understand that those are not just decorative elements but powerful tools that should be noticeable in the competitive external environment. Tagline and corporate style should be bright, flexible and modern. They should reflect the key message of the brand and increase customers' loyalty with its attractiveness and dynamism. At this stage, the question of abandoning the old heraldic symbols in favor of modern designs arises. In history, many Western cities and countries have realized the importance of creating a territorial logo as their identifier. Some of them even carried out a restyling of their visual attributes since the previous ones did not meet the demands of a rapidly evolving internal and external environment. A number of countries paying attention to the importance of a recognizable logo in their development strategy is presented on the "logo map" in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2. Tourism Logos World Map. ("Leisure and Tourism", n.d.)

6. Formation of the brand image and the choice of the promotion channels.

The place image and place brand are related with one another and both aim at achieving common goals; the development of the territory and attracting the target groups. Since the brand is a reflection of the territory, it automatically becomes a carrier of the place image and reflection of its development in the communications environment. Promotion of the place brand, unlike product brand, happens primarily inside. Brand gets embedded in the region's infrastructure and makes it an object of implementation and a channel of transmission of the brand's main messages. There are many variations in which the place brand and its main visual elements are reflected in the urban environment and vice versa. Almost in every study on place branding and place marketing, authors offer their own versions of the place promotion directly through what is inside the territory. Denis Vizgalov (2011) describes the following options for embedding the brand in the urban environment:

•Architectural projects (e.g. Palm Island in Dubai, Sagrada Familia Cathedral in Barcelona, Eiffel Tower in Paris, etc.)

•Landscaping projects (e.g. the design of parks, urban stairs, quays)

•Theme zoning. This is one of the most difficult but effective tools; redevelopment of the city, dividing it into different areas according to the target audience: Tourists,

businessmen, residential areas, areas with bars and discos for young people, etc. (e.g. Chinatowns that now exist in the most cities of the world).

•Implementation of the design of the brand in the urban environment (e.g. installation IAMsterdam in Amsterdam) (pp.72-79).

Although Vizgalov (2011) gives these examples for city brands, their use in the formation of national brands is also possible as every country has its own natural or architectural features. It is also possible to use visual attributes in the casual life of the region, for example, a single style of the signposts, the use of the national logo in social, sports and cultural events, advertising, the use of corporate identity in the transport infrastructure, etc.

In the book entitled *Branding Territories. The World's Best Practices* Keith Dinnie et al. (2011) describe such variations of the internal development of the brand as food branding (linkage between territory and food culture), branding through landscaping (as a powerful tool demonstrating trends in environmental development), online branding using sites, the blogosphere, social networks and interactive system of Web 2.0 (Dinnie, 2011).

National brand is also being affected by the level of the territorial infrastructure development as an indicator of a comfortable life. Transport, road conditions, technological communication can all be used as a competitive advantage of the territory. In each case, the unique brand image can be also built on certain cultural elements, events or heroes (e.g. Sherlock Holmes as a genuine London resident, Chateau d'If as the main prison of Marseille, etc.). Distinctive culture, national crafts, songs and dances, rituals, festivals, sports traditions all get the attention of people who want to meet new cultures and contribute to building a positive image. Some monuments related to contemporary art and demonstration of the outdoor environments can also serve as place identifiers. Thus, the foundation for the formation of national brands' image can be constructed on all possible authentic features of the place. However, since the image is artificially created in the minds of consumers, it must be simple, intriguing, original and plausible.

Besides brand promotion and the formation of its image through implementation in the urban environment, there are the standard communication channels used for mass impact on a wide range of people. In this case, the communication can be either direct or indirect. Direct communication is an advertising communication, where the message sender is a brand designer and the recipient is the final consumer. In promotion of place brand the following channels of advertising being used:

• Traditional forms of advertising (television, radio, print, outdoor advertising) are used primarily due to their wide coverage. Targeted audience, in this case, is minimal. Generally, advertising is used to promote the territory as a tourist "good". However, direct advertising is impersonal and, in today's world, not the most effective tool of communication as it cannot deliver all the unique features of the territory. Most often, it uses bright colors and appeals to emotions that deprive its uniqueness and originality.

• Public relations (PR) have always been one of the marketing tools. It directly contributes to networking and build relationships with groups of influence. In the territorial branding, PR is assigned the same role and uses a variety of tools. Exposure is carried out not directly but through individuals who are the agents of influence for different target groups. PR also gives an opportunity to demonstrate various competitive features of the territory by using the stories in magazines, television and radio broadcasts, which also target different groups of people.

• Sales promotion and direct marketing. These advertising tools can also be used in order to promote the territorial brand. "Sellers" in this situation appear to be the tour operators, realtors of real estate, business analysts who aim to select new territories for opening branches or corporations abroad. Sales promotion for various target groups also uses different approaches: It can be "hot" vouchers (e.g. "Buy a ticket to Paris now and get a ticket to Disneyland for free!") for tourists, promotions; for investors or entrepreneurs certain tax benefits and lower prices for the use of land or infrastructure.

• Other advertising channels. Other advertising channels refer to all tools that can be used to promote the territory and its brand. A territory appearance in a movie is a good example. For example, "Paris, Je t'aime" itself is an advertisement of Paris sights and its romantic image. Hence, the promotion of this movie would be helpful. Advertising

through sports and cultural activities is also a promotional channel. Every year, the "Eurovision" song contest is being held in a different city in Europe. This event causes a wave of popularity of the place, it also provides an excellent opportunity for a territory to express itself during the course of the competition. Even more opportunities exist when a city is selected as the capital of the Winter or Summer Olympic Games.

The Internet is also a milestone in modern advertising communication, which has unlimited potential for the promotion of any brand, including the territorial brand. Creation of thematic groups in social networks, the availability of entertainment and business portals, using bloggers and popular communities as agents of influence, creating place websites all help convey the necessary information to consumers.

Returning to the direct and indirect communications, the indirect communication refers to the information that is distributed without the developer of the brand. This kind of communication has to be monitored and guided in a positive direction since the dissemination of such information can actively expand and gain momentum in any community.

The choice of promotion channels is an important step in the place brand promotion, as it affects the quality of contact with the target groups.

7. Evaluating the effectiveness of the brand.

Finally, there is one more important step in the development and promotion of a territorial brand - the assessment of its effectiveness. Evaluation of the effectiveness of the brand has always been a point of contention because of the difficulty of developing the parameters by which evaluation activities are supposed to be carried out. In this assessment, the main parameters are the living standards and compliance with the goals, which, as stated earlier, should refer to the actual development of the territory. The cost of the development of the brands should be also taken into account but the most important parameter is the impression of people regarding the territory. The research will help understand how the awareness of the place and loyalty have increased, what people have learned about the new location after the campaign, what associations they have built, and eventually what kind of a new image has materialized. The involvement of the level of the target groups can be assessed as well. If the impact is positive, it

would be obvious from the expansion of the export market, favorable directions of investments, increase in the profits of the tourism sector, etc. All of these factors are measurable and they demonstrate the results of the work achieved. Research should be carried out on a regular basis since monitoring reflects reality and facilitates rapid response to various situations that arise. In place brand development, it is important to create an active group of influence, which would be interested in creating a high-quality "product" and real development of the territory. It will be reflected by the successful execution of each of the stated stages in the process of creating a national brand.

1.2 NATIONAL BRANDING: WORLD EXPERIENCE

World practice of place branding has a wide variety of examples. Taking into consideration all the features of brand development stages mentioned above and the main features of this process, it becomes obvious that branding when used correctly can become an effective tool for building place development strategies. Successfully established place brands confirm this observation.

The level of difficulty of place brand development depends on the size of the territory, the level of its economic, political, social and cultural development, the availability of resources and the potential for further growth. That is why, from a practical point of view, it is worth considering some positive branding examples of individual countries, regions and cities for understanding the approaches used and the feasibility of the brand establishment in different territorial entities.

1.2.1 Brand Country: National Brand "Australia Unlimited"

Brand "Australia Unlimited" is an example of the successful implementation of a national brand and is especially important for gaining insight for this thesis. It reveals proper strategies regarding the implementation. Despite the positive image of the country and a high level of development, Australia is geographically distant from other continents. It makes the territory obscure for various interest groups, and as a result, it reduces the amount of available information regarding the region in the global information flow. The development program of Australia's brand began in 2009 with a budget of $20 million. After meticulous global internal and external studies, brand Australia Unlimited was established in 2013, emphasizing country's numerous and

diversified characteristics. All variants of the new brand selected during the tender offer were tested among the population and the foreign target groups in order to understand how different variants of the Australian national brand impact people's perceptions about the country and how it meets their expectations. The developers of the brand argue that the concept is based on the idea of citizens' initiative, their natural optimism and desire to succeed, grow and expand. The Minister of Trade in Australia; Simon Crean announced a new brand in May 2010 by stating that Australians want international recognition of their achievements and demonstration of various features of their country which they are ready to offer (Minister for Trade, Tourism and Investment, 2010). The main target audience of the brand is investors but its key message can easily be broadcasted to all groups of influence, and the geography of its spread has no boundaries, making Australia a global brand. Additionally, Australia already has its tourist brand, which retains its role and is used in conjunction with the national brand. After the first appearance of a new brand on the international exhibition "Shanghai Expo" and the Football World Cup in South Africa, the world community recognized the Australia Unlimited national brand, which is now rapidly developing with the support of the state, social and business circles. Representing the national brand during such events demonstrates the right use of the approach when selecting channels of distribution. The brand has its official page on the Internet; (http://www.australiaunlimited.com/), which contains all the necessary information about the use of the brand and offers co-branding in various sectors. There is also information on how the brand is being used inside the country as well as its participation in global events.[1] Visual identity of the brand also corresponds to what brand stands for. Australia Unlimited logo is presented in the form of two arrows, symbolizing the outlines of the country and the intention of dynamic growth. In addition, the arrows are in the form of a boomerang, one of the symbols of Australia, and the lower part of the right arrow reflects the island of Tasmania, which is also a part and a symbol of the country (see. Figure 3).

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[1] Supplementary data are available on the brand Web (http://www.australiaunlimited.com/).

Figure 3. Australia Brand Logo. ("Australia Unlimited ", n.d.)

During the last decade, Australian exports of goods and services reflected a slight growth by 2,7 percent of GDP , trademark applications grew by 5 percent and the number of new businesses registered grew by almost 38 percent.[2] Thus, the Australian brand meets the set requirements and contributes to the development of the country in the global market.

1.2.2 Brand Region: «Tyrol»

The brand of the Austrian state, Tyrol, is an example of regional branding. Austria is divided into nine federal states, each of which is a separate territorial association with a local government. The land of Tyrol, with its capital in Innsbruck, is one of the first to develop as a touristic destination. This region proposes a summer holiday on the lakes and winter sports holiday in the Alpine mountains, which attracts about 40 million tourists per year. The development of the European regions led to rise of competition among them for skilled labor, development of industries and right to carry out international projects. It was essential to go beyond the existing features in the region, fully comprehend the situation, analyze views and preferences of the interest groups, and to assess the overall development of the external competitive markets. Whereas the main goal was to apply the features of tourism brand to economic, educational and research sectors. The main idea of the brand rested on the intersection of traditions and future as the intrinsic features of the Tyrolean land. The brand developers have taken to the forefront the contrast between the emotional connection of people with their land and traditions, and rational productivity of the region, aimed at economic development. The Tyrolean logo, as its main visual identifier, appears on a wide range of products, is labeled on the touristic souvenirs and local marketing materials, on the packages of products etc. (see Figure 4).

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[2] Supplementary data are available on the organization Web site (http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IC.BUS.NREG/countries). World Bank, 2015

Figure 4. Tirol Brand Logo. ("Tirol. Holidays in the Heart of the Alps ", n.d.)

Almost every valley, located in the Tyrolean land, uses its logo to improve identification. The same logo is used in clothes and accessories, hence, the tourists and residents become carriers of the brand.

When assessing the outcome of the region branding, it is worth providing some economic indicators. According to the data provided by the European Council, Tyrol's gross domestic product between 2004 and 2014 witnessed an increase of 43.97%.[3] In addition to this, regional unemployment rate of % 3.2 stays below the Austrian and EU average unemployment rates of %5.6 and %10.2 respectively, and approximately one of four employee works in the tourism sector. Tyrol region is now one of the most famous and most visited regions in Austria in which international sports events are held.

1.2.3 Brand City: "Hong Kong Asia's World City"

The brand Hong Kong is one of the most illustrative examples of city branding. The main purpose of the development of this brand in 2001 was to support the already existing political, economic and social trends, the growth of which could be adversely affected by the reunification of the city with China. The brand Hong Kong combines East and West as well as traditions and innovations. In short, the contrast has become its brand platform. The city has a modern look and a rich history that emphasizes the brand mission. Hong Kong currently is one of the largest and most developed cities in the world. Although the main target of the strategy was to attract the maximum amount of United States residents, Hong Kong, with its multi-dimensional tourist zones became a target for residents from Europe, Asia and Australia as well. Social and educational programs as well as creative industries and spaces for all urban population are developed in the city. In Hong Kong economy, information and media industries are at

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[3] Supplementary data are available on the organization Web site (https://ec.europa.eu/growth/tools-databases/regional-innovation-monitor/base-profile/tyrol). European Commission: Growth, Internal Market, Industry, Entrepreneurship and SMEs, 2015.

the forefront. According to the Index of Economic Freedom 2010, the city has received the status of free economy 16 years in a row. It also ranks as the second city in the Globalization Index promoted by Ernst & Young. Stable administration, legitimacy and order, public access to information, a strong banking and financial system, low tax rates and an advantageous geographical location together with a highly motivated workforce serve as a great inducement for foreign investors (Dinnie, 2011).

Despite the fact that Hong Kong is not performing well recently in terms of its economic growth, it still attracts a high amount of foreign direct investment. Its foreign direct investments systematically grow, from 9872,565 HKD Billion in 2012, they reached 13356,835 HKD Billion in 2016 and it is forecasted that they will increase even further.[4]

In June 2015, government initiative "Brand Hong Kong" (BrandHK) launched the "Our Hong Kong" campaign to promote Hong Kong's soft strengths, achievements and aspirations while reinforcing Hong Kong's core values and attributes. Through authentic stories, the campaign invited global audiences to experience Hong Kong themselves with the tagline: "This is Our Hong Kong. Why not make it yours?"[5] The visual identity in this case displayed the primary associative array - the dragon as a cultural and traditional symbol, which rushes into the future (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. Hong Kong Brand Logo. ("Brand Guidelines", 2016.)

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[4] Supplementary data are available on the organization Web site
(http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IC.BUS.NREG/countries)
[5] Supplementary data are available on the brand Web site
(http://www.brandhk.gov.hk/html/en/OurHongKong/OurHongKongCampaign.html)

In the body of the dragon, letters "H" and "K" are also displayed, and strips of the dragon's tail symbolize the flexibility and versatility of the urban development and at the same time forming the shape of the Hong Kong's famous landscapes. Implementation of the brand in the urban environment also meets modern requirements; the logo and its colors are widely used in the infrastructure of the city.

The abovementioned illustrations are among the most successful examples of territorial branding. Branded areas had followed all stages of the development of place strategy, which helped them to create a recognizable image and take their dominant places in the regional and global markets. As a result, the overall level of development and production in the mentioned areas have grown, their brands keep going through reconstruction to stay in line with the changing conditions of the global political economy and follow changes of the needs of the target audiences. Basing on the analysis of economic, political and social indicators of the branded territories before and after implementation of branding strategies, one can come to a conclusion about the profitability and significance of place branding strategy. The above examples of place brands demonstrate that with the right approach and understanding of the goals and the target audiences, branding of territories can be an effective strategy for development of the area, and hence, a crucial process to be followed, which proves one of the arguments of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2 THE THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

One of the main aims of this thesis is to review the concept of national branding as a tool of soft power. The purpose of this section is to examine the theoretical characteristics of the concept of soft power in international relations from the liberal perspective. It is necessary to analyze the emergence of liberalism in the theory of international relations, scrutinize its transformation and the formation of new trends such as neo-liberalism, and consider soft power as one of the main concepts of this theory. This section also highlights the basic concepts of the world history of liberalism, referring to the work of its principal representatives, such as John Locke, Ludwig von Mises, Jeremiah Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Immanuel Wallerstein and others.

Given that the main accent in this thesis is made on the concept of national branding, as well as its relation to the liberal concept of "soft power" provided by Joseph Nye, this section will only provide a brief overview of the historical formation and development of the liberal paradigm. More attention will be paid to the place and contribution of liberalism to international relations in addition to the development of the argument that branding is an instrument of soft power, based on the comparative analysis of national branding with public diplomacy.

2.1 THE ORIGINS OF LIBERALISM AND ITS MAIN PROVISIONS

Liberalism (fr. libéralisme) - is a philosophical and economic theory as well as a political ideology based on the proposition that "the aim of politics is to preserve individual rights and to maximize freedom of choice" (McLean & McMillan, 2009).

The roots of the liberal outlook go back to the era of Renaissance, Reformation, and Newtonian scientific revolution. It has roots in the ideas of various writers such as John Locke, Charles-Louis de Montesquieu, Immanual Kant, Adam Smith, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and others. Throughout the 19th century, the liberal ideas were developed by Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, Leonard Hobhouse, Bernard Bosanquet and other representatives of Western political thought. Crucial contributions to the formation of the liberal approach were made by representatives of the European and American Enlightenment, the French physiocrats, adherents of the

British Manchester School, representatives of German classical philosophy and European classical political economy (Ilyin et.al., 1996, p.356-359).

Commitment to "freedom" in the economy, politics, and social life organically connects classical liberalism with the genesis of bourgeois society, the emergence of market relations and the struggle against feudalism. Liberalism is a meta-ideology that defines the fundamental principles and directions of social development, from the end of the 18th century to the present day.

Investigating liberal ideas, it is important to take into account that liberalism considers the welfare and happiness of not social groups, but of all people, and, consequently, the expansion of opportunities that ensure each person unhindered development. This is what the apologists of liberalism among the English utilitarians meant in the well-known dictum: "the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people" (Bentham, 1789, p.8).

The foundations of classical liberalism were laid by John Locke and Adam Smith, who proclaimed the rights to life, liberty and property as natural human rights. In this way, they significantly influenced, in particular, the American Revolution of 1776 (Melville, 2002). Later, in the 19th century, the liberal thought was developed by Benjamin Constant, Alexis de Tocqueville, John Stuart Mill. In the 20th century, the most notable theorists of liberalism were economists, in particular, Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich von Hayek.

The ideal of almost unlimited individualism is central in classical liberalism. The notion of the state as a "night watchman", which deals primarily with problems of external security and does not interfere in the economic, socio-political and cultural life of society, is derived from this ideal. John Locke's theses formulated the concept of liberal democracy. The theories of the social contract and natural law developed by him were later developed by Charles Louis Montesquieu and other thinkers.

Locke claimed that in a natural state all people are mutually benevolent, free and equal, which means they do not oppose each other; initially human behavior is a subject to moral and ethical norms, having a divine origin and the strength of natural laws. For Locke, war was unnatural, as it is a "state of enmity and destruction" (Locke, 1821,

p.200). The initial position of the Locke's doctrine is the independence of the individual, followed by the concept of labor as the basis and justification of property, as well as by the concept of contractual nature of the state authority. Locke derived four qualities of man, which are derived from his natural state. Those are freedom, property, security, the right to resist violence or repression (Locke, 1821). These basic principles of the public order defended by liberalism were set forth even prior, in the French Declaration of the Rights of the Man and of the Citizen of 1789.

Locke gave a generalized formulation of the liberal alternative, which states that the restoration of the social order from chaos is possible only with the provision of a private autonomous space for each individual. Thus, the social order is based on the entrepreneurial spirit and will of individuals and is justified to the extent that it protects the rights of the individual. Moreover, according to liberal ideologists, the minimal space of personal freedom can be guaranteed only if natural individualism is introduced into the framework of the law. As Ludwig von Mises wrote "the liberal understands quite clearly that without resort to compulsion, the existence of society would be endangered and that behind the rules of conduct whose observance is necessary to assure peaceful human cooperation must stand the threat of force if the whole edifice of society is not to be continually at the mercy of any one of its members. One must be in a position to compel the person who will not respect the lives, health, personal freedom, or private property of others to acquiesce in the rules of life in society" (Mises, 2002. p. 37).

As for the constant emphasis of liberals on the importance of the individual, it entails vital and contrasting consequences. On the one hand, liberalism insists on the uniqueness of every human being, but, on the other hand, each person can claim the same personal status that other people have. Thus, the ideological complex of classical liberalism included ideas about the self-worth of the individual, its freedom from group, class and national limitations, the idea of cosmopolitanism, humanism, progress, democracy.

In the sphere of politics, liberalism is based on the recognition of human rights, the separation of legislative, executive and judicial power, freedom of choice of activities, freedom of competition. All these ideas form the content of the constiotutional state.

In the economic sphere, the founders of liberalism demanded the abolition of regulations and restrictions of state power, the scope for private initiative, the most favorable conditions for the deployment of private entrepreneurship

The core of classical liberalism consist out of the following:

- the absolute value of the individual and the original ("from birth") equality of all people;

- autonomy of individual will;

- the existence of inalienable human rights (life, freedom, property);

- the contractual nature of the relationship between the state and the individual;

- the rule of law as a tool for social control;

- limitation of the scope and spheres of activity of the state;

- security of the private life of individual - first of all from state intervention, and the freedom of his actions (within the framework of the law) in all spheres of public life.

The fundamental principles of liberalism are constantly being clarified in the course of social development, but the orientation of liberals on the achievement of individual freedom remains unchanged. The very nature of these principles does not allow to turn liberalism into a dogmatic system consisting of once and for all established norms and rules (Mises, 2002).

As its main values and priorities, liberalism puts forward the following positions. First, it is the widest freedom of the individual in all spheres of public life. At the same time, liberals, in particular, Isaiah Berlin, believe that it still "could not be unlimited", otherwise "it would entail a state in which all men could boundlessly interfere with all other men; and this kind of 'natural' freedom would lead to social chaos, in which men's minimum needs would not be satisfied; or else the liberties of the weak would be suppressed by the strong" (Berlin, 2000, p. 231). Reasonable restriction of freedom is fixed by a social contract that presupposes constitutionalism, separation of powers, the principle of checks and balances. Speaking of freedom as a liberal value, it is worth mentioning an extremely popular idea among the liberals, which is the need for

voluntary consent of subordinates to power over them. In addition, classical liberals were adherents of a "negative" understanding of freedom that does not imply any deterrence of individuals who intend to deliberately cause physical or moral harm to themselves.

Secondly, individualism plays the role of the basic economic, political and social principle. At the same time, however, liberalism does not defend individualism in general, but an autonomous activity directed to the socially constructive course. Same is eligible to freedom. The task of liberalism is not the declaration of individual freedom in general, but the protection of the freedom of that individual who has reached a certain level of development and has proved, on the basis of the criteria put forward by liberalism, its high civilizational status. Moreover, while the classical liberals defended egoistic individualism based on the pursuit of self-sufficient personalities of their narrow interests, modern liberals basically protect developing individualism, placing human development above selfish satisfaction of one's own needs.

Thirdly, liberalism promotes legal and political equality, understood primarily as equality of opportunity, since all people are born equally free. Due to this, the most important types of formal equality are legal and political. These categories of equality are completely justified, unlike property equality, which is unfair, because it ignores the personal disparity of people in terms of their social activity. Equality in freedom is one of the bases of liberal morality. Proceeding from the principle of equality, the liberal doctrine does not recognize class and other privileges that are not conditioned by the individual's effort.

Fourth, tolerance and pluralism are viewed by liberalism as the most important basis for socio-political interaction in society. This principle is connected with all of the above principles and directly follows from them. It is important to note that the combination of the ideals of freedom, individualism, equality and tolerance in the ideology of classical liberalism forms a line of internal tension that, with the evolution of liberal ideology, is becoming more pronounced and meaningful. Their harmonious unity, which classical liberalism expected, turned out to be impossible, and the present era is increasingly confirming this.

Fifthly and finally, the liberal ideology is imbued with a progressive spirit and at the same time, it is purely rationalistic, that is, it proceeds from the belief in progress and the strength of the human mind. As Immanuel Wallerstein points out, "liberal ideology was thus the belief that, in order for history to follow its natural course, it was necessary to engage in conscious, continual, intelligent reformism" (Wallerstein, 1995, p. 101). Liberalism views history as a uniquely progressive process, subject to rational management. In the middle of the 19th century, developing this attitude, the ideologists of the British Whig party formulated the principle of meliorism, according to which mankind can and must constantly improve. Adherence to this conviction distinguishes liberals today, representing one of the most important components of the ideology of liberalism.

As for the role of the state, the liberal ideology believes that the interaction of states in the international arena, in fact, is aimed at putting an end to the war, establishing peace and achieving general economic prosperity. The words "property", "freedom" and "peace" in the program of liberalism appear in the same row. It should be noted that the liberal vision of the development of the world political system is largely connected with the name of Woodrow Wilson, the twenty-eighth president of the United States and one of the founders of the League of Nations, who in his scholarly works and political declarations proclaimed the openness, democracy and ethics of foreign policy and diplomacy. According to Wilson, just as every citizen is worthy of an individual political right to participate in elections, every people can claim a collective political right to sovereignty. In other words, "Wilson's call for the self-determination of nations was the world equivalent of suffrage" *(Wallerstein, 1995, p. 143).*

Although states are recognized as the main participants in international relations under a liberal approach, they are by no means the only players in this field: the interaction of states, according to the liberals, must necessarily be regulated by intergovernmental organizations and international regimes. Along with them, non-governmental, human rights, environmental organizations, transnational corporations and others are also called upon to play an active role. According to the liberal model, states are oriented not only to maximizing profits, but also to mutually beneficial cooperation. The force factor in this model gives way to other more effective means of influencing, which are economic and legal levers and mechanisms.

As noted above, the liberals place the freedom of the individual first in their value system, believing that "individuals know their own interests better than government" (Ebeling, 2015). For adherents of classical liberalism, the struggle for freedom meant fighting for the destruction of external constraints imposed on a person's physical, economic, political and intellectual self-determination.

It seems possible to single out several general interrelated provisions of the liberal vision of freedom. First, the very primacy of economic freedom, which is a key part of the general freedom of the individual, is important. At the same time, private property is the guarantor and measure of freedom. In other words, property "produces" freedom, which for its part needs property. As Volter wrote in his time "Commerce, which has enriched the citizens of England, has helped make them free, and this freedom has in turn extended commerce" (Voltaire, 2007, p.31).

Secondly, the existence of a market-type economic order, which acts as a necessary (although insufficient) condition for individual freedom is of fundamental importance. According to Bauman the modern version of freedom, along with a close connection with individualism, is also marked by a deep connection with capitalism (Bauman, 1988, p.45). The market contributes not only to the assertion of economic self-determination, but also to the strengthening of the political independence of the individual, which is interpreted as the lack of coercion of some people by others. Moreover, liberals seek to establish such an economic order not only in the national, but also in the world level: like socialism, liberal doctrine operates on the scale of all mankind.

Thirdly, economic freedom, both individual and social, is in the eyes of the liberals a means of achieving all other freedoms. It is the triumph of the market that makes it possible to drastically reduce direct state interference in the life of society. Modern liberals, however, constantly point to an indisputable relationship between the level of material well-being of society and the strength of the constitutional order, so in the past few decades classical liberalism has undergone revision and transformation, and a new branch of the theory has emerged in the face of neoliberalism.

The evolution of liberalism was organically linked to the dynamics of capitalist production, and therefore, the classical ideals of the liberals were seriously revised in the past century. First of all, the adjustment affected the role of the market and the state. Thus, the central place in ideology was taken by the principle of state intervention in economic activity, as well as the idea of social responsibility of the state. This "etatist" reorientation of liberalism was associated, above all, with the name of the famous British economist John Maynard Keynes. Ultimately, his ideas not only affected economic practice, but were also incorporated into a liberal ideology.

Neoliberalism is distinguished by recognition of the positive role of the state in economic and social life; but this role is positive only if state regulation promotes the realization of liberal values, the protection of human rights and freedoms. Another distinctive feature of the new liberalism was the rejection of the former indifference to social issues. New liberals believe that state intervention can smooth social conflicts and protect modern society from upheavals. Neoliberalism tends toward a positive interpretation of freedom, which means not simply the disposal of the individual from outside interference in his personal life, but also all-out external assistance in situations where the individual is not able to cope with life's difficulties on his own (Heywood, 2003).

The neoliberal paradigm appeared after the end of the Cold War. Global changes in the political world environment that followed, led to the need to revise the principles established in the bipolar era. The emergence of new states on the political map of the world testified the attractiveness of the sovereignty and the state itself as a political institution. New, unconventional security threats have become a challenge not only for realistic theories, but for many theoretical constructs of a liberal nature. The globalization of economic processes and the spread of pluralistic democracy were accompanied not only (and perhaps not so much) by the spread of cooperativity as the principle of international relations, but also by the emergence of new problems, clashes and conflicts. Neo-liberalism, which seeks to take into account and reflect in its theories all these processes, differs significantly from the canonical liberal-idealistic paradigm.

First, it puts the problem of security at the center of all its conceptual constructions. Secondly, it focuses attention on economic problems. Thirdly, it practically shifts the center of gravity to moral standards as an incentive, the basis and criterion of regulatory

actions in international politics. Finally, it approaches a number of positions with neo-realism.

Following their ideological predecessors, supporters of neoliberalism argue that the state is not the only and sometimes not the main actor on the international stage, which is becoming increasingly accessible to transnational financial and industrial groups, various kinds of non-governmental associations, terrorist and criminal organizations, professional associations and even individuals. Today, any of these new actors in international relations can make serious changes in them, force states to act unintentionally and even enter into direct rivalry with them.

Neo-liberalism takes into account the new realities of international relations. Economic globalization has become a powerful driving force for the progress of neoliberal ideas. In their model, neo-liberals emphasize such positions as a strong link between politics and economy, the weakening of anarchy in the international environment due to the strengthened interdependence of states, etc. Neoliberalism includes many directions that overlap, but are considered as independent conceptual schools. In particular, they include the theory of complex interdependence, which deals with informal relations between foreign policy elites, the theory of international regimes and the theory of democratic peace. Among the leading representatives of neoliberalism can be named the American scientists Joseph Nye, Robert Keohane, Stephen Krasner, Michael Doyle and others.

The vision of international relations from the standpoint of neoliberalism can be briefly described by the following standpoints:

•The goal of the foreign policy of states is the production of wealth on the basis of mutually beneficial cooperation and the search for ways to expand it.

•International relations are not anarchic and uncontrollable. They can and should be regulated, firstly, through international treaties, and secondly, through the establishment of special organizations regulating interstate relations.

•The modern world is so closely interconnected that attempts by any one state to gain unilateral advantages inevitably entail devastating consequences for all. The desire to profit at another's expense means excess of costs over dividends for any state that has decided to violate international law and balance of interests.

•States today are not the unconditional dominants of international relations. International organizations, public opinion and business play an important role in world affairs.

•War is not an objective feature of world politics, but is a misfortune of humanity, which must be countered by a course towards general and complete disarmament, as well as a system of interstate treaties and strict mechanisms for monitoring their implementation.

•Military force is an important tool of the state's foreign policy, but its use should be carried out only for self-defense purposes and after the exhaustion of non-violent instruments for protecting national interests.

•An important condition for international peace is the promotion of democracy, because democratic countries prefer to increase their own wealth, rather than spending their energy on fighting against each other. Wars are the fate of only dictatorial regimes.

Summarizing, it can be concluded that neoliberalism, while maintaining adherence to the fundamental principles of classical liberalism, was able to correct a number of important socio-economic postulates in the new social realities by adapting many new ideas, including those characteristic of other ideologies such as socialism, social-democracy, neoconservativism.

On the ideas of neoliberalism in the 1970s and 1980s, a globalist approach to international relations was formed. Neo-liberalism proceeds from the fact that it is necessary to analyze the behavior of states taking into account not only national interests, but also their participation in the activities of interstate institutions, which harmonize international relations and influence the behavior of the states themselves. At the same time, neoliberalism pays particular attention to the role of economic cooperation in world development. The universality of democracy is viewed by neo-liberals as the most important factor in overcoming contradictions between states.

The views of globalists are reflected in the theory of complex interdependence, developed on the basis of neoliberal principles by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in the studies entitled "Transnational Relations and World Politics" (1971) and "Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition" (1977). Kohen and Nye wrote that between countries there are many connections and relationships, in which strength or power is an ineffective or insignificant instrument of policy implementation. Therefore, the factor of armed power, according to the neoliberal approach, is not as significant as

to the neo-realists. Neo-liberals consider that the impact by the armed forces on other participants in international communication is becoming too expensive, both literally and figuratively. According to this theory, the force factor (i.e. threat of use of force) loses the decisive influence on international relations and economic, legal and information mechanisms become more effective means of influence. According to scholars, conditions are created for the institutionalization of relations between state and non-state actors, which open the prospect of ordering the international environment.

In this regard, neo-liberals emphasize the interrelationship of politics and economy. This relationship also caused a decline in the role of the military strength of the actors of international relations at the end of the 20th century. Thus, in the lexicon of the neoliberals appears a new concept of force "soft power", which will be discussed later in the section.

2.2 THE CONTRIBUTION AND PLACE OF LIBERALISM IN THE THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Liberalism is a holistic, systemic model of the organization of social life on certain, i.e. liberal principles. In other words, international and foreign policy issues are one of the main aspects in liberalism, and the understanding of internal motives and the nature of the foreign policy of states is closely linked with the principles of organization of society. The main leitmotif of the arguments of the adherents of the liberal doctrine of international relations is the notion that the foreign policy of the state is a direct continuation of the internal policy.

As it was mentioned earlier, the idea of classical liberalism was based on the idea of the inadmissibility of excessive concentration of power and money in the hands of the state; liberals defended the ideal of a society in which people could freely exchange information, goods and services, have the right to private property and legal equality. Priorly mentioned neo-liberalism, withal supports the ideas of economic development, information diversity, democratic governance of the state, the protection of the rights of minorities and individual citizens. Perhaps the main achievement of liberalism was the desacralization of the image of the state.

In the historical perspective, broad segments of the population began to perceive the state as a certain segment of the services market with competing companies-parties acting on it. The state as a market entity, on the one hand, lost the former exclusivity, and on the other, acquired properties that did not allow to artificially "lower" its authority, labeling the state as an "inefficient" and thereby justifying corrupt schemes for the privatization of state property.

Current liberalism calls progress in ensuring human rights for life, personal freedom and property, the main criterion for evaluating any political events. The historical evolution of liberalism consisted in its conceptual rearmament, while the original principles remained unchanged. Thus, the liberal doctrine adapted to a new historical situation, became understandable to people from different eras and cultures.

In International Relations, liberal approaches began to be gradually introduced in the 19th century. England was using them more active than other countries. In order to maintain control over the huge colonial possessions, London relied not so much on military force (it was used by the British as the last argument), but rather on the image of its country as a world leader in science, technology, economics and trade. Contrary to popular belief, London's economic relations with its colonies were quite equivalent - the balance was ensured by the fact that one side used more qualitative characteristics and the other side used quantitative ones; this balance was broken only in the middle of the 20th century, when the British colonial system disintegrated. Thus, colonial tradition was inherited by the modern practice of global trade, which was based on the model of relations between the leader and the outsider, tested by England. According to Russian philosopher Aleksandr Panarin "the discouraging truth of the modern world is that today at the global level it is the West that acts as a reference group, which the "world province" is forced to copy. This is the source of the deepest paradoxes of our time, connected with voluntary dependence, voluntary exploitation and voluntary surrender" (Panarin, 2003, p.62).

The fact that some important changes in the international relations of the 20th century are due to the efforts of liberal scholars, politicians and diplomats, is very meaningful. First of all, among such changes is the introduction of the norms of law in international life, which were aimed at regulating relations between states in periods of wars. These are treaties on the humane treatment of prisoners of war, civilians in wartime, rules of

warfare. Examples of such agreements are the two Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, which though did not prevent the outbreak of two world wars, but somewhat mitigated their consequences for civilians and war victims from among servicemen.

Another major victory of the liberals in the 20th century was the creation of the League of Nations (1919) and, especially, the United Nations (1945), whose role in contemporary world politics is constantly accentuated by leading statesmen. A more recent example of the implementation of liberal ideas is the Final Act of the CSCE (1975) signed in Helsinki (Finland) by a total of 36 countries. This agreement has placed the signatory states in the legal framework both in terms of interstate relations, and in matters of respect for basic human rights in internal life. In our time, the most vivid example of the implementation of liberal principles in interstate relations is the European Union, which was formed in 1992 as a result of the signing of the Maastricht Treaty.

In the field of foreign policy, the liberals made a significant contribution to the development of the concept of a "new world order". Among scholars and politicians of liberal orientation in the second half of the 1980s, the aspiration for multilateral cooperation with the USSR prevailed, and at the present time, the intention is to maximally contribute to the emergence of democracy in the states that are its successors. The liberals are supporters of rendering them every possible assistance in creating a market economy, solving humanitarian problems, and settling interethnic conflicts.

On the whole, liberalism is the dominant type of mass consciousness in the countries of the West. Its principles and settings were embodied in the most important political institutions and received a specific manifestation in the main ideological and political trends - from conservatism to social democracy.

In the practice of international relations of the 20th century, the liberal concept was in the shadow of the doctrine of political realism, although this did not mean its complete removal from politics, especially in the foreign policy course of the United States and Britain, and in relations between Western countries after the end of World War II, in which its positions were often even decisive. A truly leading position in the international political arena of modern times, the liberal doctrine occupied only in the

second and last decades of the twentieth century. The biggest liberal politicians were US Presidents Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) and Bill Clinton (1993-2001). Their rule were, respectively, for periods after the end of the First World War and the Cold War. In both cases, the US filled the "vacuum of power", acted as the guarantor of the post-war peace and development of the economies of many European countries. In order to strengthen its influence, in the destroyed by the First World War Europe, in one case, and in weakened by the Cold War Eastern Europe in another, the United States needed to create not an atmosphere of fear among its former opponents, but the image of a peace-loving and disinterested country. Joseph Nye defined this policy as the "soft power", which eventually allowed primarily the US to strengthen its international positions, without causing much irritation from third countries, this fact predetermined the increased interest in new concept by both international relations scholars and world political leaders.

2.3 THE CONCEPT OF POWER IN LIBERAL THEORY

Power, as one of the key concepts of the theory of international relations, has for many years remained the object of research and works of many philosophers, historians and international scholars. This is due to the fact that the use of power (or its threat) is often the most effective and quickest way to solve problems in the framework of international cooperation. In addition, the concept of power is often associated with conflicts (including military ones), so the question of power can be considered central in the theory of international relations, along with the problem of war and peace. The concept became even more urgent in the period of nuclear deterrence and deep economic interdependence of countries, since the military power of the state could no longer be considered an absolute guarantor of power, and states increasingly began to turn to alternative instruments of influence. At the same time, the broadest and most universal definition of power can be expressed as the totality of everything that helps actors to influence. In the context of the development of numerous concepts and paradigms of international relations, the concept of power acquired various categorical definitions. In this section, the peculiarities and historical context of the notion of power in liberal theory will be considered, in particular, by the example of the concept of soft power.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the world passed into an era of rapid transformation, which naturally affected the theory of international relations. Many theorists of neoliberalism, neo-realism, constructivism and other theories of international relations have proposed their approaches, dealing with both traditional issues of international relations and various aspects of the created situation and new challenges. In the theory of international relations, as early as the mid-1980s, the process of rethinking the perception of "traditional power" began. Representatives of the neo-liberal school introduced the idea of "soft power" in scientific usage, which soon began its development as an independent concept. To some extent, it was a response to American theories of declinism[6], which since the 1950s have gained popularity in the United States. The failure of the US Armed Forces in Vietnam, the 1973 Oil Crisis, the serious financial and economic difficulties (inflation, decline in GDP, gold reserves, etc.) that the US has encountered, as well as many other factors, led to the fact that already in 1980, according to opinion polls, almost half of Americans believed that the country was in decline (Nye, 1990). The first works on "soft power" denied the thesis of the decline of American power, arguing that under current conditions in world politics one can manage and achieve success with the help of "soft power". Simultaneously, the concept of "soft power" was contrasted with the traditional realistic perception of force, which is regarded as "hard power", and is identified with military and economic power. "Hard power" includes military interventions, coercive diplomacy, economic sanctions, and relies on material resources such as military forces and economic means (Gallarotti, 2011). After the end of the cold war, the neo-realists continued to advocate the use of "hard power" to strengthen the role and spread of state influence in international relations. In fact, the concept of "soft power" has become a challenge for representatives of the theory of political realism, opposing the absolutization of "hard power".

2.3.1 The Concept of Soft Power Within the Context of the Theories of International Relations

The origins of the concept of "soft power", which neo-liberals put forward, go back to the ancient era, but as such, the theory of "soft power" is the result of the efforts of the

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[6] "Declinism" is the belief that the state, society or institution is in a situation of decline (perhaps irreversible).

American neoliberal school. The concept emerged in the United States during the years of the end of the Cold War, at which time it became necessary to rethink the US's place in the world in the absence of a "Soviet threat" and the presence of new imperatives of foreign policy. In addition, it became increasingly obvious that the possibilities of using military force were substantially limited, and the need to increase their influence was not fully realized. It became clear that the attractiveness and influence of some states (for example, Switzerland, Sweden, France, etc.) significantly exceeds their GDP and the costs of maximizing the force, especially military.

The term "soft power" in scientific use was introduced by the famous American political scientist, the developer of a number of directions within the framework of neo-liberalism Joseph Nye, who headed the Harvard Kennedy School of Public Administration since 1990. For the first time, Nye used the term "soft power" in the book "Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power" published in 1990, in which he defined "soft power" as the ability to achieve what one wants on the basis of voluntary participation, sympathy and attractiveness, and not through coercion or payment (Nye, 2004, p.x). In the autumn of 1990, in the "Foreign Policy" magazine Nye published an article entitled "Soft power", in which he clarified the content of this term and offered his approach to current trends in global development.

According to Nye (1990), soft power "is the ability of a country to structure a situation so that other countries develop preferences or define their interests in ways consistent with its own" (p. 167) without forcing the object, but by persuasion and attractiveness. The impact on desire and behavior depends on the resources, the ability to use them, and the environment for their use. If the traditional "hard power" of the state is based on military and economic power, then the resources of "soft power" are the culture of this country, its political values, ideology and implemented foreign policy (Nye, 2004).

Despite the idea of "soft power" was a continuation of many years of analysis by Joseph Nye about the "interdependence" of the modern world, it still started from the economic field. Intellectual roots of this theory lay in the "classical" theories of free trade and political liberalism of Adam Smith, David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill, based on the principles of comparative costs and benefits, as well as free competition (Rich, 2012). Theories advocated the removal of barriers on the international market for goods and

services; the absence of a strict foreign trade policy; openness of the market to all buyers and sellers; transparency, accessibility and reliability of information on the market; the lack of opportunities for specific enterprises to influence the terms of trade, including through communication with government bodies. It is assumed in these theories that adhering to these principles, so called win-win scenario that provides all sides absolute gains (Smith, 2005). In addition, political realism, which was oriented not as much to the advantages, rather than to the risks and threats of any dependence on others, including emotional. The theory of political realism is based on the thesis that the system of international relations complies with the action of objective laws that are rooted in the very nature of man. Which consequently means that, the behavior of states can be rationally explained, calculated and predicted (Niccolo Machiavelli's works are one of the earliest examples of this concern (Fischer, 1995, Tsyvatyi, 2013)). At the same time, Machiavelli paid tribute to what will be called "soft power" in the future. Nye even began his book writing the following: "More than four centuries ago, Niccolo Machiavelli advised princes in Italy that it was more important to be feared than to be loved. But in today's world, it is best to be both" (Nye, 2004). And then he gave it another definition: "soft power" is the ability to get others to want the outcomes that you want - co-opts people rather than coerce them" (Nye, 2004). However, everything began with the economy and, especially, with trade.

In the twentieth century, the problem of "interdependence" was presented in the writings of many theorists, but the most famous, apparently, is the work of Norman Angell's "Great Illusion", published back in 1910. According to Angell, national prosperity cannot be achieved with the help of military force, but it is provided through economic ties. And, therefore, there is an obvious dependence between the trade sphere and the provision of peace (trade and peace connection) (Angell, 1933, pp.ix-x).

The interdependence of today, in the context of globalization, the revolution in transport and communications, is quite obvious: what happens in one state inevitably has consequences for the politics and economy of others. The concept itself already had a relatively wide use in economic theory when considering trade flows and currency fluctuations. However, the inclusion of this topic in international relations occurred rather late. Back in the 1960s, the term "interdependence" was used primarily in the

military sense, due to the East-West conflict, while interdependence was considered as one of the cornerstones of universal peace. In many respects, this was the result of the adoption of long-range missiles from both sides, which led to a reduction in the "distance" between them. Hence "military-strategic interdependence" occurred. But a crucial role for the recognition of the concept in the theory of international relations was played by the crisis in the late 1960s and early 1970s in the developed countries of the West (the collapse of the Bretton Woods monetary system and the first oil embargo of the OPEC member countries as a result of support of Israel by US and other countries of "Western" block in the Arab-Israeli war). Many researchers began to develop the problem of the connection between economics and political science. A remarkable event in the development of the concept was the publication in 1977 of the book by Robert Cohen and Joseph Nye "Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition " (Keohane R., Nye J., 1989). The main idea of the work was as follows: There was a shift in the structures of the international system; states have lost much of their ability to take effective action and control events outside; interdependence, therefore, is of decisive importance for achieving national-state goals. Hence, an attempt to identify tools for using the current situation appeared at two levels: 1) at the level of foreign policy (how to optimize actions in foreign policy); 2) at the level of world politics (the potential for influencing events through international cooperation). But one should take into account that "interdependence" is not a theory, but is an analytical concept. On its basis, the idea was developed that, in modern conditions, governments of states should pursue a "global policy of interdependence" through the development of international cooperation and political coordination.

Finally, such trend as the convergence and even interlacing of liberal studies with the basic postulates of political realism, in particular, attempts to combine force calculations with normative humanitarian goals also prepared basis for an emergence of the soft power. Due to this and above mentioned reasons, the concept quickly entered the foreign policy lexicon and found its place not only in the political practice of leading states, but also entered practically all modern theories of international relations.

Nye identified three main components of "soft power": culture (by which he understood rather the totality of values of society, political culture); political ideology (while

liberalism is perceived as a given) and foreign policy (diplomacy in the broad sense of the word). If the first two elements are the heritage of the country, then the last one is formed and implemented by politicians, that is, this element is much more mobile and less inertial.

A few words should be stated about the correlation between the "soft" and "hard" power. Since the main purpose of using "soft power" is to influence the behavior of other states, then, quite naturally, it involves the transformation of attractiveness into influence. Thus, it is possible to achieve the goal at a lower cost than in the case of "hard power", i.e. not through coercion, violence, dictate, but through cooperation and interaction.

The "soft power" of weaker countries often implies the presence of an "umbrella" from the part of the more powerful militarily allies, thus, in fact, it is not independent; e.g. the attractiveness of Scandinavians as part of the Western alliance, which assumes the principle of complementarity. However, this phenomenon has the opposite side, as states with a powerful military potential draw more attention of the international community and their "soft power" is perceived as more interesting, attractive, or, on the contrary, instilling distrust, anxiety or even fear. This manifests "complementarity" of "soft power" in relation to the "hard power" (Fenenko, 2016). In this context, there are four types of complementarity:

- positive, as a feeling of subconscious mutual sympathy;

- negative, as a feeling of subconscious mutual antipathy;

- zero, as a feeling of indifference to each other;

- asymmetric, when only one of the participants in the interaction is positively attuned to the other (Gumilyov, 1994).

All of them take place in interstate and international relations. It is important to note the remark of Academician Fenenko (2016), who draws attention to the fact that "soft power" is a tool not to reassure the enemies, but to fight for the hesitant ones, an attempt to attract them to your side.

However, "soft power" is not only state resource, but more often recently a resource of civil society and public diplomacy. This trend has especially intensified due to the development of network communications and information revolution (Lebedeva, 2013). In order to confirm the argument that national branding is an instrument of soft power, it is worthwhile to pay special attention to the concept of public diplomacy, whose scope of activities and tools largely coincide with ones of national branding, and therefore the concepts are often confused or used synonymously, that in the context of this thesis is denied. One of the tasks here is to compare both concepts, to identify their common and different sides and to determine whether concepts can advantageously complement each other as instruments of soft power within the framework of foreign policy in order to achieve the national interests of the country.

2.3.2 Public Diplomacy

The notion of public diplomacy was first proposed in 1965 by Edmund Gullion, dean of the School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, to describe the process by which the subjects of international relations achieve foreign policy goals, influencing the foreign public (Cull, 2006). Gullion considered "public diplomacy" as a synonym for the word "propaganda". However, if in English the term propaganda has a negative connotation, then, by introducing the concept of public diplomacy, American scientist gave it a neutral color. At the official level, this term was first used at a meeting of the US Congress in 1977 in the report of the Murphy Commission on the organization of the foreign policy apparatus (Tsaturyan, 2010). Hovewer, the head of the Master's Program in Public Diplomacy at the University of Southern California, Nicholas Cull, found out that the concept of public diplomacy has been used even before, but had a slightly different meaning. For example, in an article of the British newspaper "London Times" from 1856, it was used as a designation of "good diplomacy", and a few years later in the American edition of "The New York Times" it meant "open, not secret diplomacy" (Cull, 2006). In general, it should be noted that the instruments of public diplomacy in various forms have been used in international relations for many centuries, but the concept itself was conceptualized only in the middle of the 20th century, thanks to Gullion. For these years there was a flourishing of public diplomacy, when the US and the USSR, using all kinds of methods of its implementation in their foreign policy,

fought for global leadership. According to American researcher J. Fisher, public diplomacy is needed since it is not enough to be sure that foreign diplomats understand the policy of one's state. It should be also understood by the mass audience, which influences the policy of its Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Fisher, 1972). Indeed, if earlier world powers sought international influence through the use of force, then with the advent of nuclear weapons, it became practically impossible. As a consequence, they had to look for other ways to promote their national interests. However, after the end of the Cold War, when the ideological confrontation ceased, the role of public diplomacy declined markedly. In many ways this is due to the fact that in 1990 it was replaced by a new term - soft power, which was discussed above. Its author Nye expressed the opinion that one of the main ways to develop the potential of "soft power" is to implement public diplomacy. He proposed to consider three dimensions of public diplomacy. The first is daily coverage of domestic and foreign policies and an explanation of the government decisions to audience. The second dimension is "strategic communication", which is a deliberate discussion of the most important political issues for the state. The third is the development of direct contacts with foreign public through exchange programs, scholarships, scientific conferences that allow foreign citizens to get acquainted with the culture and way of life of the country (Nye, 2008, pp. 101- 102). Thus, Nye in his research explained how public diplomacy should work.

The revival of public diplomacy occurred after the attacks of September 11, 2001. It was held in parallel with the fight against international terrorism. The US authorities sought to understand why this tragedy occurred in their country, while simultaneously trying to improve the international image and justify their invasion to Afghanistan and Iraq. The public diplomacy, re-established in the new century, was reoriented towards cooperation. Karen Hughes, who came to the post of Deputy Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy in 2005, called this a "new paradigm", implying that the changed goals of external communication in a completely changed context require new principles of thinking (Hughes, 2007, p. 28). This fact served as an impetus for the activation of public diplomacy in other countries. At the present time one can observe a sharp growth of scientific and practical interest in this sphere. There is nothing surprising in this, because national governments must support the 24-hour news cycle

and know that the information they transmit is under constant attention among foreign audiences (de Gouveia, Plunridge, 2005, pp. 36-38). As a consequence, public diplomacy is acquiring an increasingly political role and goes beyond simple slogans and other mass media communications that have long been associated with propaganda or PR. The classic definition of public diplomacy, put forward by Gullion, can be shortened as follows: it is the means by which governments, private groups and individuals change the attitudes and opinions of other peoples and governments in such a way as to influence their foreign policy decisions (Cull, 2006). However, in addition to this definition, there are some other interpretations that do not actually change the main essence. For example, the American diplomat Hans Tuch defines public diplomacy as "government's process in attempt to bring about understanding for its nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and current policies" (Tuch, 1990, p. 3.).

It is also necessary to highlight that public diplomacy has its different compontents. Among those is cultural diplomacy. It is understood as a system of measures by governmental and non-governmental actors that seek to achieve certain foreign policy objectives, using cultural mechanisms in their work. In practice it is being realized by organizing conferences, exhibitions, festivals, thematic weeks devoted to national culture, literature, cinema, etc (Muhametov, 2014). Through the dissemination and popularization of culture, science, education, literature, language abroad, much more can be achieved than through threats, intimidation and bribery. The next component of public diplomacy is digital diplomacy, which initially spread in the United States. Its emergence became possible due to the dynamic development of information and communication technologies or so called change in global communication[7] context, which in fact allow to erase national borders and exert a global influence on all spheres of society in a given state. Proceeding from this, digital diplomacy can be interpreted as the application of social networks and Internet opportunities in the diplomatic practice

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[7] Global Communication - communication, covering most of humanity (for example, the Internet). New information technologies and methods of communication play a determining role not only in the formation of a new world order at the global level, but also in the organization and distribution of power at the local level, the formation of individual and social cognition, beliefs and values of the local population. In the political sphere, new technologies of global communication undermine the sovereignty of nations and traditional borders. Thus, participation in global communication is one of the national priorities of many countries.

of the government to assist state bodies in issues related to foreign policy, including mechanisms for influencing foreign audiences (Surma, 2015). By placing TV programs on the Internet, distributing certain literature and official documents, the government is able to influence the foreign public. In addition, recently the concept of "twiplomacy" becomes relevant. It appeared only recently, when foreign policy departments, state structures, as well as presidents, ministers, diplomats began to use social networks and Twitter. Through Internet accounts, they have the opportunity to publish various kinds of information that is publicly available and capable of influencing foreign audiences in a certain way. Thus, public diplomacy is a general concept that denotes the activities of various actors, both governmental and non-governmental, which is designed to explain to foreign people the foreign policy pursued by the country and to induce a foreign state to take its foreign policy decisions in a way that is beneficial to these actors. In other words, public diplomacy is a system of dialogue with foreign public. Taking note of all the components of public diplomacy, Israeli expert Eytan Gilboa singled out its following distinctive features:

- carried out by states and non-state actors,

- is based on the concept of soft power, strategic public diplomacy, information management, "branding" of states and representation on the Internet,

- implies an internal dimension in any foreign policy action (Gilboa, 2008).

The internal dimension of foreign policy in this context means that in the modern world, it is impossible to separate external and internal political discourse. Therefore, any internal political action must be planned and implemented taking into account the potential reaction of the external audience - and vice versa.

The Dutch researcher Jan Melissen drew attention to similar characteristics, adding that the new public diplomacy is by definition focused on dialogue with foreign audiences, and not just on spreading information (Gilboa, 2008). In many ways, Brian Hawking continued Melissen's idea that the new public diplomacy is not only a new version of the old policy, but is also a reaction to the changed context. One of the tasks of public diplomacy under current conditions is, in his opinion, the search for allies to popularize important topics, and in this sense, the new public diplomacy is much more than before

associated with the technology of traditional diplomacy (Hocking, 2005, pp. 39-40). A characteristic example in this respect can be the changing role of diplomats of the member states of the European Union, because much of their work is aimed at forming multi-level coalition actors that will influence the formation of a common EU policy. In particular, in the Paschke report on the inspection of 14 German embassies in the member countries of the European Union, the growing importance of networked public diplomacy is highly emphasized (Paschke Report, 2007).

Former British diplomat Shaun Riordan applied this approach to the problem of countering Islamist terrorism. Having decomposed the war on terrorism in a broad sense for several specific information and communication purposes, he came to conclusions that differed from the general logic of the "battle for minds and hearts." According to Riordan, any "implantation" of ideas and values is more likely to cause the opposite effect, that is, provoke rejection. Accordingly, a constructive dialogue with the Muslim audience is needed. Riordan posed for himself a question that completely puts his reasoning in the logic of a new public diplomacy: who should conduct this dialogue? In order for the dialogue to be successful, it is necessary that its participants enjoy the trust of the Muslim audience. Consequently, trustworthy actors must be drawn from the civil society of Western countries. Among the options, Riordan calls non-governmental organizations, Muslim communities in Western countries, universities that already have exchange programs with local universities or relations with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the region. An important role, in his opinion, can also be played by associations of small and medium-sized enterprises, chambers of commerce and sports organizations (Riordan, 2005, pp. 182-183). A similar position was taken by Mark Leonard, who in 2005 published a book with an analysis of British public diplomacy. Among the five key findings in his work, two conclusions repeat what the founder of American public diplomacy, Edward Murrow, once said: public diplomacy should influence the formation of politics, and at the core of it must be the truth. From his theses it is worthwhile to dwell on two.

(1) Official government rhetoric aimed at the outside world should be accompanied by the development of interaction at the people's level: through NGOs, diasporas, political parties and other non-governmental channels.

(2) It is necessary to change the general tone and the whole character of British public diplomacy so that it is oriented not only to the dissemination of the message, but also to the establishment of mutual trust (Leonard, Small, Rose, 2005, pp. 7-8.).

Leonard identifies several elements that are necessary for establishing trust: the obligation of reciprocity and bilateral communication, contacts at the non-governmental level, direct and open talk about power, as well as building trust at a practical level in the course of joint implementation of projects (Leonard, Small, Rose, 2005, p. 47). According to Leonard, it is more effective for the state to carry out public diplomacy through networks and structures that are not connected with the state. Non-governmental organizations can have a good reputation, as well as branched transnational networks with foreign partners and experts. Diasporas are also an important tool, because they often have unique language skills, an understanding of culture and the political context. Political parties that are not involved in the formation of the government can serve as an important channel for the exchange of information on political views, and this will also serve to strengthen mutual confidence. Finally, private companies and their brands can also serve as an important tool for broadcasting information about the country and building trust (Leonard, Small, Rose, 2005, p. 45).

 Another important dimension of the concept of new public diplomacy remains its focus on developing contacts at the human level. Nancy Snow believes that one of the key tools in this sense is educational exchanges. Ideally, exchange programs should be funded from both participating states, so that they are depoliticized and serve as an example of cooperation (Snow, 2009, p. 244).

One of the factors that conditioned the emergence of the term "new public diplomacy" was the development of new communication technologies, primarily the Internet, which expanded the communication capabilities of non-state actors. With the help of modern social media, any user can make an idea known to millions of people. Thus, communities that are oriented toward the achievement of a common goal, including political one, can be consolidated. Accordingly, this makes traditional public diplomacy ineffective on the Internet, because the state does not have the ability to control the dissemination of the message. Moreover, the state can very easily find itself in a minority and be less convincing than numerous non-state actors (Johnson, 2006, p. 44).

The only reasonable way for the state in this situation is to follow the principles of new public diplomacy, that is, pursue engagement of a wide range of non-state actors sharing similar values. This principle of networking is especially illustrated by examples such as the largest library in history the "Wikipedia" and the largest in the history of the video archive "YouTube" site created by users, or collectively created and distributed free of charge by the open source operating system "Linux". According to Ali Fisher, the use of such mechanisms in public diplomacy is another feature of modern and future external communication between states and societies (Fisher, 2008, pp. 140-141).

2.3.2.1 Correlation Between Public Diplomacy and National Branding

About two years after the miscellanea on a new public diplomacy, written by leading experts, edited by Melissen was published, and the term was finally fixed in the professional lexicon, the public relations specialist Kati Fitzpatrick published an article where she critically commented on the level of applied significance of the concept of a new public diplomacy. It is worth noting that in the American socio-humanitarian tradition, public relations are treated, as a rule, with a high level of skepticism. By publishing her article in one of the most famous European magazines about diplomacy, Fitzpatrick tried to show that public relations are not as bad as they often try to imagine, and public diplomacy is not so ideal. In this context, after a comparative analysis of the provisions of traditional and new public diplomacy, the author concluded that the second one is largely normative because its key principles are rather postulated by researchers than are implemented in practice (Fitzpatrick, 2007, pp. 201-202).

A significant contribution to the optimization of the concept of new public diplomacy for practical purposes was made by Nicholas Cull, who wrote in 2007 an applied work on the "lessons of the past" for public diplomacy. One of the key provisions in his work was the explanation of the concept of new public diplomacy and its significance in the modern system of external communication of the state, in particular, and the world-wide context as a whole. Summing up a significant part of what was written earlier, Cull singled out six distinctive features that determined the existence of a new public diplomacy:

- more and more non-traditional actors are taking part in world politics and the role of NGOs is especially noticeable;

- to interact with a global audience, these actors use new modern technologies that work in real time;

- these technologies have blurred the previously existing rather strict dividing lines between internal and external communication;

- public diplomacy is now not only a continuation of propaganda, but it is increasingly borrowing technology from marketing, as well as from network communication;

- the lexicon of public diplomacy has changed: an external image and prestige have been replaced by a brand and soft power;

- shifting the focus from the spread of the message towards establishing relations (Cull, 2007).

One of the important features of the study prepared by Cull was the fact that it was carried out as a review of possible strategies in public diplomacy commissioned by the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Cull, 2007, p. 7). Apparently, cooperation was recognized as productive in the British Foreign Ministry, because next year the ministry published a collection of articles by researchers and practitioners of public diplomacy, which continued to develop the concept and principles of new public diplomacy.

Soon, after the United Kingdom, public diplomacy ceased to be an exclusively theoretical concept in Washington. At the end of 2008, the US Assistant Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy delivered a speech in which he said that the United States needed bilateral interaction with foreign audiences, and Internet technologies could be the best platform for this (Glassman, 2008). In 2009, the Congressional Research Service published a report that, in addition to reviewing the current state of US public diplomacy and budget spending for this area, also identified the need to develop bilateral external communications, build interaction with various actors in external audiences (Nakamura, Weed, 2009, pp. 37-39). Thus, in a few years, new public diplomacy has traveled from a predominantly normative concept to real political practice, applied in countries with the most developed system of public diplomacy.

Although the new public diplomacy, based on the principles of involvement, reciprocity and the use of modern technologies to ensure an equal dialogue of a wide range of participants, is today the most relevant trend in the development of the course, there are also attempts to move to the next stage. So, David Ronfeldt and John Arquilla tried to go even further in the theoretical interpretation of public diplomacy. Based on the two trends outlined by other researchers, which are to make global communication cheaper and accelerating, as well as the emergence of a large number of non-state actors that may have political influence, Ronfeldt and Arquilla also outlined a third trend: awareness of the relationship between information and power. As a result, a three-level system of information reality is formed: cyberspace, information space, noosphere. The authors understand the noosphere in the traditions of Vladimir Vernadsky and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin and believe that the proliferation of non-state actors acting in the public interest and organized according to network principles contributes to the creation of the noosphere. Accordingly, the authors called the achievement of goals in this new information context through the formation of broad coalitions between various state and non-state actors for the sake of dominance in the information space as noopolitik (Ronfeldt, Arquilla, 2009, pp. 352-362).

The intensification of public diplomacy at the beginning of the third millennium and the subsequent discussion of its aims and methods were centered mainly around the United States, and the European Union participants in the discourse mainly continued the topic following their overseas counterparts. With the new public diplomacy, the situation was the opposite. This concept was developed mainly by scientists from EU countries (including those working in the US) on the basis of studying European cases, and then it was adopted in Washington. The new public diplomacy is the development of a cooperative approach to public diplomacy, implying that to establish trust with audiences in other countries requires an equal open dialogue involving participants from different levels from both countries. The changed global communication context makes such multilateral communication not only technically possible, but also virtually inevitable for the success of public diplomacy.

The goals of public diplomacy correspond to the goals of the previously reviewed national branding concept and are aimed at:

•Raising awareness and knowledge about the country outside its borders, disseminating positive information about it, its policies, ways of life and values, as well as combating negative stereotypes of the country's perception at the international level and maintaining and promoting its positive image;

•Increase the level of perception of the country, i.e., the creation of positive associations, persuading partners to support the state's views on global issues;

•Involvement of foreign partners and establishment of relations with the country through exchange of scientific personnel, invitations to visit the country, purchase of its products, education and work, adoption of suitable value systems for this state;

•Influencing public opinion by convincing international partners of the rightness of their ideas, finding support for their country's position in matters of importance to it, seeking new allies and defenders of interests in the international arena (Hereźniak, 2011, pp. 97-101).

Despite the fact that both public diplomacy and national branding, in general, are engaged in similar activities, these two concepts have a number of differences:

1. The set of tools used. Within the framework of national branding, a holistic approach is implemented, marketing is at the forefront. Communication between actors of international relations is also carried out using marketing principles. The implementation of the chosen branding strategy usually requires significant coordinated efforts: everything should work to improve the reputation of the country. Public diplomacy, in turn, does not resort to the use of large-scale mobilization actions. Public diplomacy does not view the world arena as a market, unlike branding. Public diplomacy, by contrast, carries out more targeted campaigns.

2. Purposefulness. Branding, in fact, is an articulation and projection of identity. Its goal is to shape the image of the country in such a way that it stands out favorably against the others. Branding seeks to establish an emotional connection with a product or brand-nation, branding is limited to the scope of commerce and consumer behavior. Public diplomacy, in turn, seeks not only to promote the country's policies, values and positive

image, its ultimate goal is to maintain and develop contacts. For public diplomacy, unlike country branding and marketing, the main value is trust.

At present, serious research is being conducted on the conceptual relationship between public diplomacy and national branding. According to Szondi Gyorgy, a lecturer at the Leeds University Business School, both spheres are aimed at a foreign audience and pursue the goal of forming a certain perception of their identity. Yet, if public diplomacy is aimed at achieving political dividends, then national branding is focused on the economic result (Szondi, 2008).

2.3.2.2 The Supplementation of the Public Policy Elements in the National Branding Process

At the present stage, public understanding of the international relations and the processes occurring in the world is being largely shaped by the media. The image of any country, region and city now plays a much more important role than a couple of decades ago. Currently, all territories need positive and recognizable brands. The country's image is the competitive advantage of the state, while national branding defines the development strategy for this advantage and provides a vision to where the country can progress.

The idea to promote and "sell" state-territorial entities, by analogy with ordinary goods, quickly captured the international expert community as well as the leaders of the countries that were facing particular economic and political problems. Most of them were states of "new democracies", wishing to reunite with the international community as soon as possible, albeit for the sake of a pure formality. For example, the case of the Baltic countries, they were, by all their means, trying to demonstrate the West their "historical identity" with Europe after the collapse of the Soviet Union. According to some experts (Dzenovska, 2005, Frasher et al., 2003), Latvia and Estonia constitute successful country branding examples with tangible results. However, in many other cases, a great deal of investments in the new national branding campaign and its promotion on the international arena have not paid off. Such opinion was expressed by some experts (Bedel, Ritson, 2009) regarding the new London brand, developed in anticipation of the upcoming 2012 Olympics. Then, municipal authorities received a lot

of petitions asking them to remove the controversial official logo of the upcoming Olympics from the site due to its destructive effect on the psyche of many people (Dinnie, 2013, p.79).

Nearly a half decade after the introduction of the concept of national branding by Simon Anholt and during the two years of existence of the «Anholt Nations Brand Index» (system of national brand evaluation), he noticed that "no visible correlation between the dynamics of the cost of national brands and the cost of so-called "national branding campaigns" was not found" (Anholt, 2007, p. 36). Countries which did not engage in national branding, showed a marked improvement in their public image, while others which spent a lot of money on advertising and PR-campaigns, promoting the country brand not only could not achieve the desired targets but even faced significant harm regarding their own image. For many experts (Moilanen, Rainisto, 2008), the situation was quite expected and understandable. Mainly not because of the particularities of the index calculation but because of the lack of a common understanding of the essence of national branding phenomenon. Despite that the algorithm of the territorial units "promotion" is relatively universal, the interpretation of its outcomes differ in a very wide range. It all depends on the area from which experts were recruited to improve the image of the state. A special attraction was observed regarding the traditional methods of the brand, product and corporate management. National branding campaigns were giving certain results, however, these results were not always expected by the customer.

In this regard, in 2007 Anholt introduced a new concept of his study, explaining and to some extent expanding the construction of the place branding and he referred to it as "competitive identity". According to Anholt, national branding should be based on the synthesis of brand management and public diplomacy, followed by the active development of trade, investment, tourism and exports (Anholt, 2007, p.40). The fact is that the image of the territory cannot be artificially built or invented from nowhere, as many believe. There are a few approaches letting territorial entities accelerate, increase the efficiency and effectiveness of the actions by which they improve their existing image. Therefore, the work of the specialist in this area is not to establish a system of communication with the target audiences, but to change the existing political procedures of interaction with the target audiences. Such work is effective only when the branding

specialists are political experts, who see the situation in the context of its political values and are able to discern its true political essence, strategy and symbolism.

The supplementation of the public policy elements in the national branding process gives certain gains both for the implementation of the branding campaign and for assessing of its effectiveness. Basically, it allows to (Trout, 2003, p.115):

- Raise the management and coordination of the campaign to a higher level;
- Connect to the network of embassies, which can serve as an additional channel of communication. Each of them can focus on several aspects of branding, relevant to cultural features of the population of the state where this embassy is placed.
- Identify a stable circle of significant "contractors" from the external group of influence (government employees of other countries);
- Get the opportunity to correct the negative branding effects initiated by the external groups of influence. (e.g. Kazakhstan has neutralized the negative image of the country, created by the famous comedian Borat, through the variety of tools including the placement of a series of promotional publications in the "New York Times").

Though the objective disadvantage of this approach is the threat of branding strategy misinterpretation by representatives of public authorities involved in the implementation process. In this case, there is a risk that would turn it into a propaganda campaign. In addition, such interpretation of the "national branding" concept makes its significantly dependent on the political conditions and the bureaucratic procedures, depersonalizing the decision-making process.

To summarize we can say that the national branding in most cases is being used as a marketing tool in the global geopolitics. The brand expresses the idea of the territorial development strategy in particular, structured in a certain way, based on emotions. It makes it possible to prepare a development plan for the present and mostly important for the future. Depending on the available financial and human resources, the weight of the elements of public diplomacy involved in the process of national branding can vary in a wide range up to its complete elimination and the concentration solely on the marketing component of the branding.

In any case, the rising national branding trend in the market of services led to the creation of a new position of "brand attaché" that will soon become vital to all the external missions of the countries. Experts in the field will play a decisive role in the restructuring of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Therefore, it is more sound to treat the concept of national branding considering all the features of public diplomacy, which inevitably being carried by the concept.

Yet, it is obvious that promotion of the national brand of the state is quite relevant and meaningful in theory and practice of International Relations. In today's world, importance of the positive image of the country objectively increases under the influence of information technologies and globalization process, guiding to the expansion of international relations. Positive image of the country leading to the strengthening of its competitive position in the international political and economic arena. Thus, formation and promotion of successful national branding strategy is a complex strategic task that affects largely on the country's future.

Both public diplomacy and national branding deserved attention since they demonstrate the spectrum of effects and consequently the country's reputation's influence on the development of national economy and attractiveness. Despite the similarities of the approaches, they slightly differ in vectors. So one is directed more at diplomacy and politics, while the other focuses on the economic compose. Nevertheless, the two concepts complement each other in the process of promoting the state on the international stage, improving its image and thus earning a comparative advantage in promoting its national interests, without using force.

Being one of the main resources of foreign policy in the context of the soft power concept, both public diplomacy and national branding have great potential to promote the country's national interests in the world arena. In the political, economic and ideological spheres. A country that adheres to a liberal course in politics, economics, and the overall model of national development will be more likely to achieve prosperity and strengthen its international positions.

Thus, when developing and implementing foreign policy, it is necessary to combine both national branding tools and public diplomacy tools to effectively manage

communication with target audience representatives, and then, involving them in joint activities, move to two-way communication, increasing the chances of success.

CHAPTER 3 THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFLECTIONS OF NATIONAL BRANDING IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

As mentioned in the previous chapters of this thesis, national branding is closely related to the promotion of the national interests of the distributor's country, with which in turn the concept of public diplomacy is also characterized. Before proceeding to analyze the use of Turkey's national branding as a tool of "soft power" in this chapter, firstly, the premises of how "soft power" became one of the political tools of Turkey and how it was used previously will be analyzed. For such analysis, a time frame from 1923 to the present day is determined in this thesis. Thus, Turkish foreign policy during such periods as the formation of the Turkish Republic, the development of diplomatic relations of the new state during the First and Second World War, and the post-war years including the current time that remains within the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) rule will be analyzed. Since the main argument of this thesis is the use of national branding as an instrument of soft power, the purpose of this section is to provide a brief overview of Turkish foreign policy with an emphasis on the use of soft power as a tool. Thus along with a short overview of Turkish foreign policy, main attention in the first part of this chapter will be paid to the usage of soft power by the Turkish government throughout the Republican period till newest times.

Further in this chapter, before considering Turkey's branding campaigns and the position of Turkey's national brand in the world, the image of the country will be scrutinized as a basic object of promotion. The transformation of Turkey's image based on the transformation of the state from the empire to the republic will be briefly touched upon, while the emphasis will be placed on the image gained by Turkey during the policy of "zero problems" and the position of the image at the moment.

In the final part of this chapter, the existing strategies and programs of the National Branding of Turkey (TURQUALITY®, Turkey. Discover the Potential and Turkey Home) will be considered, as well carrying out an analysis according the level of success of the branding campaigns from economic and political standpoints. The respective data of the Turkish Republic before and after the promotion of the national brand campaigns will also be provided and discussed.

3.1 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY

Turkey has three fundamental factors influencing the conduct of foreign policy, these are the legacy of the Ottoman Empire, the geopolitical location of the state and the influence of Kemalism (Aydın, 1999, pp. 152-186). Turkish foreign policy has undergone significant changes in the process of transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republican period. The idea of global possession of the world was replaced by the idea of protecting national boundaries and the wealth of the state. Despite the huge historical heritage of the Ottoman Empire, which still has echoes in almost all spheres of life in Turkey, this period was excluded from analysis of Turkish foreign policy due to its irrelevance to the main concept of this thesis which is national branding.

Three periods can be distinguished in the development of Turkish foreign policy from the founding of the Republic to the present day. The first period covers 1923-1950. The same period includes the time of Ataturk's presidency and the period of development after his death in 1938 until 1950. The second period lasts from 1950 to 1990. The third period follows after 1990.

The first period of the young Republic, where the goal was the formation of the state and protection of its independence, influenced the subsequent development of the foreign relations of the state and formation of its status quo, namely preservation of its position in the international arena and maintenance of established relations with foreign partners. The second period represented a search for new relations and a revision of the old ones. In the last period, Turkey's authorities began to pursue greater goal of strengthening the position of Ankara at the regional and international level.

3.1.1 Main Principles of Turkish Foreign Policy

In the past, as well as in the present, the foreign policy of the Turkish Republic has been largely determined by geopolitics. Since Turkey is located at the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa, this factor is taken into account by any government in developing the foreign policy course and attitude in its relations with other countries and towards conflicts in the Middle East region.

After the country went through First World War and the National Liberation war against the occupying powers, Turkey urgently needed to restore the underdeveloped economy and its modernization, towards which the socio-economic reforms of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk were directed. When it comes to the foreign policy of the young state, putting an end to diplomatic isolation and the restoration of lost positions in the region of the Mediterranean and the Middle East became the main tasks for the governors of the Turkish Republic. This turned out to be extremely difficult due to the fact that Turkey that time had much less military, territorial and human potential than it had before. Turkey in the 1920s has already ceased to have the resource power that the Ottoman Empire had before the First World War. The Turkish leadership, under these conditions, relied on diplomacy, seeking, if possible, to enter into numerous alliances with the leading countries of the West and thereby, securing themselves.

Reforms of Ataturk prepared one of the main (according to Nye's classification) means of soft power - the creation of values to be exported (Nye, 2006, p. 90). The main message of Ataturk's reforms, especially at the first stage of the formation of his state, was secularization and Europeanization (Kinross, 1979, p. 177). But the catechism of the ideology of his rule was Kemalism - that is the ideology that can be regarded as one of the components of "soft power" in this study.

Kemalism is a complex socio-political phenomenon. This is a doctrine that sets itself in the formation of a new social system. It includes six tenets: populism, republicanism, nationalism, secularism, statism (in the form of state control in the economy), reformism (Gil, 1981). As the doctrine disseminated both inside and outside of the country it became one of the main components of the both domestic and foreign policy of the Republic of Turkey. A detailed understanding of Kemalism is necessary for this thesis because it is still the official ideology of the Turkish Republic, which means that the modern "soft power" of this country largely continues to be based on it.

Reformism according to this doctrine can probably be interpreted as revolutionary, that is, inclination to sharp forms of refusal of the former expansionist image. Reformism of Ataturk's time was primarily a withdrawal from the policy of the Ottoman Empire like pan-Islamism and full concentration on the internal stabilization of the country. Internal reforms played a role in foreign policy, making it clear that Turkey is withdrawing from

the imperialist ambitions of the Ottoman Empire. On this issue, Ataturk stated that "... the state should pursue an exclusively national policy... I mean…to work within our national boundaries for the real happiness and welfare of the nation and the country" (Aydın, 1999, p.176). Kemalism is the principle by which the new course of development of Turkey took the Western model of civilization as a basis. This meant both a transition to a secular type of society, and adoption/derivation of a Western legislative framework, for example the Swedish Civil Code. (Aydin, 1999, p.179).

Additionally to the influence of Kemalism with its six tenets in shaping of Turkish foreign policy, it also had other distinctive characteristics.

In general, the specific features of Turkish foreign policy can be briefly characterized by the following principles: pragmatic realism, independence, pacifism, security-oriented policy, Westernism and rationalism.

Pragmatic realism. Ataturk's foreign policy was real. It aims to achieve national interests. This principle might be explained in its best by Ataturk's statements: "We take the world's enmity, malice, and hatred to this nation and the country because of seeming to have done great imaginary things without doing them... If we increase the number of our enemies and the pressure on us by running on the concepts that we do not and can not do, let's rather go back to the natural legitimate conditions. We should keep our place (Haddimizi bilelim)" adding, on the other hand "... if every side is destroyed and all sides are left in fire, we will go up on this land and we will do everything to defend it"(Glasneck, 1988, p.74).

Independence. Taking into account the experience of the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, when the country's management was firmly dependent on the external support in the economic, political, financial and other spheres, for Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, when building new Turkey, the main purpose was the attainment of its truly independence. This independence was political, economic, financial, military and cultural independence and could not be compromised. Hence, Ataturk believed, "When it is called full independence, it means full independence and full freedom in all political, financial, economic, judicial, military, cultural and similar matters. Deprivation of independence in any of these respects means deprivation of

independence in the real sense of nation and country" (Ataturk, 1921, pp. 623-624). In the negotiations with the Western states during the National Struggle, the Lausanne Peace negotiations have been decisive in every matter that might overshadow the principle of independence.

Pacifism. Another feature of Ataturk's foreign policy is the principle of peace. Its best example might be given again from the years of National Struggle. Even within the battlefield, every effort has been made to ensure peace through negotiations. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, as a soldier, who knew what war is like, once said: "I can not be a warrior. Because I know war better than anyone, for all its painful faces" (Kocatürk,1984, p. 326). In another speech Ataturk stated: "War must be indispensable and vital ... We can enter the war against those who say 'will kill', saying 'we will not die'. However, unless the nation's life is endangered, war is murder" (Ataturk'un Soylev ve Demecleri, 2006, p.305). Ataturk's peace principle later found its expression in "Peace at Home, Peace in the World", which became the basic approach of Turkish foreign policy (Ataturk'un Tamim, Telgraf ve Beyannameleri, 2006, p. 478.). In other words, republic has been determined to make preparations to live in peace and, if necessary, to be ready for war for peace.

Security-oriented Policy. Ataturk, on the other hand, believed that the young republic should be able to protect itself, that is, to take the necessary security measures to defend itself. Ataturk has been working to establish the Turkish nation's military and economic structure based on its own power. In this sense, military expenditures and the modernization of the army have been carried out simultaneously with the economic construction of the country. Ataturk argued that the country should have the power and the will to defend itself: "It is credulous to believe that the peace we have today will be eternal peace. It is such a crucial fact that, even a moment of negligence, putting the lives of nation in danger. Certainly, as long as our law, honor and dignity are respected, we will never fail to honor respect. However, what we have learned by our painful experience, is that the weak ones are lacking in respect or are not respected at all. Therefore, we will never be late to make preparations that will require all kinds of possibilities"(Gönlübol, 1987, p. 276). Only in areas where there are not enough of its own forces to ensure the security of the country, to preserve peace in the region and

maintain a political balance within the framework of international politics, Turkey has gone on to principled alliances. Hence, Ataturk has acted in this direction and has not refrained from making the necessary alliances for the security of the country.

Westernism. Despite the struggle against Western powers, the newly formed republic has followed a path that will bring it closer to the West at every opportunity. Here Ataturk's policy played an important role when Turkey followed the path of modernization. Thus, as the goal of young Turkey was to reach the level of developed countries and to go beyond it, one of the main tools for this goal in Turkish foreign policy became development of relations with Western countries. Therefore, Turkey proceeded on its way as a part of contemporary civilization by establishing good relations with the Western countries.

Rationalism. In line with the principle of rationalism, the new state adhered to international law. Ataturk based the foreign policy of Turkey, not on ideological dogmas or prejudiced obsessions, but rather on a line based on reason and science. In this context, international relations were based on changing circumstances and mutual benefit rather than historical friendship and historical hostility. Hence, Ataturk managed to establish friendship with countries with different political, social and economic systems that became a great example of peaceful coexistence.

To the principles listed above, principles may undoubtedly be added, such as establishing an international fair order, opposing colonialism and adhering to the law. Apart from these, concerns expressed in the context of independence and territorial integrity, protection of the security of Turkey have made impact on foreign policy.

Another major principle of Turkish foreign policy at the beginning of the republican period was "Peace at Home. Peace in the World". It is a fundamental principle of the Turkish Revolution, as well as being the basis of Turkish foreign policy. Taking its place in the Constitution of Turkey from 1961 and 1982, "Peace at Home, Peace in the World" principle is a guiding element in the state administration and in all kinds of state activities.

This principle aims peace, comfort and serenity in the country on the one hand and international peace and security form the other hand. Thus, it became the basic principle for both domestic and foreign policy.

As Ataturk puts it, "External politics is closely related to the inclusion of delegations (heyet-i içtimaiye). Since external politics, which do not rely upon delegations, are always condemned. The stronger the inclusion of a delegation is, the greater and more effective will become external politics" (Karal, 1966, p. 123). "External politics must be corresponded with the internal organization" (Karal, 1966, p. 123). Which means, that it is vital to understand and not to underestimate the importance of the interdependence between "internal" and "external" policies. Thus, priorities in foreign policy should correspond or at least periodically affirm a commitment to the declared goals for domestic political purposes, be it political democracy, market economy, social stability, the guarantee of individual rights and freedoms etc.

3.1.2 Historical Roots of Modern Foreign Policy

Returning to the origins of the formation of the foreign policy strategy of the newly independent Republic of Turkey, it is worth noting that, in an effort to renew and strengthen its international ties, Turkey has resorted to diplomacy. In foreign policy, at a very difficult time for Turkey, Ataturk was maneuvering between the Soviet Union, Germany, France and Great Britain, who defended their own opposing interests.

While in the Mediterranean, the positions of an openly expansionist fascist Italy sharply increased, which had previously taken Tripolitania-Libya from the Ottoman Turks in 1911, the Turkish leadership headed for rapprochement with France and especially with Britain, which was even more powerful after the end of the First World War .

This was facilitated by geographical and geopolitical factors. New French and British "colonies-protectorates" Syria and Iraq had borders with Turkey. Meanwhile in the Middle East, British power at that time was unrivaled. Even Hitler in his book "Mein Kampf" called Britain "the greatest world power" (Hitler, 1924, p.540). This forced the Turks to pursue a policy parallel to Britain. According to Ankara, only the British fleet at sea could protect Turkey from the hostile actions of the Italian fleet. But on land in Europe, at that time, there was still no power equal to France.

France, at the same time, feared the revival of German militarism and tried to oversee the process of creating under its patronage a number of coalitions from the small states of Europe. It was with the proffer of France that Turkey was admitted to the League of Nations. And in 1934, having concluded preliminary bilateral agreements with a number of Balkan states (September 1933 - with Greece, October 1933 - with Romania, November 1933 - with Yugoslavia), Turkey became a member of the pro-French "Balkan Entente".

At the same time, Turkey continued to cherish friendly political ties with the Bolshevik USSR, extending on November 7, 1935, an agreement on friendship and cooperation for another 10 years. Under this treaty, both countries pledged not to conclude a military alliance with the enemies of each of the signatories, and in the case of a conflict by one of the parties with a third to maintain neutrality (Bogaturov, 2006). The great success of Turkish diplomacy was the signing an international convention on the Black Sea straits in 1936 in the Swiss city of Montreux. The essence of this convention, firstly, was the liquidation of the earlier formed international commission on straits and now straits were transferred to the jurisdiction of Turkey. Secondly, in the passage through the straits the priority was given to the Black Sea countries, in comparison with the non-Black Sea countries. Thirdly, although the free passage of merchant ships of all countries was allowed, the real keys to the straits were still only in Turkey, which in wartime had the right to close or severely restrict passage through the straits, for military vessels of all countries even while remaining neutral (Implementation of the Montreux Convention, n.d.).

The Convention of Montreux satisfied mostly the interests of the then ruling Western countries - Great Britain and France. For Great Britain, as well as before the First World War, it was important to restrain the geopolitical expansion of Soviet Russia to the south of the Balkans and the Mediterranean by all means. Britain and France, fearful of the "communist contagion" from the USSR, continued to adhere to the old geopolitical strategy of the 18th-19th centuries. This was based on not allowing Russia to seize the straits, and preventing the Balkan countries and Turkey itself falling into the orbit of Soviet influence (Narochnitskaya, 2010, p. 132).

In the context of the sharply increased threat of a great war in Europe and the rapid militarization of Italy and Germany, Turkey was increasingly inclined to choose Britain and France, concluding with them in 1937 on an agreement on the inviolability of its borders. Then Ankara strenuously took loans and credits from the UK and joined the pro-British Middle Eastern Entente, consisting of Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan in July 1937. At the same time, Turkey did not become a hostage to the Anglo-French side alone. Ankara also drew closer to Germany, which had sharply increased its global positions, the fact that Germany comes out first in terms of commodity turnover with Turkey proves strong relations among two countries (Yavuz, 1976, p. 264). In 1939, the most dramatic year for many European nations, Turkish diplomacy faced a complex foreign policy choice between the three dominant forces in Europe: the USSR on the one side, Britain and France on the other, Nazi Germany and fascist Italy on the third side.

After the death of Father of the Nation, in 1938, the Turkish leadership by that time was headed by İsmet İnönü. Turkish governors sought to choose a strategy of maintaining benevolent neutrality for all parties in the coming conflict. It turned out to be difficult to achieve. As subsequent events showed, weaker countries were drawn into the world war against their will, more likely by the will of the strongest imperialist powers.

The German-Italian alliance was considered more dangerous for Turkey, especially because of Italy's desire to dominate the Mediterranean. In the spring of 1939, Italy occupied Albania and aimed at Greece, while Hitler finally took over Czechoslovakia and set his sights on Poland. Under these conditions, Turkey, adhering to its general line of neutrality, became increasingly inclined to conclude a military alliance with France and Britain for its security. Turkey, pursuing a multi-vector foreign policy, concluding treaties on friendship with one of the three parties in the outlined global conflict, each time tried to balance all sides of the dangerous geopolitical triangle.

Turkey was also concerned with the increased power of the Stalinist USSR, which it had borders with. Therefore, in June 1939, Turkey extended the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the USSR until November 1945. Simultaneously, Turkey continued to strengthen allied relations with Western democracies. Pro-British foreign policy line of Turkey prevailed over all, which was explained by the giant British fleet

and numerous British colonies in the East. In May-June 1939, Turkey signed mutual assistance agreements with the UK and France, respectively, in case of aggression in the Mediterranean region.

At that time Turkey sought to be a "friend" for all geopolitical players, but more inclined towards the UK and France, while adhering to a winning wait-and-see strategy, since none of the major geopolitical forces were yet superior to the other in terms of basic military characteristics. Such superior force appeared later, in 1940. During the Second World War, previously signed treaty with the USSR was liquidated in view of the fact that Turkey signed an alliance with Europe and later became a member of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In the post-war years, the official policy of Ankara still adhered to the foreign policy of neutrality and commonwealth with all the players in the political arena. However, one can assume that such a calm foreign policy was also caused by internal problems, mainly on which the state's attention was focused at the time and especially during the second half of 20 century.

3.1.3 Turkish Foreign Policy in the Second Half of 20th Century

After the death of Ataturk, there had been significant changes in the country's foreign policy. An example of this is Turkey's participation in the Korean War, which meant the use of the country's armed forces beyond its borders; entry into the Western military blocs and deployment of foreign military bases on the territory of the state. All this happened under the rule of the Democratic Party, which gained its majority in the parliament after the first general elections in the history of Turkey, held on May 14, 1950. The Democrat Party gained right to nominate for the post of President, Mahmud Celal Bayar. He spent 10 years as president.

In 1960, the ideas of the "European spring" spread to Turkey. The government's position turned out to be rigid: Anti-government student demonstrations in Ankara were brutally suppressed by the personal order of the Prime Minister under Bayar - Adnan Menderes. However, not all the generals were determined to subordinate the central government. The 65-year-old General Cemal Gürsel became the head and organizer of the military coup (New Age, 1960, p. 31). In 1960, Democratic Party was removed from power (Starodubtsev, 2011).

The military seized power and put Cemal Gürsel on the post of President, who somewhat weakened the rigid regime of Bayar. However, in foreign policy, he fully understood the unique importance of the previous doctrines for Turkey. After coming to power, he immediately stated that in domestic and foreign policy, Turkey will follow the principles of Kemal Ataturk and confirmed the loyalty to the commitments on the NATO and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) blocs. It was with his presidency that Turkey reoriented in foreign policy towards the USA and participated in the crisis of relations between the USA and the USSR. It was with his consent that American missiles were placed on the territory of Turkey, which was contrary to the foreign policy principles of Ataturk (Starodubtsev, 2011). Cemal Gursel did not rule for long, he died as president in 1966. Power remained with the military, the country was headed by Major-General Cevdet Sunay (1966-1973). It was in the 1970s that Turkey found itself in a very difficult foreign policy situation. Republic was "between two fires" in the most difficult years of the Cold War. Naturally, as it remained until recent years, Turkey was much closer to the USA, but Turks never had any desire to become the adherent of the superpower in the Near East. It was at the time of this confrontation that the coup d'état of 1980 took place. Under these conditions, a violent conflict arose between the right and left factions within the state itself. In 1974, Bülent Ecevit, chairman of the Social Democratic Republican People's Party, replaced the chairman of the Conservative Party of Justice Suleyman Demirel in the post of prime minister. He formed a coalition with the Front National by the National Salvation Party of Necmettin Erbakan and the right-wing radical nationalist National Action Party (Milliyetci Hareket Partisi, MHP) of Alparslan Türkeş. The MHP took the opportunity to seep into the state security services, which seriously complicated the conflict that was smoldering between competing factions (Gil, 1981). By time, the strongest group in the country became the ultra-right camp. The crisis had two other circumstances: first, it took place under conditions of severe economic and social instability, and unresolved problems of the local people; and secondly, was complicated by the introduction of a proportional system of presidential elections through the parliament. For many years, the parliament simply could not reach a consensus. It became clear that the civilian governance system of the country was under the conditions of the deepest stagnation and could lead Turkey to a catastrophe. On September 7, 1980, General Kenan Evren and four top commanders

(Nusrettin Ersin, Army Commander-in-Chief, Neyat Tumer, Navy Commander, Tahsin Sahinkaya, Air Force Commander, Sedat Celasun, Gendarmerie Head) came to a decision to topple the civilian government. Thus, Turkey experienced another military coup. Interestingly, the main slogan of the coup was Kemalism, that is, mostly Kemalist values such as state secularism and the unification of the nation were rooted by the coup, same as the previous coups had already done (Starodubtsev, 2011). The adherents of Kenan Evren proclaimed themselves to be ardent opponents of communism, fascism and religious fanaticism. Governance of putschists was characterized by short-term stabilization of economy. However, it can be claimed that the real peak of modern Turkey awaited in the reign of Turgut Özal (1989-1993). In 1983 Turgut Özal founded the Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi) and took the post of its leader. After the Motherland Party won the elections in 1983 and 1987, Özal assumed the post of prime minister. In November 1989, after winning the election, he took office as President of the Republic of Turkey, taking power from General Kenan Evren, thus Turgut Özal put an end to the history of the 9-year military rule.

Raising the country's GDP and the general standard of living, according to some experts (Kozlu, Mursaliyev, Karpat, et al), Özal can be considered as the leader who opened the modern era in foreign policy. During his presidency, the socialist camp collapsed, so that at once two vectors in Turkey's foreign policy changed. On the one hand, the eternal ally, the United States, has now become the sole hegemon of world politics, the owner of a new unipolar world. On the other hand, there was no longer the Soviet Union, on its ruins formed new states, including the Islamic ones. They were new actors in world politics at that time, and it was Turkey who realized that under the slogans of pan-Turkism they could be taken under their wing, pursuing their own goals. Turgut Özal laid the foundations of foreign policy practice on both roots. On the first, Özal, considering Saddam Hussein the most dangerous enemy for Turkey, fully supported the US in their desire to solve the issue of its interference in the conflict zone of Iraq and Kuwait by force. He was not stopped even by the opposition of his own commander-in-chief Necip Torumtay, who then promptly resigned. Özal sent Turkish troops to Mosul and Kirkuk. And his foreign policy activism within the framework of the second root, which was mentioned before, brings to the subject of this study - the policy of "soft power" in modern Turkey.

3.1.4 Modern Era of Turkish Foreign Policy

Governance of Turgut Özal can be characterized with the deep essence of the global processes of the new world. The Organization for the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), founded during the presidency of Turgut Özal, became the first international organization that aimed to exercise Turkish influence in the region and, in its own way, promote the implementation of the "soft power" policy. Founded on June 4, 1992, organization opened its headquarters in Istanbul. BSEC members were the former republics of the Soviet Union (Nazimoglu, 2011). Among them, Azerbaijan occupied a special place in the new Turkish foreign policy course. In general, Turgut Özal 's policy was much broader and with the advent of new Turkic states emerged the idea of general Turkic integration. In 1992, the summit of the heads of Turkic-speaking countries was held in Ankara for the first time. Özal can be considered as one of the founders and adherents of Turkic unity, which though was not achieved and remains desired to this day among the ruling powers of today's Turkey. It is quite in the spirit of Nye's concept: if earlier export values were elements of the Kemalist doctrine, now the new countries needed to be supplied with pan-Turkism - as their admission to a world where their sovereignty was perceived rather ambiguously. Extreme economic weakness, internal conflicts only complicated the situation of these republics. Therefore, economic measures were put into effect. Thus, in just six months of 1993, Turkish investors invested over $11 million, or more than 60% of the total amount of foreign investments, in the economy of these republics (Yavan, 2012, p. 249). Nevertheless, it should be noted that in its Central Asian and Transcaucasian policies, Turkey took into account both its own and American national interests. Statement of the then Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel in Washington in 1992, can serve as an evidence, in which he debates changing the regional status of Turkey and the ability to participate in determining the future of the Turkic republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States CIS. At the same time, Turkey supported the expansion of the zone of national interests of the USA to the Central Asian region ("United States. President (1992-1993): Bush)", 1993, p. 225). At the same time, Turkey supported the American leadership's initiative to expand its interests to the Central Asian region (Chikaidze, 2012, p.45). A new doctrine of pan-Turkism for the former Soviet republics was immediately tested for a break. The incompetent foreign policy line of the former Soviet states, including

foreign policy of Russia, led to an escalation of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over the disputed sparsely populated territories of Nagorno-Karabakh, after questionable decision of M.S. Gorbachev, when A. Yakovlev and E. Ligachev were simultaneously sent to Baku and Yerevan, to assured both sides of the unconditional support of Moscow (Milov, 200, p. 779). The conflict in Karabakh along with the Chechen war has become one of the bloodiest conflicts in the entire post-Soviet space. Turkey, one of the first to recognize the independence of Azerbaijan (November 9, 1991), confirmed its readiness to support the territorial integrity of the young predominantly Muslim country and called for the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict on the basis of norms and principles of international law. However, for the approval of Turkish "soft power" in Azerbaijan this was not enough, the logic of approving regional domination required more decisive steps. The Khojaly massacre, the occupation of Shushi and Kalbajar by Armenians forced Turkey to threaten Armenia with the introduction of troops on the basis of the guarantee of the Kars Peace Treaty of 1921, signed under Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Since 1993, Turkey has ceased diplomatic relations with Armenia. Thus, with the approval of the Turkish influence in the new Azerbaijan under the presidency of Turgut Özal began the maintenance of the soft power in the politics of modern Turkey.

After the death of Turgut Özal, Süleyman Demirel became the president, who ruled between 1993 and 2000. He was a very tough, conservative politician, who was pushed aside from the first ranks of the Turkish state administration by the coup of Kenan Evren. Foreign policy during his period cannot be characterized as stable as his predecessor. However, it was during his presidency that the policy of "soft power" was enriched with new features. If earlier it was aimed only at establishing domination in the new sovereign states, now Turkey, while holding in mind the possibility of the collapse of the Russian Federation, turned its gaze to the North Caucasus. Interestingly from the stand point of "soft power", secular Turks have crossed paths with the Islamic separatists when began to build relations with new republic and develop their influence among North Caucasus, such circumstances show the complexity of the concept. On June 8, 1991 in the territory of the divided Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Republic in the RSFSR was proclaimed a new independent state - the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria. Its first president was the great charismatic leader of the Chechens Cahar Dudayev. Despite extensive links with the Islamic world, appeals to Islamic rhetoric and theology,

the introduction of Sharia courts, the recruitment of Muslim mercenaries from Norway to Sudan, under Cahar Dudayev, the state was *de jure* secular. Perhaps, to some extent this facilitated the rapprochement of independent Chechnya and Turkey (Chikaidze, 2012). It was Turkey that was one of the few countries that recognized Chechnya as independent and allowed the opening of an embassy in Istanbul. The Chechen diaspora in Turkey is traditionally strong, they have many cultural centers in different cities in Turkey. This shows the diversity of "soft power" and proves that it can be achieved not only by cultural domination. Moreover, as the example of the Turkish relations with Chechnya shows, a donor country in the course of implementing such a policy may "export" to the recipient values that are far from its own. Thus, Turkey, proud of its laicism, at the beginning of the modern stage of "soft power" was supporting the Islamic states and Islamic military formations. Hence, it actively supported the Muslim separatist groups in the Bosnian war (Zargarian, 2012). The fact that religion on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina has become a state-forming symbol will help to understand the special sensitiveness of the situation. Dayton agreements on November 21, 1995 divided the country into Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox sections. As the analysis of the text of the agreement shows, it was religion that became decisive in assigning a certain district to the Croatian, Bosnian or Serbian parts of the new states (II.D.38 General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1995). That is why the Bosnian Muslims met "soft power" with open arms. Speaking about the most complicated, synthetic, syncretic cultural heritage of Bosnia, the Grand Mufti of the Bosnian Muslims repeatedly stated that it is solely Turkish heritage in all its diversity that has any value (Zargarian, 2012). Turkey helped Bosnia with trained military instructors in its camps, without announcing, however, the war, neither to Russia nor to Serbia, thus everything was done within the framework of "soft power". An important issue in foreign policy during the time of Demirel was also the problem of supporting Turkish Cyprus. In short, the practice of Demirel enriched the "soft power" with a completely "hard" methodology. Hardly foreign policy of his period can be regarded as absolutely successful, as for his presidential term, more than 30 foreign ministers were replaced, normal diplomatic relations with Greece and Serbia were upset, tension arose in relations with Russia. Some successes were achieved only when politics retreated from the doctrines of spreading its own influence and acted more

likely in the realpolitik channel. Among such episodes, undoubtedly can be mentioned the customs agreement between Turkey and the EU, signed by the only female Prime Minister of Turkey Tansu Ciller. She was an ardent nationalist, nevertheless during her reign came the realization that one cannot build a foreign policy course in a changing world with only the Turkic states of the former USSR, the unrecognized state of Ichkeria and Bosnia as allies. In 1995, customs agreements with the EU countries were signed, which in many ways can be considered the first step in the development of another important political vector of modern Turkey - European integration. Thus, by pursuing a policy of "soft power" with weak, young states, in relations with the headliners of world politics, Turkey preferred to strengthen the rear. However, in general, assessments of foreign policy under Süleyman Demirel's presidency clearly do not seem unambiguously positive. It was during his presidency period that an "Islamic drift" in foreign policy doctrine was outlined.

In 1996, the government headed by the first pro-Islamic politician in this position, Necmettin Erbakan (1926-2011), whom many analysts call the political mentor of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (Glöckner, Fireberg 2015, Krishna-Hensel, 2016, Shaheen, 2017). He was a supporter of the ideas of the great role of Islam in politics, even when laicism was still an official mantra. In the 1960s, he published the pro-Islamic manifesto "National Vision", for which he was subjected to repression. June 15, 1997 in Istanbul, the creation of the D-8 - Islamic Eight was announced - the organization of developing countries with a predominantly Muslim population. This is when, Turkey possibly moved to the understanding that "soft power" can be extended not only to states that have problems and are not full members of the international community, but also to successful countries that have their weight on the world arena. Since 1997, the organization includes Turkey, Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Nigeria and Pakistan. Necmettin Erbakan held the post of prime minister for only one year - from June 1996 to June 1997. In 1997 the army intervened in politics with their speech at the meeting of the National Security Council on February 28, with their own political demands, which included anti-Islamic and nationalist slogans, the result of which was a memorandum. As a result of the adoption of this military memorandum, Necmettin Erbakan was forced to resign from his post and was deprived of the right to engage in political activities. The period of his premiership and previous political career will

remain associated with a more radical understanding of the role of Islam in foreign policy, which gave Turkish "soft power" an appropriate coloring.

After the brief premiership of Mesut Yılmaz, following the Erbakan shift, unexpectedly, for the fourth time the Social Democrat Bülent Ecevit came to power. The period of his reign was most remembered by the crisis of 2001. According to some experts (Golubeva, 2001, Celasun, 2002, Bayhan, 2017), this crisis has been brewing since the late 1990s. Since the crisis with Russia in 1998, a series of devastating earthquakes in 1999, which caused great damage not only to the inhabitants of the country, but also to one of the most important industrial region of Turkey - Marmara. In 2000, first with the program to reduce inflation, there was a revival of the economy, and then came a liquidity crisis. In addition to all the prerequisites, the crisis of 2001 was provoked by political events related to the disagreements between President Ahmet Necdet Sezer and Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit. The political crisis quickly grew into a financial crisis. Investors quickly left the country and sold shares, sharply increased purchases of foreign currency, which led to another powerful liquidity crisis. Banks were at a loss, and some even stopped paying their obligations, which also affected the flight of capital. However, this did not affect the foreign policy course of the country. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that under the Foreign Minister of Turkey İsmail Cem (1997-2002) was underlined the important role of Turkey in Eurasia. Cem spoke about the "Eurasian world order" (Dundar, 2014, p. 202) for which Turkey should become a center at the expense of "its rich identity" (Cem, 2001, p.3) - a unique belonging both to Asia and Europe. Thus, the contradictions between Turkey's desire for membership in the EU and its "axial and decisive" role of the "center of Eurasia" were blurred, both of these ambitious tasks were seen as complementary. In a sense, İsmail Cem anticipated the foreign policy model and the "strategic vision" of the geo-political role of Turkey, which was taken over by the Turkish government in the second half of the 2000s when Turkey entered a new era - the period of the Party of Justice and Development (AKP) governance.

With the coming of the Justice and Development Party to power in 2002, Turkey came at the stage of rethinking and transforming the principles of Ataturk's foreign policy. This is primarily due to changes that have occurred almost a century ago, both inside

the country and outside of it. With the AKP coming to power, it declared that it would conduct a balanced foreign policy, continuing to participate in the Atlantic alliance and European integration, which was considered as the main goal in foreign policy. In this regard, new approaches to foreign policy have been formed. Turkey's first approach was to be active and be prepared for risks. For a country that has always preferred to adhere to the status quo, this approach was an innovation. Earlier, Turkey preferred to treat all controversial issues and challenges with caution, in fact it was not reacting and accumulating such issues, rather than resolving them. However, on a new foreign policy course, Ankara began to take steps aimed specifically at resolving problematic issues. An example can be the issue with Armenia, which for a long time required recognition of the genocide. For a long period of time, this issue was wedged, but in 2005 the government began to act and it was decided to establish an international commission on this issue. Turkey began to provide proposals for an international commission. Although this issue has not been resolved to this day, there have been significant changes in relations between the two countries (Avatkov, 2013, pp. 82-83).

Turkey, along with Western principles, democratization and the European Union in general, realized that in addition to Western countries, there are other vectors for political interaction. In fact, regional authorities cannot be western, eastern, northern or southern. The regional authority must take into account all aspects and interact with all parties. In the early years of the AKP period, on the one hand appropriate reforms were carried out, negotiation processes were under way for Turkey to enter the European Union, and on the other hand, relations with other countries, first of all with nearest neighbors, were beginning to develop intensively. Although, in more recent years, along with the entry of Turkey into the conflict in Syria, disputes with the European Union about Syrian refugees, the deterioration of the domestic political and social situation in the country and other factors of the country's policy change, have led to a deterioration in relations with both Western partners and neighboring countries.

As for the foreign policy pursued under Erdoğan's premiership, it is important to understand that the main role was still assigned to cooperation with the EU and NATO. This tradition goes back to the times of the Cold War, when Turkey was in many respects an adherent of US foreign policy decisions. However, one cannot call such a

follow-up to the US reckless, since Turkey always remembered about Realpolitik, as an indispensable condition for the full and safe implementation of a policy of soft power for itself. Until 2015 Turkey sought to establish peaceful relations with all its neighbors (including Syria and Iran), believing that only in a safe and non-hostile environment an active foreign policy line can be built. Additionally, contacts with such countries that occupy an important place in the "axis of evil" play an important role as a factor of pressure on European and overseas partners.

With new policy, Turkey has become more independent and autonomous. For example, according to a memorandum that was proposed to Turkish parliament on March 1, 2003 (Grand National Assembly of Turkey Minute Book, 39th Session, 2003) in the context of the war between Iraq and the US, Turkey could provide its lands for American troops, but according to the decision of the parliament, American initiative was denied. During the military conflict between Russia and Georgia over the desire of the US to send its navy to the Black Sea, Turkey, putting forward the Montreux convention and saying "no" again, allowing to pass only those ships that were carrying humanitarian aid (Ikinci, Schwarz, 2008). Although Turkey's policy at a new stage was becoming more independent, it was still remaining a rationally built policy of balance. Though, with neighboring countries, where there are no political tensions, friendly relations were intensively developing.

That time, in foreign policy, Turkey had also taken the path of a new foreign policy vision, authored by political scientist Ahmet Davutoğlu, former Turkish Foreign Minister and former Turkish Prime Minister. His main idea, which, in his opinion, should be put before Turkey's policy makers, is the systematic increase of Turkish influence in the Middle East (Grigoriadis, 2010, p.8). To gain a deeper appreciation of his position on this issue, it is necessary to consider his main academic study "*Strategic Depth*", published in 2001. The doctrine of Davutoğlu was multifactorial, which differed it from the neo-Osmanism. Davutoğlu continuing the political and ideological line of his predecessor İsmail Cem, put Turkey in his works on the rank of not a regional, but a greater, central power. According to his study, Turkish influence, including "soft power", should be extended taking into account the fact that this country is a Middle Eastern, Balkan, Caucasian, Central Asian, Caspian, Mediterranean and

Black Sea power all together. Davutoğlu in principle rejected the view of Turkey as an instrument of mediation, a bridge between the world of the West and the world of Islam, believing that such a definition would inevitably diminish its own Turkish role in the foreign policy of the region and the world (Davutoğlu, 2011, p.92). In relations with closest neighbor countries, Davutoğlu was a consistent supporter of the doctrine of "zero problems policy". This approach is a natural reflection of the "Peace at Home, Peace in the World" policy, mentioned in previous parts of this chapter (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Policy of Zero Problems with our Neighbors, n.d.). Davutoğlu believed that an effective foreign policy was absolutely impossible without internal tranquility. It should be emphasized that he declared the normalization of relations with Syria, Iraq, Iran, Armenia, Greece as his goals. His aim was to better relations with those who used to be, to put it mildly, not the first most welcome guests in the Turkish Foreign Ministry (Avatkov, 2013, p.84).

Such an active foreign policy of Turkey from 2002 till 2013 was mainly due to three main factors: the rapid economic growth of Turkey during these years (by the 2013 the country's GDP reached one trillion dollars, per capita income tripled (World Bank, n.d.), the fundamental shifts in the political landscape of the country, where the Party of Justice and Development has dominated for almost ten years, and a serious rethinking of foreign policy priorities (Markedonov, 2011). The most important position of the theoretical explorations of Davutoğlu, which received the full support of Erdoğan at that time, is the desire to gradually leave the US foreign policy orbit, in pursuit of European integration. This did not mean that Turkey had to oppose the influence of the West in the region, although the policy under Erdoğan suffered a serious diversification. As part of this diversification, one cannot fail to notice some steps that, within the framework of the "soft power" policy, cross out the idea of Turkey as an absolute adherent of the West.

First of all, it concerns the policy of Turkey in relation to Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Turkey, referring to the Montreux Convention, refused to let the Western warships into the Black Sea (as was mentioned above only humanitarian aid carriers were allowed to pass), and although it did not recognize the new states, it also did not publicly condemn their creation. The "Caucasian Platform for Stability and Cooperation", within which

Turkey assumed its favorite role of the arbitrator, can be inscribed in the context of the "soft power" as well. Erdoğan 's desire to achieve reconciliation with Armenia also comes from this concept. In this direction, his government, which was initially subjected to numerous accusations of Islamism, has taken a number of significant steps, which seemed impossible before. On February 21, 2008, Abdullah Gül congratulated the newly elected counterpart Serzh Sargsyan on his election and expressed the hope that relations with the new leader will be built in the spirit of constructive mutually beneficial dialogue. The two presidents met in Switzerland and even signed protocols on the normalization of diplomatic relations, which, however, were not ratified by the parliaments of either of two countries (Goksel, 2015, p.5).

Another one of the most important directions of foreign policy was the Arab world. Turkey's image in the Middle East in 2003, after Turkish Parliament denied March 1 resolution, has changed in a positive sense and gained prestige. Moreover, after the crisis of Erdoğan 's "one minute" in Davos against Israeli President Shimon Peres, and following an attempt to break the Israeli blockade of Gaza by Turkish courts, Turkey's popularity in the Arab countries has grown significantly. However, Turkey's activity in intervening in the turmoil in the Arab world, its aspirations and ambitions, received ambiguous reactions from the Arab countries. (Avatkov, 2013, p. 86). Nevertheless, it is precisely on the Caucasian side that very tangible progress has been made exactly from the point of view of "soft power", where Turkey gained authority and cultural domination (Avatkov, 2013, p. 85).

Nevertheless, during the so-called Arab Spring era Turkey's "soft-power" policy transmitted to "hard-power". Due to issues that government of Turkey began to face with the Egyptian government, the government of Israel and Syria, has imposed an obligation of using "hard-power" based policy (Ekşi, 2016, pp. 13-15). Additionally, the situation in the internal policy of Turkey itself became more complicated as the country decided to take an active part in the Syrian conflict. The country witnessed a wave of protests, the destabilization of domestic politics, terrorist attacks and a coup attempt in addition to deterioration in its economy.

Ankara now is striving to become a regional leader, playing a more active role in the international arena and trying to strengthen its influence in global politics by creating a

powerful economy, solving its internal problems and building long-term relations with neighboring countries, without resorting to "zero problems" politics though. Turkey was not ready to participate in the Middle East political life, and the doctrine of "zero problems" proved to be incapable of adapting to the current trends in the region. It must be said that the composition of the doctrine was developed even before the "Arab Spring" processes. Therefore, neither the succession of these conflicts, nor the entire consequences of these conflicts were taken into account. The mere fact of the "Arab Spring" made Turkey make hasty steps, leading not a diplomatically thought-out, but an emotional policy (Akyol, 2016). Thus, the decisions of the official Ankara on Israel (when the ambassador was recalled), the inconstant policy towards Russia, the ongoing internal confrontation with the Kurds in the east of the country, antipathy towards Bashar Assad, all this has an emotional coloring. Decisions on these and other issues in the region at some point ceased to correspond to the provisions of the doctrine of "zero problems", which in the end led to its collapse.

Today Turkey clearly shapes its course of foreign policy, determines its interests on a wider range of issues, defends its positions. In such conditions, the Turkish population wants to rethink the role and place of Turkey in the world arena, which it occupied in the twentieth century. In the meantime, one of the most important goals of Turkey for many years - joining the EU, has gone to the background. One of the reason for this was the stretching of this process. The application for full membership in the EU was filed in 1987. Since that time, the conditions for EU membership have become at the center of political life in Turkey, many reforms have been carried out, including financial reform, the abolition of the death penalty, the revision of the Kurdish policy, the modernization and reform of the legal and penal systems of Turkey, and a number of others. However, since 2010 negotiations on Turkey's accession to the EU were partially frozen, due to the fact that Turkey refused to open its sea and air ports to the Republic of Cyprus. Despite the fact until today the process is still officially in progress, according to German political scientist Alexander Rahr, it seems to lose its necessity for both sides. Rahr expressed his opinion with following statement: "In the near future, Turkey will not become a member of the European Union. Full stop" (Rahr, 2013). He also stressed that at the moment neither the European Union nor Turkey itself wants this (Rahr, 2017). The representatives of Turkey, including president Erdoğan seem to share

this position and occasionally claim that Turkey will not beg for membership of the European Union. As in one of his speeches, president Erdoğan emphasized: " EU could not look at Turkey as at the beggar at the gate; they have no such right to do so" (' Erdoğan: Avrupa Birligi'nden kopmak gibi...', 2017). For this reason, Ankara keeping up with its effort to strengthen its authority among its neighbors and expand cooperation not only with the West, but also with other countries.

Carrying out the policy of "zero problems" and realizing the growing potential, Turkish government gradually began to declare its ambitions and aim to be the new center of power in the international political reality of the 21st century. Thus, determining the unlimited space of own national interests for the further development of Turkish statehood. Moving in this direction, any kind of economic, political and socio-cultural development of Turkey, according to the statements of Turkish leaders, had to take place, first of all, within the framework of the Neo-Ottoman space (Mehdiev, 2016, p. 35). This direction included the establishment of close cooperation with countries located in the territory of the former Ottoman Empire. In general, the vision of Turkish foreign policy under Davutoğlu laid the foundation for further development of Turkey's foreign policy and determined the position of the state, characterized by its multi-vector activity and strategic role in the current international political arena within the confines of Eurasia (Syleymanov, 2015, p.139). The Western vector of development was also taken into account, in which an important role was given to the United States as the main partner in foreign policy, as well as paying special attention to European integration. The aim of this strategy was the growing role of Turkey in the international arena and the consolidation of the status of a regional power until 2023, based primarily on economic and political considerations ('Foreign policy. General view', 2012).

In the course of 2014-2016 events the failure of Ankara's foreign policy course within the framework of the "zero problems" strategy became clear. Agreements with the European Union on financial and migration issues did not bring tangible benefits and the military and political collapse in Syria stalled this doctrine. The outbreak of the crisis in Russian-Turkish relations also revealed tangibly weak spots in the foreign policy pursued by the Turkish government, given the geopolitical issues in the Middle East. The reason for this was the internal political factors in Turkey, namely in Turkish

society, the ideological confrontation between the ruling regime and other political forces which recently began to manifest itself in a more pronounced form. Subsequently, the failed coup became a clear evidence of the destabilized condition of the political system of the state, which, even prior to the July events of 2016, experienced a certain amount of tension. Such a domestic political imbalance considerably complicated the implementation of a full-fledged sovereign foreign policy, which the government, headed by Erdoğan, was trying to pursue.

The foreign policy of the country today is going through a stage of reorientation. This is primarily due to the cooling of relations between Turkey and its traditional Western partners. The emergence of mistrust after the failed coup in 2016 served as a catalyst for serious foreign policy maneuvers between the West and the East in order to realize Ankara's national interests. In the light of the complex relations between Ankara and Moscow, the cooperation of both sides on the Syrian issue at first seemed vague, but today it turned into a real threat to the US as it might let Turkey out of the orbit of its own influence. The big step taken by the Turkish leadership towards the independence of foreign policy actions was the acquisition of Russian S-400 air defense after the adoption by the US Congress of a new sanctions package against Russia. The next international action of the Turkish government was the rapprochement with another object of the sanctions policy of the West - the Islamic Republic of Iran. Both states found common points of contact on the problems of Kurdish separatism, especially after the referendum on independence in Iraqi Kurdistan. The rapprochement between Tehran and Ankara, which has long struggled for redistribution of spheres of influence in the region, testifies the plans of the Turkish leadership to diversify the foreign policy vector. In addition, Turkey's operation in Afrin against armed Kurdish formations, which in their foreign policy orientation are pro-American, proves again the presence of negative dynamics in Turkish-American relations, illustrated by the frequent meetings in Astana to coordinate actions in Syria.

Such changes in Ankara's foreign policy are seen as certain attempts to defend its place as an independent actor in the international political arena. In the current anti-Western behavior of Turkey, most likely, there is no intent to break off relations with the West. Given the existence of strong mutually beneficial ties between the parties, this might

prove quite difficult. The break may be more revising the format of these relations taking into account the geopolitical interests of the Republic of Turkey after the transformation and strengthening of the political system of the country through the reorganization of its constitutional foundations. Turkey's foreign policy actions are a continuation of its internal political problems and contradictions. This is, above all, the Kurdish issue and the struggle against the putschists. These issues have a significant impact on the recent perception by the Turkish government on who is "friend" or "foe" in international relations. Now the foreign policy course of the Republic of Turkey is undoubtedly in a process of change, in particular, concerning the revision of the regional policy of the state, a strong feature of which at this stage is the dynamic nature of the development of relations with Russia and Iran.

To strengthen Turkey's status as a peripheral power, and in the future, probably, as a source of global power, Turkey needs to ensure internal security, interests of all layers of the political spectrum and to unite around the common goal of the nation's welfare. In cooperation between the people and the state, various state institutions should become different organs of the same organism, working in harmony, and give the commitment not to squander the forces of the country to unnecessary conflicts. Turkey wants to strengthen its independent position in the international arena and create an image of a state that does not belong to either Europe or Asia, but is their totality. One of the best way to do so in the frame of soft power is to create a substantial National Brand, that would transmit county's preferable image outside, as well as, would provide success, unity and prosperity inside. In the last few years, Turkey presented couple of national branding campaigns, which will be explored in the next section.

3.2 NATIONAL BRANDING OF TURKEY AND THE COURSE OF TRANSFORMATION OF ITS IMAGE

The image of the state largely depends on the policy of the state, the policy of its leaders, the historical changes taking place in the country, and also on the basic ideas cultivated directly in the state itself. The historical transformations in the system of the Turkish state, the change in the structure of the country, the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, and the long disregard for its culture influenced the strategy of building relations between Turkey and its neighbors.

This section will chronologically consider the change in Turkey's image, depending on the political changes taking place in it.

3.2.1 Historical Background for the Formation of the Image of Turkey

As described earlier, after Mustafa Kemal Ataturk came to power in 1919, a number of fundamental changes were made in the country. Over the next decade, Turkey transformed from a monolithic empire into a laicist state. "Kemal actively tried to accelerate Turkey's economic development in the 1930s. Modernization was going hand in hand with the Westernization, which was destined to become a tool of modernization" (Huntington, 2011, pp.219-220). Despite neutrality during the Second World War, in the postwar period Turkey even more identified itself with the West and made attempts to improve the image of the state in the eyes of European partners. Multi-party system, participation in NATO, the desire to join the European Union - the main changes in the structure of Turkey until the 1980s were associated with the main idea of self-identification with the West. The period from the middle of the 20th century to the 80s is characterized by a gradual transition from the style of government of Mustafa Kemal to the so-called "hybrid" system of government, in which elements of authoritarian and democratic styles of government are combined. Democratic reforms failed to guarantee a stable development of the state, since the population of the country and its elites were not ready to adopt "the institutions of political democracy and the rule of law, developed in other national-political and historical traditions" (Daniyalov, 2002, p.17). The third period in the history of Westernization and Europeanisation of Turkey is associated with the coup of 1980, one of the results of which was the adoption of a new, rather conservative constitution of 1982. In it, along with the postulation of the secular nature of the state and the inadmissibility of the use of religion for political purposes, special emphasis was placed on "preserving the integrity of the Turkish state and nation, protecting Turkish historical and spiritual values and nationalism" (Daniyalov, 2002, p.18). The peculiarity of the development of the image of Turkish state after Ataturk came to power became nationalism as the basis of ideology.

The Justice and Development Party, which has been in power in Turkey since 2002, positions itself as a moderate Islamist one. For the first time in its modern history, Turkey managed to gather an absolute majority in the Parliament. This party has been

forming the image of the Turkish Republic for more than 15 years, combining features attractive for Europe with characteristics approved by the East. Nevertheless, the coming of the party to power did not mean a break with the democratic transformations of its predecessors, but it was an attempt to synthesize the aspirations of various parts of society: the policy of the Justice and Development Party at the beginning of their coming to power was declared as, on the one hand, aimed at preserving the traditional values of Islam, and on the other Continuation of the country's integration with the European Union, namely, to promote its further penetration into the global market. S. Huntington in 1996 predicted a change in Turkey's policy in its desire to join the European Union: "But what will happen if Turkey redefines? At some point, Turkey can abandon its depressing and humiliating role as a supplicant pleading with the West for membership in the EU, and return to the more impressionable and exalted historical role of the main Islamic representative and antagonist of the West" (Huntington, 2011, p.277). Political scientist predicted a change in Turkey's course, its desire to become the main state in the region and the emerging idea of neo-Ottomanism, which was realized with the adoption of the "Zero problems with neighbors" strategy.

3.2.2 The Image of Turkey as a Result of the Strategy "Zero Problems With Neighbors"

As it was mentioned previously, from 2003 to 2011, Turkey implemented a strategy created by a prominent politician, Ahmet Davutoğlu. This strategy was called "zero problems with neighbors" and had the goal of improvement of relations with territorial neighbors through mainly diplomatic methods. The beginning of the implementation of this strategy was laid down by Turkey's refusal to allow the US to open a second front against Iraq. This policy was also called "neo-Ottomanism", for implication of the rise of Turkey's status in the Middle East and the spread of influence over all Turkic-speaking states. "Zero problems with neighbors" concerned, first of all, the diplomatic methods of foreign policy, and although strategy is no longer valid in Turkey, during the years of its commitment this methods has proved itself highly positive, especially from the perspective of using "soft power". Until the end of 2011, Turkey officially declared that it does not interfere in the internal affairs of states with which it has to deal and carries out only cultural and economic expansion. This brought positive results to

Turkey, in particular, during these years, Turkey was able to increase its exports by almost 5 times. (see Table 3.1. Foreign Trade Annual Exports)

Table 3.1 Foreign Trade Annual Exports (Million $)
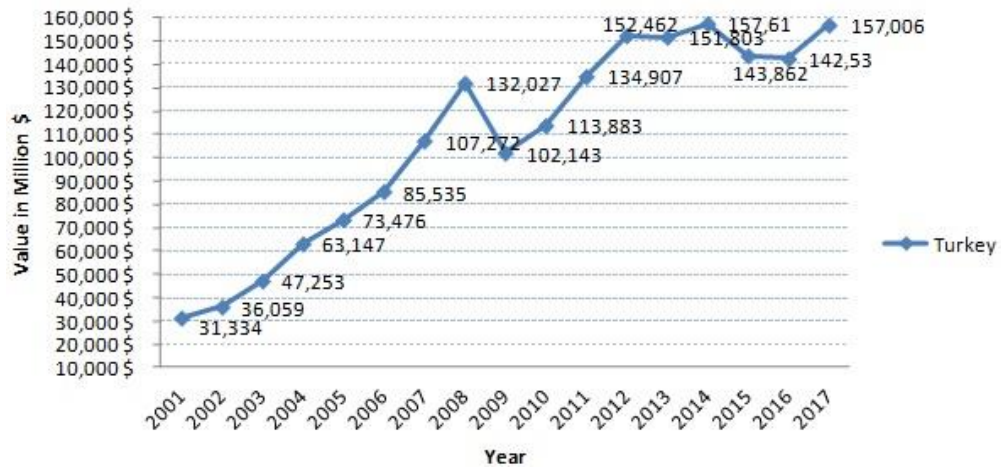
Based on the data of Turkish Statistical Institute, the list of 20 main trade partners of Turkey has not changed, but it has succeeded in increasing the turnover of goods between the countries, both among the nearest neighbors and regional partners, as well as with partners of foreign countries (see Table 3.2. Exports by country and year).

Table 3.2 Exports by Country and Year

Country	Year	
	2008 **million $**	**2012** **million $**
Iraq	3 916	10 822
Iran	2 029	9 921
Saudi Arabia	2 201	3 676
Egypt	1 426	3 679
USA	4 299	5 604
Israel	1 935	2 329
China	1 437	2 833

In 2011, Turkey's foreign policy changed drastically, Davutoğlu recognized the strategy of "zero problems with neighbors" as a tool of expanding Turkey's influence; yet, with the Arab spring and other international challenges, Turkey was forced to actively participate in political decision-making. It was claimed that "Turkey's actions are motivated by a great sense of responsibility, entrusted to it by its rich historical and

geographic heritage, and by a profound consciousness of the importance of global stability and peace" (Davutoğlu, 2010). In May 2016, A. Davutoğlu announced his resignation from the post of prime minister and the resignation of the leader of the Justice and Development Party. Experts associate this decision with the difference in political views of Davutoğlu and Erdoğan (Coskun, Tattersall, 2016, Srivastava,2016), as the foreign policy faced reorientation as was mentioned before. At any rate, since 2003, Turkey has been marked by a significant increase in various kinds of interactions with international partners, leading to the emergence of a number of Turkey's images and the payment of various national branding programs based on it.

3.3 THE MAIN SUSTAINABLE FORMS OF THE IMAGE OF TURKEY AND THE NATIONAL BRANDING CAMPAIGNS PROMOTING THEM

3.3.1 Investment and Economic Image of Turkey

The investment attractiveness of the state is an important point for the development of the territory. Turkish Republic is taking a number of active measures to improve Turkey's investment and economic image, to attract more trade partners and develop its international economic relations. The investment potential of the territory consists of a combination of resource, labor, production, innovation, institutional, infrastructure, financial and consumer factors, and political and legal factors (tax, customs, antimonopoly, regional legislation, business practices) (Gavra, 2013, p.119). The investment image of the region is the set of ideas about the investment climate of the territory and assessments of this climate that develops among potential and existing investors, encourages the arrival of new investors, increases the investment of existing investors and prevents the withdrawal of existing investors and reduction of investment (Gavra, 2013, p. 82). The investment image of the state is largely determined by professional practice and is not subject to strong influence from stereotypes. "Business makes decisions rationally, not emotionally" (Aydemir, 2016).

The Investment Support and Promotion Agency of Turkey (T.C. Başbakanlık Yatırım Destek ve Tanıtım Ajansı) names 10 main advantages of the state as an object for investment: economic achievements, central location, low taxes, a large domestic market, a liberal and reformist investment climate, the Customs Union with the EU since 1996, Turkey as the energy corridor and the terminal of Europe, the population,

infrastructure and qualified labor force, thus responding to all factors affecting the investment potential of the state ('10 Reasons to Invest in Turkey', n.d.). The number of investments in the state that have increased many times over the past decade (see Table 3.4) and the volume of exports and imports (see Table 3.3) testifies to the positive investment and economic image of Turkey.

Table 3.3 Turkish Statistical Institute. Foreign Trade Statistics Database

Year	Export mln $	Import mln $
2002	36 059	51 553
2003	47 252	69 339
2004	63 167	97 539
2005	73 476	116 774
2006	85 534	139 576
2007	107 271	170 062
2008	132 027	201 963
2009	102 142	140 928
2010	113 883	185 544
2011	134 906	240 841
2012	152 461	236 545
2013	151 802	251 661
2014	157 610	242 177
2015	143 838	207 234
2016	142 529	198 618
2017	157 000	233 798

According to the latest trade report delivered by HSBC in 2016, the volume of imports of Turkish services to the world market in 2015 accounted for 23% of total exports. Tourism and transportation accounted for 88% of total services exports, remaining the biggest exported services of Turkey (Turkey Trade Report, HSBC, 2016). However, according to the report, since 2010 the Turkish service exports have shifted from Western partners to the East. Thus, Western service exports have declined from 30% in 2010, while service exports made to Asian markets have raised, particularly China (whose share has more than doubled from 4% in 2010 to over 9% in 2015), India (with 1% in 2010 to 2.5% in 2015), Singapore and Korea. In services trade with China, the increase has come mainly from tourism, while in the case of India it has come from transportation. Exports of services are expected to stay dominated by tourism and transportation, with Europe remaining the key destination. However, given the recent shifts in this sector, it seems that Asia will also play an increasingly important role

(Turkey Trade Report, HSBC, 2016, p. 4). According to the State Institute of Statistics of Turkey, Turkey's foreign trade turnover in 2017 increased by 14.5% compared to the previous year and amounted to 390.7 billion US dollars (in 2016 - 341.1 billion US dollars). At the same time, exports increased by 10.2% (to 157 billion US dollars), while imports increased by 17.7% (to 233.7 billion US dollars). Turkey mostly imports natural resources. The main trade partners of Turkey are the EU countries, but the growth of exports to eastern countries is also noticeable. Among the biggest exporters of Turkish goods and services are members of EU, especially Germany (amount of exports in 2017 - $15,1 bln), Italy ($8,4 bln), France ($6,5 bln), Spain ($6,3 bln), Belgium ($3,1 bln), Poland ($3 bln) and Romania ($3,1 bln). USA and UK with respectively $8,6 bln and $9,6 bln amounts of export are also among the biggest trade partners. Iraq and United Arab Emirates with more than $9 bln exports each are the biggest Turkish exporters among Eastern partners, which include among others Russian Federation, Egypt, Iran, Israel, Saudi Arabia and China with more than $2,5 bln annual exports amount per country (Exports by Countries, 1996-2018, 2018).

With regard to investments, according to the 2017 European Investment Monitoring (EY's attractiveness survey 2017), Turkey ranks 10th in the list of European countries in terms of attracting foreign direct investment. According to EY's Attractiveness Survey, "after a remarkable growth of 23% in 2015, however, Turkey's FDI rose just 3% in 2016, to 138 projects. Economic growth slowed in 2016 and combined with the high ratio of USD denominated debt and instability in the neighboring region, including the ongoing conflict in Syria, these factors are impairing Turkey's attractiveness for foreign investors" (EY's Attractiveness Survey, 2017).

Table 3.4 Top 20 Destination Countries by FDI Projects/ Top 20 Destination Countries by FDI Job Creation

Top 20 destination countries by FDI projects

		2015	2016		Percentage Change (2016 vs. 2015)
	United Kingdom	1,065	1,144	⬆	7%
	Germany	946	1,063	⬆	12%
	France	598	779	⬆	30%
	Spain	248	308	⬆	24%
	Poland	211	256	⬆	21%
	Netherlands	219	207	⬇	–5%
	Russia	201	205	⬆	2%
	Belgium	211	200	⬇	–5%
	Ireland	127	141	⬆	11%
	Turkey	134	138	⬆	3%
	Finland	105	133	⬆	27%
	Romania	98	132	⬆	35%
	Czech Republic	70	110	⬆	57%
	Hungary	94	107	⬆	14%
	Sweden	51	90	⬆	76%
	Italy	55	89	⬆	62%
	Switzerland	90	88	⬇	–2%
	Denmark	63	72	⬆	14%
	Slovakia	54	70	⬆	30%
	Portugal	47	59	⬆	26%
	Others	396	454	⬆	15%
	Total	5,083	5,845	⬆	15%

Top 20 destination countries by FDI job creation

		2015	2016		Percentage Change (2016 vs. 2015)
	United Kingdom	42,336	43,165	⬆	2%
	Poland	19,651	22,074	⬆	12%
	Germany	17,126	19,961	⬆	17%
	Romania	12,746	17,545	⬆	38%
	France	13,639	16,980	⬆	24%
	Serbia	10,631	16,396	⬆	54%
	Russia	13,672	15,064	⬆	10%
	Czech Republic	9,332	14,292	⬆	53%
	Spain	7,126	12,969	⬆	82%
	Hungary	11,741	12,450	⬆	6%
	Ireland	10,772	8,535	⬇	–21%
	Slovakia	9,564	8,308	⬇	–13%
	Turkey	2,971	7,179	⬆	142%
	Austria	1,357	4,759	⬆	251%
	Ukraine	850	4,547	⬆	435%
	Bulgaria	3,598	3,959	⬆	10%
	Switzerland	1,391	3,416	⬆	146%
	Belgium	3,168	3,309	⬆	4%
	Moldova	1,000	3,200	⬆	220%
	Italy	1,383	2,654	⬆	92%
	Others	23,612	18,911	⬇	–20%
	Total	217,666	259,673	⬆	19%

Source: *EY European Investment Monitor (EIM)*, 2017.

Turkish investments are mainly distributed among such spheres of economy as the construction of business and shopping centers, food industry, telecommunications, production of ceramics, glass and goods from it, electronics and household appliances, building materials and furniture, textiles (including production of ready-made clothes), leather and footwear industries, banking and some others.

Turkish brands are also active players in the global market, but while Turkish Airlines is undoubtedly the most recognizable and popular Turkish brand, other brands that are no less popular in the world hide their belonging to Turkey. LC Waikiki, Beko, Mavi, Russian Home, Colins are Turkish brands that do not seek to position themselves as Turkish, which narrows the target audience for the formation of a positive investment and economic image of the state to professionals and workers in this field.

The Turkish assembly of exporters stated the need to create a brand of Turkey in the framework of the project Turkey - 2023 for the promotion of the state in various sectors of the economy ('Launching The Brand', 2014). Proposed option "Turkey. Discover the potential" focuses on the combination of traditions and innovations and the opportunities provided by the state for business. "The brand symbolizes our production

capacity, economic strength, unity, values, young and dynamic population, civilization, history, ancient history of Anatolia and recently realized potential after all these years of inertia. We wanted to express all our history, experience and acquisitions that fuel us towards our 2023 goals" stated Turkish Minister of Economy Nihat Zeybekci ('Forming the Brand', 2014).

This project, initiated at the level of the Ministry of Economy of Turkey, expresses the gradual realization of the necessity of constructing not a spontaneous but planned investment and economic image of the Turkish Republic.

3.3.1.1 TURQUALITY® Branding Campaign

Prior to the launch of "Turkey. Discover the potential" branding campaign, one of the first national branding campaigns to be created in Turkey was the TURQUALITY® branding program. It is the first and only branding program in the world, designed to become a brand in the eyes of consumers and a catalyst for development in terms of Turkish brands in the field of products and services. The program TURQUALITY® was created with the active participation of the Turkish government. Its main idea is the unification of the concepts "Turkish" (Turk) and "qualitative" (Quality) in the mind of the consumer.

Figure 6. TURQUALITY® Logo

The program TURQUALITY®, which came into force on November 23, 2004, was developed with the aim of profitable positioning and promotion of Turkish products in the world market, taking into account its changes and changes in the needs of program participants. TURQUALITY® is the accumulation of managerial knowledge that includes all the processes of production, marketing, sales and after-sales service. The aim of TURQUALITY® is to share this knowledge among the leading Turkish companies operating in the international market and producing quality products. It is a

program aimed at supporting Turkish producers in conditions of active internal and external competition. In addition to institutionalization and development, TURQUALITY® was also aimed to create and introduce a positive image of Turkish products through the use of brands and to become a global player with own brands in international markets. Unlike traditional export support, the TURQUALITY® program focuses on helping to achieve the branding goals of companies, and not just to expand exports.

TURQUALITY®'s mission and main goals could described by following:

• Create locomotives from global Turkish brands

• Strengthen the brand power and corporate infrastructure of the companies

• Create brand awareness at home

• Provide financial resources to brands with the potential of becoming global

• Provide support with the strategy, operation, organization and technology consultancy activities of the companies and their brands in order to create global brands

• Provide training support to the management units of the companies covered by the program

• Launch communication and promotional activities for the creation and promotion of positive Turkish goods abroad

• Increase brand awareness of Turkish companies

• Provide intelligence support for Turkish companies to take action within market knowledge

• To be an incubator and catalyst for selected Turkish brands (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Economy: TURQUALITY® official site- http://www.turquality.com/)

In January 2008 TURQUALITY® was selected as the the best project of last 10 years in "Top 10 Projects" by Capital Magazine.

In accordance with the latest official data, by the end of 2017, 170 brands from numerous companies were supported by the TURQUALITY® program; and 81 brands received support under the Brand Support Program. For example, designers such as Hüseyin Çağlayan and Dice Kayek got support in promoting their brands, and such brands as Beko, Arko, DeFacto, DURU, Efes, Vestel, DYO, Pegasus Airlines and Turkish Airlines received the program certificates. The goal of the TURQUALITY® program is not only the promotion of existing competitive brands, but also the coverage of their Turkish origin, thus not only the brands participating in the program earn a positive image, but also Turkey, by the virtue of their success strengthens the position of its international image.

TURQUALITY® gave impetus to the realization of the need to develop a more global branding campaign that would not only be limited to supporting local businesses, but would also attract foreign investment to the country. This was how the branding campaign "Discover Potential" was developed.

3.3.1.2 Branding Campaign "Turkey: Discover the Potential"

Given the successes of previous years in the economic, diplomatic and cultural sectors, the Turkish government has raised a number of questions on how the country should move forward and how successfully the current potential will be converted into concrete successes at a new stage of development. For the most accurate familiarization of the internal and external audience with the transformation experienced by the country, its power and vision of the future, in cooperation with leading companies in the field of global branding, industry and leading names in the business world, scientists, brand experts, as well as in coordination with the Ministry of Economy of Turkey and the Assemble of Turkish Exporters, a national branding campaign entitled "Turkey. Discover Potential" was developed. The launch of the campaign was announced by President Erdoğan on September 28, 2014, who announced the signing of the relevant circular by the prime minister, with publication of which on April 11, 2015 in the Official Newspaper under number 29323, the campaign officially entered into force. As stated in the prime minister's circular, the campaign aims to expand Turkish strength, dynamism, vision and potential, by improving and disseminating all the advanced

activities from the economy to sports, from tourism to the sectors of domestic and foreign medicine.

Figure 7. Turkey. Discover the Potential Logo

 Speaking at the opening ceremony held in Istanbul on September 28, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated: "I hope this logo will help Turkey and Turkish goods and in fact will open our potential to the whole world" ('Erdoğan unveiled the Brand in Turkey', 2014). Adding "You can see that these brands are a force that helps keep the economy alive and strong," said Erdoğan, citing Japan, South Korea, Germany and England as examples of "supporting enterprise growth through global brands." The Chairman of the Assemble of Turkish Exporters Mehmet Büyükekşi, who also gave a speech at the presentation, argued that this program is "an invitation to world investors to open up the country's potential and to get an opportunity to increase its value in joint projects with our entrepreneurs". He stated: "Discover the potential - is not a brand. Turkey itself is a brand" ('Discover the Potential', 2014). The second thing done to promote the campaign, which deserves praise, is that the organizers have attracted the heads of the largest foreign corporations that conduct their business in the country. In one of the thematic commercials of the campaign, foreigners' company representatives are referred to as "friends of Turkey". Among them were the heads of the Turkish offices of Samsung, Ford and Nestle, the head of the Russian Savings Bank German Gref and others. All of them expressed their positive attitude towards Turkey, noting its

huge potential and hospitable environment, both for life and for doing business ("Marketing Turkey: Turkey Potential 1", n.d.).

Two years after the launch of the "Discover the Potential" campaign, one of the most authoritative Turkish foreign trade agencies, the Assemble of Turkish Exporters, published the results of a survey of how the Turkish brands are perceived and what image they have abroad (Turkish Export Products: Perception and Image Research Overview Report, 2017).

The opinion of purchasing managers of 2,500 firms representing 6 main industries (automotive and chemical industry, electrical engineering, metallurgy, textile-leather, food industry) was researched in 26 countries (USA, Germany, Russia, Australia, Azerbaijan, UAE, Belgium, Algeria, China, France, South Africa, India, Holland, Great Britain, Iran, Spain, Israel, Italy, Japan, Canada, Egypt, Poland, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Turkmenistan), covering all regions of the world.

In addition to perception and image of Turkish products abroad, the Assemble of Turkish Exporters employee was interested in the general perception of Turkey, as a country, as well as in the analysis of the results of the campaign launched earlier under the slogan "Turkey: Discover the Potential".

As it was announced in the survey (2017), 62% of foreign respondents surveyed expressed complete and undoubted satisfaction with Turkish products. Most satisfied with Turkish products were respondents from Great Britain (85%), France (77%) and India (74%). However, the average for the EU countries degree of satisfaction is seriously less than the maximum mark - 59%. It is worth mentioning again that it is Europe that accounts near a half of Turkish exports, in 2017 Turkish export to EU reached $73 bln out of $157 bln (Exports by Country Groups, TUIK, 2018). Turkish image is pulled down by such countries as Holland, Poland and Germany. Such countries as Russia (66%), China (68%), Iran (66%) and the United States (62%) showed above average results. The greatest indecision about the Turkish products is demonstrated outside the Eurasian space. Definitely satisfied with Turkish products in Australia are only 55%, Brazil and Algeria - 52% each, South Africa - 51% and Canada - 50%. These are the countries-outsiders in the list.
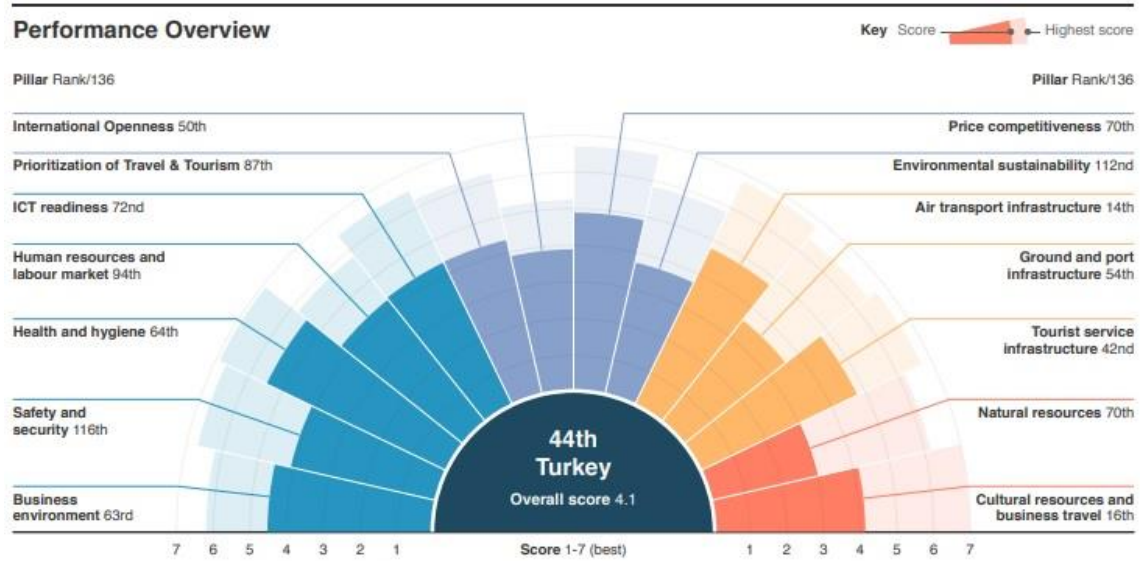
The total Turkish image abroad, as announced in the Assemble of Turkish Exporters, positively estimated about 60% of respondents (Turkish Export Products: Perception and Image Research Overview Report, 2017).

The data of public opinion polls show good results as for only 2 years of work. Today's economic indicators of Turkey in comparison with 2015, when the branding campaign started, show an increase both in the country's turnover and in attracting foreign investments (see table 3 and 4 above), which also confirms the success of the implementation of both TURQUALITY® and Turkey: Discover the potential campaigns.

3.3.2 Tourist Image of Turkey

Tourism is the most dynamically developing branch of the Turkish economy. According to the report on the competitiveness of states in tourism and travel, drawn up in 2017 and presented in the framework of the World Economic Forum, Turkey took 44th place out of 136. The top three are Spain, France and Germany, the last place took Yemen. According to the results of the report, the strengths of the image of Turkey in the study of tourism competitiveness are: health and hygiene, tourism and air transport infrastructure, business environment and price competitiveness. The weak areas of the image profile of Turkey include natural resources (see Table 3.5). This section includes 'a number of attractiveness measures, including the number of UNESCO natural World Heritage sites, a measure of the quality of the natural environment which proxies the beauty of its landscape, the richness of the fauna in the country as measured by the total known species of animals, and the percentage of nationally protected areas, which proxies the extent of national parks and nature reserves' (World Economic Forum: The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report 2015, p.7)

Table 3.5 Profile of Turkey

Performance Overview

Key Score ——— ← Highest score

Pillar Rank/136

International Openness 50th
Prioritization of Travel & Tourism 87th
ICT readiness 72nd
Human resources and labour market 94th
Health and hygiene 64th
Safety and security 116th
Business environment 63rd

44th
Turkey
Overall score 4.1

Pillar Rank/136

Price competitiveness 70th
Environmental sustainability 112nd
Air transport infrastructure 14th
Ground and port infrastructure 54th
Tourist service infrastructure 42nd
Natural resources 70th
Cultural resources and business travel 16th

7 6 5 4 3 2 1   Score 1-7 (best)   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(According to the World Economic Forum: The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report 2017)

At the same time, these indicators were included in one of four groups of subindex: favorable environment, enabling conditions, infrastructure and natural and cultural resources, highlighted in blue, lilac, orange and red, respectively. The worst indicator in the subindex of the business environment was the Efficiency of the legal framework in challenging regulations (116 place out of 136), the best - Time required for deal with construction permits and the time required for business registration (103 and 6.5 days, or 35 and 37 place out of 136 respectively). Leading indicators in the subindex "health and hygiene" were access to clean drinking water, as% of the total population and the prevalence of HIV among the adult population (<0.1), in both Turkey ranking first among all other countries.

The indicator of the effectiveness of marketing and branding of Turkey in attracting tourists scored 4.4 points out of 7 possible, ranking 66 out of 136. The leaders in this group are the United Arab Emirates, New Zealand and Ireland, while Yemen and Venezuela are at the end of the list. In comparison with the identical indicators of 2013 and 2015, Turkey held 48th position with 4.9 points and 58th position with 4.8 points respectively.

Turkey, according to the price competition is one of the leading countries, best positions it shows in the index of the cost of taxes on tickets and international air transport

charges (28 out of 141) and on the index of prices for hotel rooms (27 out of 141). According to the last indicator, the country improved its position in comparison with 2015, then taking the 58th place, although this was more likely due to inflation.

However, by the number of rooms in the hotel (per 100 people), Turkey occupied 64th line, having scored 0.5 points out of 5 possible, while Malta, Greece and Cyprus, as Turkey's main competitors in the region, entered the list with higher indicators, which is explained by the significant difference in the population. The subindex of natural resources is one of the most unsuccessful for Turkey, though there is not much the country can do about it. According to the number of World Natural Heritage sites in Turkey, it is located at 46 positions out of 136. But in terms of the number of World Heritage cultural sites, Turkey occupies one of the leading positions (15th), leaving behind such popular touristic countries as Belgium, Brazil, Czech Republic, Morocco, Netherlands and United States.

The main document containing the development trends of tourism is the Tourism Development Strategy in Turkey 2023, established in 2007 and approved by the High Planning Council Decision numbered 2007/4 on 28/02/2007. The main goal of this strategy is to increase and at least double the profit from tourism by diversifying and using the potential. The main technology to achieve this result will be the conservation of cultural heritage and its inclusion in tourism programs. In addition to creation of new management bodies, improving infrastructure and eliminating bureaucratic obstacles, new trends in this Strategy include:

• Increase in domestic tourism

• Development of new types of tourism (social, ecotourism, health, "winter" tourism, golf tourism, business tourism)

• Development of beach tourism

• Building a brand of the state

• Growth of the number of highly qualified personnel in the sphere of tourism

• Improving the image of cities (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Antalya, the development of new cities)

• Opening of new tourist zones according to the type of tourism prevailing in them (Republic of Turkey: Turkey Tourism Strategy 2023. Action Plan 2007-2013)

The strategy is being successfully implemented, the proof of this is the representation of Turkey at the international exhibition "The New York Times Travel Show" in January 2016 (Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report 2015). Turkey introduced the new slogan "Turkey Home" and offered visitors the following directions of its activity: "Air carrier offers", "Tourist products", "Medical tourism", "Excursion tourism" and "SPA vacation". More details on "Turkey Home" will be provided in section 3.3.3.a.

3.3.3 Cultural Image of Turkey

With the start of the implementation of the "Zero problems with neighbors" strategy, the main task of Turkey in the direction of developing and popularizing culture was interaction with the Turkic states and the creation of the "Turkic world". Independence of Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, etc. allowed Turkey to consistently implement its idea of a new Ottomanism, which signified cultural hegemony in the Turkic-speaking space. For the main foreign audience, the culture of Turkey is connected, first of all, with impressions of tourist trains. "The average citizen often looks at Turkey through glasses of stereotypes formed by popular films, literary works and rare personal impressions, usually obtained from tourist trips. As a rule, the kaleidoscopic image is formed by tourists from Istanbul and Antalya, added by vague memories of the Turks left from the lessons in school, the mass Turkish migration to Germany and the Turkish brothels, buying Slavic women wholesale and retail. And all this ugly picture appears against the background of poverty, camels, slums and harems" (Sotnichenko, 2009, p.193). Sotnichenko provides an example of image of the country, mainly based on stereotypes. And stereotypes is something one definitely wants to avoid while promoting own image. Under the cultural image, "the sum of the collective and persistent beliefs and perceptions of people with respect to the historical and cultural originality of the territory, formed purposefully with the goal of creating an attraction - the attractiveness of the territory for specific target groups" (Zolotuhina,

2010, p.108) would be understood. The cultural image consists of both historical and cultural components. If the historical component consists in the idea of the originality of the development of the territory, the cultural component includes both the traditional elements of material and non-material culture and mass culture. In the work of A.E. Kiryunin entitled "Image as an interiorization of culture", culture is the most effective component in the image of the territory, predetermining the development of all other spheres of life in the region (Kiryunin, 2000, p. 114). The history of Turkey is a rich source not only of the possibilities of representation of the state, but it also largely determines the modern vector of development (the influence of the Ottoman past was discussed above). The cultural image of the state is largely based on the image of cultural objects. 17 objects of Turkish culture are on the UNESCO list. 71 objects are in the queue for inclusion in this list (https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/tr), Turkey actively stimulates the activation of this process. The list of intangible heritage includes 15 positions of Turkish culture, the last to join the list in 2016/2017 were Spring celebration - Hıdrellez, Traditional craftsmanship of Çini-making, Navruz and Flatbread making and sharing culture: Jupka, Yufka ('Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage', 2017).

Cultural centers (including Yunus Emre Türk Kültür Merkezi), opened in different countries of the world (such as USA, Germany, France, Russia, South Africa, etc.) also represent the official traditional culture of Turkey in the world. Thus, the Turkish cultural centers, located almost all over the world, pursue the following objectives:

• To enable people from both countries to better understand each other's culture through art as the universal language of humanity;

• To build bridges of friendship not only between individuals, but also between organizations;

• To promote the spread of the Turkish language;

• To implement various joint projects in the spheres of culture, art and education;

• To provide foreign citizens with correct and unbiased information about Turkey;

• To provide support to Turkish citizens living abroad in the process of their adaptation to the new environment (2023 Vision/Mission, n.d.).

With the support of the centers, joint projects are carried out in the spheres of culture, art and education. The centers organize exhibitions for the acquaintance of foreigners with Turkish arts. The activities of some cultural centers are also aimed at enabling the representatives of the Turkish diaspora to be in contact with their fellow citizens, and children were given the opportunity to learn their native language and cultural traditions.

Mass culture also plays an important role in building the cultural image of the state. For example, the fashion for the "Turkish" in the post-Soviet countries, associated with the popularity of the singer Tarkan, Turkish dramas and series that came in the 2000s, since then the tourist flow from these countries to Turkey has increased significantly. Yet crisis with Russia in 2015 and the events of the summer of 2016, when the coup attempt was made, followed by the fall of tourist flows. Despite the fact that importance of mass culture cannot be diminished and awareness of Turkish mass culture is and should be further present and supported by the implementation of new products (series, films, artists), it is always important to remember that culture is not the only sphere on which potential tourists accent their attention. The factor of trust and the level of security often play a decisive role in attracting tourists.

3.3.3.1 *Turkey Home* **Branding Campaign**

To promote the tourist and cultural image of Turkey, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey in 2014 created the campaign Turkey Home. The main goal of this campaign is to create a strong bilateral relationship with the tourist audience to increase awareness of the great historical and cultural heritage of Turkey, both about its traditions and about the features of social and everyday life.

Figure 8. Turkey Home Logo

The main concept of the campaign is "Home", so the task is to bind Turkey with this concept, telling tourists and potential tourists about the sights and the hospitality of the country. The campaign projects the image of Turkey as a center that throughout its long history has welcomed, accepted and contributed to a multitude of identities, cultures and civilizations, proven by its cultural and geographical diversity.

In addition to promoting Turkey by classical media such as television and outdoor advertising, Turkey Home is also present on the most popular social and online media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, Twitter, Pinterest, Google+ and LinkedIn. A year and a half since the launch of the campaign, with more than 6 million followers in these social networks, "Turkey Home" managed to rise to the 2nd place among all tourism brands (Turkey Home official site - https://hometurkey.com).

The main goal of the Branding campaign "Turkey Home" is to promote Turkey with all its main values within the framework of such concepts as "House of Hospitality" and "House of Civilizations". Among the main tasks of the campaign there are the following:

- Improve and strengthen the branding identity and image of Turkey by achieving sustainable, continuous and stable promotional strategies

- Increase global awareness and preferability of the country by attracting more loyal travel audience

- Improve the country's perception and reputation on international, regional and national scale by conveying universal messages on Turkey's sincerity, generosity, warmness, friendliness, kindness, credibility and safety

- Conduct various promotional activities in a more professional and integrated manner

- Differentiate the country from its rivals by showing its diverse types of tourism such as history, culture, nature, adventure, sea, sports, gastronomy…('About Turkey Home', n.d.)

Turkey Home emphasizes and promotes various tourism alternatives available in Turkey, while using attractive visual installations. The main goal of any visual strategy

is to provoke curiosity, which can be claimed about the purpose of the Turkish branding campaign. The visual content that "Turkey Home" offers first allows potential tourists to get imbued with their potential destination, and then think about the trip. Thus there are a number of spectacular videos used by the branding campaign and widely distributed in the mass and social media. These video works are targeted at foreign audiences, but the campaign also focuses on the internal audience, offering them a number of commercial videos as well.

Furthermore, in social and digital media, Turkey Home consistently seeks the ways of experimenting with hashtags, mixing in modern lingo and well-timed humor to spark a social conversation with thousands of followers daily (Turkey Home official site). This is an indication that the brand's developers are perfectly aware of the modern specificity, the reality of which was perfectly described by Iberaudit Kreston as he said if you are not in social media - you do not exist" (Kreston, 2016).

Based on the statistical data of the electronic resources of Index Mundi and Trading Economics, with the beginning of the tourist-cultural branding of Turkey, there is an increase in tourist flows (see Table 3.6 and 3.7.). In 2014 and 2015, the number of tourists visiting Turkey reached more than 39 million, which is 2 million more than a year prior to the introduction of the campaign. This made Turkey the 6th most visited country in the world (Index Mundi). Also in 2015, the highest monthly indicator of the number of tourists was distinguished, when in July, a record 5,480 million people visited Turkey (Trading Economics). However in years that followed was marked decrease in tourist arrivals to Turkey, which can be explained by complicated inner situation in Turkey. The loss of most of the tourists was due to the Russian market: the flow of visitors from Russia which reaches about 4.5 million annually, fell to 860,000 (Arriving foreigners and citizens, TUIK, 2017). The reason was the November 2015 incident with a downed Russian fighter jet and the diplomatic crisis that broke out in this regard in relations between the two countries. Many other tourists were scared off by a series of explosions in Turkey that occurred over the 2015-2016 years. In summer 2015, the armed confrontation between Ankara and Kurdish militants in the south-east of the country resumed, and since then the attacks organized by them and the banned

group of "Islamic State" have swept the whole country, with some explosions taking place in the tourist districts of Istanbul.

Table 3.6 International Tourism of Turkey. Number of Arrivals by Years

Year	Value
1995	7,083,000
1996	7,966,000
1997	9,040,000
1998	8,960,000
1999	6,893,000
2000	9,586,000
2001	10,783,000
2002	12,790,000
2003	13,341,000
2004	16,826,000
2005	20,273,000
2006	18,916,000
2007	26,122,000
2008	29,792,000
2009	30,187,000
2010	31,364,000
2011	34,654,000
2012	35,698,000
2013	37,795,000
2014	39,811,000
2015	39,478,000

(Source Index Mundi)

Table 3.7 International Tourism. Number of Arrivals by Country

Rank	Country	Value	Year
1	France	84,452,000.00	2015
2	United States	77,510,000.00	2015
3	Spain	68,215,000.00	2015
4	China	56,886,000.00	2015
5	Italy	50,732,000.00	2015
6	Turkey	39,478,000.00	2015
7	Germany	35,555,000.00	2016
8	United Kingdom	34,436,000.00	2015
9	Russia	33,729,000.00	2015
10	Thailand	32,588,000.00	2016
11	Mexico	32,093,000.00	2015
12	Austria	26,719,000.00	2015
13	Hong Kong SAR, China	26,553,000.00	2016
14	Malaysia	25,721,000.00	2015
15	Greece	23,599,000.00	2015
16	Japan	19,737,000.00	2015
17	Saudi Arabia	17,994,000.00	2015
18	Canada	17,971,000.00	2015
19	Korea	17,242,000.00	2016
20	Poland	16,722,000.00	2015

(Source Index Mundi)

3.3.4 The Influence of Political Factors on the Country Image on the Example of Transformation of the Image of Turkey in Connection with the Crisis with SU-24

One of the reasons that provoked touristic flows to fall was the crisis with Russia, which began on November 24, 2015 when, the Russian front-line bomber Su-24 from the Russian air group in Syria was shot down by Turkish F-16. Ankara's official position on the plane attack was that it violated the airspace of the country. The Turkish authorities noted that the pilot was given 10 warnings. According to the data provided by the Turkish side on the day of the incident, the Russian aircraft was shot down after flying two kilometers across Turkey. At the same time to avoid possible violation the Turkish Air Force began warn Russian pilot while his plane was still in Syria airspace. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated: "Everyone should respect Turkey's right to protect its airspace, to protect itself from threats." Russia reacted harshly to Turkey's

actions, stating that "our pilots, our plane did not in any way threaten the Turkish Republic. This is an obvious thing. They conducted operations to combat ISIS" (Putin, 2015a). Russia's position was expressed by the President of the Russian Federation in his Address to the Federal Assembly (3.12.2015), in which Vladimir Putin stressed that Russia is not going to participate in a military clash with Turkey, but will respond toughly to a "backstab" by economic sanctions and other restrictions (Putin, 2015).

Since January 1, 2016, restrictions have been imposed on the supply of a number of food and non-food products, a ban on the possibility of Turkish companies to engage in construction, tourism, hotel business on the territory of Russia. Tourists were advised not to visit Turkey, charter flights were canceled. The Russian-Turkish scientific center was closed and cultural centers suspended their activities. In fact, cooperation in military, energy, educational, cultural and other spheres has been suspended. The Russian media dramatically changed the positive tone in relation to Turkey and created the image of the enemy.

This situation shows how dramatically the image of the country can be eroded in the eyes of the citizens of foreign county (or the whole world), in connection with the use of hard power and deviation from democratic values. Commitment to democratic values has become an integral part in the political community of the present time. In the context of the country's image and its promotion through national branding, liberal values also play a major role. Thus, the most positive image is possessed by democratic states with developed liberal economy, transparent election procedure, lack of corruption, rich and modern culture and science, supported by the state, etc. (e.g., the USA, Canada, France, etc.), while openly anti-democratic states with an authoritarian regime, generally have negative image abroad (e.g. North Korea, Iran). In a state with lack of democracy, systematic violation of human rights, freedoms and other liberal principles, attempts to promote the image of a democratic and lawful state abroad, attractive for investors and tourists, in best case most likely will remain in vain. In the worst case, this discrepancy will damage the already existing image of the country. Understanding the importance of such a cause-effect relationship is particularly important in the light of this thesis.

Shortly after the unsuccessful coup attempt in Turkey in July 2016, the government made a new statement about the perpetrators of the Su-24 crisis, placing the responsibility for the incident on members of the FETÖ organization. Since then, work has been started to restore the broken ties between Russians and Turkey, and the return of positive associations from the re-creation of the cultural brand of Turkey. To date, the relations between the two countries have reached a positive level again. Mutually beneficial cooperation is gradually renewed in all the areas listed above. But, even having abstracted from the issue on who is to blame, once again it is worth noting that tough behavior on the international scene immediately leads to a no less tough answer from the other side, usually in the form of retaliation. It might also be in the form of sanctions, embargoes, international boycott of various events held in the country supporter of hard power. Today, the best example is Russia, which faces similar measures applied to it by mainly Western countries, in connection with an annexation of the Ukrainian Crimea and the maintenance of a military-armed conflict in the east of the country. Undoubtedly, sometimes the use of force becomes necessary, but one must always act with the understanding that using diplomatic instruments, sides of the conflict are more likely to face less losses.

Despite the temporary success achieved by Turkey in the tourism sector, thanks to the successful conduct of the branding campaign, at the end of the high season of 2015, the indicators began to fall, which can be explained by the unstable situation in the country, connected, as mentioned before, with periodic terrorist attacks, the aforementioned crisis with Russia and a coup attempt fallen at the height of the tourist season in 2016. However, in 2017, the year which became significantly more calm comparing to the prior years, as no terror attacks took place in country and the relations with Russia passed the period of crisis, the flow of tourists to Turkey raised again and reached more than 32 millions (Arriving foreigners and citizens, TUIK, 2017). Given all stated above, it is possible to sum up saying, that without parallel adherence to liberal values in the conduct of politics such as diplomacy and soft power, without maintaining a high level of security in the country, no matter the level of success of national branding in the economic sphere, the state should not count on its success.

3.4 TURKEY'S NATIONAL BRAND STATUS

This thesis would be incomplete without examining the position of the national branding of Turkey on the world stage, because the field of national branding is as competitive as other fields of activities of countries. For the analysis two corporations were selected, which report each year on the level of success of national brands in the world. These are Brand Finance and Future Brand. Although the founder of the concept of national branding Simon Anholt and his corporation Anholt-GfK annually issue a rating of Nation Brands Index, which examines the performance of 50 countries, including Turkey; this rating was not included in this thesis, due to the fact that their annual reports are limited to only the top 10 countries and till now Turkey did not enter this top list.

3.4.1 Turkey's Position in the List of Top National Brands: Brand Finance Nation Brands 100 and Country Brand Index by Future Brand

3.4.1.1 Country Brand Index by Future Brand

The agency Future Brand published its latest rating of the country-brands Country Brand Index in 2014-15.

To compile the Future Brand rating, company used data obtained from 2,530 people who travel frequently for business or leisure purposes to 17 countries (USA, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Turkey, South Africa, UAE, India, China, Thailand, Japan and Australia). These people, aged 21 to 65 from both sexes, are familiar with all countries from the list and travel abroad at least once a year.

The questionnaire was developed on the basis of the Hierarchical Decision Model developed by the agency, which includes seven main areas: knowledge of the country, awareness, preferences, associations, discussion, decision-making / attendance and propaganda. In drawing up the rating, a special emphasis was placed on the sphere of Associations - i.e. with what one or another country associates with - from the value system inherent in this country, to the phrase "made in".

The country's brand was evaluated according to various criteria. For example, one of the criteria is the attendance of the country, the desire to do business in it or study at its

universities and recommendations of tourists related to this country. The report also shows that most people prefer to buy goods produced in the country-brand, and not "just in another country", because participants of the survey believe that the products produced in the country-brand are of better quality. For example, 70% of respondents are convinced that Germany (3rd place in the rating) produces high-quality products compared to 14% of respondents, who consider that the same quality is in products manufactured in other "usual" countries.

Figure 9. 2014-2015 Country Brand Index results by Future Brand

The top 20 brand countries of 2014 according to Country Brand Index by Future Brand:

1.Japan 2.Switzerland 3.Germany 4.Sweden 5.Canada 6.Norway 7.USA 8.Australia 9.Denmark 10.Austria 11.New Zealand 12.United Kingdom 13.Finland 14.Singapore 15.Iceland 16.The Netherlands 17.France 18.Italy 19.UAE 20.South Korea

The most interesting in this study are its main findings, which should be taken into account not only by outsiders, but also by leaders. The main findings are:

1. Good awareness of the country in the world does not make this country a default brand. For example, Italy can boast a greater degree of awareness among people than Japan (89% compared to 84%), but it is only 17th in the ranking, while Japan is leader.

2. Brands-countries are associated with consumer brands. So Japan is firmly connected with such names as Toyota, Nintendo, Honda, Sony, Toshiba and Panasonic.

3. Brand countries often act as experts in certain categories: France is associated with fashion (65%), Germany with cars (77%), and Japan with technologies (78% - and this is the highest rating of the country in a certain category).

4. Brands-countries are the most developed in the field of technology, innovation and sustainable development. Countries from the top 20 are more successful in these areas than in politics, economics or culture.

Based on this, the following conclusions can be drawn directly for Turkey:

1. As the popularity of consumer brands is directly proportional to the popularity of the brand of the country itself, therefore the scope of the Turkish brand campaign TURQUALITY® is significant in the promotion of the national brand of the country. Its success is confirmed by the growing recognition of Turkish brands in the world market, and the superiority of some of them in the spheres they belong (e.g. Beko became one of the main sponsors of the most popular football team - Barcelona (Barcelona official site), and Turkish Airlines for several years in a row occupies the highest position in the ranking of the best airlines in Europe (Sun Reporter)).

2. In order to achieve a stronger national brand of the country, it would also be advantageous for Turkey to choose a certain segment in which the country could in the future prove itself as an expert. The most likely segment for Turkey seems to be tourism. Thus its tourism and cultural branding campaign "Turkey Home", in addition to sharpening the focus on attracting tourists to the country, should also focus on positioning Turkey as a global tourism expert.

3. To become a successful Brand-country besides focusing on politics, economics or culture, it would be favorably to pay attention on the development on the fields of technology and innovation.

3.4.1.2 Turkey in the Brand Finance's Nation Brands 100

The rating of 100 national brands (Brand Finance Nation Brands 100) is a global study and the accompanying rating of the countries of the world in terms of the value of national brands. Rating is produced by the British multinational consulting company Brand Finance, which specializes in the field of audit and the valuation of brands.

The experts of the study believe that the state of the country's brand affects both its reputation, self-identification and the perception of its present and future, and has a direct impact on the welfare of the state and its ability to compete and develop in the world economy.

The rating and methodology of a global survey of national brands' evaluation is based on the Royalty Relief Method, widely used to evaluate commercial brands. The basis of the method is the assumption that if the company (in this case, the country) used the brand under a license agreement, then it would have to pay a certain percentage of the royalty to the license holder. Since the brand being valued is the property of the company (country), the company itself (the country) capitalizes the royalties. The amount of discounted potential royalties is an estimate of the value of the brand. The value of royalties is calculated on the basis of the sectors of the economy of the countries surveyed in relation to the forecast of economic growth over the next five years and taking into account possible risks. The result is a quantitative indicator of the contribution of the national brand to the economy.

Table 3.8 Main Segments of Analysis on National Brands

SEGMENT	INTERNAL FACTORS	EXTERNAL FACTORS
Investments	Domestic Investments	Foreign Investments
Tourism	Internal Tourism	International Tourism
Products	Domestic production and consumption of national goods and services.	Export of goods and services to international markets.
Human Capital	Internal investments in human capital.	Investments in attracted human capital.

When calculating the rating of national brands, their value in terms of money is taken into account, the sustainability and potential of brand development, economic,

demographic and political factors, including investment indicators, tourism attractiveness, the dynamics of economic growth in the studied countries, production, consumption and exports of national goods and services, human capital and other parameters, united in four main segments (see Table 3.8).

In the process of analyzing brand countries, Brand Finance uses a combination of state statistics and research results carried out on a regular basis by international institutions. The study is conducted in cooperation with international organizations - the Institute of Management Development and the World Economic Forum. Based on the results of the comparative study, each country is given a rating from AAA (a very strong national brand) to DDD (the absence of a national brand). These are the letter categories that make up the Brand Index.

Table 3.9 Top 25 countries out of Nation Brands 100

Full Results

Most valuable Nation Brands 1-50

Rank 2017	Rank 2016	Nation	Nation Brand Value 2017 (USDbn)	Change (%)	Nation Brand Value 2016 (USDbn)	Nation Brand Strength 2017 (Rating)	Nation Brand Strength 2016 (Rating)
1	1	United States	21,055	2%	20,574	AAA-	AAA
2	2	China	10,209	44%	7,087	AA	AA
3	3	Germany	4,021	4%	3,882	AAA-	AAA-
4	4	Japan	3,439	15%	3,002	AAA-	AAA
5	5	United Kingdom	3,129	6%	2,942	AAA	AAA
6	6	France	2,969	27%	2,339	AA+	AA+
7	8	Canada	2,056	14%	1,810	AAA-	AAA-
8	7	India	2,046	-1%	2,066	AA	AA-
9	9	Italy	2,034	34%	1,521	A+	AA-
10	11	South Korea	1,845	43%	1,289	AA	AA
11	10	Australia	1,505	15%	1,305	AAA-	AAA-
12	14	Spain	1,410	46%	966	AA	AA
13	15	Mexico	1,049	15%	915	A+	A+
14	13	Switzerland	1,014	2%	998	AAA	AAA
15	12	Netherlands	1,005	-10%	1,121	AAA	AAA
16	19	Indonesia	845	34%	630	AA-	AA-
17	18	Russia	832	13%	736	A+	A+
18	16	Brazil	798	-3%	820	A	A
19	17	Sweden	703	-5%	742	AAA	AAA-
20	28	Taiwan	625	33%	469	AA+	AA+
21	25	United Arab Emirates	594	24%	478	AAA	AAA
22	23	Saudi Arabia	575	19%	482	AA	AA
23	21	Poland	571	11%	516	AA-	AA-
24	26	Turkey	570	20%	474	A+	AA-
25	24	Norway	550	15%	478	AAA	AAA

(Source Brand Finance Nation Brands 100, 2017 Report)

According to National Brands 100 Report from 2017, Turkeys National brand value has grown 20% in last year from $474 billion in 2016 to $570 billion in 2017, which also

allowed Turkey to change its National Strength Rating from AA- to A+ (see Table 4.9. Top 25 countries out of Nation Brands 100. Brand Finance Nation Brands 100, 2017 Report). In 2017 Turkey moved up from 26th to 24th place on Brand Finance Nation Brands 100 table, and according to the forecast of experts it 'can further improve' its national brand value (Brand Finance official site).

Turkey's average positions in the ratings should not be seen as failure, especially considering its upward trend. It is worthwhile to understand that the development of national brands is a long process that takes a long time, and branding indicators "shouldn't change by more than a few percentage points here and there during the year. The real rate of change, when there is change, would be over years rather than months" (Anholt, 2007,p. 47). Given all of the above, Turkey is only at the beginning of the development of its national brand, but it has all the indicators and great potential to become successful at this porch. It is only necessary to continue to build up its position.

CONCLUSION

"Power" is one of the most important concepts in the theory and practice of International Relations. Since the earliest political studies, it has occupied a central place in the reflections of researchers, philosophers and politicians. For a long time, power acted as the most common and decisive tool in the arsenal of international actors. However, with the onset of the globalization era, the international system has qualitatively transformed, and the notion of "power" has acquired new meanings and dimensions. Economic interdependence, information revolution, development of new technologies forced theorists of different schools to take a fresh look at the concept of "power" and recognize that military force is no longer the "alpha and omega" of international relations. It was observed that economic cooperation, media, culture, education, ideology could now act on an equal footing with military potential as significant resources of the international actor's power. The concept of "soft power" of Joseph Nye became a theoretical response to the changes that took place in the international system in the era of globalization. According to Nye's concept, determining the success of an actor in the international arena today is "the ability to affect others to obtain preferred outcomes by the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuasion, and positive attraction" (Nye, 2013, p. 565). National branding as well as public diplomacy were considered as such tools in this work.

The concept of national branding, on the one hand, adheres to similar goals with the basic principles of the policy of "soft power" in traditional liberal theories; on the other hand, its tools are in most cases limited to economic instruments of influence. In turn, public diplomacy, has a wide range of political instruments of influence. In this context, before the adoption and implementation of policy recommendations on the introduction of national branding into the country's foreign policy tool, an overall evaluation of this concept should be conducted, its beneficial sides should be identified and a comparative analysis with the concept of public diplomacy should be made.

In connection with globalization and increased competition, the territories today are struggling to attract investment, tourists and new residents. In the global information field, their identifiers are brands that are developed based on existing territorial conditions and their further strategic planning. A brand bearer can be a whole country,

or its part - region or city. The development of a territorial brand is a complex process that takes into account a large number of factors.

As was mentioned in prior chapters, some researchers note that the brand of the nation (state) plays a more important role than just a symbol that allows identifying a place with its specific characteristics and advantages. According to Denis Vizgalov, the image of the state, expressed in a visual corporate style, is one of the most important elements of both internal stability and external "liquidity" of the state in the process of interstate relations and the sphere of transnational structures. The visual style of the state, according to Rodkin, is not an ordinary component of identity, but one of the determining factors of the sovereignty of the country in the conditions of global communications (Vizgalov, 2011, p.25). Thus, branding of territories becomes the same necessary component of state and territorial policy, as a business strategy is for any commercial enterprise (corporation). Branding of the territory today is an important component of the socio-economic, political and international policies of state and territorial government. The formation of special bodies for managing the national image and branding, allocation of budgets for the promotion of the territory to the markets of global products predetermine the need and importance of developing methods for the economic evaluation of the brand and cost-effectiveness of its formation. Hence, the concept of territory branding has become more popular. The territory brand, similar to the product brand, reflects all its characteristics and values, forms the identity of the territory in the minds of the consumers. In this thesis, the brand of territory is considered as a complex psycho-social design, which includes a logo (physical and symbolic expression of the brand), as well as intangible attributes such as the image of the territory, its values, consumer associations, and associated with it, their emotions, the general vision of the uses of the territorial potential, the culture and historical heritage of the territory, the global responsibility of territorial authorities, the image of power, etc.

A review of literature in the field of modern territory branding shows that it is often viewed together with public diplomacy as instruments of international state policy. For example, Anholt (2007) points out that the practice of public diplomacy is more likely to coincide with the practice of branding places (territories), which can be seen as

actions to manage the social attractiveness of the geographic space through strategies developed in the commercial sector. Branding places are closely connected with public diplomacy, as it affects the image and perception of territorial entities by foreign and internal communities, whether it be states, regions or cities. Both public diplomacy and place branding use social power for promoting new norms and values. According to Tsvetkova (2011), public diplomacy is actions aimed at building long-term relations, protecting the goals of the national foreign policy and better understanding of values and institutions of the state abroad. Public diplomacy promotes national interests and ensure national security by studying the attitudes of foreign public opinion, modeling it and influencing those, who form this opinion. Public diplomacy is mainly aimed at a mass audience. It proceeds from the assumption that public opinion can have a significant impact on its government and on the political system. In other words, the state and other institutions use public diplomacy to form public opinion on a situation to create support for certain ideas or actions. The essence of public diplomacy and its main idea is that in order to achieve a wide range of goals, from economic to military, the government should get support from ordinary individuals (both its citizens and foreigners). In order to influence target audiences, public diplomacy uses both classical tools such as television and radio programs and student exchanges, as well as opportunities provided by new social media blogs and Internet communications (Twitter, Facebook, etc.). National branding and public diplomacy are closely interrelated, because both concepts can become the strongest instruments of "soft power". The opinions of individuals about specific place, which they exchange with one another, significantly affect the emerging image of the place. From the first point of view, it may seem that public diplomacy and national branding are just a propaganda used by various governments with regard to local and foreign residents. However, these concepts at the present stage go beyond centralized management. They involve the public in open discussions on various issues that are of significant importance to the state. Unlike classical diplomacy, which is closed at the bilateral (or multilateral) level, public diplomacy and national branding additionally use non-governmental and public organizations, as well as celebrities and ordinary people in social networks to update certain topics, to form an agenda of the society, and as a consequence, to promote the national interests of the distributor's country. Despite the similarity of these concepts,

they work with different tools. However, for the country to achieve successful results in the economic and political spheres, as well as promoting national interests in foreign policy, it is worth resorting to the use of both concepts.

Summing up, national branding is a set of measures in the sphere of exports, tourism, culture, domestic and foreign policy and investments for the development and implementation of a strategy for building a brand of the state, aimed at improving the image of the country perceived by both the local population and foreigners and activated with the help of various tools (communication, marketing tools, public diplomacy, etc.). Successful branding of the state allows not only the improvement of the country's foreign and domestic image, but also the raise of the level of the country's political influence in the international arena, increase the exports of branded goods and services, strengthen international ties and partnerships, stimulate national identity and improve the overall competitiveness of the country. Confirmation of this argument in this thesis are examples of world branding practices, namely, the example of Australia's national branding and territorial branding of the regions of Tyrol and Hong Kong.

Thus, the first conclusion of this thesis is that the development of modern "soft power" requires an in-depth study of the application of tools of public diplomacy and national branding. Therefore, only with the interrelated use of public diplomacy and national branding, the country will be able to obtain the best results in the international arena through the use of "soft power".

Based on the results of the first part of this thesis, it can be claimed that national branding in conjunction with public diplomacy can act as the main instruments of the country's soft power in its foreign policy. The second main task of this thesis was to disclose the phenomenon of national branding in Turkey. In order to consider and apply the concept of national branding in Turkish foreign policy, it was initially necessary to study the use of soft power in Turkey's foreign policy practice, and to review and analyze the existing strategies for national branding.

In order to scrutinize the "soft power" of Turkey, the period from the formation of Republic in 1923 to the present day was chosen. Turkish foreign policy has undergone significant changes in the process of transition from the Ottoman Empire to the

Republican period and to this day, it is still in the stage of transformation. During this period, the country had to go through many complex situations arising from global political and ideological changes in the world. In foreign policy, the country's leadership has always had to make an important decision in favor of one global actor in the world political arena for protecting Turkey's national borders and the state's assets. Among the rest, a significant contribution to the development of strategic relations with international partners of Turkey was achieved due to the balanced foreign policy of the country's government under Turgut Özal and Süleyman Demirel. Despite certain successes of Turkish foreign policies of the previous periods, due to the lack of use of soft power tools in these periods, the main emphasis in this thesis was made on two basic concepts that can be considered within the scope of "soft power". These are the ideology of Kemalism and the "zero problems" strategy. In this thesis, Kemalism was viewed from the position of the strategy of "soft power" due to its postulate "Peace at the Home, Peace in the World", which most closely corresponds to not using force. And "zero problems" strategy, which was included in the political vocabulary of Turkey since 2002 and used in foreign policy until 2016, was singled out in this thesis as a "soft power" due to its new vision in Turkish foreign policy, with its main ideas of security for all, political dialogue, economic interdependence and cultural harmony (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2012). Several internal and external developments have positively influenced the "soft power" of Turkey in the first decade of the 21st century. One of the main internal developments that have influenced changes in Turkish foreign policy approach is the Justice and Development Party (AKP) coming to power in 2002 together with a new elite and political agenda (Bilgin, 2008). Among the main external developments, the prospect of EU membership for Turkey and Turkey's official candidate status after the Helsinki Summit in December 1999 can be emphasized. The Europeanization of Turkey, which was among the main objectives of the AKP during its first term in government (2002-2007), has positively influenced its "soft power", primarily by introduction of several reforms in the domains of democracy, human rights and minority rights. These reforms declined the military involvement in politics and fortified Turkish civil society. During the second term of the AKP government (2007-2011), the 'zero problems' strategy was emphasized. In addition to its geostrategic importance, Turkey's democracy and growing economy have become the political and

discursive basis of the multidimensional and proactive Turkish foreign policy (Keyman, 2009, p.5). Turkey's regional and global relations have further expanded to Africa, Asia and Latin America. Turkish foreign policy was especially active in the Middle East and the Balkans, such activeness in these regions has been even criticized as "neo-Ottomanism" (Ulusoy, 2005, p.245). Though, İbrahim Kalın (2011, p.10), who was the Chief Advisor to Prime Minister of Turkey at that time and head of the Public Diplomacy Office, rejected the claims about "neo-Ottomanism" in the new Turkish foreign policy, he rather deliberated these tendencies as the accommodation between Turkey and its history and geography. During the second term of the AKP government there have been endeavors to frame Turkey as a "center". Turkey has become more active in international organizations such as the G-20, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), as well as it became a temporary member of the UN Security Council for the 2009-2010 period.

Adhering to one of two concepts in its time, Turkey managed to achieve impressive results in the economic and political spheres, thanks to the strengthening of cooperation with traditional partners. However, in connection with the withdrawal from the principles of both concepts, with the transition to a more stringent policy, especially during the last two years, the political and economic arena of Turkey had faced a number of problems. High rates of economic growth of the country began to fall due to the inability of the government in implementing structural reforms, frustrated relations with important partners such as the EU and Russia led to a slowdown in the growth of trade turnover, fall of tourist flows, though temporarily. The unstable domestic political situation in recent years also affects the decline in the inflow of investors. Therefore, it can be stated that although Turkish foreign policy has changed considerably, it is still at the stage of transformation. Turkey now has taken on a more active but at the same time more tough foreign policy position. Its influence in the international arena is growing. At the same time, often, the interests of Turkey and its Western partners contradict each other, which is most relevant recently, especially after the unsuccessful attempt of a military coup in July 2016. This, as well as commitment to strict methods of policy, negatively affects the overall image of the country, which was revealed in the final analysis of this thesis aimed at examining the existing strategies of national branding in Turkey and its position in international expert ratings.

The image of the state is a collection of the characteristics of its main constituents - the system of state institutions, political, legal, economic systems of the state - information about which is sent to the information and communication space with the purpose of influencing the public consciousness inside and outside the state. Thus, the growth of the positions of Turkey both in the world and in the country depends on the level of success in creation a positive image, on the level of its real successes in the main spheres of life, as well as on the progress in promoting its cultural and historical heritage, scientific, investment and tourist potential. The conditions for the formation of the state's image are the achievement of the country's social and economic development and the strengthening of the authority of state power.

The structure of the political image of Turkey is formed by the internal and foreign policy image of the state, by the image of the head of state, the image of key spheres of life (political, economic, cultural, etc.). The image of the state also affects its external and internal political processes. The image of Turkey can significantly change under the influence of international relations, political events both inside the country and abroad. Considering the above, the image of Turkey serves as a guide for the future development of the state; a signal for each citizen of the state about the prospects of this development. The means of presentation of Turkey in the international information space is national branding.

The formation of a national brand is a time-consuming process. Difficulties arise from the moment of identification, when it is time to formulate those unique attributes and values that will qualitatively distinguish one country from another. It is necessary to understand that many factors influence identity. Which factors will become the main determinants for a particular state is a question that can be answered only after a time when carrying out a multitude of qualitative and quantitative research.

Another difficulty on the way to building a national brand is that a country can simultaneously have several images, both positive and negative. These images often come into conflict with each other. Therefore, it is very important to focus on what forms a solid and positive image of the country in the process of branding.

Turkey is such a country whose image is contradictory. The country can be related with positive associations by the target audiences, more often associated with cultural heritage and tourism potential, but also it also has negative ones - connected with the historical heritage and the possibility of radical Islamization. What the country considers to be its strengths, is the succession of the heritage of the Ottoman Empire, the progressive policy in the field of regional leadership, Islam, in practice, does not always cause positive assessments from various groups of influence. Those, declared values are not always shared by target audiences, which prevents to build a positive image. That is why national branding is becoming particularly relevant for Turkey.

The image is difficult to manage, because it arises spontaneously in the mind of the consumer. However, creating a positive image is possible. To this end, a consistent policy, implemented in conjunction with adequate communications, can eventually lead to the desired result - the national brand.

In the case of national branding, the implementation of a special policy rests on the shoulders of government administrations and organizations under their control, such case is relevant today in Turkey.

Two main ministries, the Ministry of Economy and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, through specialised departments and units, and through the support of various non-profit structures, implement the policy of national branding in Turkey. They are actively working to promote the national branding of Turkey, consulting with a large number of foreign experts from various fields; advertising, branding, economics, town planning, etc. But unfortunately there are almost no specialists in Turkey, who take an active role in the development of national branding. Thus, the creation and promotion of this strategy is carried out with the advisory support of foreign experts in this field. International experience in the field of national branding is undoubtedly useful, but without domestic specialists, who know all the features of their country, one should not count on the most successful outcome, since national branding strategies are always specific in each case and cannot be created completely in a similar fashion with a successful country. Each country's experience is different.

These ministries determine the directions of national branding, coordinate the activities of all controlled entities, grant subsidies for special projects and participate in the development and implementation of special programs.

In general, all activities on national branding in Turkey develop in three main areas: international cultural policy, development of trade and investment attraction, tourism.

In Turkey, there are special structures, whose tasks include the direct implementation of branding activities. These structures are accountable to ministries or work in coordination with them. So, there is a separate organization for working with investors; The Ministry of Tourism and Culture focuses on its branding activities exclusively on tourists. Some structures are engaged in the development of slogans, which are to be used as separate strong brands, contributing to the formation of sustainable associations with the national brand as a whole.

National branding in Turkey is built on various types of integrated communications, where marketing communications prevail. Soft power technologies, in particular, public diplomacy in national branding are applied, however, they are usually merged with other types of technologies and have no pronounced character.

It seems that in Turkey the activity of soft power in the field of branding is perceived as an applied kind of activity. Often, soft power is understood as working with embassies and other diplomatic missions of international partners. Thus, the activity of public diplomacy as one of the instruments of soft power here is obliged with one mission - to coordinate. But the concept of public diplomacy is not limited only to communication tools, and the soft power toolkit especially possesses a much larger number of methods of cooperation.

Turning directly to the analysis of national branding strategies in Turkey, it is possible to mention positive results. Since the beginning of the promotion of TURQUALITY, Turkey, Discover the Potential and Turkey Home branding campaigns in 2014-2015, the country has managed to achieve notable results in attracting foreign direct investments, increasing the level of trust and satisfaction with Turkish products and services among foreign consumers, and Turkey was also successful in raising the number of tourists, retaining the title of one of the most visited countries in the world.

However, the indicators on these domains have immediately changed due to external and internal political changes that took place in the country in the last few years; Russian sanctions, imposed in response to the shooting down of a Russian airplane, followed by a failed coup attempt in July 2016, have caused losses on Turkey's tourism, pressuring economic growth ('HSBC Turkey Trade Report', n.d.). Participation in the protracted Syrian conflict and lack of agreement on the issue of Syrian refugees, among other things, negatively affected relations with Western partners. Thus, in addition to proving the argument of this thesis, the analysis of these examples helped to determine the main features and problems of the development of the national branding of Turkey. The main causal links, which reduce the possibility of successful results of national branding in Turkish practice, were identified. These include the conflict between the desired image of the country, which Turkey tries to create and consolidate in the minds of the international community, and the real image of Turkey, which is formed on its own, based on real events in the political, economic and social spheres of the country.

In the modern world, there is a close connection between the implementation of political modernization of the state and the need to form its positive image. On the one hand, successful political modernization and liberalization is the most important factor in shaping the positive image of Turkey, on the other hand, its positive perception in the world can significantly contribute to the success of national branding strategies. It turns out be a vicious circle. Then again, proving one of the arguments of this thesis, both for Turkey and for other countries engaged in promoting their national branding, the main policy recommendation of this thesis is the inalienable application of public diplomacy in the course of promoting the national brand. In addition, special attention to should be given to the concept of soft power in the foreign policy of the state.

Without a full-fledged democracy, it is almost impossible to create a positive image of Turkey in the eyes of the Western democratic public. For example, the complexity of the process of European integration of Turkey is due primarily to the decline in the pace of democratization, the closure of certain spheres of life in the country, the peculiarities of modern political processes.

Consideration of political modernization as a resource of filling the Turkish national brand with positive content allows us to conclude that political reforms are meaningless

without economic reforms and vice versa. The creation of democratic prerequisites in politics contributes to the formation of a successful image. Turkey has a strong intellectual capital, investment potential, rich cultural heritage, a unique natural environment, and hence - a huge competitive potential in the world market. But in a world where liberal-democratic states prevail or to be more precise, dominate, such a huge potential can easily be discarded in the event of the trampling of democratic values. As it was demonstrated in this thesis on the example of the crisis with Russia in 2015/2016.

Although strengthening the country's image on the world stage through the promotion of national branding led to positive results, these are primarily of economic nature. When Turkey's foreign policy position has changed, as mentioned above, with the withdrawal from the use of soft instruments of political influence, the both economic and political indicators worsened or they completely lost their positions.

The effectiveness of using the existing potential remains in question. The main reasons for the inefficiency are sharp changes in foreign policy positions and the increasing use of force to solve internal and external problems of the country.

Over the past 10 years, the interdependence of Turkey's internal and external image has become increasingly evident, which is reflected in the fact that the country's main domestic political events are at the center of the attention of the world community, and therefore, significantly affect the image of the state in the international arena. The improvement or deterioration of the national image depends on the positive or negative consequences of these events and on the effectiveness of solving domestic issues.

Despite the recent foreign policy incidents, there is still potential for Turkey to perform successfully in the domain of national branding. The experts in this field predict positive results regarding the status of the national brand of Turkey. To strengthen Turkey's status as a peripheral power, and in the future, probably also as a global power, Turkey needs to ensure internal security and interests of all layers of the political spectrum as well as the necessity of uniting with the common goal of the nation's welfare. In cooperation between the individuals and the state, various state institutions

must become different organs of one organism working in harmony, and should not divert the forces of the country to unnecessary conflicts.

Modern processes of political modernization presuppose the transformation of political and communication activities of public authorities. In the Turkish practice, the state authorities are directly engaged in forming the image of the state. Accordingly, the policy pursued by them, in order to establish new and consolidate existing international relations, must correspond to world-wide democratic principles. Turkish brand management actively declares such values, but the behavior of the government of Turkey at the moment is contrary to it. Such behavior goes against one of the main principles of national branding, which states that the projected image of the state should always correspond to the real state of affairs and objective indicators of the national development of the country. In the face of the progress that has been achieved due to the successful conduct of national branding strategy, it will be wrong to believe that country's economy will keep growing due to the potential that the strategy has, despite the wrong policies implemented.

Based on the analysis of the final chapter of this thesis, the following conclusions and related re-assessments can be made:

• Lack of qualified domestic specialists in the field of national branding leads to inadequate development of this strategy. Realizing the importance of the concept of national branding, Turkey should work to raise public awareness on this issue. It is worth starting the education of qualified domestic specialists in this sector. For this purpose, this thesis recommends to introduce a separate course of "national branding" at the departments of International Relations, Business Administration and Political Science and Public Administration of the country and to give education in related institutes. In addition, appropriate vacancies for new specialists in this field should be provided in state institutions, both regional and national. After all, on the border of tradition and innovative future, all the territories and objects that are aimed at technological development and expansion of communication fields face the issue of choice of identity. Any territorial object of Turkey, from districts of the cities to regions, carrying out its strategy of territorial branding will undoubtedly bring its contribution to the development of the national brand of Turkey.

• Turkey has great potential for developing a high-quality national brand due to the diversity of its components, culture, large consumer market and investment potential. For the beneficial use of these resources in promoting itself on the world stage, Turkey should continue to work on the improvement of these directions and ensure their level of development in accordance with frequent and rapid changes in trends in a globalized society.

• It is a mistake to believe that the economic oriented concept of national branding will bring positive economic results despite the country's political situation. For the most effective promotion of the country's national interests in foreign policy, one should adhere to the use of both national branding and other instruments of "soft power", such as public diplomacy. The government of Turkey should come to the realization that tough foreign policy measures can only lead to short-term results, which are always followed by a retaliatory strike. To achieve long-term results, both in foreign policy and in the overall welfare of the country, Turkey should adhere to liberal policy methods.

• Developers of the Turkish national brand should pay more attention to both the brand platform and the domestic and foreign policy rhetoric of the state on which the brand is based. Understanding of mistakes, in-depth study of the internal aspects of the development of the territory and the establishment of a vector of development directed toward the future are the main factors for the successful growth of both the country's brand and the country itself.

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