



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

**TÜRKİYE AND WEST AFRICA RELATIONS IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF PUBLIC
DIPLOMACY: THE CASES OF SENEGAL, IVORY COAST, NIGER AND
GUINEA-BISSAU**

Abdu DJAMANCA

Ph.D Thesis

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DIPLOMACY: THE CASES OF SENEGAL, IVORY COAST, NIGER AND
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ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

The jury finds that **Abdu DJAMANCA** has on the date of **03.02.2023** successfully passed the defense examination and approves his Ph.D Thesis Report titled “**Türkiye and West Africa Relations in the Perspective of Public Diplomacy: The Cases of Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger and Guinea-Bissau**”.

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ETİK BEYANI

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03/02/2023

Abdu DJAMANCA

DEDICATION

To my dears, mother **Néne BALDE BANNÁ** and father **Serifo Almame DJAMANCA**, for everything you gave me.

To my lovely wife **Aissato Cande DJAMANCA** and my dear son **Djibril Serifo DJAMANCA**, this thesis is yours.

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Abdu DJAMANCA

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03.02.2023
Abdu DJAMANCA

ABSTRACT

DJAMANCA, Abdu. *Türkiye and West Africa Relations in the Perspective of Public Diplomacy: The Cases of Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger and Guinea-Bissau*, Ph.D Thesis, Ankara, 2023.

This dissertation is focused on an overview of Türkiye's increased engagement with Africa particularly West Africa in recent years. It analyses this relationship by applying some concepts like soft power - the influences of its instruments - in international politics. In sum, it examines this engagement, focusing on Türkiye-Africa relations, especially since 'The 1998 Opening Action Plan' relative to the enhancement of cooperation in the political, economic, and cultural fields.

The study tries to answer the main questions of why Türkiye has so much engagement and a very fast opening toward Africa, especially in West Africa, and how the interaction is conducted. The study focuses on the case of Türkiye and the Western African zone (comparatively, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger, and Guinea-Bissau), examining the interaction (diplomacy) between Türkiye and these countries. It explores the aspects and interests of this cooperation from the perspective of a combination of classic diplomacy, economic diplomacy, and cultural diplomacy (education-exchange diplomacy). In a large and analytic framework, this cooperation is assessed through three variables: Political and diplomatic issues, economic and trade issues, and cultural issues. All centered on three major theoretical frameworks: Public diplomacy, economic diplomacy, and exchange diplomacy.

The study is divided into four main chapters, also axed into sections. The first chapter contextualizes the background of the research, bringing up the main question and the assumptions of the structure of the study. The second chapter examines the theoretical framework of the dissertation by analyzing the main concepts like foreign policy, international relations, soft power, economic diplomacy, and public diplomacy. The third chapter explores an overview of the relations between Türkiye and Africa, especially West Africa, and gives a brief idea of Türkiye, Africa, and the above-mentioned countries. The fourth one examines the mechanisms, strategies, aspects, and interests of the cooperation between Türkiye and the concerned countries. The fifth and last part of the dissertation provides some findings and analyzes the challenges and limits of cooperation.

For the study, both primary and secondary data were used by exploring the qualitative method of data collection. The primary data was acquired through semi-structured interviews with the diplomatic missions and some relevant institutions of both the four countries in question, as well as Türkiye. The secondary data was collected from different platforms of already existing data. These two types of data allowed the realization of this dissertation.

The findings of the dissertation revealed several remarkable accomplishments, the most notable of which is economically significant. Considering the challenges of this cooperation, the study concludes with recommendations for the improvement and consolidation of the mechanisms of follow-up of cooperation and the diversification of the areas of cooperation to insure more achievements.

Keywords: *International Politics, Soft Power, Public Diplomacy, West Africa, Türkiye, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger, Guinea-Bissau.*

ÖZET (Turkish Version)

DJAMANCA, Abdu. *Kamu Diplomasisi Perspektifinden Türkiye-Batı Afrika İlişkileri: Senegal, Fildişi Sahili, Nijer ve Gine-Bissau Örnekleri*, Doktora Tezi, Ankara, 2023.

Bu tez, son yıllarda Türkiye'nin Afrika'ya ve özellikle Batı Afrika'ya yönelik artan ilgisini incelemiştir. Çalışma, bu işbirliğinin yumuşak güç araçlarının etkileri gibi, uluslararası politikada kullanılan bazı kavramları analiz etmiştir. Bu çalışma özetle, Türkiye ile Afrika arasında '1998 Açılım Eylem Planı' ilan edildiğinden bu yana politik, ekonomik ve kültürel alanlarda işbirliğinin artırılmasına ilişkin gittikçe artan ilgiyi araştırmıştır. Çalışma, Türkiye'nin neden Afrika'ya ve özellikle Batı Afrika'ya, bu kadar çok ilgisi olduğu, çok hızlı bir şekilde açıldığı ve iki taraf arasındaki etkileşimin nasıl yürütüldüğü gibi temel soruları yanıtlamaya çalışmıştır.

Çalışma, Türkiye ve Batı Afrika bölgesi (Senegal, Fildişi Sahili, Nijer ve Gine-Bissau karşılaştırmalı olarak) ülkeleri arasındaki etkileşimi (diplomasiyi) incelemiştir. Bu işbirliğinin yönlerini ve iki tarafın çıkarlarını klasik diplomasi, ekonomik diplomasi ve kültürel diplomasi (eğitim-değişim diplomasisi) açısından araştırmıştır. Analitik ve kapsamlı bir çerçeve üç değişken vasıtasıyla değerlendirilmiştir: Politik ve diplomatik konular, ekonomik ve ticari konular ile kültürel konular. Üç temel ana teorik çerçeveyi merkezine almıştır: Kamu diplomasisi, ekonomik diplomasi ve değişim diplomasisidir.

Çalışma, dört ana bölüme ayrılmıştır ve her bölüm ayrıca alt bölümlerden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölümde tezin temel sorusu, yapısı ve varsayımları incelenmiştir. İkinci bölümde tezin teorik çerçevesi ve dış politika, uluslararası ilişkiler, yumuşak güç, ekonomik diplomasi ve kamu diplomasisi gibi temel kavramlar tanımlanmıştır. Üçüncü bölümde, Türkiye ile Afrika özellikle Batı Afrika arasındaki ilişkilere genel bir bakış sağlanması ve kısaca Türkiye, Afrika ve bahsi geçen ülkeler hakkında bir arka plan verilmiştir. Dördüncü bölümde, Türkiye ile ilgili ülkeler arasındaki işbirliğinin yürütülmesinde kullanılan mekanizmalar ve stratejiler, işbirliğinin yönleri ve çıkarları değerlendirilmiştir. Bu tez, iş birliğinin temel bulguları, zorlukları, başarıları ve başarısızlıklarının analiz edilmesiyle sonlandırılmıştır.

Çalışmada nitel veri toplama yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Birincil veriler, ilgili dört ülkenin diplomatik temsilcilikleri ve Türkiye'nin ilgili kurum ve kuruluşları ile yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelerden elde edilmiştir. İkincil veriler ise, mevcut verilerin farklı platformlarından toplanmıştır. Bu veriler sayesinde, tez gerçekleştirilebilmiş ve tezde elde edilen bulgular; bu işbirliğinin başarılarını, ekonomik kaygısı ve zorluklarını ortaya koymuştur. Son olarak, çalışmada, bu işbirliğinin daha da güçlendirilmesi için kullanılan mekanizmalarının iyileştirilmesi ve daha çok başarı kaydetmesi amacıyla, iş birliği alanlarının çeşitlendirmesi ve mekanizmaların pekiştirilmesi önerilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Uluslararası Politika, Yumuşak Güç, Kamu Diplomasisi, Batı Afrika, Türkiye, Senegal, Fildişi Sahili, Nijer, Gine-Bissau.*

RÉSUMÉ (French Version)

DJAMANCA, Abdu. *Les relations entre Türkiye et Afrique de l'Ouest dans la perspective de la diplomatie publique: Les cas du Sénégal, de la Côte d'Ivoire, du Niger et de la Guinée-Bissau*, Thèse de Doctorat, Ankara, 2023.

Cette thèse se focalise sur l'engagement accru, les dernières années, de Türkiye avec l'Afrique en générale et l'Afrique de l'Ouest en particulier. Cette thèse analyse la coopération de ces pays avec la Türkiye en appliquant certains instruments comme le soft power - les influences de ses instruments - dans la politique internationale. En un mot, l'étude examine cet engagement, notamment depuis l'établissement du "*Plan d'action de 1998*" sur le renforcement de cette coopération dans les domaines politique, économique et culturel.

L'étude tente de répondre à la principale question à savoir pourquoi la Türkiye accorde autant d'importance à cette coopération donnant à une ouverture si rapide vers l'Afrique en générale, l'Afrique de l'Ouest en particulier. Et comment l'interaction est menée. L'étude se focalise sur le cas de la Türkiye et la zone d'Afrique de l'Ouest (comparativement, le Sénégal, la Côte d'Ivoire, le Niger et la Guinée-Bissau), en examinant la coopération (la diplomatie) entre Türkiye et ces quatre pays. L'étude explore les aspects et les intérêts de cette coopération sous l'angle d'une combinaison de la diplomatie classique, économique et culturelle (le volet éducatif et culturel). Dans un cadre global et analytique, cette coopération a été appréciée à travers trois variables: les enjeux politiques et diplomatiques, économiques et commerciaux, et culturels. Ces enjeux sont examinés sur trois cadres théoriques: la diplomatie publique, la diplomatie économique et la diplomatie culturelle.

L'étude est divisée en quatre chapitres, eux aussi divisés en sections. Le premier chapitre établit le cadre de la recherche en énonçant la principale question de la recherche, ses suppositions et sa structure. Le deuxième chapitre examine le cadre théorique de la thèse en analysant les principaux concepts, tels que la politique étrangère, les relations internationales, le soft power, la diplomatie économique et la diplomatie publique. Le troisième explore un aperçu global des relations Turco-Afrique, l'Afrique de l'Ouest en particulier, et donne une idée globale de la Türkiye, de l'Afrique et des pays susmentionnés. Le quatrième illustre les mécanismes, les stratégies, les aspects et les intérêts de la coopération entre Türkiye et les pays concernés. La dernière partie de la thèse souligne quelques constats, analyse les enjeux et les limites de la coopération.

Pour ce faire, des sources primaires et secondaires ont été utilisées en explorant la méthode qualitative de collecte de données. Les sources primaires ont été obtenues à travers des entretiens semi-structurés avec les missions diplomatiques et certaines institutions des quatre pays concernés, ainsi qu'avec quelques institutions de Türkiye. Les sources secondaires ont été collectées à partir de différentes plateformes de données déjà affichés. Ces deux types de sources sont des principaux piliers de ce travail. Les résultats de l'étude ont révélé plusieurs constats pertinents, dont la plus remarquable est l'enjeu économique de la coopération. Considérant ces enjeux, l'étude est conclue avec des recommandations pour l'amélioration et la consolidation des mécanismes de suivi, ainsi que la diversification des domaines de la coopération afin d'assurer davantage des réalisations.

Mots clés : *Politique internationale, soft power, diplomatie publique, Afrique de l'Ouest, Türkiye, Sénégal, Côte d'Ivoire, Niger, Guinée-Bissau.*

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AA:** Anadolu Agency
- ADB:** African Development Bank
- AFAD:** Presidency of Disaster and Emergency Management
- AfCFTA:** African Continental Free Trade Area
- AU:** African Union
- AUC:** African Union Commission
- BCEAO:** Central Bank of West African States
- BC:** Bandung Conference
- CD:** Cultural Diplomacy
- CPLP:** Community of Portuguese Language Speaking Countries
- CSO:** Civil Society Organizations
- DEİK:** Foreign Economic Relations Board
- COMESA:** Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
- DC:** Developing Countries
- ED:** Economic Diplomacy
- ECOWAS:** Economic Community of West African States
- EAC:** East African Community
- EU:** European Union
- FAO:** Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
- GDP:** Gross Domestic Product
- HDI:** Human Development Index
- IC:** International Cooperation
- IO:** International Organizations
- IP:** International Politics
- IR:** International Relations
- IS:** International System
- JEC:** Joint Economic Commission
- LDC:** Least Developed Countries
- MoU:** Memorandum of Understanding
- MUSIAD:** Independent Industrials' and Businessmen's Association
- NATO:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NEPAD: New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs: Non-government Organizations
ODA: Official Development Assistance
OIC: Organization of Islamic Cooperation
OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PCOs: Program Coordination Offices
PD: Public Diplomacy
SADC: Southern African Development Community
SSA: Sub-Saharan Africa
SMEs: Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
SSC: South-South Cooperation
TBMM: Grand Turkish National Assembly
TDA: Turkish Development Assistance
TDV: Turkish Diyanet Foundation
TEC: Trade and Economic Commission
TFP: Turkish Foreign Policy
THY: Turkish Airlines
TİKA: Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
TIM: Turkish Exporters Assembly
TMV: Turkish Maarif Foundation
ToD: Track One Diplomacy
TtD: Track Two Diplomacy
TRT World: Turkish World Radio and Television
TUIK: Turkish Statistical Institute
UN: United Nations
UEMOA: West African Economic and Monetary Union
UNDP: United Nations Development Program
UNSC: United Nations Security Council
USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
YEE: Yunus Emre Institute
YTB: Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities
WS: World System

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INTRODUCTION

Türkiye, heir to the Ottoman Empire and a Eurasian country with more than 85 million people (the second largest in Europe after Germany) is currently the 19th economic power in the world and the 9th in Europe¹. In the last 30 years, when it has focused on and worked with the African continent, Türkiye has increased its involvement in international cooperation and emerged as a prominent actor in the international system.

Türkiye improves its image and becomes an emerging power in the international order. Africa becomes increasingly a crucial partner in international cooperation and gains a considerable place in international politics, with a particular focus on its engagement with the emerging powers through south-south cooperation. As is known, Africa, which had only 230 million people in 1950 (the year that the majority of African countries became independent), has 1 billion people today. According to the estimations, Africa will have 2 billion in 2050 and 4 billion in 2100². This indicates that the population of the African continent will double every half-century, making the continent a significant actor in the world's system in terms of population and economy.

The West Africa zone continues to represent a very crucial place on the African continent in both political and economic spheres. West Africa, with about 370 million people in 2018, represents about 25% of the population of the continent. As a result, the western zone of Africa remains the second largest, both demographically and economically, after the North African zone. In the last ten years, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), “*despite rapid demographic growth, GDP per capita has grown at 3.1% per year since 2000, the highest rate in the continent compared to a 2% continental average*” (OECD, 2018: 48-50).

¹ According to the World Bank, Türkiye figured 19th economic power in the World and the 9th in Europe. Türkiye is now working to become the World's top 10 and Europe's 5 very soon. <https://www.data.worldbank.org/country/Türkiye>, assessed on January 10, 2022.

² The African continent has registered a considerable demographic growth along the decades after its independence (1960 in general).

Moreover, as the fastest-growing region of the continent by GDP, West Africa is the “*leading exporter of several primary commodities. For agricultural products, between five of the nine West African countries featured among the world’s top 20 producers in 2017*” (OECD, 2018: 48). The regions have obtained a “*near-monopoly of the world’s production of rare and precious natural resources like fonio, karite nuts, and yams, with shares exceeding 90%. The region also leads in cocoa beans, cashews, and cassava*” (OECD, 2018: 49). However, “*as an exporter of unprocessed raw materials (cocoa, cotton, rubber, uranium, oil), West Africa depends on the global economy and remains vulnerable to external shocks*” (2018: 499) and needs industrialization and transformation of its natural resources.

Türkiye's more proactive foreign policy has opened up to all of Africa in recent decades. Therefore, the western part of Africa has been crucial in this engagement, and it is also the region that has been opting for a more diversified partnership with emerging global powers, including Türkiye. In 2005, Türkiye became an Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) observer member, and in the same year, Türkiye declared “*2005, the Year of Africa in Türkiye*”, and in 2008, the “*1st Türkiye-Africa Summit*” was organized in Istanbul. For these reasons, it is valuable and exciting to examine this engagement between Türkiye and West Africa. However, in order to realize a deep and realistic study, this thesis focuses on four West African countries, with the following reasons or justifications: Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger, and Guinea-Bissau in a comparative perspective. In the West African bloc, there are Francophone, Anglophone, and Lusophone countries sharing their common values in different regional community organizations (political, economic, and cultural-community integration).

Senegal and Ivory Coast, both francophone countries that gained independence from France in 1960, have been economically and politically prominent countries in the West African bloc. These two countries have more similarities than differences regarding their economic development, political structures, and strategic place in the West African bloc. Although Niger and Guinea-Bissau share similarities in their socio-economic development trajectories, the countries have dissimilar historical backgrounds and political structures. However, Niger is a Francophone country, while Guinea-Bissau is a

Lusophone country that takes part in the West African bloc of integration with the majority of Francophone countries. Therefore, in this case, the selection of the four concerned countries for the study helps not only to analyze comparatively the level of similarities between these countries, especially in terms of economic development and political structure but also to examine how their interaction with Türkiye is and what the engagement of Türkiye with them is.

The existing literature demonstrates that the level of engagement or cooperation between Türkiye and each of these four countries is quite asymmetrical, independent of their socio-economic development stage and cultural reality. Türkiye has reciprocally deeper relations with Senegal than the Ivory Coast and more engagement with Niger than Guinea-Bissau. Therefore, the study is interested in analyzing and depicting the level of engagement between Türkiye and these countries by examining the mutual presence as well as the elements and nature of the cooperation.

CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH

This chapter establishes the background of the research with a focus on the object and purpose of the dissertation. Additionally, it contextualizes the study, justifies its aim, and proposes the questions and assumptions of the research. It also presents the literature review, the structure, and the methodological framework of the dissertation.

1.1. OBJECT, QUESTIONS, ASSUMPTIONS AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This section assesses the main object of the study and highlights the assumptions and purposes that constitute the dissertation itself. Moreover, this section establishes the research question and highlights the main purpose of the dissertation.

1.1.1. Context and Justification for the Research

This study focuses on the cooperation between Türkiye and the Western African zone (comparatively, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger, and Guinea-Bissau), examining the interaction (diplomacy and cooperation) between Türkiye and these countries. This work is organized around one main research question and two sub-questions. The main research question is why Türkiye now has so much engagement and a very fast opening toward Africa, specifically West Africa in this case. The sub-questions of the research are:

- i) How is this interaction or cooperation between Türkiye and these countries conducted?
In other words, who are the main actors in this relationship?

- ii) What are the strategies and mechanisms put in place for the implementation of this cooperation?

To examine this object and provide clarification to this problem, the study is an assumptions-driven work. The main assumption is that Türkiye, as an emerging power in the international order, and Africa, as a prominent partner in international politics, are to deepen their cooperation and consolidate their concerns or interests in a strategic partnership. This main assumption of the research has given rise to several sub-assumptions, including:

- i) The main concern or interest of this cooperation is economic-trade, for either Türkiye or the four concerned West African countries involved, with varying possibilities and levels of concretization,
- ii) The main actors in the cooperation are the diplomatic channels - states and their respective representatives - with different mechanisms of interaction. The diplomatic channels - states and their respective representatives - are the main actors in the cooperation, with various mechanisms of interaction,
- iii) If the concern or interest of the cooperation is more economic than political and cultural, the basis and key facilitator of the cooperation is cultural and religious issues. If the concern or interest in the cooperation is more economic than political or cultural, cultural and religious issues are the foundation and key facilitators of the cooperation,
- iv) The cooperation is limited because it is mostly run at the macro-level rather than the micro-level, and the strategic plans for the cooperation are still not being followed up on well enough, even though there have been a lot of successes.

To provide an answer to these research questions and assumptions, this study explores the nature, aspects and concerns or interests, mechanisms and strategies of this increasing engagement for the cooperation between Türkiye and Africa, especially the four concerned western African countries. In order to examine these issues, this work aimed to develop:

- i) A vast examination of the main concepts of this work such as foreign policy, international relations, soft power, economic diplomacy, and public diplomacy,
- ii) An analysis of an overview of relations between Türkiye and Africa, especially West Africa, giving a brief idea of Türkiye, Africa, and the concerned countries (Senegal, Niger, Ivory Coast, and Guinea-Bissau),
- iii) Examination of the mechanisms, strategies, aspects, and interests underlying Türkiye's cooperation with the concerned countries, and finally,
- iv) Provision of some evaluation, findings, recommendations, and suggestions for the enhancement of this cooperation and further studies on this issue.

The main objective of studying the case of Türkiye and these four western African countries is to provide an exploration of this area of international politics and foreign policy by analyzing the new engagement of Türkiye with the African continent, especially West Africa, which is the most dynamic region of the continent. The work also explores a framework that could help figure out how the actors in this cooperation interact with each other, and it demonstrates the main purpose of the cooperation by illustrating the crucial mechanisms the actors involved use for the enhancement of their relations. The completion of this study may contribute to the literature, and further research in this area might also be able to use it as an academic source.

Studies and scholars in the field of Türkiye and the African continent have generally been related to the relations between Türkiye and North Africa in various fields. Apart from North Africa, the research on the cooperation between Türkiye and Africa has been very limited, the early Turkish Republic era in particular, and the period of liberalization of Türkiye that started in the 1980s³. Therefore, there is a lack of academic

³ The Republic of Türkiye was established in 1923 and Türkiye is the heir of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire was extended until the North Africa so its relations with this part of Africa is very ancient, and the literature reviews shows that several studies have been realized on Ottoman Empire and Türkiye-North African countries' relations. The policy of the economic liberalization of Türkiye especially developed from the 1980s with the regime of Turgut Özal and reinforced by the *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi: AK Parti (Justice and Development Party)*; helped significantly for the enhancement of Türkiye-Africa relations in a multi-dimensional and multi-sectorial way.

work on the rapprochement between Türkiye and the rest of Africa, like Sub-Saharan Africa (West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa, and South Africa), and limiting the western African zone is the concern of this study, with a focus on the four countries above mentioned. Some academic studies or research, globally realized by authors like Mehmet Özcan, Ahmet Kavas, Ufuk Tepebaş, Mursel Bayram and Ferhat Orakçı etc, stated on Türkiye and this region of Africa have been conducted in the fields of history, culture, and religion. They are generally recently done and broad.

In essence, this dissertation aims to contribute to the literature on Turkish engagement with West Africa, in particular the relative countries, and ensure that this contribution is made within a theoretical and empirical sphere. Furthermore, the research is conducted in such a way that it opens new avenues for future research and further literature for the academic world.

1.1.2. Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into five chapters and also divided into sections. The first chapter provides a background on the research by stating the research problem and conducting a literature review. In this part of the dissertation, the aim of the research is stated; the research questions and their assumptions, as well as the research method, are clearly formulated and justified. The second chapter explores the methodological overview and makes the necessary concepts and approach analyses for the study. The third one examines the theoretical framework with a clarification of the main concepts of the research. It also gives an overview of the relations between Türkiye and Africa; especially West Africa, giving a brief idea of Türkiye, Africa, and the concerned countries.

It also highlights the mechanisms, strategies, aspects, and interests of the cooperation between Türkiye and the concerned countries. The fourth chapter describes and provides some findings, challenges, and limits of cooperation. The fifth and last part of the dissertation presented conclusions, provided evaluation, and made recommendations for the enhancement

of cooperation between the concerned countries. It also stated some prospects for future research in the area and related issues.

1.1.3. Research Methodology: Literature Review

This section of the dissertation concerns the methodological framework with a literature review. Reading and analyzing the different sources on Türkiye-Africa relations in general, Türkiye-West Africa and the four concerned countries in particular, has been done. It has been focused on Türkiye, West Africa, and four countries, which were selected as cases in particular. These sources were collected, analyzed and organized according to the fields of politics and diplomacy, economy and trade, culture, and education. It is remarkable that the secondary data used in this study are recent, efficacious and reliable. The primary data also were also in accordance with collected within the considerations and regulations of Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences Institute.

1.1.4. Definitions and Clarifications of the Method

For the realization of this dissertation, the work makes use of a qualitative method of data gathering through secondary and primary data collection. In this sense, for the collection of these sources, secondary data was mainly used by reaching out to the libraries of universities and some think tanks such as Ankara University African Studies Research and Application Center (AÇAUM), Erciyes University African Center for Economic and Social Practice and Research (AFESAM) Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies (TASAM) and the Institute for Strategic Thinking (SDE).

The official websites of the following institutions and interviews carried out can be given as follows: Ministry of Economic and Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEİK), Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMV), and Yunus Emre Institute

(YEE). Apart from the secondary data, the work uses primary data in order to provide analysis from first-hand sources directly gathered from the respective concerned institutions that deal with the cooperation between Türkiye and the African continent.

Concerning the related four countries, field research is conducted with diplomatic missions (embassies of these four countries in Türkiye and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau), as well as through the use of official websites of various institutions, namely, ministries of foreign affairs, ministries of economics and trade, ministries of education, national statistics institutes, and the diplomatic missions of the Republic of Türkiye in the respective four countries. Shortly, the dissertation is realized using the two types of data: secondary data (existing information, such as books, articles, documents, reports, final declarations, websites, speeches; etc.) and primary data obtained through interviews. These interviews were realized from March 15th to April 15th, 2022, with 16 participants from 12 institutions (Turkish and African institutions).⁴ The participants answered a total of 19 questions previously elaborated by the researcher, checked by the supervisor, and approved by the jury of the Ethic Commission of Hacettepe University, Institute of Social Science.

The main objective of studying Türkiye and these four Western African countries is to aid in the exploration of this area of international politics or foreign policy, by analyzing Türkiye's new engagement with the African continent, especially with West Africa, which is the most dynamic region of the continent. The work also explores a framework that may identify the way that the actors in this cooperation interact, and it shows the main purpose of the cooperation by illustrating the crucial mechanisms used by the actors for the enhancement of their relations. The realization of this study may open doors for further studies in this area and could provide some sources for references as well.

Therefore, there is a lack of academic studies on the rapprochement between Türkiye and the rest of Africa, like Sub-Saharan Africa (West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa, and South Africa), and limits to the western African zone are the concern of this study, with a focus on the four countries above mentioned. Some academic studies or research conducted

⁴ Please see annexe 1 and annexe 2 (list of Turkish and African institutions interviewed) respectively.

on Türkiye and this zone of Africa are related to history, culture, and religion, which are mostly studied concurrently and in the form of a broad overview.

Therefore, this dissertation aims to contribute to the literature on Turkish engagement with West Africa in general and the concerned countries in particular. It also makes sure that this contribution is made within a theoretical and empirical framework. Moreover, the analysis is carried out in such a way that it opens new perspectives for further studies and further literature in the academic world.

1.1.5. Research Design

Research design, in terms of academic research, refers to an overall strategy used to integrate different elements of a study in a rational, objective, coherent, and logical way. The research design assists the researcher in ensuring that the collected data is examined, measured, and analyzed effectively in order to address the research question or problem. As mentioned above, the case study of this dissertation implies that Türkiye's engagement or cooperation with Africa and the four concerned countries constitutes the case to analyze. The unit, level, and context of analysis concern the multiple units of analysis that constitute this study in general and the actors who developed mechanisms and efforts for the implementation or achievement of cooperation between Türkiye and these countries.

Such high-level summits are globally led by the respective heads of state and government and the diplomatic missions that work to improve the relations between Türkiye and the concerned countries. They also organize economic and commercial forums that seriously help to institute the economic boards and encourage the establishment of economic and business commissions, which contribute to the enhancement of foreign investment and trade between the respective countries. There are also academicians and cultural boards and institutions that work on the implementation of some exchange programs, symposiums, and conferences and provide scholarships to the concerned countries.

Therefore, it is important to highlight that the main aim of research design is to reduce or minimize the possibility of making incorrect inductions and causal inferences from the used data for the realization of this work. Therefore, in this work, it is ensured that the collection of data and evidence-based information will help, allow, and enable to one to address or answer the research questions and analyze and test the theories and concepts simply and clearly. That is why, in this work, the methodology, problems, assumptions, theories, and central concepts are stated and determined in order to provide a better structure for the study.

1.2. TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION: SECONDARY DATA AND PRIMARY DATA

This section of the study presents and examines the techniques of data collection - for both secondary and primary data - that constitute this dissertation. In terms of the literature review and data gathering, this study used a qualitative technique of data collection.

1.2.1. Use of Secondary Data

In this work, the data gathered are, in general, the documents examined concern the relations between Türkiye and the West African zone, namely Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Niger, and Guinea-Bissau, as concerned countries in this dissertation. The focus remains on the engagement of Türkiye and these countries in political-diplomatic, economic and trade, cultural, and educational relations. All these analyses are realized from the perspective of public diplomacy, and the work covers mainly the period from 1998 to today.⁵

⁵ The relations between Türkiye and Africa, in general, have been developing since the establishment of the *Türkiye-Africa Action Plan of the 1998*. This action plan was established by Türkiye and African States as a follow-up mechanism with clear objectives and recommendations for the enhancement of the existing bi-multilateral political, diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations between Türkiye and the African countries. The crucial aims were i) the increase of diplomatic missions and economic boards, ii) the implementation of frequent high level reciprocal state visits in order to sign agreements that may facilitate the bi-multilateral cooperation in various fields of interest, iii) consolidate the existing contacts within the international organization such as the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), and iv)

The techniques of data collection focused on secondary data (existing data) for this work are systematic, proportional, and impartial, and the analysis of the content of the gathered information is made objectively. These data are mainly books, articles, reports, and final declarations of the summits and forums; notes and statistical documents; strategic plans; government figures; and businesspersons' speeches on the areas above mentioned. In this sense, for the analyses of classic diplomacy and economic diplomacy, cultural diplomacy and exchange diplomacy the secondary data were very useful (see pp. 9 and 10).

The collection of data about the four concerned countries is also made secondary by using existing documents mainly on issues related to their socioeconomics, histories and cooperation with Türkiye. Information about these countries obtained via primary data also helps with the realization of this dissertation. Finally, the gathered secondary and primary data were analyzed and evaluated in consideration of the criteria of the qualitative data collection method and the analysis of the content and context of the documents or information collected.

1.2.2. Gathering Primary Data: Conduct of Semi-Structured Interview and Observations

As stated above, for the realization of this dissertation, the qualitative method of data collection was used. In short, the qualitative method involves gathering and analyzing non-numerical data (information) like documents, images, audio, video, etc. in order to study and understand concepts, options, or experiences expressed in already existing information (secondary data) or primary data.

In this section, it is stated that primary data obtained through interviews was used in order to gather information. The interviews were constituted by questions well elaborated in English and translated by the researcher into the respective languages of the participants. In this research, the format of the questions asked of all participants was semi-structured since

increase the Official Development Assistance (ODA) and ensure the transfer of technology in order to ensure some sustainable development.

the questions were already prepared in advance with an open-ended character. According to the study, these questions were previously prepared and analyzed by the researcher.

1.2.3. Ethical Considerations

The approval for this research was demanded and obtained from the Ethic Commission of Hacettepe University (HU) in Ankara, Türkiye. The integrity of the research was ensured due to the determination or efforts made in order to meet the standards laid out in the Ethics of Research Policy and Procedure of HU. So, the necessary compliance with all legal and ethical requirements was observed for the undertaking of this study in the most transparent, accountable, responsible, and honest manner possible.

For the purpose of gathering primary data for this study, semi-structured interviews were undertaken. The interview questions were prepared in order to allow the participants to make knowledgeable decisions and provide more information. All the respondents were informed of their rights, such as the voluntary nature of their participation, the confidentiality of the information they provided, the right to ask and discuss the question, as well as the right to end the interview. The service of a translator was not required in both countries because the researcher possesses proficiency in their respective languages, i.e., Portuguese, English, French, and Turkish. All information gathered during these interviews was kept confidential, protected by the researcher, and used solely for research purposes.

1.2.4. Limitations of the Study

The notable advantages of this study are that the researcher provided a theoretical framework that has implications for international politics and international cooperation. In addition to the large amount of literature that made it possible to talk about theories outside of the study, the collection of primary data made it possible to look at the experience and knowledge of key interventionists – interviewed persons – in the field of international relations, cooperation, and Türkiye-Africa issues.

However, several problems may also arise from this method of work. Because the opinions of the interviewed persons may be subjective, generalized, or limited depending on each participant's own experience and position. Moreover, the collection of the primary data requires an arduous work that needs time, patience and great techniques. For this dissertation, it was very difficult to collect primary data due to the availability of the target respondents from different institutions (Turkish and the concerned West African countries). Data collection also requires a great deal of prudence, attention, and astute observation during the collection, compilation, and analysis of the gathered primary data.

Furthermore, another limitation is the generalization is common in qualitative methods of research. Based on this method, secondary data and findings from this study should be avoided outside the context of Türkiye and the African continent as a whole, as well as Türkiye and the four West African countries in the case study. In this sense, the findings of this study clearly indicate the general concern and stage of cooperation with the respective strategies and mechanisms for the actors to achieve their purposes. Surely, the contents of the findings and the recommendations of this study will be of great interest to readers of international relations, political science, and readers in both Türkiye and the concerned countries as well.

1.3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND FOCUS OF THE RESEARCH

This chapter examines the theoretical framework and analytical aspects of the dissertation with a focus on the most important concepts, theories and ideas that constitute this study.

1.3.1. Theories and Concepts of the Dissertation

This part of the dissertation discusses and analyzes the main concepts and theories that constitute the theoretical background of this dissertation. In the literature review, in terms of theories and concepts, this work is contextualized around three main conceptions:

- i) Public diplomacy (PD) on political-diplomatic cooperation, classical diplomacy, new public diplomacy, and soft power theory,
- ii) Economic diplomacy (ED) on economic and commercial relations, theory of trade state, and commercial diplomacy,
- iii) Cultural diplomacy (CD) on exchange diplomacy, cultural, and educational cooperation.

Theoretically, it is important to highlight that Türkiye and the four countries concerned use these instruments and strategies to enhance their relations and, above all, to develop their economic and commercial cooperation. This theoretical analysis will be discussed in depth by analyzing each of the main ideas separately and combining them with empirical sources from the three main areas of this work. The aim is to get to the point of the dissertation and reach a conclusion about it.

1.3.2. International Relations and Foreign Policy

The concept of international relations (IR) is a very vast subject of study. Basically, it is the interconnection or relationship between political entities such as states, international organizations (IO), intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and multinational corporations in the wide system of world politics. In other words, international relations concern all kinds of relationships or interactions across and between states' boundaries. International relations are also a discipline that is studied, regardless of whether there are political, economic, commercial, social, cultural, religious, public, private, formal, official, and/or any other kind of factors influencing human behaviour across and within a state.

Coulombis & Wolfe argue that, "*the scope of international relations has steadily expanded with the rising complexity of contacts flanked by nations*" (Coulombis & Wolfe, *International Relations: Power and Justice*, 1982: 13). They state that in the contemporary era, "*modern international relations embrace the entire gamut of diplomatic history, international politics, international system, and international law and regional studies*" (1982: 31). Barry Buzan, defined international relations as a field of study or academic discipline and a multidisciplinary area of social science studies, with political science in particular.

For Buzan, "*international relations occupy the middle ground, being comprised of two rather vague terms: 'international', which at least hints at actors other than states; and 'relations' with opens the positivity of more than just politics. Relations can cover economic and societal as well*" (Buzan, *On the Subject Matter of International Relations*, 2017: 5) making international relations a multidisciplinary construction or character. Moreover, the concept of international relations is multi-dimensional since it has diverse applications, such as 'international relations', 'international politics', 'world politics', 'global politics', 'globalization' and 'international studies' (2017: 5). Most of these concepts consider the state to be an object and a priority. However, with the rise of globalization, non-state actors began to take these conceptions of international interaction into account.

Shortly, international relations have been undergoing new forms and transformations for centuries, and it is important to state that international relations or interaction between

actors in the world system go back centuries. This can be extrapolated from Sumerian nature or relations to today's globalized era, beginning with the Westphalia starting point for the institutionalization of international relations. In this matter, Barry Buzan and Richard Little, stated the following on the history and evolution of international relations:

“The history of international relations based on sovereign states is often traced back to the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, a stepping stone in the growth of the contemporary state system. Before this, the European medieval system of political power was based on a vaguely hierarchical religious order. Contrary to popular belief, Westphalia still embodied layered systems of sovereignty, especially within the Holy Roman Empire.

More than the Peace of Westphalia, the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 is an idea to reflect an emerging norm that sovereigns had no internal equals within a defined territory and no external superiors as the ultimate power within the territory's sovereign borders” (Buzan & Little, *International Systems in World History: Remaking the Study of International Relations*, 2000: 5).

The relations between Türkiye and African states might be considered old, going back to those built in the era of the Ottoman Empire and some African kingdoms like Kanem-Bornu, Sokoto, and South Africa's earlier kingdoms. These relationships, however, were limited to state-to-state formal relations in specific areas of mutual interest, such as diplomatic, religious, and trade relations.⁶ Therefore, as a result of the literature review conducted for the completion of this study, it became clear that the pro-Western (westernization) Turkish foreign policy pursued from the 1920s to the late 1990s didn't help the enhancement and consolidation of the rapprochement between Türkiye and the African continent in general, except for some bilateral relations and links via multilateral forums occasionally held in different areas of cooperation.

Except for North Africa, Türkiye's engagement and enhancement with this region of the world began with Türkiye's opening up to Africa in 1998 and the establishment of some follow-up mechanisms of cooperation developed by the “*Adalet Kalkınma Partisi*” (AK Party:

⁶ The Kanem-Bornu Empire existed from 8th century until 1900. It existed in the areas that are now part of Niger, Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, Sudan and Libya. This Empire established cordial relations with Ottoman Empire essentially through trade and royal connections.

Party of Justice and Development) administration in the early 2000s. The AK Party came to power in 2003 and followed up on the established ‘Türkiye-Africa Opening Action Plan of 1998’.

In this direction, the first Türkiye-Africa Economic Forum was held in Istanbul in 2003, followed by the declaration of the ‘Africa Year in Türkiye’ in 2005 and the admission of Türkiye to the African Union as a member observer in 2008. In the same year, 2008, the two parties organized the first Türkiye-Africa Summit in Istanbul and stated that the summit is organized every 5 years - one in Türkiye and one in an African country - to ensure the mutual interest in developing their relations in several areas of interest. That is why the second summit was held in Malabo in 2014, and the fourth summit was to be held in Istanbul in 2019 but was finally postponed to 2020. This gradual institutionalization of the relations obviously helped with the harmonization and consolidation of the cooperation between Türkiye and Africa.

In terms of the orientation of foreign policy and cooperation, the relations between Türkiye and Africa are obviously a way of engaging and strengthening foreign policy. In general, every state or nation strives to ensure that its foreign policy and diplomacy are active, strong, and capable of having an impact. It is stated that “foreign policy” is commonly defined as a plan or agenda of action established or adopted by a state (or nation) for its diplomatic interaction with or engagement with other states (or nations). Moreover, Palmer & Morgan argue that “*typically, international relations theorists argue that states can be analyzed as if they want one thing only: greater security*” (Palmer & Morgan, *A Theory of Foreign Policy*, 2006: 19-20). The authors added that “*foreign policy consists of a system and a set of activities that involve, a priori, states (nations) with the main purpose of achieving their wishes and influencing the behaviour of other states (nations) during the interaction*” (2006: 20-21).

As a result, it is commonly stated in this work’s literature review that with globalization and the change of the global system, states, as makers and drivers of foreign policy, have been adopting new priorities while elaborating or orienting their foreign policy. In the globalization era, the United States pays great attention to economic and security issues, in contrast to the classic reality of foreign policy, which used to pay more attention to security issues.

Foreign policy, in a nutshell, represents and encapsulates an actor's goal and self-interest within the context of its international environment. This is to emphasize that the main purpose or approach to this issue is for states (nations) to make sure that they realize their interactions for the achievement of their respective interests. During this interaction, the states can influence each other, and depending on their abilities and capacities, one state may be able to exert far more influence over the behaviour of the other state.

1.3.3. Soft Power, Cooperation, Partnership and Strategic Partnership

The analysis of the relations between Türkiye and Africa in general, West Africa in particular, and especially the four concerned countries, calls for attention to identify and examine the interests and strategies applied by the actors in the cooperation. The identification and, consequently, analysis of these interests and mechanisms or strategies of the actors invites the use and analysis of some concepts and theories that may help to understand the real nature and concern of this cooperation.

The combination of a theoretical and empirical overview is a method that obviously leads to the achievement of the purpose announced. The literature review makes a call for the mobilization of some main theories and concepts like 'soft power', 'cooperation' and 'partnership'. States, which have always been the main actors in international relations, are doomed to cooperate in order to achieve or reach their goals more easily. This is why liberalism, from the angle of 'soft power', privileges and prioritizes the use of non-coercive means and strategies during the interaction and relations between all actors (states and non-state actors). In *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, the concept of 'soft power' was developed by Joseph Nye in order to describe the capacity of a political actor to influence directly or indirectly the behaviour of another actor through non-coercive means like structural, cultural, or ideological. Nye defines this kind of power as follows: soft power "*arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies.*" According to the author, soft power is understood as "*when our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced*" (Nye, 2004: x).

However, soft power, like any kind of power, has the ability and capacity to attract and influence others. Nonetheless, unlike other types of power, soft power is concerned with influencing others through seduction and the use of soft means and ideological values. In contrast, ‘hard power’ or ‘coercive power’ is the act of an actor influencing the behaviour and preferences of another actor through the use of coercive means like military, economics, and demographics. A realistic approach idealised this concept in order to describe a type of power used in international relations (interaction between actors) that is based on material resources rather than ideological means. These two concepts are, basically, described as an “*ability*”, “*capacity*”, and “*influence*” conducted by a state or an actor in international politics in order to achieve their purposes. That is why, according to Nye, “*hard power and soft power are related because they are both aspects of the ability to achieve one’s purpose by affecting the behaviour of others*” (Nye, 2014: 7).

Although this ‘*capacity*’ of ‘*influence*’ is relative, ‘*hard*’ and ‘*soft*’ power are quite different in both their nature and meaning but similar in their purposes. In this context, Nye distinguishes ‘*soft*’ from ‘*hard*’ power, describing hard power as “*command power.*” He argues that “*hard power is the ability to change what others do, and it can rest on coercion or inducement.*” In contrast, Nye describes ‘soft power’ as “*co-optive power,*” or “*the ability to share what others do, and it can rest on the attraction of one’s culture and values or the ability to manipulate the agenda of political choices*” (Nye, 2004: 8). As a result, it is critical in this work to analyze the object of the study in relation to some theoretical means and strategies of soft power, as well as to assess the level of structural usage during interaction or cooperation between the concerned actors: Türkiye and the four concerned West African countries.

The ideological dimension of the cooperation, like cultural exchanges, development and humanitarian assistance, exchange programs, scholarships, education or language learning programs, religious programs, the creation of think tanks, and Türkiye’s membership in the African Union and ECOWAS, etc., might be a real and deep strategy that Türkiye uses for the enhancement of the cooperation with the concerned countries in different aspects and sectors of mutual interest. With the help of these mechanisms, the actors may know each other, estimate and appreciate their policies, and open doors of cooperation.

Nye highlights that “*seduction is always more effective than coercion*” (Nye, 2004: x), and states, as masters of international cooperation, have a better option to make sure that their policies are appreciated and ready to be received by others in order to achieve their purposes. That is why Türkiye always remembers its historical and cultural ties with the continent, specifically Senegal and Niger; sometimes due to the Ottoman Empire's old links with the Kanem-Bornu Empire and the very early opening of Türkiye's diplomatic representatives, for example, in Senegal (1962, two years after Senegal's independence) and Niger (in the early 1970s, a few years after Niger's independence).

Considering the enhancement of relations between Türkiye and Africa in general and the concerned countries in particular, it is obvious that Türkiye has reoriented its foreign policy toward the continent in order to make it more dynamic and active in the international arena or international system. It is important to remember that Türkiye's application to become a non-permanent member of the United Nations was for the period 2009-2010 and that Türkiye received 51 votes out of 53 African countries at the time.⁷ These elements illustrated that Türkiye gained the solidarity and confidence of the continent, and vice versa. The continent regards Türkiye as a crucial partner in international cooperation and considers it a true friend owing to their mutual interests in politics, economics, trade, and the transfer of technology. These issues will be discussed in detail in the following sections of this study.

1.3.4. Traditional Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy

The reality and characteristics of the world order have changed dramatically over the last few decades. With the advent of globalization and the changes in the international environment, traditional state-to-state diplomacy has become fragmented and more and more complex, to the point where there is a very diverse interaction with an increasing number of non-state actors and an increasing number of issues in international relations. This reality requires

⁷ At that time, South Sudan did not exist yet. There were 53 African countries recognized according to international law and figure in the United Nations list of countries.

the flexibility and rapidity of the states in the conduct of their diplomacy and determines the necessity of adapting their foreign policy orientation.

In this context, it is important to analyze the concepts and approaches of ‘*diplomacy*’, ‘*traditional diplomacy*’ and ‘*public diplomacy*’ in order to provide a clear statement of the study. Basically, diplomacy is the way that negotiations are conducted between the main actors in international relations - nations or states - and the method applied while preparing, doing, and handling affairs and issues that figure on the agenda of these actors without necessarily causing any treaty or hostility. Shortly, diplomacy may be contextualized around three keywords: representation, communication, and negotiation. All of these are realised as mechanisms used by states and other actors in international relations to carry out their actions or to address bi-multilateral issues.

Hammanjidda Gambo, in *Diplomacy and Its Practice* (2016: 127-128), stated that the word ‘*diplomacy*’ is derived from the word ‘*diploma*’ which means a ‘*letter*’ of credence. This has been used since the Westphalian system structured international relations until now in order to certify the authority or powers delegated to an ambassador to represent his country in another country. The ambassador is a direct and legitimate plenipotentiary or representative, duly accredited by the sovereign sender. However, there are many perceptions and conceptions of what diplomacy is, what its aim is, and how it is conducted.

From this perspective, Daryl Tarte, considers diplomacy as the ability to conduct relations between states in a peaceful way. He stated that “*diplomacy is the conduct of relations between a state and another state by peaceful means*” (Tarte, *Diplomacy in Fiji: A Place Called Home*, 2014: 125-130). In addition, Carnes Lord linked diplomacy to foreign policy, believing that “*diplomacy is the interpretation of domestic and foreign issues*” (2013: 134-135) and he believes that there is no mere considerable distinction between domestic and foreign issues for the action of diplomacy. It means that two issues (domestic and foreign) are interdependent and linked from the perspective of the diplomatic action or agenda of the nations.

Therefore, and according to these different conceptions, there might exist different kinds of diplomatic practices and methods, considering the circumstances in which they are

conducted in international relations. However, the definition of the concept “public diplomacy” is deeply related to its derivation “diplomacy” since the “public” no doubt illustrates the distinction itself from the suffix. In this sense, public diplomacy largely carries the label of the concept “diplomacy.” To put it in other words, by the name or designation, the concept of “public diplomacy” might also be related to a particular communication method in foreign policy and international relations used by the actors of diplomacy – state and non-state actors” leading the action of international relations in international politics.

As stated by Efe Sevin, (*Public Diplomacy and the Implementation of Foreign Policy in the US, Sweden, and Türkiye*, 2013: 19), about the concept of ‘public diplomacy’, “*not unlike public diplomacy, diplomacy does not have a universally agreed upon or easily expressed definition.*” He noted that “*a broad definition of diplomacy makes the concept a synonym for statecraft, foreign policy, and international relations in general*” (2013: 19). Mentioning Sharp, Efe Sevin (1999: 54), argues that “*more nuanced definitions position diplomacy as an ‘international negotiation process. Negotiation is progress during which policy-makers – actors of international politics – use diplomacy exclusively in order to achieve their purposes.*”

Therefore, making an analysis of this sentence, diplomacy may be considered a negotiation process where or by which national governments – Türkiye and the concerned African States – make ties, establish their respective agendas, and “*seek to maximize and satisfy their own purposes*”. In this essence and consequently, Melissen illustrated that “*diplomacy is the communication system of the international system (IS) or world system (WS). Bargaining and negotiation progress happens when actors acknowledge each other’s existence and engage in communication*” (2013: 19-20).

In the same line, Sevin highlighted that, “in the early 1980s, the concepts of Track One and Track Two diplomacy were introduced to delineate different forms of communication in world politics. “*Track One diplomacy (ToD)*’ referred - and still refers - to what professional diplomatic corps do. The communication process takes place among governments and government-authorized bodies.” (2013: 19-20). However, by making the necessary distinction and classification on the concept and practice of diplomacy, Sevin provided explanations demonstrating that, ‘*Track Two diplomacy (TtD)*, on the other hand, “*is used to describe the*

activities of non-state actors. Communication processes tend to take place in the form of unofficial and unstructured interactions” (Sevin, 2013: 20-21). In the abstract, he indicated that above all, it is crucial to illustrate the importance of diplomacy for the actions and interactions of the actors in international relations and the necessary distinction between them from both the perspective of public diplomacy and traditional diplomacy. For instance, the author (2013: 20-21) demonstrated this importance by stating that:

“Diplomacy has been a necessity in the conduct of international relations. More specifically, countries and societies have always had a desire to keep in touch with each other, and diplomacy provides a platform on which such interactions can take place. The “diplomacy” label in public diplomacy demonstrates its inherent tie with international relations. The “*Public*” label signals the move beyond traditional diplomacy.”

Moreover, and in the same line, Jan Melissen, made some conclusions like “*public diplomacy is here to stay, but that its requirements sit rather uneasily with ‘traditional diplomatic culture’*. *Public diplomacy is a challenge for diplomatic services that should not be underestimated*” (Melissen, *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, 2005: 31). Accordingly, he demonstrated that “*public diplomacy is not a mere technique. It should be considered as part of the fabric of world politics, and its rise suggests that the evolution of diplomatic representation has reached a new stage*” (2005: 31). For these reasons, it is important to understand that public diplomacy may be perceived as a variant, if not a new variant, of diplomacy that has been used by the actors in international relations – state actors and non-state actors – in order to be able to deal with the new realities of the international system in which they are acting. In this essence, Melissen provided the idea that this practice of diplomacy may be “*conventional wisdom among public diplomacy practitioners, but its salience can hardly be overestimated, and the age of visual politics is adding a new dimension to this truism. Pictures speak louder than words, and they do so instantaneously and with lasting effect*” (Melissen, 2005: 32). In addition, Melissen (2005: 32-33) states that:

“The reason why nations continue both explicitly and sometimes implicitly, to shape and reshape their identities, or, if you prefer, explicitly and implicitly to rebrand them-

selves, is because their reality changes and they need to project this real change symbolically to all the audiences with whom they relate. They want, as far as they can, to align perception with reality.”

Nonetheless, the author demonstrated that public diplomacy is now used by almost all actors, particularly the traditional actors of international politics - nations or states - to demonstrate their ability and capacities to interact with their agendas and purposes. For instance, Melissen states that “*almost every country you can think of, from nineteenth-century Germany under Bismarck to twentieth-century Türkiye under Atatürk, has gone through a similar branding process - only nobody ever called it that*” (2005: 196). In terms of the practice of public diplomacy, all countries make use of this strategy in international politics when necessary. This means that, as implied actors in international relations, not only Türkiye but also African countries interact with one another through public diplomacy. In this line, Melissen illustrated that in different periods and circumstances, “*other countries followed suit, such as Türkiye in the aftermath of the Ottoman Empire. Kemal Atatürk was in charge of nothing less than a complete makeover of the face of his country and its identity, without which Türkiye’s present prospects of integration into Europe would not have been on the EU’s political agenda*” (2005: 28-29).

The ultimate goal of the practice of public diplomacy by the government (states) is to make sure that the internal and external implications of their actions and policies are perceived, accompanied, and even appreciated by others. In this sense, Melissen highlights that “*less benign twentieth-century versions of identity development and nation-building, political leaders’ battles for overseas ‘hearts and minds’ are therefore anything but a recent invention*” (2005: 29) and this reality is mostly guided by the practices of a new way of doing diplomacy thanks to the concept of “public diplomacy.” After all, it is important to examine ‘public diplomacy’ as a concept and its implementation within Turkish foreign policy, diplomacy, and interactions with African countries. In this line and according to Senem Çevik and Philip Seid stated that, “*although one can find some early examples of public diplomacy in the 1990s, professionalized public diplomacy efforts began only after 2000, along with Türkiye’s growing regional role*” (Çevik & Seid, *Türkiye’s Public Diplomacy*, 2015: 21). Çevik and Seid (2015: 22) argued that Turkish public diplomacy consists of several elements but serves the primary purpose of defending the implementation of the nation's agenda. In their terms:

“Turkish public diplomacy is overwhelmingly concentrated on the country’s national image, and thus with the nation brand. The creation and sustainment of Türkiye’s brand has been twofold. Türkiye’s official public diplomacy emerged in the early days of the young republic. This identity-based public diplomacy is the first and initial layer of Türkiye’s communication activities.

Following the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, the new Republic of Türkiye needed to convey its messages and new identity to shape international public opinion. In this regard, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s reforms on the political system, education, women’s rights, and the legal and economic system were the main components of Türkiye’s new identity, and they also inspired official public diplomacy activities.”

In fact, starting in the 2000s, Turkish public diplomacy took real form with its institutionalization, coordination, and formal orientation. With this aim, the then Prime Ministry’s Office of Public Diplomacy was established in early 2010 in order to provide the necessary coordination between the public agencies or institutions and Non-Government Organizations (NGO) for the promotion of Türkiye in the international arena and, by doing so, consolidate or even enhance its credibility. According to Senem and Philip, “*the mission of the office is to establish Türkiye’s new foreign policy and introduce a soft power approach toward foreign publics*” (2015: 22). Moreover, they added and witnessed that, “*the Office of Public Diplomacy is responsible for coordinating between public agencies and civil organizations to ensure an accurate and effective promotion and presentation of Türkiye*” (2015: 22-23).

With the establishment of this office, Türkiye aimed to manage the strategies of the government, ensuring better coordination for the new Turkish foreign policy being implemented by the AK Party. For instance, the authors illustrated that “*the vision of the office is to manage strategic communication for various stakeholders considering Turkish customs. Its main purpose is to coordinate public diplomacy practices, share Türkiye’s new story effectively, establish communication with different sectors, and carry out activities on a multilateral communication basis*” (2015: 23).

Turkish public diplomacy can be divided into two major periods, each with its own set of methods tailored to the circumstances of the time. During the periods preceding the 1990s – during the Cold War – several methods of public communication were employed to orient

or situate Türkiye in the modern West and, by doing so, make Türkiye a crucial Western ally with a basis in the economic element of public diplomacy. Then, with the end of the Cold War and significant changes in Turkish domestic policy in the 1990s, Turkish public diplomacy became somewhat fragmented until the early 2000s, a period from which a new foreign policy orientation was operated by the AK Party's election to power and the application of its multi-dimensionality politics to various regions of the world. For instance, as stated by Senem and Philip, Turkish public diplomacy became political afterwards. For them, “*Today, Türkiye possesses numerous soft power advantages owing to its unique central location and its cultural and historical background*” (2015: 23). For them, “*Türkiye’s contemporary foreign policy issues have required meticulous communication efforts in reaching out to international audiences. A great deal of its political public diplomacy activities is derived from negative publicity or lack of publicity*” (2015: 23).

With this trajectory added to the new era of foreign policy, Türkiye keeps gearing toward both internal and external visibility as a moral country with credibility guided by humanitarian values and principles. In summary, Türkiye added a new factor to the traditional elements of public diplomacy with the expansion of the major donor country in terms of humanitarian aid, which may have a very positive and significant impact on its interaction with other countries. To summarize, Türkiye added a new factor to its traditional elements of public diplomacy with the expansion of the major donor country in terms of humanitarian aid, which may have a very positive and significant impact on its interaction with other countries. According to the former coordinator of the Prime Ministry’s Office of Public Diplomacy, Ibrahim Kalın, referred to by Senem and Philip (2015: 24):

“Contemporary Turkish public diplomacy is building on Türkiye’s expanding soft power in the Balkans, the Middle East, and the Caucasus. As Türkiye engages with new regions and emerging actors as well as continues relations with its old allies, it develops new capacities for the various elements of soft power and strategic communication in regional and global contexts. With its cultural values, historical heritage, and location-wise advantages, Türkiye has achieved a great deal of progress with its soft power.”

In this perspective, it is highlighted that “cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy, citizen diplomacy, developmental aid, and humanitarian diplomacy are part and parcel of

Türkiye's public diplomacy activities" (2015: 24). In addition, the authors stated, "the ability to reach out to a number of audiences is being undermined by the scattered framework of Türkiye's public diplomacy stakeholders and the lack of a grand public diplomacy strategy. More importantly, the degree of political involvement of some of the actors undermines their credibility" (2015: 24-25).

In this context, the practice of public diplomacy illustrates how intensive the usage of elements related to visibility is like soft actions led not only by government institutions but also extra-government agencies under the umbrella of the agenda of foreign policy defended by the country. Concerning the elements, strategies, and actors of Turkish public diplomacy, it is clear that during the last decades, Türkiye has gradually harmonized its practice on this issue, which is very significant for its new foreign policy. That is why Senem Çevik and Philip Seib examined Turkish public diplomacy in depth, demonstrating how the Turkish government employs it. For instance, "*Türkiye's public diplomacy apparatus encompasses its institutions as well as its democratic experience. This experience is the way in which the country's image has been projected in the last decade*" (2015: 24-25). According to Çevik and Seid, former President of the Republic of Türkiye Abdullah Gül, "*described Türkiye's soft power as a major component of its foreign policy tool*" (2015: 25). Furthermore, as cited by Çevik and Seid (2015: 25-26), Ibrahim Kalın, former coordinator of the Turkish Public Diplomacy Office under then-Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan and current General Secretary of the Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, stated:

"Türkiye has a new societal imagination that translates into explaining its new story to the world and shaping international public opinion. The country's historical and geographical heritage determines the content of these activities.

Justice, sharing, legitimacy, equality in representation, transparency, accountability, respect for differences, virtuous society, freedom of religion and conscience, protection of human self-respect, and the constitutional guarantee of fundamental rights and liberties are the components of Türkiye's new societal imagination."

Therefore, it is clear that Türkiye has been engaging in not only strategic communication, showing its historical background, geopolitical and geostrategic importance thanks to its geographical position, emerging economy, and considerable demography, but also acting as

a solution to many problems. For instance, in recent years, Türkiye has organized international peace and security conferences for Somalia, Sudan, and other countries, as well as humanitarian forums, and has acted as an international mediator in political crises involving Ukraine, Iran, and other countries. That is why Çevik and Seid observed, “*Türkiye employs strategic communication to reach this new imagination. The public diplomacy actors employ strategic communication in projecting Türkiye’s story and national brand*” (2015: 25-26).

In parallel with this policy of communication, Türkiye keeps developing educational exchange programs, providing scholarships and academic programs focusing on the projection of its actions overseas. In addition to political communication, all over Türkiye, “*university programs also include youth programs that aim at exchanges in establishing long-term relations among communities. All of the university programs conducted by the office aim to offer students insight into understanding Turkish foreign policy and public diplomacy strategies*” (2015: 24-25). The soft aspects of Turkish public diplomacy constituted by education are present in the AK Party’s foreign policy and in its agenda of opening up to African countries. Considering this agenda, Türkiye provides scholarships, offers exchange programs, and organizes international conferences with African countries and African academicians for this purpose. Therefore, “*the university programs can be considered to be public affairs, which aim to guide future citizen diplomats. Meetings abroad aim to bring the foreign researchers and experts working on Türkiye together with the ones from Türkiye and establish a link between them. The meetings are organized with the leading think tanks of the host country*” (2015: 25-26).

Within the framework of these actions or programs, the cooperation between Türkiye and the African continent as a whole and the regions or countries of the continent, in particular, are discussed and examined from different perspectives. These discussions or examinations allow the parties to the cooperation to discover their respective potentialities and explore possibilities for mutual benefit. Along with traditional diplomacy realities, Türkiye continues to use public diplomacy as a modern method of diplomacy in its interactions with African countries and the continent.

To the question of what constitutes Turkish public diplomacy toward Africa, what is the aim and what is the priority? One of the responses is that “*Türkiye is using public diplomacy in several areas, particularly with Africa, considering its multidimensional policy*” (Turkish Ministry of Economy, interview, March 27, 2022). Along the same line, it is clearly stated that development aid, cooperation in the defence industry, and investments in infrastructure in the private sector stand out, and the increase in trade volume is observed in the relations between Türkiye and Africa. Thus, it can be said that soft power elements are emphasized, and the win-win principle is observed as much as possible. The agenda of the 3rd African Summit summarizes Türkiye's purpose: “Empowered Partnership for Development and Prosperity Together” (TİKA1, interview, March 15, 2022). Further analysis will be provided in the next sections of this study to give more insight into the recent actors and strategies employed in this interaction in terms of public diplomacy.

Table 1: Summary Table of Public Diplomacy's Factors and Purposes

No	Elements or Factors of Public Diplomacy	Its main Purposes or Influences
1	Use of open diplomacy instead of secret diplomacy or traditional diplomacy	Visibility, speed and efficiency of the action of the country overseas
2	Use of educational, cultural and linguistic means	Promotion of the image, identity and values of the country abroad
3	Strategic method of information and communication	Orientation of foreign policy making it active to reach the country's purposes in the international arena
4	Reference to the factors of history, geography, demography, democracy and economy	Factors that help the country to provide strategic communication and to build self-esteem in its actions with other actors
5	Reference to the factors of reciprocity, mutuality and win-win policy	Principles that allow the country to implement its agenda or actions in interaction with other actors in the international system

In short, public diplomacy is a concept that offers a perspective on a state's strategies and results in its foreign policy. With its concepts of openness, the establishment of this diplomacy represents a challenge for all governments. A government approach usually includes a vision, objectives, structures and accountability. The elements or factors that constitute Tü-

rkiye's public diplomacy are basically its history inherited from the Ottoman Empire, its geographic position as a Eurasian country, its demographic weight and fastly growing economy. In addition, during the last decades, Türkiye has adopted strategic communication and developed notable actions in the areas of culture and education by proving scholarships and establishing exchange programs in favour of many countries around the world including African countries.

1.3.5. Economic Diplomacy and “Trade State” Approach

In this part of the work, economic diplomacy is examined and analyzed with the correlative concepts and approaches used in the study.

In the multipolar era of international politics and post-modern era or environment, particularly since the 1990s with increasing globalization, where traditional international politics and international cooperation are being fragmented and state-to-state diplomacy or classical diplomacy is becoming increasingly complex with not only the diversification of actors but also the growing interest of the state in economic and trade issues. In this era, states have been adopting their diplomacy to the new economic challenges, paying great attention to the strategies of economic relations.

In this context, economic diplomacy, as a mechanism of the state effectively, to serves the national interest in the economic and trade or business spheres. In international politics and international cooperation, when states wish and/or are obliged to expand their institutional capacities in dealing with a diversity of actors, issues, and interests, they are also facing challenges in orienting their ministries of foreign affairs to expand their agenda and adapt their actions to issues linked to the economy and business and their interactions with other actors or states.

Moreover, Richard Rosecrance developed, at the beginning of the 1980s, the concept of ‘*Trading State*’ to describe a virtual state and the new character of the main actors in international politics, states-nations, that seemed to become more and more interested in economic and trade issues than ever. Rosecrance argues that “*it is emerging a world where the most*

important resources are also the least tangible, where the reserves of good/materials, capital and labour count less than the economic flows, and where regional interests are supplanted by the global economy” (Rosecrance, *Debate on Virtual State or The Rise of Virtual State*, 2002: 158). In this context, Rosecrance illustrated the emergence of a new kind of state that pays real attention to economic diplomacy. According to him, this approach is based on three main factors:

- i) Permanent mobility of the capital (monetary issue),
- ii) Workforce and investment,
- iii) Information or technological capacity.

That is why the author argues that “*a state which develops this kind of foreign policy focuses on international trade, foreign investment, and the promotion of its enterprises overseas*” (2002: 14). The emergence of this type of state shifts foreign policy priorities, and the state (as primary actors in international politics and, as a result, "economic actors" as well) places a premium on economic and trade issues in order to improve its national welfare, image, and place in the international order. The central idea of Rosecrance is that countries, individuals, communities, and national groups are no longer masters of themselves. They are more than ever defendants against one another, particularly the global economy.

The policy of economic liberalization in Türkiye in the 1980s and early 1990s facilitated the emergence of the ‘*Trading State*’ and put a great emphasis on the economic factor and international cooperation in Turkish foreign policy. It is important to remember that Türkiye's economic liberalisation policy, which was largely initiated by the Turgut Özal regime in the 1980s, has been a key driver of the country's opening up to the rest of the world, and that this policy has been reinforced by the AK Party regime since the early 2000s, with a particular emphasis on the African continent. This means that, in the perspective of the ‘*Trading State*’ concept, the economic issue justifies the central interest of international cooperation, and the nature of the cooperation corresponds to the strategy of the ‘*trading state*’ for the establishment and enhancement of relations with other states.

In this sense, the cooperation between Türkiye and the African countries in general and the four concerned countries, in particular, is deeply linked to the economy and trade since they consider it a key aspect or main aim of their interaction. However, to achieve their economic and trade purposes, they have to resort to soft means that may help them to establish friendly ties, get to know each other, and discover their respective potentials. For instance, it is clearly stated that:

“Türkiye uses humanitarian diplomacy very extensively in Africa. In other words, aid in many areas toward African countries comes to the fore. We have experienced this quite a lot during the epidemic period. On the other hand, DEİK carries out successful works on the commercial diplomacy side. It works on the development of trade and investment relations with African countries. On the cultural diplomacy side, for example, Yunus Emre Institute does useful works. For example, the Maarif Foundation is actively represented in the field of education diplomacy in many African countries.” (DEİK, interview, March 17, 2022).

Moreover, the relations between Türkiye and Africa in general and the four contiguous countries, in particular, have gained a considerable level of enhancement in terms of the economy, trade, and investment, with indications that Türkiye-Africa relations have improved considerably in recent years. *“I find this development very valuable. Türkiye's image in Africa is quite positive. After all, we have a common history. According to him, there is a common belief, and there are cultural values”* (DEİK, interview, March 17, 2022).

Although it is recognized that there is dynamism in the development of the relations between Türkiye and Africa in several different fields, including the economy as a primordial sector, some consider that Türkiye and Africa are still new partners and need to work harder for the enhancement of their relations. *“Türkiye neglected Africa for many years, but in the last two decades, very important steps have been taken to improve relations with the African countries in every field. At this point, today, Türkiye is a "player" in Africa, a more respected player than other states and nations”* (DEİK, interview, March 17, 2022). In practice, further information and analyses will be provided in some sections of the 3rd chapter of this dissertation related to the economy and commercial relations.

1.3.6. Clarification and Means of Exchange Diplomacy

In this section, some crucial concepts like ‘*exchange diplomacy*’ and “cultural diplomacy” are deeply analyzed in order to understand their meaning and illustrate their use by the states as main actors in international relations in the elaboration and conduct of their diplomacy. In the literature review made by this work, ‘*exchange diplomacy*’ is analyzed from the perspective of cultural diplomacy and even incorporated within the framework of ‘*public diplomacy*’. Generally, the concept of exchange diplomacy is conceived or understood as a mechanism that deepens strategies of approximation between different cultures, different people, and different nations.

Moreover, exchange diplomacy, when contextualized in the perspective of public diplomacy within the orientation of foreign policy and diplomacy, is seen as a policy. It became a policy of image building, assimilation, or even acculturation. It was more than just getting to know each other and opening doors to cooperation and exchange. In this perspective, Nicholas Cull states that “*exchange diplomacy in public diplomacy (PD) may be defined as an actor’s attempt to manage the international environment by sending its citizens overseas and reciprocally accepting citizens from overseas for a period of study and/or acculturation*” (Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*, 2009: 21).

Cull, who examined public diplomacy in various aspects and senses, added that countries and people use public diplomacy mechanisms to establish links or connections in order to better understand each other and for countries to implement their diplomacy in accordance with their goals. He stated that “*while this can be conceptualized as a one-way process (the argument runs: ‘my students will go overseas and tell you how wonderful my country is’; ‘your students will come here and learn how wonderful my country is’ and make conclusions about the image of the country*” (2009: 21). In terms of diplomacy in the light of the principles of ‘*reciprocity*’ and ‘*mutuality*’, exchange diplomacy is described as a strategy of cooperation and implementation of the nation’s diplomacy. Cull highlighted that “*the element of reciprocity has tended to make this area of public diplomacy a bastion of the concept of ‘mutuality’: the vision of an international learning experience in which both parties benefit and are transformed*” (2009: 21-22).

Globally, exchange diplomacy is seen as cultural relations designed and implemented within public diplomacy. However, cultural relations have been deeply used by states as the main actors in international politics to develop their ties and enhance their mutual benefits. Languages, exchange programs, and academic works are ensured by organisations such as the Council of Foreign Languages Learning, scholarship boards, student and academic exchange programs, and so on. Cull provides some examples and states, “*the great spenders in Cultural Diplomacy have been the French, who have heavily subsidized an international network of schools to sustain the French language, understanding that their prestige and influence are largely tied to the survival of the Francophonie*” (Cull, 2009: 20-21). In addition, it is important to contextualize exchange diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, which are both aspects of public diplomacy. In this regard, Cull (2009: 19-20) demonstrated that;

“Historically Cultural Diplomacy has meant a country’s policy to facilitate the export of examples of its culture. Today this includes the work of organizations like the British Council or the Italian Cultural Institute.

Ancient examples include the Greek construction of the great library at Alexandria, the Roman Republic’s policy inviting the sons of ‘friendly kings’ from their borders to be educated in Rome, and the Byzantine Empire’s sponsorship of Orthodox evangelism across the Slavic lands”.

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that in the image of exchange diplomacy and cultural diplomacy, Türkiye-Africa in general and the four concerned countries in particular are engaged in deepening their cooperation and enhancing their mutual benefits by using these frameworks and strategies of rapprochement. As an example of how these mechanisms are being used, Türkiye continues to establish the Yunus Emre Institute and Turkish Maarif Foundation in various countries around the world, and Senegal, Niger, Ivory Coast, and Guinea-Bissau are no exceptions to the establishment of these institutions that coordinate Turkish governmental schools and Turkish language learning abroad. The *Türkiye Scholarships* programme at different academic levels (including summer schools for Turkish language learning, bachelor’s degrees, master’s degrees and Ph.D degrees, etc.), and the exchange programmes between Turkish universities and some African universities and institutes, including

the Institutes for African Studies in Türkiye, may also be an illustration of the application of exchange and cultural diplomacy.

1.3.7. Strategies of Türkiye's Opening up to Africa

After decades of weak ties and limited reciprocal knowledge between Türkiye and the African continent, and especially Sub-Saharan Africa, Türkiye and Africa have been elaborating and implementing new strategies and mechanisms for the enhancement of their cooperation. In this perspective, both political-diplomatic, economic, and cultural instruments have been established over the last twenty years, starting from '*Türkiye's opening action plan of 1998*'.

The first Türkiye-Africa economic and business forum was organized in 2003 in Istanbul with the participation of various economic, trade, and finance ministers, as well as businesspeople and academicians. These forums aided in the establishment of a road map, the consolidation of contacts, and the harmonization of the agenda in terms of putting in place agreements that allow for the facilitation and enhancement of private-sector intervention while ensuring mutual benefits for both Turkish and African states. (*Le Sommet de coopération Turco-Africain de 2008*, 2008: 5-7).

With the continuation of new mechanisms, the evolution of Türkiye-Africa engagement took deeper roots. In this regard, the first Türkiye-Africa Summit was held in Istanbul in 2008, with approximately 40 heads of state and government attending and discussing their respective strategies, priority sectors, and benefits of the partnership. Just five years before the organization of this political-diplomatic event, the government of Türkiye declared 2005 "*the Year of Africa*." In the same year, the African Union (AU) admitted Türkiye as a member observer to the AU, and the ambassador of Türkiye in Ethiopia was very soon accredited to the AU, whose headquarters are in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa. The engagement of Türkiye and African countries for the enhancement of their partnerships has taken a crucial step since the statement of the '*strategic opening plan in 1998*', which established a very significant road map focused on the establishment of the roots in terms of political, diplomatic,

economic, trade, and cultural cooperation. The resolution of the above-mentioned summit aimed to:

- i) Increase the number of diplomatic missions to improve the level of cooperation between the two countries in different fields,
- ii) More and more high-level visits should be made to follow up on the resolutions and agreements that have already been made,
- iii) Consolidate and establish new contracts within international organizations like the United Nations (UN), African Union (AU), and Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC).

Moreover, the summit called for the increase of official development assistance (ODA), humanitarian assistance, the transfer of technology, economic agreements, and mutual commercial facility protocols. In the political sphere, these engagements resulted in the multiplication of actions. Türkiye gradually increased its number of embassies from five (5) in 2008 to 42 in 2020, and 36 African countries opened their embassies in Türkiye while there were only 10 in 2008. According to Mehmet Özcan, "*Türkiye's Africa Action Plan*" was prepared in 1998 with the participation of delegates from various ministries, agencies, and the private sector (Türkiye's Opening to Africa, 2010: 13).

He witnessed that some decisions and measures were immediately taken, stating that, "*Turkish ambassadors in Africa and diplomatic missions including honorary consuls of African countries in Türkiye were also present when relations with Africa were discussed at length. The debates helped to determine outstanding issues and various measures were suggested in order to expand Türkiye-Africa relations*" (Özcan, 2010: 13).

Another measure was that "*the Action Plan urged improving political, economic, and cultural cooperation with Africa. In the diplomatic arena, it was suggested that the level of diplomatic representation in Africa be upgraded*" (Özcan, 2010: 13). Concerning the economic sphere, several economic measures proposed by the action plan were designed to create a framework between Türkiye and Africa, with several agreements, including trade and the

protection of investments, and the creation of a special technical assistance fund to be allocated for Africa, listed as priorities (2010: 13). In terms of implementation, “*Türkiye’s membership in both the African Development Bank (ADB) and the African Export and Import Bank, along with the creation of a Joint Business Council, were to be encouraged*” (2010: 13) and these ideas and measures have been gradually realized during these two decades (1998-2020).

This action plan, considered a very crucial mechanism or strategy for the enhancement of Türkiye-Africa relations, was also a crucial step for the development of cultural cooperation and interaction in the field of education in general. In this sphere, it was engaged to establish agreements, exchange programmes between Turkish universities and African countries’ universities, conferences or symposiums for both sides’ academicians, Turkish government scholarships, the establishment of an African Institute for African Studies in Türkiye and facilities for the opening of Turkish government-supported Turkish language institutes in different African countries.

According to Özcan, the goal of all of these initiatives was to “enlighten the Turkish public on the one hand and to better understand Africa on the other” (2010: 13-14), ensuring mutual knowledge for both Turks in Africa and Africans in Türkiye, in both their images, potentials, and problems. Other ideas included cooperation in the area of defence and security, which is also a crucial aspect of relations between Türkiye and African countries.

As a result, these strategies for strengthening their partnership can be understood as multidimensional and multi-sectorial cooperation strategies with some parallelism and the involvement of actors, sectors, and aspects from almost every area of the state and society. The historical background of these relations illustrates the multidimensional and multi-sectorial strategy used by the parties to establish, improve, and consolidate their cooperation in both political-diplomatic, economic-trade, and cultural terms. However, it is important to note that both the political and diplomatic aspects and the cultural ones are ways to improve economic and business ties.

For example, the diplomatic missions, the high-level politico-diplomatic summits, and visits to orient paths for ‘economic diplomacy’ and cultural and educational programs contribute to the mutual knowledge of the parties and to the realization of the economic and commercial agendas of both Türkiye and African countries. In particular, the Turkish presence in Senegal and Niger is more consolidated than its presence in Ivory Coast and Guinea-Bissau, in both political-diplomatic, economic, trade and cultural terms. Detailed statistics on the number of diplomatic missions, high-level summits, official visits, economic forums and trade protection agreements, and cultural and educational programs will be provided in the annexes to this dissertation. These details will help the lecture of this study to have a general image of the established strategies, mechanisms of follow-up, and their gradual implementation by both Türkiye and the African countries.

1.3.8. South-South Cooperation: Türkiye, a “North” or “South” Actor?

This part of the study deals with the technical issues of cooperation, namely the concepts of ‘*south-south*’ cooperation, ‘*north-south*’ cooperation, ‘*triangular*’ cooperation, and technical cooperation as well. These statements or definitions may aid in understanding the nature and aspects of Türkiye’s relationship with African countries.

In a sentence, “south-south cooperation” (SSC) is a term generally and historically used by academics and policymakers in order to describe and classify the cooperation between developing countries, also known as countries figuring in the Global South⁸, a term that refers to and focuses on the development or even cultural differences with an emphasis on geopolitical power relations in international politics. The interaction between these countries concerns the exchange of resources, knowledge, technology, and experience on issues of development. The Bandung Conference (BC), held in Indonesia in 1955, was the place where Asian-African

⁸ Globally, the phrase “Global South” refers broadly to the regions of Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Oceania. It is one of a family of terms, including “Third World” and “Periphery,” that denote regions outside Europe and North America, mostly (though not all) low-income and often politically or culturally marginalized. For more reading: Contexts, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 12-13. ISSN 1536-5042, electronic, American Sociological Association. <http://contexts.sagepub.com> - Accessed on 10.06.2021.

countries could be mentioned as a trace or point of reference to the formation of South-South Cooperation. As of this date, this term has been used generally by different actors in society.

According to Iara Costa Leite, a Brazilian scholar of political science, argues that “*the term ‘South-South Cooperation’ has been used, perhaps with unprecedented recurrence, by governments, international organizations, and civil society entities*” (Leite, *Cooperação Sul-Sul: Conceito, História e Marcos Interpretativos*, 2012: 1-2). For example, the Non-Aligned Movement, developing countries, independent states and revisionist states refer to a wide set of phenomena related to the new style of the relationship between the developing countries (DC) as prominent actors in the international system in terms of international cooperation (IC) and international politics (IP). These actors have been focused on sharing knowledge and building capacities on different issues related to the development and affirmation of the international order. So, South-South Cooperation could be perceived as a modality of international cooperation for development. In short, as highlighted by the UNDP report on international cooperation and development, south-south cooperation is:

“... south-south cooperation is a broad used term to describe and classify diverse types of cooperation among developing countries on economic, political and social issues. Here the essential is; cooperation among developing states in multilateral negotiations and position concertation with the developed countries, promotion and increment of trade of South-South, enhancement or development of regional political and economic ties (organizations) and the provision of development assistance.” (Leite, 2012: 3).

Moreover, Leite concludes that “countries of the South, many of them poor, helping each other by sharing technical or economic knowledge and skills to facilitate development. Sharing knowledge and resources between them – generally and typically – middle-income countries with the purpose of identifying development problems and effective practices” (2012: 4).

In addition, the Organization for Cooperation, Cooperation, and Development (OECD) argues in *Growing Dynamism in South-South Co-operation*, Sachin Chaturvedi illustrates that South-South cooperation can be considered a new model of international cooperation for development and an alternative to the traditional North and North-South models

of cooperation. For the author, "*South-South cooperation – the exchange of resources, technology, and knowledge among developing countries – is increasingly significant for promoting development*" (2014: 51).

For example, "*China's development co-operation program is one of the biggest in the South, having already provided a total of USD 41.08 billion in concessional funding*" (2014: 52). "*The Asian Infrastructure Development Bank will have an initial capital of USD 50 billion.*" (2014: 53). Moreover, South-South foreign direct investment is growing at an annual average rate of 21%. And South-South trade grew as a share of world trade from 8% in 1980 to 27% in 2010, while North-South trade was falling. (2014: 54-55). In sum, the nature of this model of cooperation is quite different from the other forms of cooperation previously mentioned. In this sense, Chaturvedi exemplifies the following terms:

"South-South co-operation includes skills and trade, not just finance South-South co-operation takes many forms other than finance. It has helped expand the scale and nature of development cooperation, enabling providers to move beyond concepts of human resource development centred on training programs alone.

In emerging economies such as Brazil, China, India and South Africa, progress has helped them build their development co-operation efforts, introducing new modalities that have opened up avenues for other developing countries." (2014:54-55).

In contrast, the "*North*" model of cooperation refers to the traditional international development actors or donors and is mostly linked to the financial method of "cooperation in kind." The OECD is, with certainty, composed of countries that have high-income economies with a very high human development index (HDI) and are regarded as or considered to be developed countries. Türkiye is one of the 20 founding members of the OECD, which currently has 37 members. Like all the member countries, Türkiye, through its government, maintains a permanent delegation to the OECD. Türkiye is represented in the Council, participates actively in the programs of work and mutual consultation between the member states, and makes contributions according to the size of each country's economy.

In this sense, it is stated that "*Türkiye's financial contribution to the OECD main budget part-one in 2019 stood at a scale of 2.2%. With the addition of part-two programs,*

annex budgets, and pensions, the total amount of the contribution reaches up to 7.1 million euros. And Türkiye worked closely with the OECD in 2015 during its G20 Presidency” (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Türkiye’s relation with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2021: 1). However, since the early 2000s, Türkiye has become a country that provides technical and financial assistance, compared to a country that received assistance in the past. For instance, concerning the issue, it is detailed that:

“From the 1960s to the 1980s, Türkiye’s interest in the OECD focused on the works of the “OECD Consortium to Aid Türkiye” which had been established on 12 July 1962 to annually oversee Türkiye’s economic situation and determine the amount of financial aid to be allocated to Türkiye. In addition to the Consortium, Türkiye actively participated in the works of the “Working Group on Türkiye’s External Debt” which was established on 17 May 1978 with the purpose of better management of Türkiye’s increasing foreign debt.

From the mid-1980s to the year 2000, Türkiye’s interest in the OECD declined relatively with the end of the mandates of the said Consortium and the Working Group. Starting from the 2000s, Türkiye-OECD relations reached new heights parallel to the EU accession and national reform processes” (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021: 1-2).

Paradoxically, Türkiye is a Eurasian country, a founding member of the OECD, recognized as a donor and recipient of international aid, and considered a ‘*developing*’ or ‘*emerging*’ power and ‘*developing country*’. Certainly, these aspects give Türkiye a real paradox, with considerable advantages and disadvantages for its positions in the international arena as well. Türkiye keeps being very active in international cooperation and is more and more present in different parts of the world, namely the African continent, which is considered a strategic partner. As a result, it will be necessary to discuss in order to make an analysis of Türkiye's geostrategic positions and illustrate its relations with developing countries, of which it is a member, and donor countries, of which it is also a member, in this work. These geopolitical positions provide more than just advantages in terms of expanding cooperation horizons, establishing strategic partnerships with developing countries like the four countries in our case study, and maintaining their presence in traditional donor countries (OECD).

Therefore, the difference between north-south and south-south cooperation is based on the principles and mechanisms of each of them. For instance, the main principle of south-south cooperation is non-monetarized and establishes programme implementation periods, such as the horizon 2030, between the developing countries. In contrast, the majority of north-south cooperation has been guided by financial development assistance and mechanisms of control by the developed countries toward the developing countries. The south-south cooperation model represents a new alternative to the north, or traditional model of cooperation, with more inclusive, egalitarian, and balanced cooperation politics. In terms of politics, international cooperation, and position, Türkiye is considered an emerging power and a southern actor with principles that imply inclusive and egalitarian partnerships within developing countries. In economic and geopolitical terms, Türkiye is present in northern international organizations like the OECD, making its contribution and participation in international development assistance, and this reality makes Türkiye an actor that has a prominent position in the international system (TİKA2, interview, March 16, 2022).

In the abstract, these two models of international cooperation for development have been dominating the scene of the international system in these aspects. However, north-south cooperation, or the traditional model of cooperation, is obviously older and more capitalistic than south-south cooperation, which is an emerging one and considerably regulated by its method of sharing expertise and its technical rather than financial character. In addition, considering its politics and practices of cooperation, particularly, in terms of development assistance, Türkiye is part of south-south cooperation while being an emerging power and strategic partner of Africa, as commonly stated in the final declarations of the summit between Türkiye and Africa.

As considerations, emerging economies and developing countries are to pay closer attention to the principles of inclusion, mutual benefit, and technical cooperation in order to enhance and sustain the model and spirit of South-South cooperation over the long run (TİKA3, interview, April 12, 2022). It also needs to ensure that their relationship is balanced based on a win-win spirit with benefits shared among the parties in cooperation. In this regard, the next chapter will deeply study the historical background of Türkiye-African relations in order to try to understand how these relations are conducted and by what motivations.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TÜRKİYE-AFRICA COOPERATION: WEST AFRICA

This chapter focused on the history of relations between Türkiye and Africa, Türkiye and West Africa, and Türkiye and the four countries in question. It also studies, briefly, the Turkish foreign policy from the Ottoman era to the last decades, the bilateral relations between Türkiye and the four countries as cases of study, as well as the strategies and mechanisms used by them for the gradual implementation of their action plan. This chapter also illustrates sectorial cooperation and makes an analysis of it.

In summary, this cooperation may be structured into three periods or eras. The first era begins with the Ottoman Empire's relations with the African continent and ends with the establishment or inception of the Republic of Türkiye in 1923 when relations were at a low point with few concrete actions. The second era encompasses the years 1923 to 1998; during this era, relations were at their lowest level. The 3rd period starts from the establishment of the Opening Action Plan in 1998 to the present. In this era, the relations became deeper, multidimensional, and multisectoral, with mutual interest and concerted actions for the enhancement of these existing ties.

2.1. TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY IN THE ERA OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The cooperation between Türkiye and Africa is based on long-standing historical and cultural relationships that obviously started many centuries ago, thanks to the relationship that existed between the Ottoman Empire and some African empires at the time because Türkiye is an heir to the Ottoman Empire (OE). In this line, these relations started with the commercial interaction that happened with old Egypt and then with all of North Africa in the 9th and 10th centuries.

Earlier, the Ottoman Empire also established contact with the east via today's South Africa, Zanzibar Island and Tanzania, and the west of Africa due to the Kanem-Bornu Empire (KBE), which is today's Timbuktu in Mali and the coast that stands until Niger, Nigeria - Sokoto, Chad, and North Cameroon (Ahmet Kavas, *Relations Ottoman Empire and Africa*, 2006: 112-117). Until recently, this region was mostly known as the absence of Chad and the old Kanem-Bornu Empire. Commonly, according to the literature review, these African Kingdoms and the Ottoman Empire had very early commercial links as well as cultural and diplomatic relations on a low level at the time.

However, the Ottoman State never considered Africa as a whole and established more relations with the North of Africa than with the Sub-Saharan part of the continent. Its interest was more geared toward the countries of the northern part of Africa, which is closer to the Mediterranean Sea, such as Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, and Egypt. In fact, these countries were a part of the Ottoman State's territories from the period of the 15th and 16th centuries until the 20th century, after the partition of the Ottoman Empire (Kavas, 2006: 179-182). For these reasons, Türkiye, as an heir to the Ottoman State, has deep and historical ties with North Africa, and due to this reality, they have some common interests. Moreover, both sides had more similarities than differences. Geographically, they were both in the Middle East and had similar religious backgrounds as Muslim dominant zones.

These are the main reasons why the Ottoman State and, consequently, Türkiye did not have an interest in an active foreign policy toward sub-Saharan Africa until the end of the 20th century, and especially in the 21st century when Türkiye renewed its foreign policy toward the entire African continent and placed a high priority on its goals of establishing and consolidating the existing relations with the continent. Geographic and religious factors influenced the Ottoman State's establishment and enhancement of relations with North Africa at the expense of the rest of the continent.

In fact, there were many reciprocal negative perceptions about both Sub-Saharan Africa and Türkiye. Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) was perceived by the Ottoman State and then by Türkiye as a faraway destination, a very different part of the world, and generally covered by negative issues like poverty and instability. Sub-Saharan Africa perceived the Ottoman State and, as a result, Türkiye as a Middle East (Arab) state with a different and more difficult

political system than theirs (Kavas, 2006: 317-319). These concepts and beliefs were detrimental to both parties interests and made it more difficult or time-consuming to strengthen their relationships.

Therefore, the Ottoman State and Turkish relations with the African continent as a whole can be understood by looking at them from a geographical and cultural perspective. First, North Africa was once a part of the Ottoman Empire, and deep ties had been established. Secondly, the Sub-Saharan African part was almost forgotten by Turkish foreign policy until recent times, with the changes in regimes in Türkiye, and positions in the international arena. In fact, it was due to the efforts of the AK Party's renowned Turkish foreign policy in the early 2000s¹⁰ that Turkish authorities, civil society organizations, the media, and academics began to orient their actions toward the entire continent. The negative image of Sub-Saharan Africa in Türkiye and the negative image of Türkiye in this part of the continent have begun to change. For example, in 1998, the Turkish authorities and those of the African countries came together and held the Istanbul Conference, during which the Action Plan was established, serving as a long-term agenda for the follow-up of the cooperation between the two sides.

2.1.1. Türkiye-Africa Relations during the Cold War

In this dissertation, it is stated that relations between Türkiye and Africa can be divided into three periods. The momentum that occurred during the Cold War largely corresponds to the second period of relations between these two sides. In the 1990s, the relations between Türkiye and Africa were at their lowest level due to conjuncture, geopolitical, geostrategic, and economic reasons. In fact, the foreign policy of the young Republic of Türkiye has been shaped by the Kemalist tradition, in which more emphasis on policy was placed on certain principles. These policies were founded on neutrality, non-intervention, respect for national sovereignty, and a considerable westernisation or western-oriented foreign policy.

During the Second World War (WW II), Türkiye maintained a neutral foreign policy, preferring to protect its territorial integrity rather than exploring new horizons such as Africa or distant places. For these reasons, Türkiye became increasingly interested in Africa at the

end of the 1990s, following Turgut Özal's ascension to power and the country's liberalisation and opening to new horizons. However, for Numan Hazar Türkiye was still limiting its foreign affairs to the northern part of Africa, and their relations were mostly based on socio-cultural, trade, and political terms (Hazar, *Turkish Foreign Policy and Africa*, 2012: 17-19). In contrast, the engagement of Türkiye with the Sub-Saharan part of Africa was still very low and was outlined in the second plan. Moreover, the conditions of bipolarity acted on the international order as the Cold War deeply shaped the relations between Türkiye and the entire African continent. Due to the widespread recognition of Africa and its non-colonial background or history, Türkiye could have benefited from easy connections or relations with the continent since the republic's inception. However, Türkiye lacked engagement, means and strategies for doing so until the 1980s and, more specifically, the 1990s.

Historically, this second period of the relations between Türkiye and Africa can be registered as the period during which their cooperation was at the lowest level compared to the 1990s, the AK Party era, and even the Ottoman Empire era. However, it's important to note that this late opening was not only linked to the lack of interest and the orientation of the Turkish foreign policy toward the West and Atlantic allies during this period, but it was also due to considerable domestic problems on both sides: in Türkiye and on the African continent. In fact, Türkiye was facing the processes of state consolidation, political and economic liberalization, and a socio-economic crisis from the 1940s to the 1990s or even in the early 2000s. African States have been through the same process, which has been strained by decolonization, consolidation of the state and its institutions, and then political and economic liberalization with its socioeconomic impacts too.

More interesting is that Türkiye missed the great opportunity to develop deep and healthy socio-economic, political, and diplomatic relations with Africa during the period of the decolonization process in Africa. In line with this, Numan Hazar, argues that instead of capitalizing on its positive image as a non-paternalistic partner or former colonial power, Türkiye lacked real knowledge of the continent and squandered a significant opportunity that could have helped in the easy and fast enhancement of its relations with Africa (Hazar, 2012: 10-13). Therefore, the starting point for strong cooperation between Türkiye and sub-Saharan Africa was the establishment of the Opening Action Plan in 1998. In this sense, the AK Party

government has intelligently established a long-term and pragmatic agenda that has been supported by civil society organizations, media, and academies on both sides since the early 2000s.

2.1.2. Türkiye's Opening up to Africa: Historical Background, '1998 Türkiye-Africa Strategic Plan' a Key Driver

The world is undergoing turbulent changes, posing challenges to many countries, including Türkiye, that are affected by this tectonic transformation. In addition, several internal and external developments have taken place, positively influencing foreign policy and the "soft power" of Türkiye in the first decade of the 21st century.

Starting from this level, the first part of our work will be devoted to the state of Türkiye-Africa relations while focusing on the evolution of these relationships. The analysis of this evolution will make it possible to understand the stages, strategies, and challenges of Türkiye's rapprochement with the African continent. The AK Party's "new foreign policy" which calls for opening to the continent of Africa as part of a multidimensional strategy, will be meticulously analyzed in order to try to understand the political stakes of this cooperation.

In this line, Turkish Foreign Policy (TFP) analyst Didier Billion explains this transformation through foreign policy factors. The author highlighted three main factors that led Türkiye to transform or reconfigure its foreign policy. For Billion, the first aspect is linked to the relationship between "internal" and "external" issues (Billion, *An attempt to put Türkiye's Foreign Policy into Perspective*, 2013: 35-37). According to this, any change in domestic policy can influence foreign policy. Didier Billion illustrated that, over the past 20 years, Türkiye has undergone considerable political, economic, social, societal, and cultural developments and that Türkiye has changed and is no longer the same. In this process of radical transformation, it would be paradoxical to affirm that its foreign policy did not change.

According to Billion, the second factor of this transformation is "time": this transformation can be linked to the reality of the current world. The reality of the international order

after 1990 has conditioned a reconfiguration of the external policies of the states; such is the case for Türkiye because, at the end of the Cold War, the configuration of the world itself has considerably changed and the balance of power has radically changed. Although it is very rare for the foreign policies of the states to suddenly change, the fact remains that adaptations and changes are necessary for those who want to act effectively in an international system in transformation (Billion, 2013: 39). In this line, the author lists as a third factor the question of ‘*awareness*’ which helps Türkiye to show its weight in the international system. He concludes that Türkiye is now aware of its potential, which constitutes an undeniable novelty for a state that, for a long time, hesitated to assert itself in the international and regional orders.

Furthermore, Türkiye has long been content to fulfil its role in the Western alliance system, preferring to focus on its own development and vigilance over its sovereignty as one of the main principles of its foreign policy. Thus, this considerable change in its own perception explains the multiplication of its initiatives in recent years in political and diplomatic terms (Billion, 2013: 40). For instance, apart from the traditional zones of its presence in the Balkans, Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the Middle East, Türkiye's growing interest in Sub-Saharan Africa has become considerable since the late 1990s and gradually consolidated since the early 2000s.

Therefore, relations between Türkiye and Africa can be divided into three periods. The first period was from the Ottoman Empire until the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. The Ottoman Empire incorporated the northern part of Africa, namely Libya, Egypt, Algeria, and Tunisia⁹; this zone of Africa has long historical and cultural ties with Türkiye since it was a part of the Ottoman State, according to sources on political history. As far as Sub-Saharan Africa is concerned, Ufuk Tepebaş stated that the Ottoman State’s sultans also

⁹ The Ottoman Empire did not integrate the Sub-Saharan part of Africa unlike North Africa, with the exception of Morocco. This issue allows Türkiye to have a positive image of “non-colonialist” in Sub-Saharan Africa.

maintained a number of cultural and commercial relations with the African Empires or kingdoms, including the Kanem Burnu Empire¹⁰, Timbuktu¹¹, Sokoto¹² etc. (Tepebaş, *Sub-Saharan Africa in Transformation: Development, Security and Partnership*, 2013: 42).

According to Numan Hazar *Küreselleşme Süresince Afrika ve Afrika-Türkiye ilişkileri* (Numan Hazar, 2013: 43), the Sultan of the Ottoman State Murat III attempted to establish relations with the Muslim community in this region of Africa very early by building a mosque and sending the first Ottoman Imam Abu Bakir Effendi to Cape Town in 1575. Some diplomatic and commercial relations were also established with South Africa. The Ottoman Caliphate sent its first temporary diplomatic mission (an honorary consulate) to Cape Town in 1861. They increased their contacts with this part of Africa after that, including the appointment of an ambassador to Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, in 1914. This first Ottoman diplomatic representation in Sub-Saharan Africa was interrupted in 1916 following the death of the Ottoman diplomat (Hazar, 2003: 44).

This act of sending a diplomatic mission to Ethiopia was followed by the envoy of an Ottoman military mission to support the Ethiopians in confrontation with the Italian troops during ‘*the Battle of Adua in 1893*’ (Hazar, 2003: 45). The Ottoman position on the side of the Africans and against the settlers certainly gave a positive image of the Ottoman State to the African continent at the time and facilitated the establishment of their future relations. Moreover, the Ottoman Empire also contributed to the construction of the Hajjaz railway with the Muslim community of the ‘*Cape of Good Hope*’, current South Africa¹³.

¹⁰ Kanem Burnu Empire incorporated the "Horn of Africa": currently the two Sudan, Djibouti, Somalia, and a part of Ethiopia, Chad, Niger and a part of Nigeria. In present, Türkiye often recalls its historical and cultural ties with these countries and more particularly with Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Djibouti.

¹¹ Timbuktu or Toumbouktou, is a very famous and historic region of today’s Republic of Mali. This region or city became a permanent settlement in the beginning of 12th century when today’s Mali was the capital of Mali Empire, one of the African Empires and the biggest in West Africa, since the early 14th century until the arrival of western expansion and colonization.

¹² The Sokoto State is a very historic of today’s Republic Federative of Nigeria. Sokoto was one of the biggest States that became caliphate in West Africa during the Fulani War in 1804-1805 made by Osman Dan Fodio, when he expanding Sokoto to today’s Cameroon, Burkina Faso and Niger with over 10 million of people making part of the state. The Sokoto caliphate linked over 30 different empires in Africa in the 19th century.

¹³ At that time, current South Africa was under apartheid regime and its relations with the Ottoman Empire was very limited with just cultural and some commercial relations with the Muslim community. As heir to the Ottoman Empire, Türkiye did not have an embassy in South Africa until the end of the apartheid regime.

In fact, the relations between the Ottoman State and the African continent, in general, were rather cordial, ideological, or religious. As a result, it was mostly restricted to the communal level and not the state level. The second phase of relations between Türkiye and Africa covers the period from the establishment of the Republic in 1923 to the implementation of the "*1998 Strategic Action Plan*" for opening up to the African continent. This period registered the lowest level of Türkiye's relations with sub-Saharan Africa. During this period, the level of relations between Türkiye and Sub-Saharan Africa continued to be limited, although there was little evolution compared to the era of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, this second phase can be divided into two parts: the first concerns the period between 1923 and 1980, a period during which relations between the current Turkish Republic and the African continent were very weak.

Because the Ottoman Empire was considered a "non-colonial empire" of which Türkiye is the heir, it would have maintained cordial relations with certain African countries. Despite recognising the independence of the majority of African countries, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa, in the 1960s, Türkiye remained virtually absent in African issues in international organisations and development cooperation until the end of the 1990s. Due to Türkiye's absence on the continent during the early years of independence, cooperation has been delayed at an inopportune time. For instance, during this period, Türkiye only had a few embassies in sub-Saharan Africa, namely those that were established in Ethiopia, South Africa, and Senegal in 1926, 1958, and 1960, respectively (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs official website, February 19, 2015). This has resulted in the absence of diplomatic and even deep commercial relations with the countries of sub-Saharan Africa because the cooperation was often based on a short-term logic.

One of the main reasons for Türkiye's absence in Sub-Saharan Africa during these decades is that Türkiye was focused on its domestic affairs and instead had a Western-oriented foreign policy. Then, during the rule of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and even between the two world wars, Türkiye stood by the Europeans and cared mostly for its neighbourhood. Geostategic issues at the time conditioned, in some ways, Turkish foreign policy, which was based on a certain "neutrality" but mostly on a pro-Western bloc. During the three decades following the end of the rule of Atatürk, there have been no major changes in Turkish foreign policy.

Türkiye joined NATO in 1952 and continued to strengthen its relations with the European and Atlantic alliances.

Furthermore, over the next two decades, and during the Cold War, Turkish governments chose to maintain the orientation and take a pro-West stance, conditioning Türkiye to play a less active role in the international system. In contrast, following the election of Turgut Özal and the establishment of a liberal regime in the 1980s, Türkiye began to develop a genuine policy of opening up to new horizons. If Türkiye had a "new Turkish diplomacy" or significant engagement with Sub-Saharan Africa today, it would have been imagined since the Özal regime's economic liberalisation and new Turkish foreign policy.

In fact, the changes in Turkish foreign policy began with Turgut Özal, who had a liberal worldview and advocated for a "multidimensional" foreign policy. In this line, he laid the roots of a serious opening towards the African continent when he was Prime Minister of Türkiye between 1983 and 1989, and President of the Republic until his death in 1993. Through his liberal ideology and perception of international politics, Özal reconfigured and reoriented the Turkish foreign policy to make it more dynamic and more active in the international order, with the economy playing a critical role. As Tom Wheeler stated that, "*Turgut Özal defended a 'Eurasian' conception of the foreign policy and he saw the world as a place with many opportunities*" (Wheeler, 2011: 50).

Similarly, Mehmet Özcan confirms that Özal's governance enabled Türkiye to enter "*the world economic game*" (Özcan, 2010: 17). In 1987, just four years after taking power, Özal's government formally presented Türkiye's candidacy for membership in the European Union. In the same vein, he advocated a policy of opening up Türkiye first to "*Turkish-speaking*" countries like Central Asia, the Caucasus, the Balkans, and even some countries in the Middle East, and then to Sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, since his first term as Prime Minister, Özal had pursued an openness to new horizons policy.

However, at that time, the international situation challenged Türkiye to make a geo-strategic choice between the West, led by the United States, and the neighbouring USSR. For these reasons, Turgut Özal's agenda of openness was only implemented after 1990. For in-

stance, “*the end of the USSR created the right conditions for Türkiye to reconfigure its regional policy and adopt increasingly independent policies toward the West*” (Hazar, 2012: 6). Therefore, it is important to highlight that Türkiye was not able to immediately implement its African policy after the reconfiguration of the international system just after the end of the Cold War. This reality once again delayed Turgut Özal's openness project, which he designed and initiated. As a result, it is possible to say that Turgut Özal's project to open up to Africa has been postponed once more, and there are two major reasons for this postponement.

The first one is the reality of the Cold War, during which the world was divided into two blocs, forcing Türkiye to focus on its domestic policy, especially on security issues. The second factor concerns the ‘*geopolitical choice*’. At the end of the Cold War, Türkiye turned to the “*Turkic*” countries. Despite his desire for serious cooperation with the African continent, Özal observed the passage of time with no notable achievements. The Ottoman Empire still only had political and diplomatic ties with a few African countries with which it had had ties in the past. In fact, in the political history of Türkiye-Africa and particularly Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), Özal remains the ‘*pioneer*’ even though the AK Party regime has positively and seriously implemented its agenda of openness up to SSA. In accordance, Numan Hazar (2012: 6-7) states that;

“Türkiye’s relations with African countries could not reach a desired level in political, economic, commercial and cultural areas. On the one hand, the relations were not in proportion to the dimensions of a country like Türkiye with developed and considerable economic and commercial growth.”

On the other hand, due to the lack of well-established sufficient diplomatic relations, in most cases, Türkiye had relations with African countries only within the international organizations such as the United Nations Organization, and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation.”

Therefore, it is with the AK Party's ‘*new diplomacy*’ guided mostly by the principles of multi-dimensionality, proactive diplomacy, and zero problems with the neighbourhood, as

defended by Ahmet Davutođlu¹⁴, that Türkiye's engagement with the African continent registered new roots and got new horizons.

2.1.3. Actors and Instruments of the Cooperation: Multi-sectorial and Multi-dimensional Interventions

In order to strengthen its relations with the African continent, the AK Party regime has not only adopted a proactive foreign policy but has also implemented a roadmap gradually since 1998, beginning with the massive opening of representative offices around the continent. For this purpose, the number of Turkish embassies operating in Africa has increased considerably, reaching 44 as of the beginning of 2022, against only 12 embassies in 2002 and 19 in 2008 – the year of the *First Türkiye-Africa Summit* held in Türkiye (Merve Aydoğan, 2021: 1-2). In the same vein, African countries did not remain indifferent to the interest of Türkiye. They paid great attention to this engagement, and the number of African embassies in Ankara increased gradually, namely from 10 in 2008 to 39 today, with the opening of the Embassies Guinea-Bissau (June 2021), Zimbabwe (June 2021) and lastly Togo (March 2022). According to Mevlüt Çavuşođlu, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Türkiye is planning to open its 43rd and 44th embassies on the African continent in Togo 2021 and Guinea-Bissau in 2022 respectively. (Nadia Chahed & Alphonse Logo, 2021:1-2).

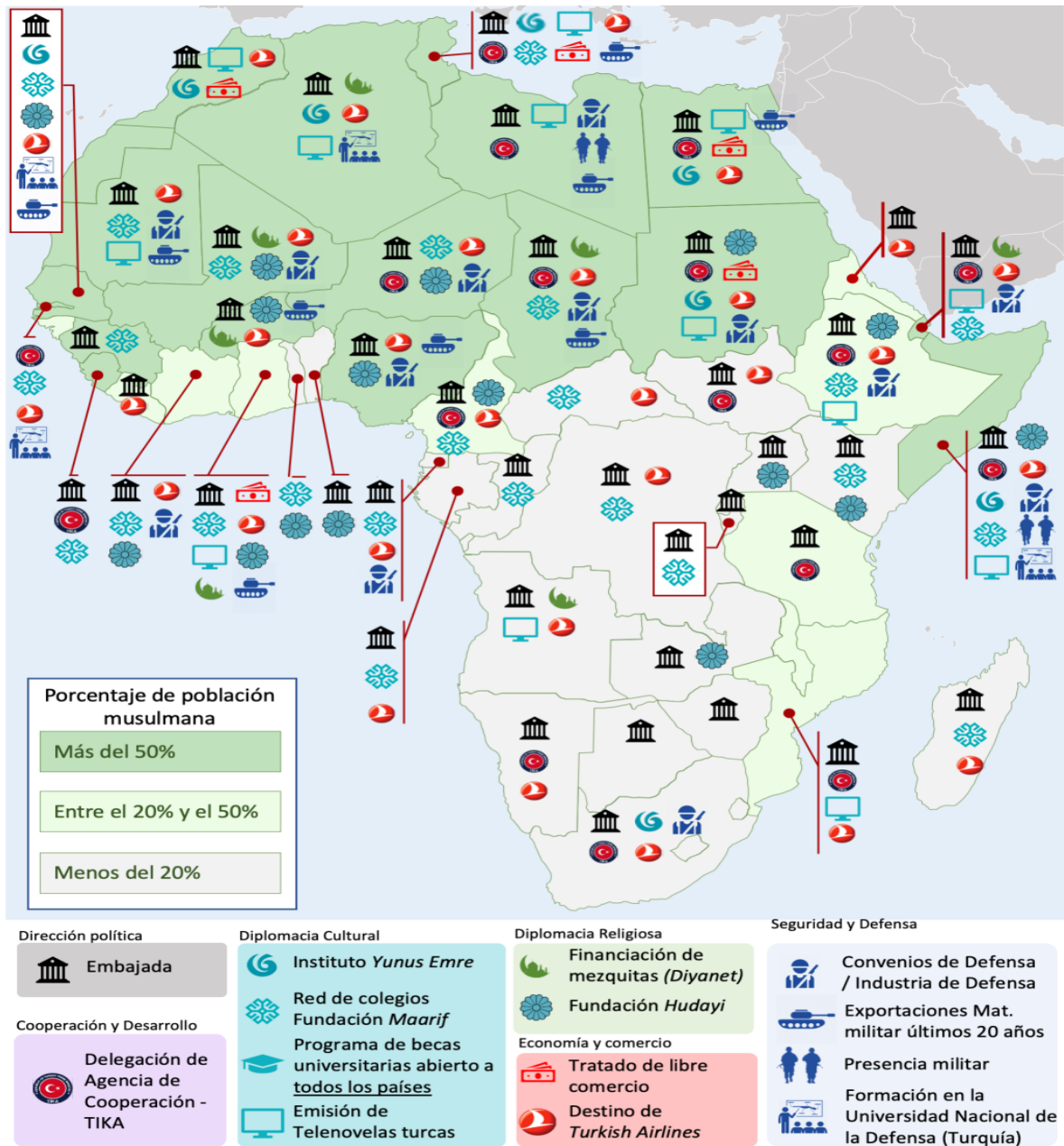
In addition to the diplomatic representations (embassies), Türkiye and the African countries have established a number of public and private organizations or institutions that are supported by the respective states as well as those that carry out their activities on their own. Türkiye has also developed many activities on the African continent through very crucial institutions working in international cooperation and development. And on sharing expertise in humanitarianism, education, communication, and transportation, such as with the Turkish Co-

¹⁴ In his book "*Stratejik Derinlik*" or "*The Strategic Depth*", the former Turkish foreign minister and former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutođlu, advocates a proactive and multidimensional Turkish foreign policy. Turkish diplomacy that is not fully aligned with the West, but rather active diplomacy and open to other areas of the world including Africa. More Reading, Ahmet Davutođlu, *Stratejik Derinlik*, Istanbul: Küre yayınları 2001, p.323.

operation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB), Yunus Emre Institute (YEE), Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMV), Turkish Religious Foundation (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı-TDV), Anadolu Agency (AA), and Turkish Airlines (THY).

Therefore, Türkiye and the African countries have been implementing their roadmap in a multi-dimensional and multi-sectoral way through different public and private actors involved in the process of enhancing their relations. In terms of economic and trade relations, institutions such as the Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEİK), Turkish Airlines, and the economic and trade ministries have been ensuring mechanisms and implementing their policy of cooperation with the continent in different areas of common interest, like the establishment of Joint Economic Commissions (JEC), agreements on economic cooperation and other instruments that serve for the enhancement of the bilateral cooperation. Shortly, the diplomatic missions, the institutions in charge of implement the development assistance, cultural cooperation and education are determinant in the establishment of solid ties and mechanisms for the development of Türkiye-Africa relations in general, and the four countries in case study in particular. However, the execution of the established mechanisms is mostly lead by the institutions acting in economic and commercial areas like DEİK, the Ministris of Economy and Trade and Turkish Airlines which can be considered very prominent in the cooperation.

Figure 1: Türkiye in Africa (multi-sectoral intervention, Turkish actors of the cooperation)¹⁵



Source: Felipe Sánchez Tapia, «Turcáfrica»: Poder virtuoso en acción, *iee.es*, Documento de Análisis 29/2020, 23 septiembre 2020, p.8.

¹⁵ Description of the table above: Turkish public institutions like Embassy, Office of Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), Yunus Emre Institute, Maarif Foundation Schools, Turkish Scholarship Programme (YTB), Soap Operas of Turkish TV, Funding for building Mosques by Diyanet Foundation, Hudayi Foundation, Free Trade Agreement, Turkish Airlines (THY), Agreement of Defense Industry Cooperation, Exportation of Defense Materil during last 20 years, Military Presence, Training Programmes in Turkish National Defense University.

2.1.4. Türkiye-Africa's Cooperation Strategies: From Multilateralism to Bilateralism

“The development of the relations with the African continent constitutes one of the basic principles of our multi-dimensional foreign policy” (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interview, April 06, 2022). From the perspective of Türkiye's foreign policy in recent years, there are very considerable expectations that Africa will play a more active and notable role in the international system as of the second half of the 21st century, and Africa is becoming an increasingly important actor in international cooperation.

The economic and commercial potentialities and the geopolitical weight of the rapidly developing countries on the continent, in many areas, have started to attract many countries and considerable investors toward Africa in recent years. On the one hand, these factors illustrate some indicators that the African continent is gradually becoming a very remarkable actor in the international system in both geopolitics and geostrategic terms. On the other hand, in recent years, Türkiye's African policy has been built on a historical basis and is being carried out in a multi-dimensional way, including political, economic, cultural, and humanitarian aspects in both multilateral and bilateral cooperation. Türkiye shares its historical experience, social, political, and cultural background, opportunities, and resources it has with African countries within the framework of the principle of *"African solutions to Africa's problems"* and based on mutual benefit.

In this context, the relations between Türkiye and Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries have taken significant steps in many areas in recent years. Within the scope of a multi-dimensional and multilateral strategy of opening up to Africa, which started in 1998, this process gained momentum with the diplomatic offensive engaged for the first time in a multilateral aspect of the cooperation. Türkiye became an observer member of the African Union (AU) in 2005 and Türkiye was declared a strategic partner by the AU in 2008. Through the United Nations UN, African Union, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, etc., the two parties engaged in enhancing gradually but rapidly in diplomatic, political, economic, and cultural terms.

As it will be demonstrated in tables and examples in the concerned sections of this study, the number of diplomatic missions and diplomatic initiatives has increased; commerce,

investments, and economic ties have reached a very high level, and cultural and educational cooperation has also become a kind of motor for the relations between Türkiye and the continent.

With Türkiye's new '*Africa Partnership Policy*' toward Africa, which is the product of a holistic understanding that includes the activities of public institutions, the private sector, non-governmental organizations, and humanitarian aid organizations, Türkiye aims to contribute to the process of industrialization, transformation, and development of the continent, and the fastest growing countries on the continent in particular. This is also a goal, as is taking part in economic and social development through multilateral and, eventually, bilateral relationships based on equal partnership and mutual benefit.

Africa, in general, and its specific countries, in particular, demonstrate their capacity to attract new models of partnership by showing them their potential and their weight in the international arena in terms of diplomacy, politics, and even economics. Also, in quantitative terms, the African continent represents a very crucial place in the international system. In this line, it is important to highlight the candidacy and election of Türkiye, with the vote of 51 out of 53 African countries¹⁶, as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) for the period of 2009-2010. This aspect shows the high level of political and diplomatic relations between Türkiye and Africa, illustrates Türkiye's diplomatic offensive towards Africa and highlights the weight that the continent represents in international politics.

Considering the multilateral aspect, the relations between Türkiye and the African Union (AU) were gradually getting stronger and more institutionalized. For this purpose, Türkiye, which became an observer member of the AU in 2005, was declared the strategic partner of the African continent in 2008, with a sustainable mechanism elaborated at the *First Türkiye-Africa Partnership Summit* held in Istanbul on August 18-21, 2008. As of this date, the partnership between the two sides has started to be more institutionalized and guided by some mechanisms as a road map for them.

¹⁶ At that time South Sudan did not exist yet, it was created in 2011.

Moreover, with the “*2015-2019 Joint Implementation Plan*” adopted after the *Second Türkiye-Africa Partnership Summit* held in Malabo, the capital of Equatorial Guinea, on November 19-21, 2014, it was clearly stated that a Türkiye-Africa Summit will be held every five years, once in Türkiye and once in one of the African countries. This statement illustrates the engagement of the parties to enhance their relations, considering the multilateralism strategy of partnership. The period 2015-2019 has been established for this purpose and common-interest projects have been identified within the framework of African countries' priorities in areas such as trade and investment, education and culture, peace and security, youth empowerment and technology transfer, rural economy and agriculture, energy, and transportation.

In addition, it has been decided to hold a “*Minister Level Review Conference*” once between the African Union (AU) and the Summit meetings to be held every five years. In this context, the Second Türkiye-Africa Ministerial Review Conference was held in Istanbul on February 11 and 12, 2018 and these meetings always provided a good opportunity to address all aspects of the Türkiye-Africa Partnership and consolidate their mechanisms of follow-up and common agenda. To establish a new phase in their partnership, the two sides agreed to hold the third *Türkiye-Africa Partnership Summit* in 2021 in Türkiye. Nevertheless, due to the pandemic of Covid-19, the summit was only realized through videoconference. While the AU emphasizes its aims to develop and strengthen its relations with Türkiye by leveraging its strategic partnership in consideration of “*Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want*,” Türkiye keeps being optimistic and determined to contribute to the consolidation of this cooperation. Therefore, Türkiye and the AU give considerable importance to the “*Agenda 2063 and UN 2030 Sustainable Development Goals*” (SDG), which are guiding frameworks to develop partnerships based on inclusive growth and sustainable development of African countries.

As stated by the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, “*improving relations and cooperation with the African continent constitutes one of the basic principles of our multidimensional foreign policy. As of the second half of the 21st century, Africa is expected to play a more active role in the international system and become a significant actor on the global stage*” (speech of Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Embassy of Guinea-Bissau in Ankara, 22 June 2021).

In the same vein, he emphasised the economic potential and geopolitical weight of the African continent, which provides a vast array of opportunities in many industries and has, in recent years, drawn the interest of several nations, foreign investors, and investors. On the other hand, Türkiye retains significant weight in the international system and continues to share its experience in political, economic, social, and cultural heritage, as well as opportunities and resources, with African governments and people within the framework of mutual benefit and mutual respect. Shortly, in multilateral terms, Türkiye has intensified its interaction with the African continent in recent years through conferences, international conferences, economic and business forums, humanitarian forums and meetings, summits, and joint action plans intended to implement and follow up on the agenda previously established by Türkiye-Africa.

Table 2: Milestones of Türkiye-Africa Relationship (Multilateralism)

Date	Event	Place
January 2008	Declaration of Türkiye as Strategic Partner by the African Union	Istanbul
18-21 August 2008	1 st Türkiye-Africa Partnership Summit	Istanbul
26 March 2010	Preparation of “Africa Strategy Document” by Türkiye	Istanbul
15 December 2010	Ratification of the 2010-2014 Türkiye-Africa Joint Implementation Plan	Istanbul
21-23 May 2010	International Conference on Somalia	Istanbul
9-13 March 2011	4 th UN LDC Summit	Istanbul
19-21 November 2014	2 nd Türkiye-Africa Partnership Summit	Malabo
November 2014	Türkiye became Member Observer to CPLP	Malabo
23-24 May 2016	World Humanitarian Summit	Istanbul
2-4 November 2016	Türkiye-Africa Economy and Business Forum	Istanbul
27-30 November 2017	9 th UN “Global South-South Development Expo”	Antalya
10-11 October 2018	2 nd Türkiye-Africa Economic and Business Forum	Istanbul

18-20 June 2021	1 st Antalya Diplomacy Forum	Antalya
21-22 October 2021	3 rd Türkiye-Africa Economic and Business Forum	Istanbul
17-18 December 2021	3 rd Türkiye-Africa Partnership Summit	Istanbul
11-13 Mart 2022	2 nd Antalya Diplomacy Forum “Reconstructing Diplomacy”	Antalya

Source: *The data in the table was collected from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs www.mfa.gov.tr, assessed on 20 January 2022.*

As the table illustrates, in recent years, Türkiye has continued to become more active in terms of its foreign policy, consolidating its relations with the continent via the multilateralism mechanism of cooperation. This reality keeps allowing both Türkiye and the African continent to establish more and more elements in order to enhance their relations and follow up on their agendas, even in a concerted way, in the international area of regional and international issues. Therefore, Türkiye worked gradually on intensifying the conferences, forums, Summits of Heads of State and Government, high-level visits, and inter-ministerial meetings in both Türkiye and Africa. The purpose of this issue may not only be to consolidate their cooperation and agenda, but also to establish and forge alliances with African regional or even sub-regional organizations and international organizations to which they are members.

In this line, and according to Ufuk Tepebaş, a Turkish academic and researcher on Türkiye-Africa relations, the African regional organizations play a prominent role in the links between Türkiye and Africa, and Sub-Saharan Africa above all. Because early on, when Türkiye and the African countries came together and discussed how to establish and develop their ties, both sides did not have a clear idea of how to implement this agenda. In this sense, they opted to go through multilateralism and international–regional organizations. This strategy would have facilitated the consolidation of these relations with other emerging powers, which also use the same strategies with Africa. Ufuk Tepebaş and Ahmet Kavas, demonstrated that, *“like China, India, and Brazil; Türkiye, which has quickly but more discreetly developed its links with Africa, is cheerfully continuing its establishment and is now becoming a key player in the international organizations together with Africa and acting also on the continent”* (Tepebaş & Kavas, *Sub-Saharan Africa*, 2007: 47-48).

In fact, if the “2003 Economic Cooperation Forum” was considerably linked to economic and commercial issues as the first forum between Türkiye and Africa, it was also a crucial step for them to relaunch their political relations at the multilateral and bilateral level to better consolidate their economic and trade relations. Therefore, at the multilateral level, Türkiye started ensuring new alliances and expanding its sphere of influence in order to consolidate its place in international politics. Through these international meetings between Türkiye and Africa, generally promoted and organized by Türkiye in collaboration with the African Union (AU), Türkiye gradually became a friend of the African continent, and its presence became effective not only on the continent but also in international politics as a prominent actor. For instance, the *First Economic Cooperation Forum* held in Istanbul in 2003 could be considered a starting point for the implementation of these meetings, and the first *Türkiye-Africa Summit* organized in 2008 in Istanbul, was the first step of political-diplomatic meetings in a multilateral way, and the summit, in its articles 1, 2, and 3 of Chapter VIII of the final declaration, mostly known as the *Istanbul Declaration*, makes the following recommendations:

i) Every five (5) years, hold the Türkiye-Africa Summit in Türkiye and Africa in turn, with the second Türkiye-Africa Summit taking place in Africa in 2014,

ii) Organize a Ministerial Review Conference every three (3) years, between summits, to assess the progress made in the implementation of the program of action and to prepare for the next summit,

iii) Increase the number of Turkish diplomatic representations in Africa in order to follow up on not only political and diplomatic relations but also to develop economic, trade, and cultural relations.

Shortly, this summit is very significant for Türkiye's African policy and for the enhancement of cooperation, in different fields and aspects, between Türkiye and the African continent because this summit determined the framework of the cooperation between Türkiye and Africa in short and long terms, established some mechanisms for the development of these relations and established the line of how to pass from multilateralism to bilateralism without stagnation on the step of the road map previously established in 1998 by the very famous

Türkiye-Africa Opening Action Plan. An action plan that includes recommendations has been serving as a guideline for Türkiye and Africa. For instance, Türkiye gradually became a member observer of some African regional organizations, like the African Union in 2005, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 2005, and the East African Community (EAC) in 2010. Türkiye also became an observer member of the CPLP¹⁷ in 2014, which is an international organization to which five Portuguese-speaking African countries are members.

This information illustrates that, until this period, Türkiye and Africa attached great importance to multilateralism not only for the consolidation of their political and diplomatic relations but also to institutionalize them and work on the development of their economic relations, which seem to be the heart or central interest of their cooperation. Because in parallel to the organization of these summits, conferences, and international meetings, they also hold, with more frequency, some economic and business forums where they discuss the strategies to explore the potentialities of their respective countries in terms of economy and trade, and they fix the regulations and present mechanisms that may facilitate the concretization of their aim of enhancing the volume of trade. For these reasons, the economy and trade relations will be discussed later and more deeply in this work.

In multilateral terms, Africa benefits from Turkish diplomacy in international organizations, just as Türkiye benefits significantly from the African continent in a variety of issues, both politically and economically. For example, assuming that there are always at least two interacting actors in foreign policy (in cooperation), it is important to underline that if Türkiye seeks to assert itself in the international arena with the support of the African continent, Africa, for its part, seems to see Türkiye as a strategic partner or even a "*voice*" for its diplomacy in international relations these recent years, with reciprocal or mutual benefits.

In this sense, Türkiye defended the cause of African countries at the United Nations Conference held in Istanbul in May 2011 (official website of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign

¹⁷ CPLP: Communities of Portuguese Languages Speaking Countries. Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe are the 5 Portuguese speaking African countries members. Equatorial Guinea was admitted in 2015 as member. Brasil, Portugal and East Timor are extra African members.

Affairs, assessed on June 2021). This conference was mainly dedicated to Somalia and Sudan. However, due to the organization of this conference, entitled “*UN Conference for the Least Developed Countries*”¹⁸ (UN-LDC), globally attended by the leaders of the African countries, Türkiye has confirmed its role as the “*voice*” of the African continent for the latter's development, and more particularly for Somalia and Sudan. During this conference, Türkiye advocated for the reconstruction of Somalia and Sudan and assumed the release of a sum of 70 million dollars for this issue.¹⁹

As Alain Vicky indicated, “*if for Türkiye the economic benefits of greater cooperation with Africa are very considerable, especially in terms of energy supply, it is clear that Ankara is skillfully trying to get the support of the African countries through these international meetings and conferences, shortly via the multilateralism*” (Vicky, *Türkiye's Assault on Africa*, 2011: 1-3). Following the multilateralism strategy of the establishment and enhancement of their relations, Türkiye and African countries have gradually begun to implement bilateralism, which they regard as a critical step and a good way that may be effective for the consolidation of politico-diplomatic and even economic relations. The figure below may help to understand Türkiye’s multifaceted intervention on the African continent and its progressive presence in recent years.

¹⁸ In this Summit, 37 heads of delegations, the majority of them heads of State and Government or Foreign Ministers represented Africa. For more readings, “Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries”, Istanbul: 9-13 May 2011.

¹⁹ In order not to generalize, we can state that Türkiye seems to have played an important role in supporting certain countries of Sub-Saharan Africa through the mobilization of the international community. This role is visibly developmentalist and humanitarian.

Figure 2: Türkiye's Multifaceted Presence in the African Continent (2012-2021)²⁰



Source: Official Twitter page of H.E. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President of the Republic of Türkiye, 21.10.2021.

²⁰ “We stand by Africa in its development journey”, a phrase stated by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, summarizes the table above with the realizations saved by Türkiye during last decades. In politic-diplomatic aspects, the number of official visits realized by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan passed from 30 to 50 to the African continent (as Preme Minister and then President). Turkish embassies in in Africa reached 43 in 2021 from 12 in 2002, and the African countries embassies in Ankara passed from 10 in 2008 to 37 in 2021. In economic and commercial terms, Türkiye-Africa trade volume reached 25,3 billion USD in 2021 from only 5,4 billion USD in 2003, of with 10 billion USD belong to Sub-Sahraaran Africa that was only 1,35 in 2003. In development and cultural fields, TİKA implemented 7 thousand development and humanitarian projects while Yunus Emre Institute keeps developing its cultural-educational activities in the African continent.

In recent years, Türkiye has been playing a notable role in international politics increasing its visibility and international positioning, with the massive opening of diplomatic representations, commercial councils and cultural offices overseas. For instance, currently with 235 official missions around the world, Türkiye ranks sixth in the world in terms of the number of diplomatic missions, just after China (276), the United States (273), France (267), Japan (247), and Russia (242). So, excluding Honorary Consulates, Türkiye is represented globally through 235 diplomatic missions, of which 142 are embassies (44 in Africa), 12 permanent representatives, 81 general consulates, and 2 trade offices (Official Website of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 20, 2021). Related to the African continent, Türkiye has been getting a remarkable place face to former colonial power like France, United Kingdom, Portugal and Spain as well as the old partner countries like United States and Israel, China, Russia, India and Brasil, etc.

Despite the fact that Türkiye is gradually increasing its presence and influence on the African Continent, France still has an unavoidable place in political-diplomatic, economic, commercial and even cultural areas in the African countries in general, and specially in Francophones African countries. For instance, currently France has the 3rd largest network of diplomatic representation – embassies and consulates – in the world after the United States and China, preceding the United Kingdom (148) and Germany (145). So with 235 diplomatic representation of which 163 embassies and 500 honorary consulates, France has notable diplomatic representation in the international arena. In the African continent, France currently has 47 embassies, 12 consulates general and 4 consular offices. In contrast, Türkiye is currently the sixth in the world in terms of diplomatic missions as indicated above, and has today 44 embassies in the African continent behind France in this aspect (France's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France is has the Third Diplomatic Network in the World, January 29, 2023).

Along the same line, Guinea-Bissau's former colonial power Portugal's diplomatic and consular network is made up of 133 representations (78 embassies, 48 consular offices and 9 permanent missions), excluding 235 honorary consulates over the world. Portugal has only 18 embassies and 6 consulates general in Africa long behind Türkiye in this issue (Portuguese's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Diplomatic Portal, Portugal's Diplomatic Network in Numbers, February 02, 2023).

Apart from politic-diplomaticy, economic and trade issues are also to consider in Türkiye-Africa relations. It is obvious that Türkiye has been figuring among the most remarkable

and strategic partners of the African countries in terms of political consultation, economic cooperation and development assistance during last years. As indicated on graphics 1 and 2 concerning the trade volume between Türkiye and Africa, the presence of Türkiye in the African continent and its commercial relations (import-export), agreement on trade and business and the present of Turkish multinational in the African market have been increasing day by day. However, compared to former colonial powers like France and Portugal in relation to the 4 countries in case study,²¹ Türkiye has yet many challenges and limitations. Because, France continues to occupy an unavoidable place in its economic and commercial relations with Senegal, Ivory Coast and Niger, not to mention all French-speaking African countries. The reality is the same with Portugal and Guinea-Bissau, not to mention all African Lusophone countries. To provide a clear idea, this issue is summarized as follows:

Table 3: Comparison of Türkiye, France and Portugal's Positions in Import-Export related to the four Countries in Case Study (2021)

Countries								
Count- ries	Senegal		Ivory Coast		Niger		Guinea-Bissau	
	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export
Türkiye	8 th	42 th	6 th	13 th	7 th	8 th	8 th	3 rd
France	1 st	15 th	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	2 nd	-	-
Portugal	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 st	13 th

Source: *Trademap, mirrordata, assessed on January 29, 2023.*

Above presented table illustrates the respective places of Türkiye, France and Portugal in import-export with the four countries in comparison providing a general idea of the reality existing in the cooperation between Türkiye and the concerning countries face to the former colonial powers. Therefore, it is worth noting the prominent place of Türkiye in the African continent as an emerging power and not a former colonizer, compared to France and Portugal.

²¹ Senegal, Ivory Coast and Niger are former France colonies while Guinea-Bissau is former Portuguese colony.

2.1.5. Political-Diplomatic Relations: Türkiye-Africa from Bilateral Perspective

This section of the study examines the political and diplomatic aspects of cooperation between Türkiye and the African continent in general and the western zone of the continent in particular. In short, it is examined here how the respective actors involved relaunched this cooperation and/or transition from the multilateral dimension to the bilateral nature of the relations. Accordingly, from the second half of the 21st century on, the African continent as a whole is expected to play a prominent and very active role in the international system, international politics, and international cooperation.

In both global and regional stages, through the African Union and regional political, economic, and communitarian organizations such as ECOWAS, the EAC, and the African Development Bank (ADB)²¹, among others, the continent has become increasingly active and present in critical issues of international interest. In economic terms, the continent is rapidly growing its economy and developing commercial potentialities and geopolitical weight in many areas. The new capacities of its economies due to the transformation of its industries have rapidly started to attract a very large and considerable number of foreign investments to Africa in recent years.

In this light, Türkiye logically started to develop its relations with African countries through multilateralism, such as through international organizations (UN, AU, and OIC, etc.), Türkiye-Africa economic forums, summits, and multilateral political concertation. Then, by doing so, Türkiye and the African countries, as parties to the partnership, took relief by gradually implementing the bilateral strategy of cooperation with the establishment of diplomatic missions, increasing the number of reciprocal visits and their frequency, and celebrating bilateral agreements in different areas of common interest.

For example, the above table illustrates the visits of His Excellency Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President of the Republic of Türkiye, to three African countries in 2021. With these visits, he completed 50 official visits to 30 African countries since he came to power in 2002, first as Prime Minister and then as President of the Republic. This number is very large and diplomatically meaningful in terms of the interest and determination of Türkiye's authorities for the enhancement of its relations with the African continent as a whole and with the African

countries individually. The figure above provides illustrative information on the reciprocal high-level visits made by the parties during recent years and, in the same line, the number of diplomatic representations reciprocally opened during the last few years in different African countries and in Türkiye as well.

However, it is important to state that, just one year after the AK Party came to power in 2002, the diplomatic and economic relations between Türkiye and the African continent started to be more dynamic and reached a high level in both bilateral diplomatic representations and reciprocal high levels in economic relations and trade volume between the two sides. For instance, until this period, the number of Turkish diplomatic representations in Africa was very limited, and those of African countries in Türkiye were fewer and less active. Today, the Turkish presence in Africa has become effective in diplomatic relations, and vice versa. In this line, and according to Ibrahim Kalın, former Deputy Secretary General and current spokesperson for the Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, indicated that, "*Türkiye's interest in African countries is increasing every day. While Türkiye had only 12 diplomatic representations in Africa until 2009, this number rose to 40 in 2014, and Türkiye reveals the importance of relaunching its cooperation with the African countries*" (Ibrahim Kalın, *What Türkiye is Looking for in Africa?*, 2015:1-2).

This number of Turkish embassies in SSA became 44 in 2021, and with this dynamism, Türkiye could very soon reach the number of 54 diplomatic representations covering the entire African continent, which accounts for 54 countries figuring on the list of the United Nations and being internationally recognized. On the other hand, while Sub-Saharan African countries had only five diplomatic missions in Ankara until 2009, this number reached 31 in 2019 and rose to 33 in 2021 with the opening of the Embassy of Guinea-Bissau in June 2021, and 34 in 2022 with the opening of Togo's Embassy in Ankara. The table below depicts the number of diplomatic missions opened gradually in separate and symbolic periods, as well as the implementation of the agenda of the Türkiye-Africa Opening Action Plan of 1988 and the recommendations of the *First Türkiye-Africa Summit* held in İstanbul in 2008, which strongly encouraged and recommended an increase in the number of diplomatic representations in order to ensure the development of bilateral relations in various fields of mutual interest.

Table 4: Summary Table of Turkish Embassies in Sub-Saharan Africa

Year	Receptor Country
Before 1998	Ethiopia (1926, 1974, 2006), Sudan (1956), Senegal (1962), Nigeria (1963), the Republic Democratic of Congo (1974) and South Africa (1993).
1998-2008	None Embassy opens until the 1 st Türkiye-Africa Summit of 2008.
2008-2014- 2021	2009: Ivory Coast, Kenya, Tanzania. 2010: Angola, Cameroon, Ghana, Mali, Madagascar, Uganda. 2011: Gambia, Mauritania, Mozambique, Somalia, South Sudan, Zambia, Zimbabwe. 2012: Niger, Burkina Faso, Gabon, Guinea, Namibia. 2013: Benin, Djibouti, Chad, Botswana, Rwanda, Erythrea, Republic Democratic of Congo. 2014: Congo Brazzaville. 2018: Burundi, Equatorial Guinea, Sierra Leone. 2021: Togo 2022: Guinea-Bissau
Total	39 Turkish Embassies in Sub-Saharan African countries completing 44 in the African continent including the North African countries.

Source: *Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; <http://www.mfa.gov.tr>, assessed on 15 November 2021.*

Table 2 clearly depicts the evolution of Turkish-African relations in political-diplomatic terms, with the gradual and significant expansion of both Turkish and African diplomatic missions. With the AK Party's election to power in 2002 and subsequent consolidation of power, Turkish foreign policy has continued to focus on the African continent, and Africa, in turn, has begun to see Türkiye as a key partner.

Today, Türkiye has 44 Embassies on the African continent (the 44th was opened in Bissau on July 2022) and these diplomatic missions are absolutely notable for the establishment of official communication channels, the follow-up agreements, and mechanisms for the enhancement of economic-trade and cultural relations between Türkiye and Africa.

Table 5: Summary Table of Sub-Saharan Africa Countries' Embassies in Türkiye

Year	Receptor Country
Before 1998	Ethiopia (1933, 2006), South Africa (1994).
1998-2008	Senegal (2006), Sudan (2006).
2008-2014-2021	Tanzania (2009), Uganda (2010). 2011: Somalia, Nigeria, Gambia, Republic Democratic of Congo, Mauritania. 2012: Niger, Kenya, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Djibouti, South Sudan, 2013: Ivory Coast, Angola, Benin, Guinea, Congo Brazzaville, Rwanda, Zambia. 2014: Mali, Burundi, Tchad. Gabon (2015), Equatorial Guinea (2018), Cameroon (2019) and Sierra Leone (2020). 2021: Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe. 2022: Togo
Total	34 Sub-Saharan African Counties have Embassy in Ankara, totalizing 39 African Embassies including the North African countries.

Source: Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs; <http://www.mfa.gov.tr>, assessed on July 29, 2022.

Table 3 indicated that the development of Türkiye and Africa's cooperation was highlighted by the fact that the African continent currently has 39 diplomatic missions in Ankara, with the opening of the Guinea-Bissau Embassy in June 2021, and the opening of the Togo Embassy in March 2022. These two tables demonstrate and summarize that the political and diplomatic relations between Türkiye and the African continent have deepened and gained new momentum with the reciprocal opening of diplomatic missions in three main periods.

According to Gunn Têtê, the first period concerns the years following Türkiye's and the majority of sub-Saharan African countries' gains of independence in 1923 and 1960, respectively (Gunn Têtê, *The Presence of Türkiye in Africa: Results and Perspectives*, 2020: 3-6). This was the period that went on until the establishment of the Strategic Opening Plan in 1998, a period when the number of diplomatic missions was very limited. The second period,

starting from 1998 to 2008, symbolizes the opening and realization of the first Türkiye-Africa Summit. During this period, no significant actions were implemented in bilateral terms. The third period covers 2008 to 2014 and continues to 2021, being the period between summits and is considered as the era during which the parties massively and reciprocally opened diplomatic missions.

Today, Türkiye has 44 embassies on the continent, and the African continent is represented in Ankara by 34 embassies (two of which are foreseen to open in Bissau and Lomé respectively). Therefore, in a total of 54 African countries, Türkiye is only present in 10 countries, and only 16 African countries do not yet have diplomatic missions in Türkiye. This illustrates the determination of both sides to celebrate a new era in their cooperation, in bilateral terms and in terms of concertation in the international arena. Because these embassies are a classic channel of communication in diplomatic terms and a very important mechanism for consultations. In summary, Türkiye and the African countries opened their embassies in recent years with the purpose of deepening their bilateral relations, consolidating their political and diplomatic relations, and enhancing their economic and trade relations.

In this line, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Mevlut Çavuşoğlu, together with counterparts Suzi Carla Barbosa of Guinea-Bissau and Frederick Shava of Zimbabwe, during the opening ceremony of the Embassy of Zimbabwe just one hour before he went on to officially participate in the opening ceremony of the Guinea-Bissau Embassy in Ankara, stated that *"today, we are experiencing rather an "Africa Day in Ankara" saying that it is a "historic moment" in bilateral relations between the two countries, adding that "the opening of the Ankara Embassy of Guinea-Bissau today will significantly contribute to our relations."* (Aydoğan, 2021: 1-2).

Moreover, Çavuşoğlu reinterprets that *"Türkiye's plans to soon open an embassy in Guinea-Bissau, and that Türkiye has "the will, determination, and a roadmap to further develop our relations with Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, and all African countries"* (Aydoğan, 2021: 2) announcing that *"these Embassies will further develop links between our business people as well as flourishing education and tourism between our nations"* (Aydoğan, 2021: 2). In this sense, he concluded saying that *"we will further enhance our relations with Africa on all platforms."* (Aydoğan, 2021: 2). Apart from the massive opening of diplomatic missions

by both Türkiye and African countries since the AK Party came to power, as well as the establishment and gradual implementation of the African Policy Action Plan, both sides have significantly increased the number of reciprocal high-level and multifaceted visits. These visits also impacted on or contributed to the improvement of both political and diplomatic relations; economic and trade ties; and cultural and educational cooperation in recent years.

Miray Akın informed, that Türkiye is very engaged in the enhancement of its economic cooperation with Africa, and she illustrated that, “*mutual high-level visits play an important role in maintaining our Africa Partnership Policy*” (Akın, *Türkiye's multidimensional African policy cements economic ties with the continent*, 2018: 1-3.). Already, the President of the Republic of Türkiye Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, has visited (Algeria, Chad, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Morocco, the Ivory Coast, Gabon, the Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Egypt, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, the Republic of South Africa, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, and Zambia) 28 African countries so far, including his Prime Ministry period.

Moreover, recently, in October 2021, President Erdoğan visited Angola, Togo, and Nigeria and met the Presidents of Burkina Faso and Liberia, respectively, in Togo, completing his 50 official visits to 30 African countries while the President of the Republic of Türkiye and when he was Prime Minister. Therefore, it should be noted that the increase in these visits is clearly correlated in parallel with the intensification of Türkiye's political and economic relations with Africa since the AK Party came to power. This multidimensional diplomatic effort aims to consolidate the political and, above all, economic relations between the two parties, confirming the will and determination of Türkiye and African countries to enhance their cooperation in several areas.

According to Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Turkish Foreign Minister, as quoted by Joséphine Dedet, “*we wish to continue our multidimensional approach towards Africa*” and this means “*the establishment of close political relations by intensifying highest level bilateral visits*” making Türkiye “*the ‘voice’ of Africa by defending the positions and the rights of the countries of the continent during the meetings, in the international organizations and to cooperate more closely in the economic field by increasing trade, investment and humanitarian aid*” (Joséphine Dedet, Türkiye-Africa Summit: Partners and Friends, 18 novembre 2014: 1-4).

However, it's very possible to understand that while the multilateral framework, bilateralism, and high-level visits focus on different fields of cooperation, a great emphasis is placed on the economic and trade sectors, implying that the primary focus of their relations appears to be economic and trade rather than political, diplomatic, or anything else. By the way, the expansion of political and diplomatic mechanisms such as embassies, reciprocal visits, and multilateral contacts should be viewed as a mere mechanisms for carrying out the strategic plan and reaching the wise level in terms of economic and trade interaction.

In this sense, it is clearly remarkable that the strengthening of diplomatic relations is not only a geostrategic matter but also an economic issue. While Türkiye seeks to expand its influence at the international level and revive its economic weight, Africa seems to be looking for a "balance" in its relations with its traditional partners, in particular China, India, Brazil, and even the European Union (EU) (Joséphine Dedet, 2014: 2-5). In fact, this is surprising because, in a short period, Türkiye has revealed the dynamism of its foreign policy, including toward African countries. As for Africa, it is possible to see that there are also benefits from this African policy of Türkiye.

Logically, in foreign policy, there are always "two actors," and it is a necessity for an interaction to have at least "two actors," and hence the need for "give-and-take" or "win-win" in terms of cooperation between the two interacting parties or actors, Türkiye and the African countries in this case. However, high-level visits and inter-ministerial meetings which have become very frequent recent years, are notable factors of the policy of strengthening bilateral relations between Türkiye and Africa. According to Ufuk Tepebaş, "*after the 2008 Cooperation Summit, high-level visits have taken on a new dimension and are carried out by the President, the Prime Minister, and among other senior government officials*" and reciprocally (Ufuk Tepebaş, 2013: 327).

Moreover, he added that "*Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, chose to make his first official overseas visit in 2013 to countries in Sub-Saharan Africa*" (Tepebaş, 2013: 328). In other words, Türkiye now gives an important place to Sub-Saharan Africa in its foreign policy, so it is evident to say that, with the AK Party government, the visits from above began to be carried out, both from Türkiye and from Sub-Saharan Africa. During the same year, the former Prime Minister and current President of the Republic of Türkiye made his first visit to

Africa, notably to South Africa, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Senegal, and Niger, as well as in northern Africa, namely Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria, and Morocco. In the same line, former Turkish President Abdullah Gül made a series of official visits to Africa, notably to Kenya, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nigeria, Niger, Cameroon, Ghana, Senegal, and Gabon, during the same official visit. The remarkable element of these visits is that they are the first, and they mark the starting point for intensifying high-level reciprocal visits between Türkiye and Africa.

The dynamism is similar on the African side; African state holders such as Chiefs of State and Government, Ministers of various areas, and other leaders responsible for public and private institutions have realised even more than on the Turkish side, following a variety of visits. Globally, these high-level visits influence or have an impact on the establishment and implementation of roadmaps. They facilitate the signature of agreements, memoranda of understanding (MoU), the opening of diplomatic missions, trade and business agreements, and the discussion of issues for the implementation of their agenda already established during the multilateral summits and forums. To summarize, the literature on these issues shows that political and diplomatic actions have been taken not only to establish plans or strategies for enhancing their cooperation, but also, and most importantly, to develop economic and trade relations exploring the potentialities of both Türkiye and Africa for mutual interest and benefit.

2.1.6. Economic and Trade Relations: Economic Forums, Bilateral Trade and Investment

In this section of the dissertation, economic and trade relations, obviously a crucial element of cooperation between Türkiye and Africa, will be examined. The literature on Türkiye's relations with the African continent as a whole, and with the four countries in question in particular, demonstrated how important and primordial the economic aspect of this cooperation is. In this sense, the secondary data as well as the primary data collected for this purpose will support and try to demonstrate this assumption.

Therefore, relations between Türkiye and the African continent have improved considerably in recent years in parallel with the AK Party's arrival to power. From the 2000s on, with the establishment of a “new” foreign policy, proactive, multidimensional and multisectorial, Türkiye started to pay attention to new horizons, like Africa, as a continent of economic potential in terms of investment and an ally for the international system (54 African countries may contribute candidatures to the world or international trade organizations). Certainly, Türkiye was almost absent in Sub-Saharan Africa until recent years, and this is a major disadvantage in its cooperation with this part of Africa. However, given the Ottoman Empire's lack of a colonial past toward Africa, particularly Sub-Saharan African countries, Türkiye may have many advantages.

For instance, it is stated that Türkiye and the African continent could play a prominent role in the international arena together as friends that have almost similar histories. In his terms, “*I find the relations of Türkiye and the African continent gradually enhanced and this development is very valuable for both sides. Türkiye's image in Africa is quite positive. After all, we have a common history.*” For the interviewed person, “*there is a common belief, there are cultural values*” (DEİK, interview, March 17, 2022). According to the interviewed person, it has also been understood and recognized that “*Türkiye neglected Africa for many years, but in the last two decades, very important steps have been taken to improve the relations with the African countries in every field, but mostly in economy and trade*” (DEİK, interview, March 17, 2022).

In the same line, in terms of theories of cooperation, Richard Rosecrance argued, that nowadays, nation-states place a high value on economic and trade issues, as well as the exploration of new horizons in order to secure scarce resources, and they – countries – internalize the spirit of globalization and economic liberalization (Rosecrance, *The Rise of Virtual State*, 2002: 158). Therefore, with the globalization that emerged in the 1980s and early 1990s, the state-nations almost became ‘*trading states*’ with monetary issues as the main purpose of their interaction in international politics and the international system, both in bilateral and multilateral terms.

Rosecrance demonstrates that, “*it is emerging a world where the most important resources are also the least tangible, where the reserves of good/materials, capital and labor*

count less than the economic flows, and where regional interests are supplanted by the global economy” (Rosecrance, 2002: 158-159). From this perspective, it is very possible to understand or state that the international cooperation and diplomatic channels of the states have become, over time, an instrument for the countries to implement their respective agendas on economic issues in order to satisfy their internal and external income needs. Statistically, the data demonstrate Türkiye's and the African continent's importance in the international system in terms of political and geopolitical positions, as well as demographic and economic potential, both collectively and individually. From this perspective, Türkiye, as an heir of the Ottoman Empire and a Eurasian country with its history, culture, and strategic geographical position, always has a strategic place in international politics.

For example, Türkiye, with more than 80 million people (the second largest in Europe after Germany) is currently the 19th economic power in the world and the 19th in Europe²², and keeps the goal of becoming very soon the 10th economic power in the world and the 5th in Europe. In this line, Türkiye keeps increasing its intervention or position in international cooperation, gradually becoming a very prominent player or actor in the international system by paying special attention and engagement with the African continent, especially in recent decades. Consequently, on the one hand, Türkiye keeps improving its image worldwide and has become progressively an emergent power – both politically and economically – in the international order. Africa has gradually become a very important partner in international cooperation and is increasing day-by-day its place in international politics with a particular focus on its engagement with the emerging powers, prioritizing south-south cooperation.

Moreover, in terms of aspects or elements of strategies and power, Africa, which accounted for only 230 million people in 1950 (the year that the majority of African countries became independent from European colonialism), has today over 1 billion people, and according to the estimations, Africa will have over 2 billion people in 2050 and over 4 billion people in 2100²³. This means that the African continent's population will

²² According to the World Bank, Türkiye figured 19th economic power in the World and the 9th in Europe. Türkiye is now working to become the top World's 10 and Europe's to 5 very soon. <https://www.data.worldbank.org/country/Türkiye>, assessed on January 10, 2022.

²³ The African continent has registered a considerable demographic growth in the decades after its independence (1960 in general). In this context and according to the existing literature on this issue, the African continent

double every half-century, giving it a remarkable demographic position and geostrategic power in the world system - now and in the future - for its cooperation with Türkiye, as well as other emerging powers and traditional partners.

From a broader perspective, the West African region maintains its representativeness on the African continent and continues to play an important role in both political and economic spheres. The West Africa region counted about 3700 people in 2018 and consequently represents about 25% of the population of the African continent. In terms of population and economy, the western part of Africa is still the largest, right after the northern part. In the last ten years, according to an OECD report dated 2018, “*despite rapid demographic growth, GDP per capita has grown at 3.1% per year since 2000, the highest rate in the continent compared to a 2% continental average*” (OECD, 2018: 49). Accordingly, as the fastest-growing region of the continent by GDP, West Africa is the leading exporter of several primary commodities, and this reality helps the West African regions achieve considerable representativeness in economic aspects.

Adapting to the globalization era, where the economic question is critical, where politics, geopolitics and classical diplomacy have almost become vehicles for states to achieve their goal—resources – and where economy and trade are no longer secondary elements in international politics, Türkiye, like others, has established a very reflective and intelligent agenda, especially since the early 1980s with the emergence of globalization. In this context, Türkiye has been implementing or pursuing a multifaceted foreign policy – a multidimensional and multisectoral policy – in its interaction with the world in the international system, both bilaterally and multilaterally. For example, in specific terms, the cooperation of Türkiye with the African continent has been multifaceted, leading with the different countries of the continent and showing interest in all sectors, even if, for sure, Türkiye keeps focusing on expanding economic and commercial ties with the giants of the continent. This policy of cooperation allows Türkiye, the African Union, and the countries individually to enhance their relations.

will double its population every half century. In political and economic terms, this means that the continent is becoming a considerable and strategic actor in international cooperation.

Since then, relations with Africa have constituted a significant part of Ankara's multi-dimensional foreign policy. The intensified diplomatic efforts have been coupled with business diplomacy and bolstered Türkiye's economic ties with African countries. The enhancement of economic relations – organization of economic and business forums, signing of economic and commercial agreements, the realization of the Joint Economic Commissions (JEC), etc. - has progressively boosted trade volume between the two sides, increasing day-by-day the Turkish investment in Africa with numerous projects undertaken by Turkish contractors in different countries on the continent, like Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Niger, and Guinea-Bissau in the west, and in other parts of Africa as well. For instance, it's important to highlight that the diplomatic offensive of Türkiye toward the African continent and its reciprocal response to the African countries and regional organizations, has not been limited to the opening of diplomatic representations – embassies – but is also accompanied by other elements of cooperation in order to facilitate the development of economic relations between Türkiye and the African continent.

For example, today the Turkish National Airline Agency (THY) keeps increasing the number of its flights to the African continent in order to improve transport opportunities with African countries, facilitate mutual contact between businessmen, ensure that Türkiye is a crossroads in the transport of African people to the world and strengthens connections between peoples. For this purpose, THY has reached 60 destinations in 39 African countries in the pre-pandemic era – 2019 – and the agency is gradually increasing the number of flights with the lifting of travel bans. This means that, thanks to THY, Türkiye is also gaining a very crucial place in the African continent in terms of airline connections, cargo and people transportation, trade link establishment, and economic diplomacy since the national airline agency obviously helps to expand overseas the positive image of Türkiye by serving such a number of African countries.

The Third Türkiye-Africa Economic and Business Forum was recently organised in Istanbul on October 22, 2021, under the auspices of the African Union Commission and the Turkish Government via the Ministry of Trade. The Third Türkiye-Africa Economic and Business Forum was recently organised in Istanbul on October 22, 2021, under the auspices of the African Union Commission and the Turkish Government via the Ministry of Trade. A considerable number of ministers in charge of the economic, trade, industry, and infrastructure

sectors of both different African countries and Türkiye participated in this notable conference. Many businesspeople and influential people from Türkiye and Africa attended this forum to discuss the potentials and possibilities of improving economic and trade relations between Türkiye and Africa in a variety of mutually beneficial areas. In this regard, as illustrated by the theme *Deepening Türkiye-Africa Partnership: Trade, Investment, Technology & Logistics*, the above-mentioned forum, preceded by ministerial bilateral meetings and business high-level meetings, was a great opportunity for both Türkiye and the African countries to not only discuss the formal agenda but also to present their prominent companies and engage in business-to-business networking for mutual benefits.

In this context, in representation of the African Union Chairperson, the African Union Commissioner for Economic Development, Trade, Industry and Mining Ambassador Albet Muchanga, mentioned in the Final Declaration of the Forum, “*understood that actions which will be undertaken from the Forum should strengthen the Africa-Türkiye cooperation for mutually beneficial inclusive growth and sustainable development*” (The Third Türkiye-Africa Economic and Business Forum to support Agenda 2063 for sustainable development and inclusive growth, 2021: 1). Moreover, Ambassador Muchanga illustrated that with the implementation of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), “*the Free Zone will provide a new and large operating space for traders and investors in Africa informing that the AfCFTA is a market of 1.3 billion people expected to reach 1.7 billion by 2030*” (2021: 1). In the terms of Ambassador Muchanga (2021: 1-2):

“This size and the continent-wide removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers as well as policy and regulatory harmonization in investment, intellectual property rights, competition policy and digital trade, make Africa an attractive market for trade and investment, and we encourage Turkish business people to take advantage of this new commercial space.”

These engagements not only encourage Turkish companies or business people to go and invest in the African countries but also help to enhance the volume of trade between Türkiye and these countries. In addition, it is important to highlight that, apart from the forum, trade and investment fairs are organized in both Türkiye and in different African countries in

different periods, and, according to Ambassador Muchanga, “*one of the targets of the fair will be signing of trade and investment deals of over 40 billion USD*” (2021: 2).

In terms of strategies for the creation of a favorable environment for trade and investment, he explains that the sectors for developing trade and investment engagements between Africa and Türkiye include banking, energy, innovation, and technology, including transformation to a green economy, manufacturing, agro-processing, transport, shipping, logistics, health, education, construction, and tourism, including medical tourism. That is why he argued that, “*the two sides should use these sectors to accelerate recovery from the Covid-19 pandemic; and, consequently, promote industrialization, poverty reduction and generation of decent jobs on both sides of the partnership*” (2021: 2). The conference's goal, however, was to discuss strategies for building on Türkiye and Africa's partnership, as well as their collaboration in agriculture, innovation, and industrialization, which was primarily desired by African countries.

For the implementation of these strategies or plans, each side aims to provide a great environment for business and, by doing so, try to realize its points of interest. For instance, if the African countries elect industrialization and the transfer of knowledge as much and soon as possible, Türkiye “*aims to nearly double its bilateral trade volume with Africa from last year's 25.3 billion US dollars to 50 billion US dollars, and later raise this even further to 75 billion US dollars*” (2021: 2) in the shortest time possible. Following the analysis, it is important to note that the referred economic and business forum made some critical decisions and recommendations, such as: For both Türkiye and Africa to gradually know their respective potentials and create a favorable environment for business and investment,

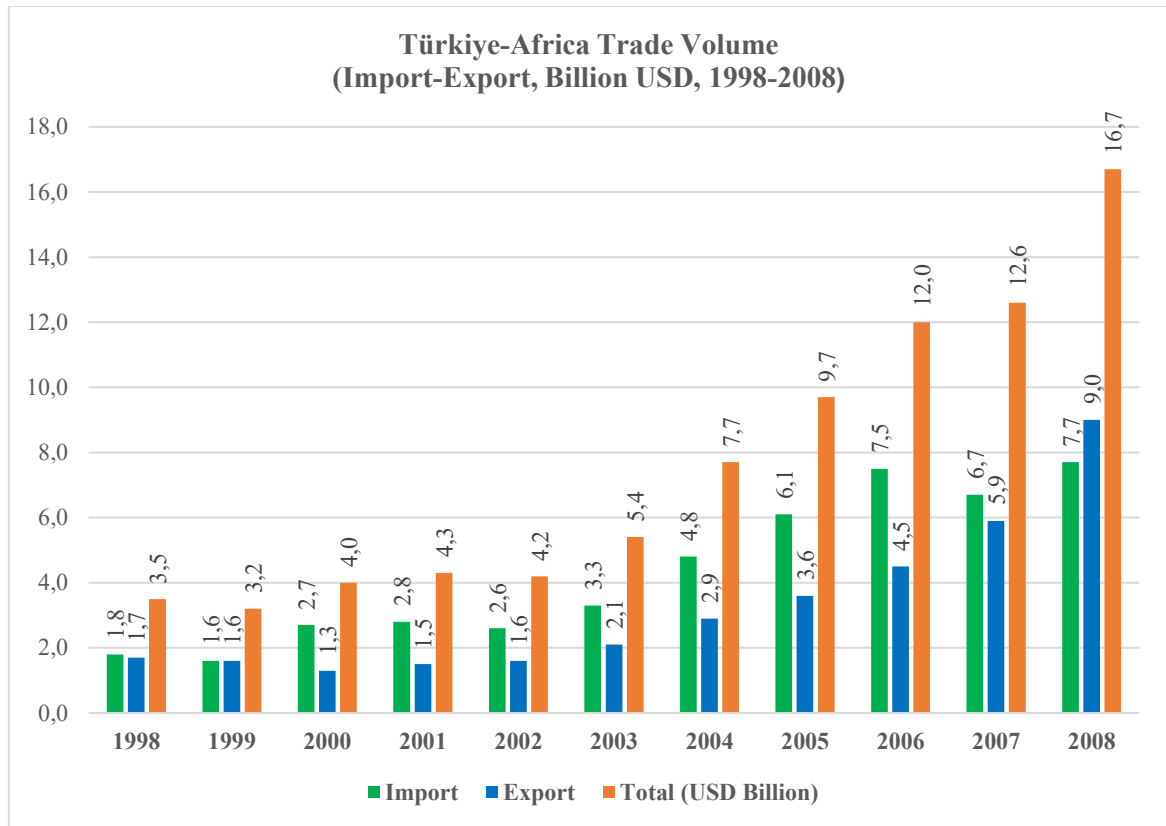
- i) For Türkiye to gradually understand the potentialities of the African continent and consequently increase its trade volume with African countries,
- ii) For Africa to slowly reach its goal of industrialization and for Türkiye to put more money into African countries, both privately and publicly,
- iii) For Africa to see increased trade volumes with Türkiye and have an impact on economic development,

- iv) For both parties to continue to work to improve their bilateral economic and trade relations in accordance with the summit agendas and the economic and business forums,
- v) For both sides to keep their engagement on the facilitation of the implementation and respect of the agreements on trade and investment and to make the necessary follow-up for the consolidation of their partnership for mutual benefits.

But it's important to look at numbers when talking about the economic forums and how they affected the economic and trade relationships between the two countries. Therefore, the graphic below illustrates the increase in trading volume between Türkiye and Africa, especially after the AK Party came to power. The period of 1998-2008 covers the implementation of “*The Programme of Türkiye’s Opening up to Africa*” until the organization of the “*First Türkiye Africa Summit in 2008*,” which attaches great importance to the economic question between the two parties.

This summit made possible a strengthening of the ties between the two parties because, during this summit, several initiatives were taken with immediate impact on the trade relations between Türkiye and the African countries. It is clear that the direct involvement of the governments – Türkiye and the African countries holding economic and trade forums and implementing some mechanisms for follow-up – is a significant point for the enhancement of these relations (see graphic 1 below).

As stated by Ünal Ceviköz, Deputy Under-Secretary at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “*we aim to increase the volume of trade to 30 billion dollars in 2010*” (Official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Türkiye, February 12, 2022). However, since 2006, this level has already been reached by China, which is the first economic partner on the African continent, followed by the United States, the EU, and other emerging powers, such as the BRICS group. Furthermore, according to Ufuk Tepebaş, Turkish companies are primarily established in Sub-Saharan African countries and are the most economically prosperous, particularly in South Africa and Nigeria, trailing Algeria: Türkiye's leading economic partner in North Africa (Tepebaş, 2010: 73.)

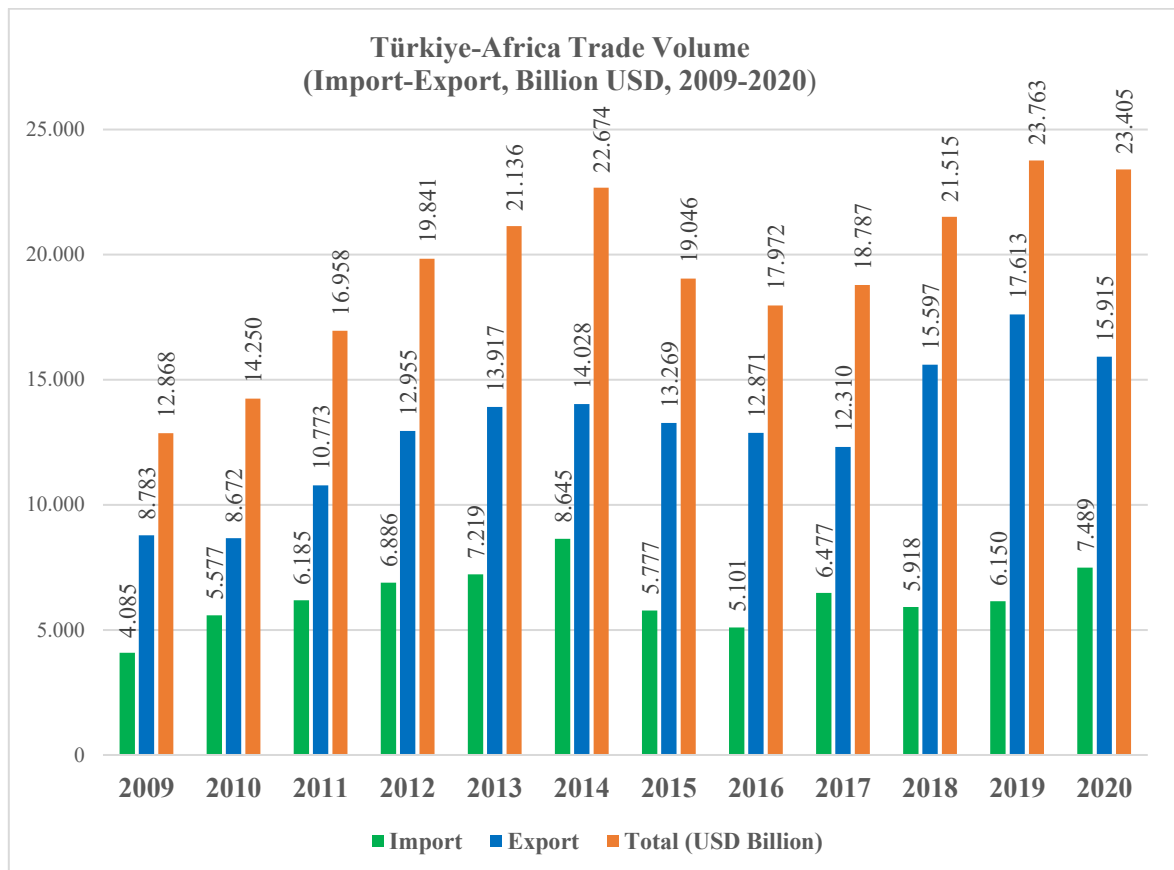
Graphic 1: Türkiye-Africa Trade Volume (billion USD, 1998-2008)

Source: The data of this graphic was collected from the Ministry of Economy of Türkiye, www.ekonomi.gov.tr, assessed on 09.02.2022. (The graphic was designed by the researcher).

The trade volume between the two sides continues to grow at an exponential rate, and the trade volume has been increasing since the last decade. Graphic 1 illustrates that while total trade volume was only 3.5 billion US dollars in 1998, it reached 16.7 billion US dollars in 2008 (the year of the organization of the 1st Türkiye-Africa Summit held in Istanbul). To this first summit, it was very notable the participation of several Head of State and Government, international organizations, private sector, civil society leaders and academicians. Absolutely, this increase is the result of a very good strategy of cooperation implemented gradually since the first Türkiye-Africa Economic Summit held in 2003, in order to boost the level of trade between the parties. In the abstract, it is to state that the economic and trade relations between Türkiye and Africa have undergone a gradual but considerable evolution in recent years. For instance, it is highlight that:

“One of the most concrete indicators of Türkiye-Africa strengthening relations is the developing economic ties and rapidly increasing trade figures. Turkish total trade volume with the African Continent has increased from 12.868 billion US dollars in 2009 to 23.405 billion US dollars in 2020.²⁴ It is also to highlight that, despite the pandemic conditions of 2020, Türkiye-Africa have managed to keep the trade volumes stable, which is a considerable success for both sides.”

Graphic 2: Türkiye-Africa Trade Volume (billion USD, 2009-2020)



Source: The data of this graphic was collected from the Ministry of Economy of Türkiye, www.ekonomi.gov.tr, assessed on 09.02.2022. (The graphic was designed by the researcher).

²⁴ As illustrated by Graphic 2, the total Türkiye-Africa trade volume reached 23.405 billion US dollars in 2020. However, according to the information collected from the interview for this research, if the trade figures of defense sector are included, the real total trade volume of Türkiye-Africa may reach 25.5 billion US dollars in 2020. It is important to indicate that it is not easy to find the real trade volume because the trade in defense and security materials are not easily provided to the public, so to the literature.

Moreover, Türkiye's position in the African market is mostly facilitated by the price and quality of the products that Türkiye offers to the African market. Indeed, in terms of Türkiye's exports to Africa, there are mainly manufactured products such as iron, mineral fuels, lubricants, nuclear reactors, textiles, and some “*know-how*” in technology issues. Türkiye also mainly imports some primary products like pearls, precious stones, inorganic chemicals, cocoa, iron, and steel, from different Sub-Saharan African countries. As confirmed by Alain Vicky (Türkiye taking on Africa: business dynamism and diplomatic ballet, 2011: 4-5):

"From 20 to 30% less expensive than European products, '*made in Türkiye*': construction materials, agri-food, engineering, machinery, textiles ready-to-wear, medical equipments, information technologies, personal hygiene and cleaning, or jewelry etc; enjoy a better reputation with African consumers than its Chinese competitor."

In the same line, Metin Demir, General Manager of Pancar Motors mentioned by Vicky, stated, “*the farmers in the African continent recognize our equipment at first glance. Our engines can stay for years if you know how to maintain them*” (2011: 5). For instance, first Türkiye-Africa Summit held in 2005 was preceded by first Türkiye-Africa Economic Forum of 2003, and was followed by another economic forum in 2006 with important recommendations on how to enhance their economic and trade relations. In terms of analysis, it means that the economy and trade can be considered a priority of the cooperation between Türkiye and the African continent. Diplomatic and political, cultural and educational aspects of the cooperation are mostly “*strategy*” or even “*mechanisms*” for the cooperation, they are not the aim or final purpose to be reached for both Türkiye and the African countries.

As stated by Turkish researchers Ufuk Tepebaş and Ambassador Ahmet Kavas, “*African regional or sub-regional organizations all have a great influence on the continent. Moreover, it should be noted that these international regimes are the result of regional integration movements aiming to promote their economies and boost their trade*” (2013: 347-348). In contrast, Türkiye is dedicated to getting its relations closer with these regional institutions in order to consolidate, as a final or main purpose, its economic and trade relations with the African continent (2013: 347-348). In terms of economic and trade relations, Türkiye has been considering the African regional and sub-regional communities and political organizations as

a prominent door or key driving element for the establishment and consolidation of its economic relations with the continent and the countries respectively. In this sense, Ufuk Tepebaş stated that:

“African communitarian institutions such as The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), The East Africa Community (EAC), ECOWAS and The Southern African Development Community (SADC) are very important in the economy of the African continent. Establishing good relations with these institutions has, therefore, become an imperative for Türkiye" (2013: 348).

These regional African organizations can contribute to the establishment, consolidation, and enhancement of Türkiye’s economic and commercial relations with not only the entire continent, but also with its countries in bilateral terms. For instance, what concerns the Western African region as the most dynamic economic integration zone on the continent, The Cooperation Agreement between DEİK and ECOWAS was attended by Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEİK) President Ömer Cihad Vardan and ECOWAS President Marcel Alain at Souza on May 24, 2016 in Istanbul under the auspices of the Ministry of Trade of the Republic of Türkiye. As a consequence, and in multilateral terms, he indicates that:

“ECOWAS will play a major role in DEİK's African strategy in terms of increasing Türkiye's recognition and business connections across the African continent. In this context, the signing of a cooperation agreement with ECOWAS, which enables possible business opportunities in the West African region to be evaluated in more detail, is of great importance in order for Turkish business world representatives to get more shares from infrastructure projects in West Africa” (DEİK ile Batı Afrika Devletleri Ekonomik Topluluğu (ECOWAS) arasında İşbirliği Anlaşması imzalandı, 2020: 7-8).

Therefore, this indicates very well the global strategy adopted by both Türkiye and the African countries and countries for the improvement of economic and trade relations between the two parties. The global establishment of these relations throughout the African continent with the aim of accelerating and consolidating the membership of Türkiye in these regional and sub-regional organizations, and the consequent establishment of agreements on economic

and trade with these organizations may greatly help with the reciprocal knowledge of the parties. It also helps on harmonization of laws and regulations on trade or reviving political relations through international organizations.

Because of the fact that Türkiye has become a non-regional member of the African Development Bank (ADB), the African Union, and almost all the financial, community, and political organizations of the four zones of Africa – West, East, South and Center – corresponding to the Sub-Saharan African part of the continent; on the one hand, it serves to help Turkish companies to undertake investment projects in Africa and on the other hand, to take concerted positions on both regional and international issues related to politics-diplomacy, and economic or trade as well.

In addition to these advantages provided by interaction at the level of the regional and sub-regional organizations, it allows the implementation of projects in order to ensure concrete results of the cooperation framework for solidarity and a concerted agenda for the "*common future*" as stated or adopted by the First Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit held in 2008 in Istanbul, during which remarkable statements and decisions were made by Turkish and African policymakers or leaders. For example, through these institutions, in particular the African Development Bank (ADB), Türkiye can more easily grant lines of credit for the implementation of development projects in African countries.

However, considering West Africa's community-economic-political organization (ECOWAS) and bilateral aspects (the 15 West African States are members of ECOWAS), this integration and agreements may contribute to the enhancement of investment and harmonization of positions in international trade and financial organizations. That is why, following the signing ceremony of the cooperation agreements held in Istanbul as mentioned above, it was indicated that:

“With the cooperation agreement between ECOWAS and DEİK, which covers the countries of Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo and Cape Verde, Turkish Business representatives are expected to increase investment and cooperation opportunities in West African countries” (DEİK, 2020: 8).

In this line, according to Alain Vicky, (*Türkiye Taking on Africa: Business Dynamism and Diplomatic Ballet*, 2011: 21-22), this strategy of openness consists of developing a coherent vision for a ‘*common future*’ by removing all possible ‘*obstacles*’ and ‘*evaluating*’ the possibilities and potentialities that offer mutual benefits in the best possible way for both Türkiye and the African continent. In addition, it clearly demonstrates these crucial steps as follows:

“Until 2003, there were no more than some 5 Sub-Saharan Africa countries that had trade agreements with Türkiye. Today and particularly following the First Türkiye-Africa Summit of 2008, there are economic and trade agreements for the promotion, protection of investment and free trade agreements between Türkiye and more than 30 countries in sub-Saharan Africa: so more than the half”²⁵ (Turkish Ministry of Economy official website, assessed on February 5, 2022).

The table below illustrates a clear message of these relations, meaning that both Türkiye and Africa – both universally and bilaterally – now have great facilities to carry out their economic and commercial relations with considerable advantages that may result from these agreements and facilities like – direct foreign investment, increment of import-export volume, and somehow, public-private partnerships and official development assistance, etc. Consequently, they also may ensure the desired goal for both Türkiye and the African continent.

Table 6: Sub-Saharan African Countries with and without Economic and Trade Agreements with Türkiye (2022)

No	Countries with Agreement	Countries without Agreements
1	Senegal	Republic of Central Africa
2	Ivory Coast	Burundi
3	Niger	Malawi
4	South Africa	Cape Vert
5	Ethiopia	Liberia
6	Nigeria	Sao Tome and Principe
7	Kenya	Togo
8	Ghana	Botswana
9	Sudan	Erythrea

²⁵ It should be noted that Türkiye and Africa started to implement the Strategic Action Plan with concrete joint documents including “*Economic and Investment Cooperation Strategy Mechanisms*” established in 2003 institutionalizing gradually their economic and trade cooperation.

10	Angola	South Sudan
11	Democratic Republic of Congo	Comoro Islands
12	Congo	Swaziland
13	Somalia	
14	Tanzania	
15	Gabon	
16	Guinea-Bissau	
17	Burkina Faso	
18	The Gambia	
19	Guinea	
20	Cameroon	
21	Mali	
22	Mozambique	
23	Zambia	
24	Namibia	
25	Mauritania	
26	Tchad	
27	Sierra Leone	
28	Mauritus Island	
29	Rwanda	
30	Madagascar	
31	Benin	
32	Djibouti	
33	Equatorial Guinea	

Source: *The data of this table was collected from the Ministry of Economy of Türkiye, www.ekonomi.gov.tr, assessed on, 09.02.2022 (The table was made by the researcher).*

Table 4 illustrates the real level of economic and trade relations between Türkiye and the African continent with the establishment of trade agreements during the last decades. The establishment of these agreements demonstrates the interest of both parties, and their implementation helps to make dynamic the economic and trade relations since it provides tax facilities, open lines of credit and establish agendas of periodic follow up and encourages Turkish businesspeople to make more and more investments in the continent, while African ones also work with their counterparts in different areas of investment. Shortly, these agreements establish the basis of economic and trade relations, and more particularly the basis for investments.

Consequently, in terms of investment, Türkiye, through its multinationals and contractors, has been implementing significant projects. Miray Akın, who states not only on the

mechanism for the enhancement of economic trade relations, but also on investments, argues that *“the establishment of the business councils, until 2020, by the Turkish Economic Relations Council (DEİK) with 19 Sub-Saharan African countries allows for strengthening the economic partnership between Türkiye and Africa”* (Miray Akın, 2018: 3).

In the same line, Miray Akın states that during last few years, Türkiye has established Joint Business Councils with 45 African countries, of which 40 are sub-Saharan African countries. As a result, in collaboration with the commercial attachés in its respective Embassies in the African countries, Türkiye continues to harmonize its intervention in multidimensional and multisectoral forms of cooperation, and gradually establishes its presence in African countries. For instance, the ECOWAS representative highlights that the share of Sub-Saharan African countries in the overall international business volume of Turkish multinationals or contractors is around 21%, while the share of only North Africa is around 19%. Besides, Turkish contractors in the continent have so far and deeply undertaken over 1.150 projects which are worth around 55 billion US dollars until 2019.

Considering this, Miray Akın, quoting Salih Kaya, the DEİK's Director of Foreign Relations, stressed that Türkiye and Africa have many potentialities to explore together and with the establishment of the necessary mechanisms of cooperation between the two parties, both Türkiye and African countries have great opportunities for great investments. For instance, he argues that *“because Africa has a large number of natural resources, investors want to do business in Africa; the potential of Africa is very high. Therefore, Türkiye and Africa have many opportunities to share mutually”* (Akın, 2018: 4).

However, he indicates that Türkiye is just beginning to develop its relations with African countries and needs to make more efforts or agreements with them. Its institutional relations with the African regional and sub-regional organizations, as well as economic and trade protocols, may be very beneficial to the expansion of investments. Moreover, according to a report by the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs published in October 2015, *“Türkiye’s investments in Africa generated 16.593 jobs throughout the continent until 2014. In the same line, Türkiye has seen an influx in the number of Turkish investors on the continent, and African interest in the Turkish market and products has substantially increased.”*

For instance, the report has provided statistical data about Turkish investment in the African continent, which illustrates the current stage of the economic and trade relations of Türkiye with the continent. For instance, “*the volume of development or investment projects undertaken by Turkish contracting companies – in particular the construction sector – has progressively and rapidly expanded its activities over the African continent and has reached 19.5 billion US dollars in sub-Saharan African countries and 71.1 billion US dollars in all the African countries, including North Africa.*” (Turkish Ministry of Economy, interview, March 27, 2022). These remarkable numbers obviously illustrate the current level of cooperation and the place of the economy in the interaction between Türkiye and the African continent. In this sense, it is important to recapitulate the crucial patches of Türkiye-African economic and trade relations during the last few years:

- Türkiye-Africa Economic and Business Forums were realized in 2003, 2008, 2013 and 2018,
- Türkiye’s Joint Business Councils in 45 African countries, 40 of which are in sub-Saharan Africa,
- Commercial Attachés in 26 Turkish Embassies in Africa,
- DEİK's business councils in 45 African countries, 40 of which are in Sub-Saharan Africa,
- Business forums organized by the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association (MUSIAD) through its branches in 12 African countries,
- Turkish Airlines flights to 60 destinations in 39 African countries, before the pandemic in 2020,
- Investment projects worth 71.1 billion US dollars undertaken by Turkish construction companies in Africa,
- Türkiye’s investments in Africa generated 16.593 jobs throughout the continent;

- Türkiye's total trade volume of 25.3 billion US dollars with Africa.

Table 7: Crucial Turkish Investment Sectors in the African Continent

No	Sectors	Sub-sectors
1	Construction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Infrastructures implemented by SUMMA & LİMAK; - Cement, iron, steel production units; - Materials of construction.
2	Food, Livestock and Agriculture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creation of transformation units on livestock and other agricultural sub-sectors; - Creation of transformation units on fruits and vegetables; - Materials for agriculture and cattle raising.
3	Textil and Furniture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment of transformation units on textil and furniture.
4	Health and Sanitation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Health infrastructures and system, medical equipments and materials.
5	Transportation, Information, Technology and Telecommunication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Turkish Airlines flights and cargo, maritime transport and TICs.

Source: *Turkish Ministry of Trade, January 19, 2022.*

2.1.7. “Non-State Actors” Implication in the Cooperation

Apart from public institutions, Turkish Official Development Assistance (ODA) and Turkish Development Assistance (TDA) toward the African continent are carried out by Turk-

ish Non-Government Organizations (NGO), Civil Society Organizations (CSO), and even privately acting institutions. All these actors focus on different activities for bettering the life of local communities.

These activities could be resumed on emergency and humanitarian assistance undertaken by Turkish NGOs and CSO mostly in the fields of education, health, water and sanitation, food and housing around the world. These interventions are circumstantial (emergencies caused by natural disasters, hunger, etc) or activities well planned, like the construction of schools, hospitals or health centers, water wells, or implementation of food programs on the occasion of religious events in different countries.

Therefore, in Türkiye's public diplomacy activities for the African countries, non-state actors are at the forefront as well as states. The activities carried out by Turkish non-NGOs in many areas in African countries contribute to Türkiye's image in Africa. Globally, Turkish NGOs are actively involved in various projects and activities in many African countries. Between the four countries in case study – Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger and Guinea-Bissau – the activities of these NGOs are asymmetrics. For instance, these activities are carried out in different fields such as humanitarian and emergency assistance, water and sanitation, health, and education according to the needs of the country. For example, Turkish NGOs and CSO like IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation, Turkish Woldwise Doctors etc are actively implements projects and programs in different fields in Niger and Senegal with their respective representative and solid contacts. Compared to Ivory Coast and Guniea-Bissau, Niger and Senegal are mostly benefitting from the humanitarian assistance of Turkish non-state actors in the cooperation.

Shortly, IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation operates in emergency and disaster areas, war-affected regions, countries and regions in needs (Official Wesite of IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation, July 24, 2022). In addition to emergency aid, social aid, education and health, this humanitarian foundation also operates in the prevention of human rights violations and food scarcity, Ramadan and Sacrifice aids. The foundation also implements durable projects in regions that have suffered from war, occupation and natural disasters with the construction of housing and education centers, water wells and health centers are some of these projects (Official Wesite of IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation, July 24, 2022).

Moreover, Turkish Worldwide Doctors (Official Website of Yeryüzü Doktorları, 2022), whose mission is to reach those in needs by implmenting projects and activities in the field of health. These humanitarian activities include the provison of eye surgeries, sunglasses, reading glasses and prescription glasses in many countries of the world including African countries (Official Website of Yeryüzü Doktorları, 2022). To make a general assessment, humanitarian aid activities are carried out by many NGOs in differents areas in the African countries, and these activities has been supporting Türkiye's public diplomacy activities. These activies also helps for the enhancement of mutual knowledge and promotion of the images of Türkiye and the African countries in question. Accordingly, Turkish NGOs and CSO intervine in different occasions and part of the world, including Africa:

“In Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Kenya, Nigeria, Niger and Tanzania, the construction of training centers were completed with a capacity of 350 students, which children and young people can benefit” (TİKA: Turkish Development Assistance Report, 2020: 94-95).

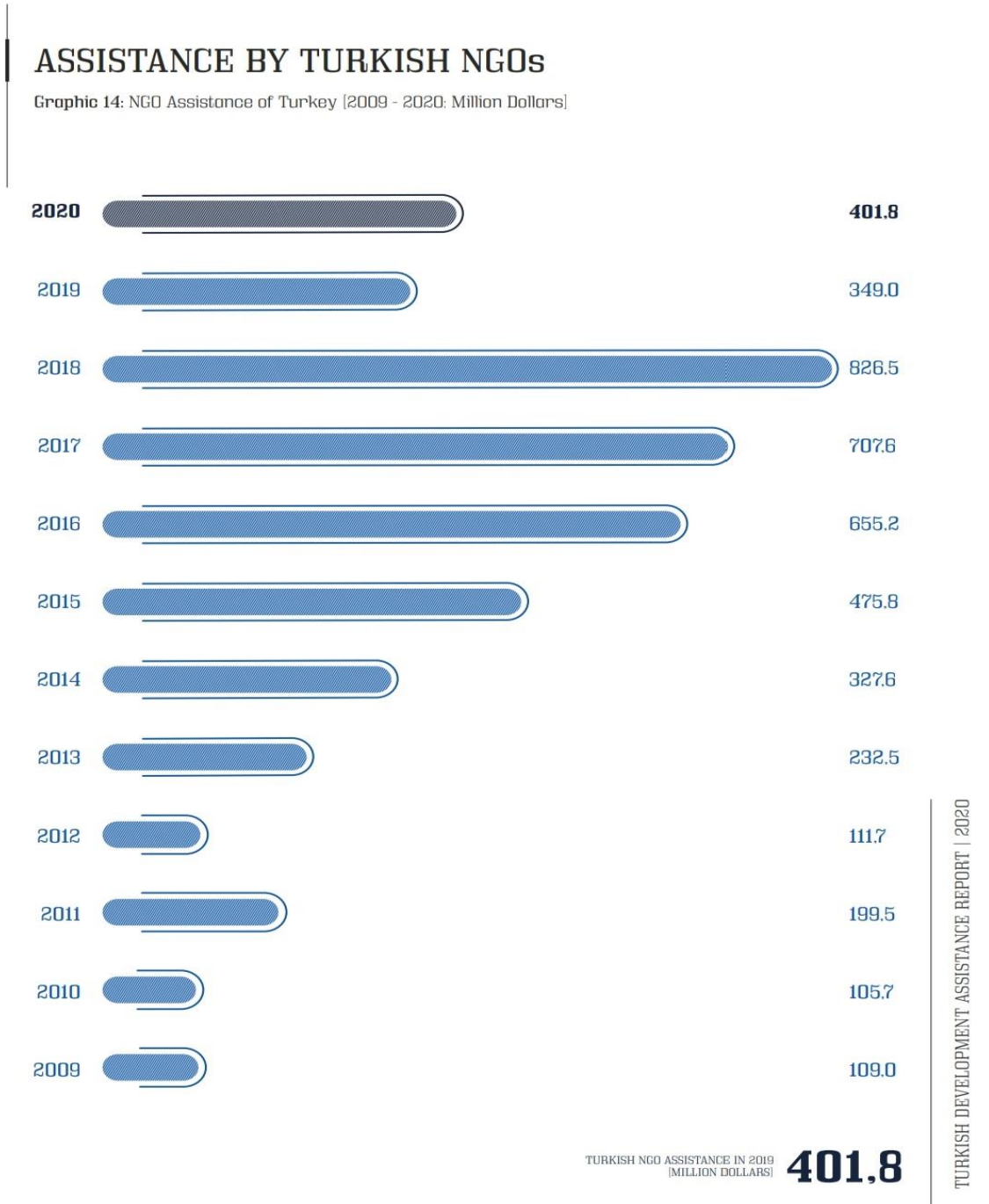
“After the earthquake that occurred on November 28, 2019 in Albania, a program of construction covering 522 residences, a parking garage for 375 vehicles and 37 shops was started in order to meet the need for emergency shelter in the regions affected by the earthquake” (2020: 92-93).

“For the victims of the civil war in Libya, 1.500 food parcels, hygiene packages for 1.200, 1.119 blankets, and 78 wheelchairs were distributed. And in Syria, to the establishment of a mobile soup kitchen with a daily capacity of 5.000 ready-to-drink table/hot meals, 2.500 ready-to-cook/hot meals were produced in the soup kitchen to meet the needs of the people in need in the Jarablus Region. During the coronavirus period, a total of 30 thousand 240 hygiene kits were distributed by Turkish NGOs who were with the Turkish Cypriot people” (2020: 93).

Moreover, the report illustrated that the Turkish NGOs have been very active in some African countries like Ethiopia, Sudan, Niger and Burkina Faso. However, among the African countries, in global terms, Ethiopia and Sudan figured on the list of the countries that benefited more in the education and training field, Niger and Burkina Faso in water and sanitation. For

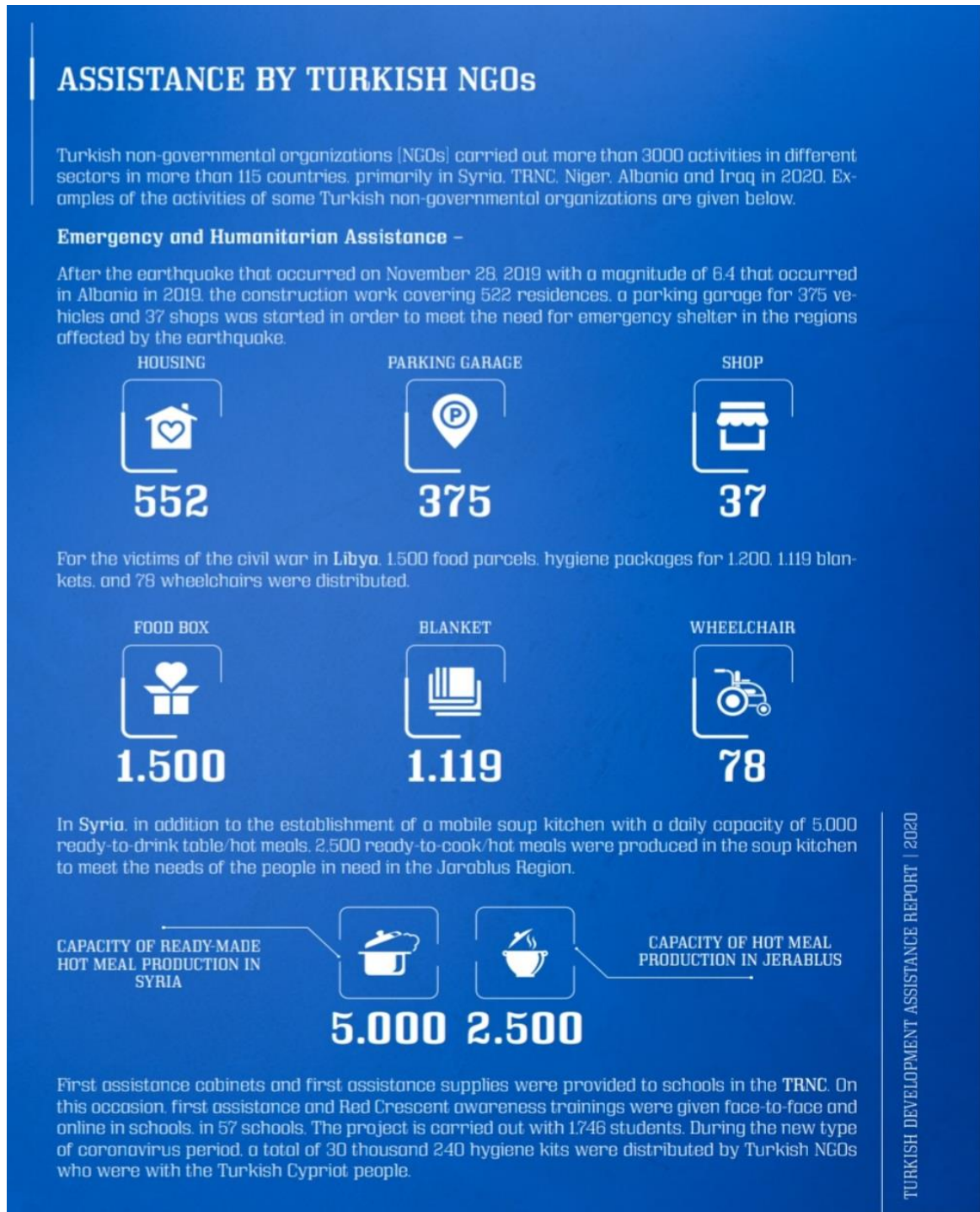
instance, the report indicates that “Ethiopia, Syria, Yemen and Sudan were the countries where training activities were carried out intensively by Turkish NGOs in 2020” (2020: 8-9).

Figure 3: Turkish Development Assistance by Turkish NGOs (million USD, 2009-2020)



Source: TİKA, Turkish Development Assistance Report, 2020: 17).

Figure 4: Turkish Development Assistance by Turkish NGOs (some fields and activities)



Source: TİKA, *Turkish Development Assistance Report*, (2020: 22).

CHAPTER 3: STRATEGIES OF THE COOPERATION AND THE ORIENTATION OF THE FOREIGN POLICY

This chapter of the dissertation illustrates and examines the strategies of the cooperation between Türkiye and the African Continent in general, and the four concerned West African countries in particular. The section also analyzes the nature of the orientation of Turkish foreign policy toward this region of the world, and discusses the mechanisms used by the actors in inter-action in this cooperation.

3.1. PRINCIPLES OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICA

Due to the internal problems that occurred after the foundation of the Republic of Türkiye, efforts to protect national borders and efforts to impose itself in the international arena, relations with African countries were not sufficiently emphasized and this region was neglected. With the end of the Cold War in 1991, Türkiye pursued a westward-oriented foreign policy by creating a security-centered foreign policy, which resulted in its inability to develop mutual relations with the countries in the African Continent.

Since 1998, Türkiye has realized this problem, changed its policy and decided to improve its relations with Africa. For Türkiye, the years 1998, 2005, 2008 and 2010 have been very notable turning points for its expansion strategies toward Africa. There is a historical connection between Africa and Türkiye and this can be seen in the past mutual relations. Türkiye has realized the importance of Africa over time. Türkiye has invested and continues to invest in the African continent in political, economic, military, socio-cultural and educational fields in order to produce and implement outward-oriented multifaceted foreign policy in the international arena. Türkiye has made significant contributions to its soft power with its medium and long-term activities. The activities carried out in the African region have not been short-term but medium and long-term investments.

Africa is a continent with a land area of 30.370.000 square kilometers. The total population of this continent is 1.275.920,972. There are 54 countries in total on this continent. As a result of these features, it ranks second among the continents in the world. It has 6% of the world's surface area and 24% of the total land area of the world. The African continent has a critically prominent position surrounded by water on all four sides. It is surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea to the north, the Indian Ocean to the south, the Atlantic Ocean to the west, the Sinai Peninsula, the Red Sea and the Suez Canal to the east, and includes Madagascar and many islands large and small within its borders.

Apart from the 54 independent states on the African Continent, there are 9 regions and 3 limitedly recognized states. The African Continent has a young population in general. It is also to highlight that 50% of the population in the African Continent is under the age of 19. As can be seen, the African Continent has a young and dynamic population structure. The country of Algeria, which is located in the African continental land area, is in a position with the largest land surface area. However, Nigeria is the most populous country in this continent. The Equator line divides the African Continent into two. Africa has a variety of climates and vegetation, and due to this effect of the Equator, it is the only continent in the world that experiences different climate zones at the same time. The African continent hosts a wide variety of people in terms of ethnic, cultural, linguistic, etc. Africa is the center of attention in the world due to its location, underground and aboveground riches. For these reasons, the African Continent has been colonized by European states since the 16th-17th centuries.

The emergence of modern states in the African Continent coincides with the decolonization process in the 20th century. Decolonization is the name given to the process in which the colonial states on the African Continent regained their independence, starting in 1940 and ending in 1997 (Söğüt, 2019: 267). Moreover, the states on the African Continent began to take shape during the African Plunder, also known as the Scramble for Africa, which took place between 1881 and 1994 (African Map, 2022). One of the most notable reasons that attracted colonial powers to the African Continent was its underground resources. As a result of the research conducted in 2018, the oil reserves in the African Continent contain 7.2% of the entire world's reserves.

In addition, the natural gas reserve, which is one of the underground resources, contains 7.3% of the world's reserves as a result of the research conducted on the same (Afrika Açılımı ve Enerji, 2022). These resources inevitably attract colonial powers.⁹² In 1963, the Organization of African Unity was established by the states in Africa in order to gain independence and sovereignty in the African Continent and to be a single fist against the colonial powers. According to the latest data, there are 56 African countries in this organization. “*Between 1963 and 2002, Türkiye's relations with the Organization of African Unity remained limited for various reasons. Starting with the 1998 Africa Action Plan, the process gained momentum in 2002 with the steps of the Opening to Africa Policy.*” (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interview, April 06, 2022).

Between 2002 and 2005, Türkiye participated in the African Union summits as a guest country. 2005 was declared the Year of Africa and as a result of the policy pursued, Türkiye obtained the status of Observer Country in the African Union Organization. In 2008, Türkiye was announced to the world as a strategic partner by the Organization of African Unity. The *Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit* was held in Istanbul on August 18-21, 2008. The summit was followed by the *Türkiye-Africa Business Forum*, which introduced Türkiye's economic capabilities to African businessmen and bureaucrats. After the Türkiye-Africa Cooperation summit, the *Africa Strategy Document* was published in the official gazette dated 26 March 2010 in order to support the creation of a strategy covering the decisions taken in accordance with the partnership areas adopted at the summit. This document includes a strategy to strengthen cooperation in various fields with the countries in the African Continent (African Union, July 25, 2022).

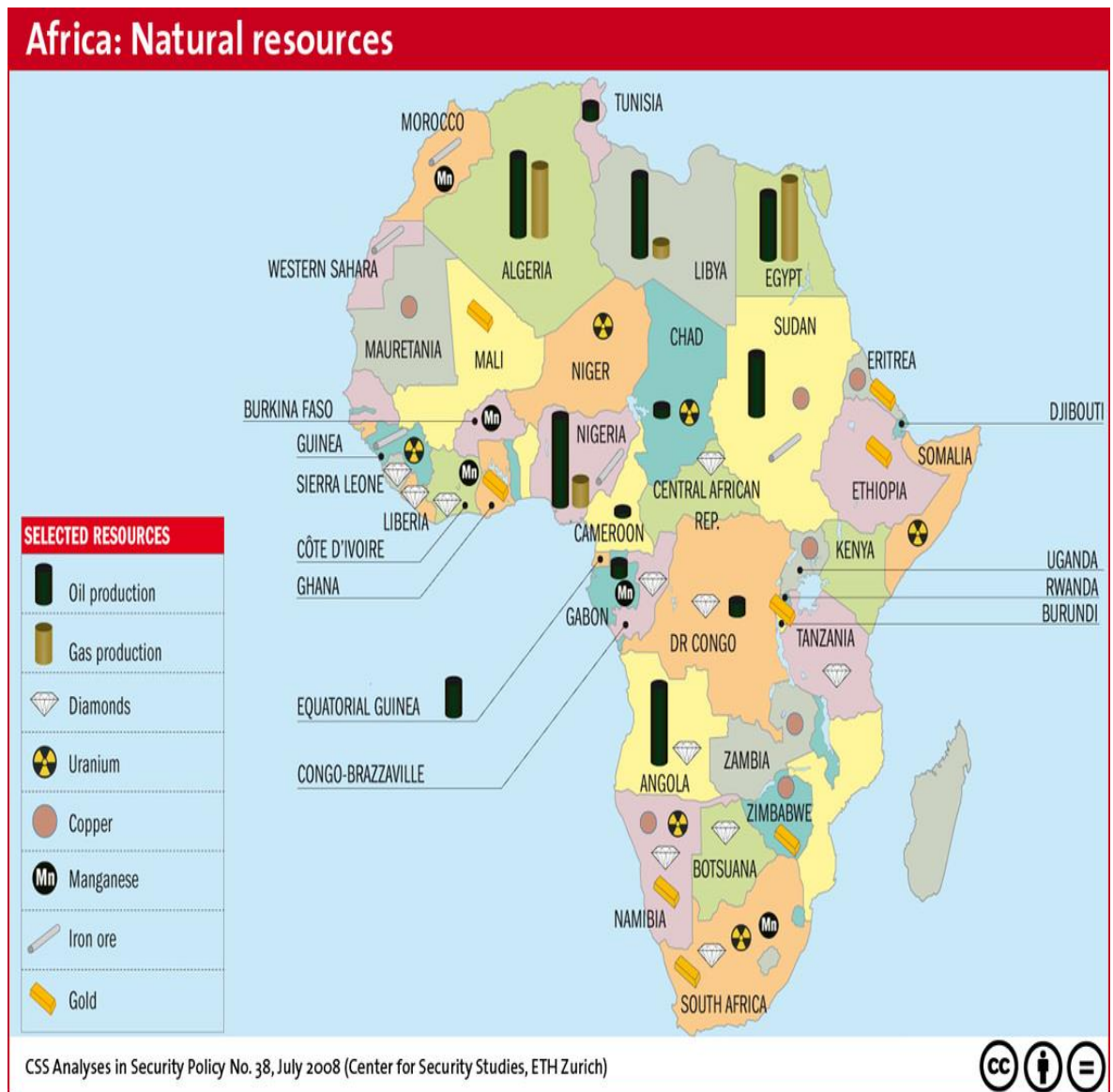
There is a win-win approach in Türkiye's summits and mutual relations with Africa. In fact, this is one of the strategic points underlying public diplomacy. Looking at Turkish history, it is seen that there has never been a colonialist approach. In international relations, relations between countries are basically based on interests. Türkiye carries out activities to protect and safeguard its interests in the international arena. Türkiye carries out its activities with an attitude that respects human rights, does not interfere in the internal affairs of countries and is far from a colonialist approach. The African continent is important for Türkiye because of its proximity in terms of location and the development of economic relations in order to achieve mutual national interests. A positive line has been captured outside the colonial

powers. In this process, colonial powers continued their activities directly or indirectly in line with their own interests in order to be effective on the African Continent.

The African continent is one of the richest geographies in the world in terms of underground and surface resources. However, despite these features, it contains the poorest and most undeveloped countries in the world. This situation can also be repulsive to countries that want to invest in the world. However, this situation does not reduce the value of Africa. For example, countries such as Equatorial Guinea, Angola and Sudan are rich in oil reserves. The African continent has a significant share of the world in terms of its valuable underground resources. Some of these resources that the continent has are 90% of the cobalt and platinum reserves, 98% of the gold reserves, 70% of the tantalite reserves, 64% of the manganese reserves, 2/3 of the uranium reserves, 70% of the coltan mineral and 30% of the diamond reserves. At the same time, Guinea, the country with the largest amount of bauxite resources exported to the world, is located on the African continent.

As important as these resources are for Türkiye, they are also crucial for many countries around the world. For example, the People's Republic of China has caused economic movements in the region with its investment of around 1 billion dollars in 2007. With this investment, China has tried to prepare the ground for its investments in other areas by developing economic relations in Africa (African Union, July 25, 2022). Africa has been the center of attention for centuries due to its characteristics. Among the reasons underlying this focus of interest are its rich underground and aboveground resources, geostrategic position, market space, etc. As a result of the bilateral relations that Türkiye has developed with the African continent since 2005, Türkiye has started to carry out activities in various fields such as political, economic, educational, socio-cultural, security, etc. in a win-win relationship with Africa. Africa, which Türkiye prioritizes in its foreign policy, is divided into seven regions: North Africa, the Sahel Belt, East Africa, West Africa, Central Africa, South Africa and the scattered islands in the Indian Ocean. Each region has its own characteristics and riches, but these are not sufficiently utilized by the local population.

Figure 5: Undergrund resources in Africa



Source: *Harrison Hudson, Africa's Natural Resources*, <https://africaworldgeography.weebly.com/natural-resources.html>, assessed on July 22, 2022.

In October 2011, then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan paid strategic visits to Gabon, Somalia and Nigeria. According to Talip Küçükcan, these visits were not simple meetings. Küçükcan, the foreign policy director at the time, attributed this to 3 strategic points

in the interests of the country, the first and perhaps the most important of which is “*the contribution to the versatility of Turkish foreign policy*”, the second is “*the contribution to the production and export equation of Türkiye's economy*” and the third is “*Türkiye's Humanitarian Diplomacy in Africa, which the world has abandoned to its fate*” (Küçükcan, *Türkiye's Opening up to Africa*, 2022: 2-3), which are strategic goals in the medium and long term.

Küçükcan also touched upon the cultural aspect of these visits. He emphasized the importance of this continent to overcome Türkiye 's capacity problems in political, cultural and economic fields through initiatives in various fields to be carried out in the African Continent, which has been in mutual interaction in the historical process. On November 15, 1884, the Berlin Conference began to be held. This conference continued until February 26, 1885. At this conference, the African Continent was divided among the colonial powers in parcels. In the historical process, Turks did not look at this continent from a colonialist perspective. The first African openings in the history of the Republic of Türkiye, which first started in 1963, could not be sustained for various reasons. In 1998 and 2002, as a result of the strategic steps taken for the African Continent, 2005 was declared the Year of Africa. During this period, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan paid a series of visits to African countries.

As a result of these visits, he became the first Prime Minister to visit the southern part of the Equatorial region. With these visits, Türkiye laid the foundation for its vision of becoming an actor at the center of the Afro-Eurasian region, a regional power seeking to move from a regional power to a global power and an actor with global influence. Davutoğlu, the then Foreign Minister, also stated that a country that neglects the African continent cannot be a power that plays an active role on a global scale. Türkiye's interest in the African continent also has a historical background. As it is known, during the Ottoman period, the North African region was completely within the Ottoman borders. Mutual relations with this region started with the Ottomans as early as the 1500s. Using the legacy of the Ottoman hinterland, Türkiye has carried out and is still carrying out various projects in Africa through many public institutions and organizations such as the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) and humanitarian organizations like Turk Kızılay and the Turkish private sectors.

Contrary to the aims pursued by traditional partners and colonial powers, Türkiye contributes to the reconstruction of the African continent through small and medium-sized enterprises and adds strength to its ‘*soft power*’. According to Küçükcan, Türkiye has also undertaken the mission of paying the debt of humanity to the African Continent, where humanity has been forgotten (Küçükcan, *Africa & Türkiye*, 2022: 1-3). In the African Continent, there is a living African researcher named Ali Mazrui, who is one of the 100 public intellectuals, one of the most prominent intellectuals in the African continent, and considered a successful person in his field. This researcher also works on democracy and Islamic culture in the African continent. During his speech at an event organized by SETA, Ali Mazrui said that Türkiye can create an alliance of civilizations in Africa. This approach of Ali Mazrui, is one of the points that triggered the approach that Türkiye should be in the African continent. Mazrui stated that the relations between Africa and Türkiye date back to the Ottoman Empire and that Türkiye has distanced itself from this region by not maintaining this historical connection and the power that the Ottomans created in this geography.

In addition, Mazrui stated that most of the elite Arab segments in the African continent still speak Ottoman Turkish and that Türkiye has unfortunately failed to seize the opportunity to pursue a different vision and capture new partnerships to be established materially and spiritually in this region with Islamic Culture and Ottoman influences. Mazrui argued that Türkiye neglected its relations with the African Continent in its early days as a member of NATO and that there is still an opportunity to establish new acquaintanceships for those in the African Continent who still do not know Türkiye. Mazrui expressed his belief that Türkiye can establish an “*Alliance of Civilizations*” in this region and that Türkiye will seize notable opportunities in the 21st century in relations with the African Continent, which was neglected in the post-Ottoman period. Türkiye is close to the African continent in terms of location and historical ties. Creating a passive image of Türkiye in Africa, which has expectations from Türkiye with its historical ties, is of course an unexpected behavior. Türkiye carries out activities in various fields in order to create a positive image of Türkiye in this continent, where humanity has been forgotten for centuries, and to become a state that plays an active role in the international arena.

In the years following the establishment of the Republic of Türkiye, the African continent has not been given enough importance as a result of domestic problems, efforts to protect its territorial integrity and focusing on efforts to establish itself in the international arena. After the end of the Cold War in the 90s, following a western-oriented policy with a security-centered policy approach led to the neglect of the countries of the African Continent. According to Doğan, “*Realizing this mistake after the end of the Cold War, Türkiye made a change in its foreign policy and made an effort to improve its relations with Africa*” (Doğan, 2016: 10). Until recently, the African Continent did not occupy a significant place in Turkish Foreign Policy. With the 1998 Africa Action Plan, the declaration of 2005 as the Year of Africa, and the Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit organized for the first time with African countries in Istanbul in 2008, prominent strategic decisions were taken towards the African Continent. Until recently, the African Continent was negatively known for hunger, poverty and conflict, but now it is perceived as a continent of hope for the future as well as an economic and political partner (Özkan, 2014: 69-70).

One of the areas where Turkish foreign policy is most successful and the continent where the most results are obtained in the short term is Africa. As a result of the studies carried out with the African policy, Türkiye has achieved serious results in terms of visibility and prestige in the international arena. For example, between the summit held in 2008 and the visit made by the Prime Minister of the time, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia in 2011, there has been a period in which the relations between Türkiye and Africa have deepened in many ways. Türkiye has opened many public institutions in the African Continent and the trade volume with this continent has increased from 4 billion dollars to 18 billion dollars.

With the visit to Somalia in 2011, not only economic and humanitarian aid activities, but also policies on political and security issues in the field of “*High Politics*” began to be made and produced. As a result of Türkiye's carrying the problems of Somalia to the international arena and the partial stabilization activities it brought in this region, it has become a country whose opinion is asked about this continent. In this regard, mutual exchanges of ideas were made with many countries, including the EU, England, Spain, Norway and the USA, about this continent. At the 1st Türkiye-Africa Summit held in Istanbul in 2008, African countries tried to understand Türkiye's seriousness and intentions on this continent. For Mehmet

Özkan, as a result of the normalized relations with Africa from the 2nd Türkiye-Africa Summit held in Malabo in 2014, answers were sought to the following questions: “*In which areas can more extensive cooperation be made with Türkiye? And how can both parties benefit to the maximum from this relationship? questions have been raised.*” (Özcan, *A New Era in Türkiye-Africa Relations*, 2014: 1-2).

The African continent is seen as the most notable opening area for Turkish foreign policy in the future. This can be observed in the economic and political investments made in this continent. In 2002, the number of embassies in the African continent was 12, but by 2021, this number had increased to 43. These interactions have also made themselves felt in cultural and economic fields. From 2002 to 2018, the trade volume increased 6-fold to 20 billion dollars. In addition, the total number of African countries visited between 2002-2018 increased to 28. The visits to the African Continent were evaluated in four stages. These are political, economic, social and cultural dimensions. In the political context, a special strategic importance was attached to the African continent. President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan took businessmen with him to the African countries he visited. At the *Türkiye-Algeria Business Forum*, the President mentioned that there would be an investment of 1 billion dollars in *Adana Yumurtalık Free Zone*.

According to a Senegalese diplomat, the President also called on Senegal's rulers to support the maximization of Turkish investments in this region. Many agreements were made to increase economic relations with, Senegal, It was decided to open a branch of Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Centers to work with the already existing Turkish Maarif Foundation, in Senegal in order to develop mutual relations in the cultural and social context. With these activities, Türkiye aimed to reinforce its presence in the African Continent, which it had neglected for many years, by trying to establish mutual relations rapidly. Moreover, “*since 2005, there has been a tendency to establish mutual relations in a positive way when making strategies related to the African Continent. It is worth mentioning four issues that Türkiye considers as sources of motivation in realizing this strategy.*” (Guinea-Bissau’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and Communities, Department of Multilateral Cooperation, interview, March 19, 2022).

The first of these is the orientation toward different geography such as the African Continent within the framework of a multifaceted foreign policy approach in addition to the western policy that has been pursued for many years, and the second is that the African Continent is seen as a source of untouched opportunities in terms of economic investments. Türkiye-based investments are made in the fields of industry, industry, construction, transportation, tourism and mining. Thirdly, to ensure the establishment of economic relations that will mutually benefit the countries with a win-win relationship that Türkiye will pursue against the colonialist market understanding of the western countries in this region, and finally, fourthly and most importantly, the historical past and cultural ties with the African Continent.

As stated by Ismail Numan Telci a senior researcher at SETA, due to the common history and cultural ties with regions such as North Africa, the Horn of Africa, the Coastal Region and West Africa, Ankara is pursuing a closer policy with this geography. Turkish public institutions and organizations such as TİKA, Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) and Yunus Emre Institute (YEE), as well as many NGOs, continue their activities in this region (Telci, *From Cooperation to Partnership Türkiye-Africa Relations*, 2018: 3). After the 2008 Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit held in Istanbul in 2008, almost 3 years after 2005 was declared the Year of Africa, it was observed that there was a need for an Africa strategy. Türkiye's Africa strategy has significant objectives. The main objectives are to ensure maximum benefit and permanence in the continent through political, economic and military relations with the countries of the continent with the principle of “*Partnership for a Common Future*” with a win-win approach, to ensure maximum participation of the Turkish public, institutions and organizations in these activities, to direct Turkish businessmen not only to North Africa but also to the southern regions, to gain support for Türkiye in the international arena and to create a positive image for countries that do not know Türkiye in the continent (Doğan, 2016: 11-12).

For Türkiye, the African continent has been perceived as a significant market area due to its underground and aboveground riches, geopolitical position and the allocation of revenues from these rich resources to infrastructure and superstructure activities. In this continent, there is a need for costly projects such as houses, hospitals, dams, irrigation and transportation infrastructures. Therefore, trade opportunities between Türkiye and Africa are of vital importance for both sides. The African continent is currently a great opportunity for businessmen

in various fields who have difficulty in the competitive environment in the local market. In addition, projects carried out in the fields of education, health, agriculture, social and cultural infrastructure, and humanitarian aid in the continent are thought to be of significant benefit for Türkiye in the medium and long term in terms of soft power (Doğan, 2016: 12-13). One of the main objectives of the Turkish strategy for the African continent is to maximize the trade volume with the countries of the continent. In addition, important activities on security issues have also been planned to make the continent a safer place. The African continent has a high demand for cheap and high-quality goods from Türkiye. It is planned that Türkiye will be in a better position than other countries operating in the continent with the idea of a win-win based on the principle of equality in both economic, political and military fields (Gassim, 2016: 32).

The 1998 Action Plan for Opening to Africa was based on the desire to become a state that plays an active role in the Afro-Eurasian region. The African continent is the most crucial crossroads for this strategy. Türkiye's trade volume has increased as a result of economic relations with Africa. Turkish Airlines has started to fly to various parts of the African continent since 2005. With these flights, political, economic, security, social, cultural, educational, etc. activities have been carried out in various parts of Africa (Yılmaz, 2012: 427). The most remarkable feature that Türkiye has emphasized in its multilateral foreign policy has been the principle of "*Humanitarianism*". Türkiye wanted to set an example by trying to influence the countries of the world in this regard. With this principle, Türkiye has shown its difference in the international arena and this was most evident in the African Continent.

As a result of its foreign aid to the African continent, the Republic of Türkiye has currently created a competitive identity for itself in the international arena. One of the most obvious examples of this is the aid provided to Somalia in various fields. In this way, it has also contributed to Türkiye's reputation. At the same time, an understanding of the "*Turkish Model*" has also emerged in the region. Türkiye's activities in the African Continent without expecting anything in return are also evaluated in the context of soft power. This is because Türkiye has increased its soft power in the African Continent with its soft power in the United Nations Security Council - UNSC (Gülsoy & Bostancı, 2019: 293-321).

Türkiye was elected as a non-permanent member of the UNSC with the support of African votes. At the same time, Türkiye's trade volume increased. The image of Türkiye, which is far from a colonialist understanding and movement, has been at the heart of these results. For example, as stated by Gülsoy and Bostancı, Somalia was the first foreign country to take a stand against the Fethullahist Terrorist Organization (FETÖ) and close down FETÖ bases disguised as schools within its borders as a result of the treacherous coup attempt on July 15, 2016. Moreover, there is a statement that best summarizes Türkiye's activities in Africa. That statement was made by former Somali President Hassan Sheikh Mahmud as follows: “*As a Chinese proverb says, if you give a man a fish, you feed him for a day, but if you teach him how to fish, you feed him for a lifetime.*” This statement demonstrated Türkiye's perspective on states in the international arena and made a positive contribution to Türkiye's image (Gülsoy & Bostancı, 2019: 293-321).

In fact, Türkiye's Africa policy has the aspect of sending a message to the whole world. No matter how problematic periods Türkiye had in the 60s, 70s, 80s and 90s, with its Africa policy, it has shown that it is determined to implement and maintain a new, original and independent foreign policy without being dependent on anyone, with the influence of both positive changes within the country and international developments. In this context, the African continent, which has recently become the center of attention, has also entered Türkiye's agenda due to its strategic and economic importance. Because it has tried to show this to everyone by carrying out activities in various fields on this continent (Oğurlu, 2018: 67).

According to the report published by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 2017, the African continent ranks second among developing countries in terms of world economic growth after the Asian region. This region is considered to be the most important region affecting international balance in the 21st century. In this continent, countries such as the United States of America (USA), the People's Republic of China, the European Union (EU), Russia, Japan and India are trying to be influential in Africa. In order not to fall behind in this international competition and to become an influential actor in the international arena, Türkiye has prioritized its African continent policy (Oğurlu, 2018: 6).

Türkiye emphasizes the principle of “*Partnership of Equals*” for both sides by using soft power resources in its relations with Africa. In this context, in line with the strategy of

“*foreign policy practices, political values and cultural values*” listed by the famous academician Joseph Nye (2014: 8), Turkish embassies opened in the African Continent, development assistance, humanitarian aid through various organizations, economic initiatives, and mediation in the international arena have been among its foreign policy practices. With these practices, Türkiye transformed its security-oriented approach and started to use its soft power. In this way, Türkiye has maximized its visibility and influence by showing that it is one of the influential and internationally active political actors on the African Continent. Türkiye's political values, which it has implemented in the direction of its Africa policy, are an effort to melt the political, cultural and socio-economic values of different civilizations, east and west, into a single pot.

As a result, Türkiye has gained power with the political values it has implemented. However, with the experience of western and eastern political values, Türkiye has currently started to turn into a center of attraction towards the geographically distant geography. With the advantages of geographical proximity and its historical past, Türkiye can more easily implement its strategy of versatility in foreign policy in this region with the cultural values it uses in its African policy, the dialogue channels established with the people of the region, scholarships provided to students, and educational activities such as Erasmus (Oğurlu, 2018: 8).

As a result, Türkiye put the Africa Action Plan into practice in 1998 by then Foreign Minister Ismail Cem. However, due to Türkiye's lack of understanding of the problems of the African continent and Africans' lack of a positive perspective towards Türkiye, there have not been the desired developments in political, economic and socio-cultural fields. In 2003, with the strategy of developing economic relations with African countries developed by the Undersecretariat of Foreign Trade and the declaration of 2005 as the Year of Africa, the Africa policy started to gain momentum both theoretically and practically. In 2005, Türkiye obtained observer status in the African Union. In fact, this success was based on the principle of “*Equality and Reciprocity*”, in other words, the win-win principle, which Türkiye has been practicing since the beginning and which is far from the colonial understanding.

By 2008, *Strategic Partnership Status* was achieved. Türkiye's Africanization Action Plan was successfully completed with the Africa Strategy Document published in the official

gazette in 2010. Following the completion of Türkiye's Action Plan on Africa, mutual relations in the fields of politics, economy, military, education, etc. started to gain momentum. As a result of these developments, the *Türkiye-Africa Partnership Policy* was implemented in 2013. The main purpose of this policy is to share Türkiye's experience in political, economic, security, social, cultural, educational, etc. fields with this continent and to help the development of the African Continent within the framework of equality and reciprocity logic by approaching with the principle of “*African Solutions to African Problems*”. In this way, Türkiye will make significant gains in the African Continent in the medium and long term and will take significant steps toward becoming one of the countries that have a say in this region, whose ideas are asked and play an active role in the international arena (Oğurlu, 2018: 9-10).

3.1.1. Türkiye-Senegal Relations

Senegal has often followed a moderate and adaptive foreign policy. This very known African country, Senegal has been viewed as a sub-regional power and an example of political stability not only in the West African region but also in the African continent. During the Cold War, Senegal led by the first President Leopold Sedar Senghor and the second Abdou Diouf had opted for pro-occident foreign policy. In other words, Senegalese foreign policy has been closer to the western bloc because of its proximity to France, and this is despite the establishment of diplomatic relations since its independence in 1960. According to Mursel Bayram, (2020: 230-231):

“Senegal is a remarkable country not only today but also historically. Located at the extreme western of the African continent, the territory that we today call Senegal has for long time been an important node of the trans-Saharan caravan routes. The pre-colonial Senegalese states like Tekrou, Djolof and Fouta Toro exerted a decisive influence on regional politics. The legacy of this history is partly reflected in modern Senegal. Regarding the conflicts between African countries, and its relations with international actors, Senegal has pursued a balanced, moderate and pacifist foreign policy.”

Moreover, Senegal used to be known as a center of the slave trade by colonial states in the history. This central position continues today. The headquarters of organizations, such

as ECOWAS, is located in Senegal and it is the diplomatic and economic trade base of the region. As stated by Mursel Bayram, Senegal formed a federation with Mali between April and June 1960 during the independence process. (Bayram, *The Foreign Policy of Senegal from Léopold Senghor to Macky Sall*, 2019: 7-8). However, this structure was short-lived and it became fully independent in June 1960. Unlike other countries in the region, there has been no military tutelage rule since independence. A separatist movement is also acting in Senegal since the end of the 1960s. There are occasional clashes in the Casamance region in the south of the country. However, with the arrival to power of Macky Sall in 2012, as President of the Republic, the negotiation was restarted with the Casamance Independentist Movement with the held of brotherhood countries like The Gambia and Cabo Verde (via the Atlantic Ocean), and lastly Guinea-Bissau.

Today, this situation has decreased to a certain extent. Because with the election of Macky Sall as Chairperson of the African Union for the period of 2022-2023, the search for peace and reconciliation became a priority of the Senegalese Government. In addition and by coincidence, Umaro Sissoco Embaló President of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was elected Chairperson of ECOWAS for the period of 2022-2023, and as a brother country, Embaló engaged in a dialogue for peace between the Senegalese Government and the responsible of the up mentioned movement with resulted on the Peace Agreement signed in Bissau on 04th August 2022 that could bring reconciliation and peace in the southern region of Senegal, just in the North of Guinea-Bissau. With all this, it is important to highlight that between the four countries in the case study (Senegal-Ivory Coast-Niger-Guinea-Bissau), Senegal is the most stable and peaceful country and is the old State with which Türkiye has very early established contact.

i) Political Relations

Following Senegal's independence, Türkiye established diplomatic relations with Senegal and its resident embassy started its activities in 1962 and has continued its activities continuously until today. The Embassy of Senegal in Ankara started operations in 2006 (Presidency of the Republic of Senegal, July 27, 2022). Especially in recent years, there has been a significant revival in every field in the relations between Türkiye and Senegal.

For instance, apart from the mutual diplomatic representations, numerous bilateral visits have been made and various agreements were signed in order to develop the relations of Türkiye and Senegal in different fields. For example, President Erdoğan paid a first-ever visit of the year to Senegal within the scope of the West Africa tour they carried out on February 2018, where he was accompanied by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Economy, Energy and Natural Resources, Food, Agriculture and Livestock, Customs and Trade, and Culture and Tourism.

However, very before, the Turkish period, the first high-level political contact was realized through an official visit. Cheikh Tidiane Gadio, Minister of State and Foreign Affairs of Senegal paid an official visit to Türkiye on 18-19 December 2006. Gadio's visit was the first visit from Senegal to Türkiye at the level of foreign minister. Following his meeting with President Sezer, Gadio met with Foreign Minister Gül (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006). Therefore, the President of Senegal Abdoulaye Wade paid an official visit to Türkiye on 19-20 February 2008. President Wade's visit was the first official visit from Senegal to Türkiye at the Presidential level. After President Gül welcomed the visiting President with an official ceremony, the two leaders held a meeting in person and between delegations. Bilateral and regional issues were discussed and views were exchanged on the OIC Summit to be held in Dakar in March 2008 (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2008).

In the same line, President Gül stated that Senegal is an active country in its region and international affairs as it contributes to the UN Peacekeeping Force and chairs the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian Peoples (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, July 27, 2022). Two agreements were signed in the presence of Presidents Wade and Gül (Haberler.com, July 20, 2022). These agreements are i) Agreement on Cooperation in the Cultural Field and ii) Agreement on Technological, Scientific and Economic Cooperation in the Field of Agriculture.

On the second day of his visit, after meeting with Prime Minister Erdoğan and Speaker of the Parliament Köksal Toptan, President Wade traveled to Istanbul and gave a lecture at Yeditepe University (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, July 27, 2022). For instance, President Gül went to Senegal to attend the 11th Summit of Heads of State of the Organization of the Islamic Conference in Dakar on 12-14 March 2008 (Presidency of the Republic of

Türkiye, July 27, 2022). Senegalese Trade Minister Mamadou Diop, who came to Türkiye to attend the Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit held in August 2008, held a bilateral meeting with President Gül (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, July 27, 2022). Senegalese Foreign Minister Madicke Niang paid a visit to Türkiye on June 13-15, 2010 (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 20, 2022). During his meetings with Davutoğlu, they agreed to hold regular consultations between their ministries. During Niang's visit, they signed three agreements as follows:

i) Agreement on Diplomats' Training Cooperation,

ii) Agreement on Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of Investments,

iii) Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Technical Cooperation between Turkish Standards Institute and Senegal Standards Organization.

In addition to the agreement, they agreed to deepen relations in areas such as military, education, transportation, agriculture, culture, telecommunications and information technologies. On the 50th anniversary of the opening of Türkiye's embassy in Senegal, Prime Minister of Senegal Abdoul Mbaye paid an official visit to Türkiye on 28-29 November 2012. During the visit, he met with President Gül at Çankaya Mansion. President Abdullah Gül stated that the direct flights of Turkish Airlines to Dakar, which started in 2009, contributed to the relations between the two countries and that they also encouraged Turkish businessmen to invest in the region. Mbaye stated that their 2008 visit was a turning point in commercial relations and that they showed the Turks as an example to Senegalese businessmen (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, July 27, 2022).

Along the same line, President Erdoğan paid a visit to Senegal on January 9, 2013, during his prime ministership. He was accompanied by his wife Emine Erdoğan, Deputy Prime Minister Bekir Bozdağ, Economy Minister Zafer Çağlayan, AK Party Deputy Chairmen Numan Kurtulmuş and Ömer Çelik, and many businessmen. Erdoğan held meetings with President Sall, Speaker of Parliament Moustapha Niass and Prime Minister Mbaye. Erdoğan, who went to Goree Island, which was used as a slave trade center, was presented with the

Phoenix Order, which represents the island, and the Certificate of the Traveling Ambassador (Haberler.com, July 19, 2022).

Senegalese Foreign Minister Mankeur Ndiaye, who visited Türkiye in April 2016, met with Davutoğlu on April 10. During the talks, the ministers signed a *Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation between Ministries*. In October 2010, a diplomatic crisis erupted between Senegal and Iran over the alleged Iranian shipment of smuggled weapons found in a Nigerian port and Senegal recalled its ambassador to Tehran. President Gül, on behalf of Türkiye, assumed the role of mediator in the crisis and held talks to restore relations between the parties. President Gül's mediation initially yielded results and the ambassador was sent back (Karabağ, 2011: 11). However, Senegal later blamed Iran for the terrorist incident in the Casamance region and severed relations again (Karabağ, 2011: 11-12). Moreover, Senegalese President Macky Sall, who was in Türkiye for the commemoration of the *Çanakkale Land Wars*, met with Erdoğan in Istanbul (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2014). Seven months after this visit, President Sall attended the G-20 Leaders Summit in Türkiye at Erdoğan's invitation. Following the summit, President Erdoğan and President Sall met and two agreements were immediately signed (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 27, 2022). These agreements are:

- i) Agreement on Avoidance of Double Taxation;
- ii) Protocol on Cash Aid Implementation.

In the same perspective, President Erdoğan visited Senegal on February 5, 2016, coinciding with his return from his Latin American visit. President Erdoğan was accompanied by a very important delegation including his wife Emine Erdoğan, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Berat Albayrak, Deputy Prime Minister Yalçın Akdoğan, Minister of Science, Industry and Technology Fikri Işık and Minister of Economy Mustafa Elitaş (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, July 19, 2022). This kind of high-level visit resulted in several agreements and the set up of commissions in charge of the follow-up of the anterior agreements and the new ones for the increment of their cooperation in different fields of mutual interest.

They held a head-to-head and delegation meeting in the honor hall of the airport. Erdoğan emphasized the principle of equality in relations. In this context, President Erdoğan emphasized the strength and sincerity of the ties with Senegal by stating that Senegal “*also represents Türkiye there*” due to Senegal's temporary membership in the UNSC. President Sall, on the other hand, emphasized that he was pleased that Türkiye sees Dakar as the center of the continent and that the land swap agreement for the embassy between the two countries would ensure lasting friendly relations. Therefore, Minister of Forestry and Water Affairs Veysel Eroğlu and his delegation visited Senegal in April 2016. At the end of this visit, the consensus was reached on an agreement in three areas: “*development of water resources, ponds, dams, flood protection, well drilling, drinking water supply, the establishment of a meteorological station and combating erosion, fighting forest fires, planting saplings in arid areas, national parks and wildlife*” (Sabah, 2016).

Three months after Erdoğan's visit, Sall arrived in Türkiye in May 2016 to attend the OIC Summit. After the summit, he met with Erdoğan within the framework of a working dinner and they discussed the development of the bilateral relations (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 24, 2022). In the same line of high-level visits, President Erdoğan paid a visit to Senegal on March 1, 2018. Erdoğan was accompanied by his wife Emine Erdoğan, Minister of Economy Nihat Zeybekçi, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Culture and Tourism Numan Kurtulmuş, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Berat Albayrak, Minister of Customs and Trade Bülent Tüfenkçi and Minister of Food, Agriculture and Livestock Ahmet Eşref Fakıbaba (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, July 27, 2022). President Sall also organized an official welcoming ceremony for Erdoğan at the Senegalese Republican Palace. Before Erdoğan's visit, the streets of Dakar were decorated with Turkish flags and he was welcomed with a great show of love (Sabah, 2018). Erdoğan emphasized Senegal's privilege in the region by saying that Senegal's democracy is an example for the states in the region. Before the joint press conference, Sall presented Erdoğan with the “*High State Order of Senegal*” (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2018).

Very recently, President Erdoğan paid an official visit to Senegal on February 2022, in his second official visit of the year – after Azerbaijan on January 2022 – a visit he carried out to the Democratic Republic of Congo, Senegal and Guinea-Bissau, this last one was canceled in last minute were President Erdoğan was in Senegal, and realized the inauguration of

Dakar Sports Area Stadium made by Turkish multinational SUMMA-LİMAK Holding. In the same like, President Erdoğan paid in early January 2020, his first official visit to the African continent, and was accompanied by more than 200 businesspersons to hold a Business Forum between Turkish and Senegalese private sector actors. Moreover, President Erdoğan and Sall met and held talks in the Republic of South Africa as part of the 10th BRICS Summit (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, July 27, 2022). Sall thanked Erdoğan for the projects carried out by Turkish companies in his country. Four agreements were signed between the two countries. These agreements are as follows:

- i) Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for the Development of Cooperation in the Field of Railway,
- ii) Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Cooperation in the Field of Tourism,
- iii) Letter of Intent on Cooperation in the Field of Hydrocarbons and Energy,
- iv) Letter of Intent on Cooperation in the Field of Mines and Minerals.

As mechanisms for the enhancement of their relations, “*with Senegal's opening of an Embassy in Ankara in August 2006, mutual representation was provided and relations gained momentum. Especially in recent years, there has been a significant revival in every field in the relations between our countries. Numerous bilateral visits have been made to date*” (Embassy of Senegal in Ankara, interview, March 16, 2022).

ii) Economic Relations

The basis of the economic relations between the two countries is the *Trade, Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement* signed on December 3, 1992 (T.C. Resmi Gazete, 1993). Based on Article 9 of this agreement, a ministerial-level *Joint Economic Commission (JEC)* was established. *The First Period Meeting of the JEC* was held in Ankara on 18-19 December 2006 under the co-chairmanship of Minister of State Beşir Atalay and Senegalese Minister of State and Foreign Affairs Cheikh Tidiane Gadio (T.C. Resmi Gazete, 2007).

The Second Period Meeting of the Joint Economic Commission (JEC) was held in Dakar on April 6, 2010, under the chairmanship of Minister of State Beşir Atalay and Senegalese Foreign Minister Madické Niang and the events that took place in the 4 years between the previous meeting and the previous one were discussed (DEİK, 2017: 14). *The Third Period Meeting of the JEC* was held in Ankara on April 9-11, 2014 under the chairmanship of Minister of Interior Efkân Ala and Senegalese Foreign Minister Mankeur Ndiaye (Haberler.com, n.d.). *The Fourth Period Meeting of the JEC* was held in Dakar on September 5-6, 2017 with the participation of Minister of Interior Süleyman Soylu (Turkish Ministry of Economy, March 26, 2022). The other text that guides the commercial relations between the two countries is the *Agreement on Mutual Promotion and Protection of Investments* (T.C. Resmi Gazete, 2012). Another important agreement between the two countries is the *Agreement on Avoidance of Double Taxation on Income Taxes and Prevention of Tax Evasion* signed on November 14, 2015 (Directorate of Revenue Administration, 2015: 1-2).

During his visit to Senegal in March 2008, Erdoğan participated in the Senegal-Türkiye Business Forum. In addition to Turkish and Senegalese senior officials, 150 Turkish businessmen and 400 Senegalese businessmen took part in the forum. They set a target of 400 million dollars in trade volume in the near term. In their speeches, Erdoğan and Sall called on Turkish businessmen to invest in the country (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2008). During President Erdoğan's visit, *Kolin Construction* signed an agreement worth 400 million Euros with the Senegalese General Directorate of Highways for the construction of roads. In addition, *Force Groups* signed an agreement worth 14 million euros for the Dakar Metro Station, while *Alper Ziraat Aletleri Groups* signed an agreement worth 60 million euros with the Senegal National Union of Trade and Industry (Sabah, 2018). The President of the Confederation of Industrialists, Businesswomen and Businessmen (SANKON) Nezaket Emine Atasoy visited Dakar in August 2016 upon the invitation of the Government of Senegal. During the visit, she met with Prime Minister Mohammed Boun Abdallah Dionne. Dionne told Atasoy that Senegal's door is wide open for Turkish investors (Milliyet, 2018).

Atasoy then met with Alioune Sarr, Senegal's Minister of Industry and Trade. Atasoy visited the Dakar Organized Industrial Zone and inspected the area for possible investments. 10 months after this visit, Atasoy paid a visit to Senegal in May 2017 with the organization of the Dakar Embassy in order to contribute to the economic, commercial, import and export

relations between Türkiye and Senegal. Atasoy exchanged views on relations with Alioune Sarr, Minister of Trade and Industry of Senegal (Turkish Ministry of Economy, March 26, 2022). The Aegean Exporters' Association participated in the 26th FIDAK 2017 International Trade Fair in Senegal under the leadership of Minister of Economy Nihat Zeybekçi. On this occasion, many exhibitions on Turkish Folk Dances, Turkish Handicrafts and Turkish Cuisine were organized at the fair (Milliyet, 2017). Moreover, Turkish Turkish multinationals continue to be involved in the Senegalese market, winning large contracts for the construction of big economic, administrative and civil infrastructures. In this sense, a senior Senegalese diplomat stated as follows (Embassy of Senegal in Ankara, interview, March 16, 2022):

“In terms of big investments, Dakar Blaise Diagne International Airport, the construction of which could not be completed by the Saudi Arabian company for 8 years, was completed in 8 months with the partnership company formed by Turkish companies SUMMA–LİMAK holdings.”

This very big and important infrastructure was opened on December 7, 2017, with the participation of Ahmet Arslan, Minister of Transport, Maritime Affairs and Communications. The airport will be operated for 25 years by the company formed by the partnership of the Senegalese Government and the SUMMA-LİMAK administration council.”

Today, Turkish Airlines organizes eight (8) passenger, and four (4) Cargo flights to Dakar per week, with a remarkable number of passengers coming to Istanbul for commerce between Senegal and Türkiye, and a significant number of Turkish private actors traveling to Senegal frequently for investment and work in Turkish companies established there. In short, with political stability and being a diplomatic hub in the regions, Senegal has its own agenda for socio-economic development and has some elements to influence or attract foreign investments. Therefore, Türkiye-Senegal relations date back to the 1960s and Turkish private actors have been operating more and more intensively in Senegal. In terms of attraction of investments and guaranteeing social welfare, in recent years with the arrival to power of Macky Sall and the establishment of “*The Emerging Senegal Plan*”, which covers areas such as:

“Economy, transportation, infrastructure, industry, education, agriculture and food adequacy, stands out among Senegal's recent development steps. Recent development

steps are being implemented within the framework of this Plan, and Turkish companies also play an important role in the current investment environment. In this context, there are large-scale infrastructure projects undertaken by Turkish companies in Senegal recently” (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interview, April 06, 2022).

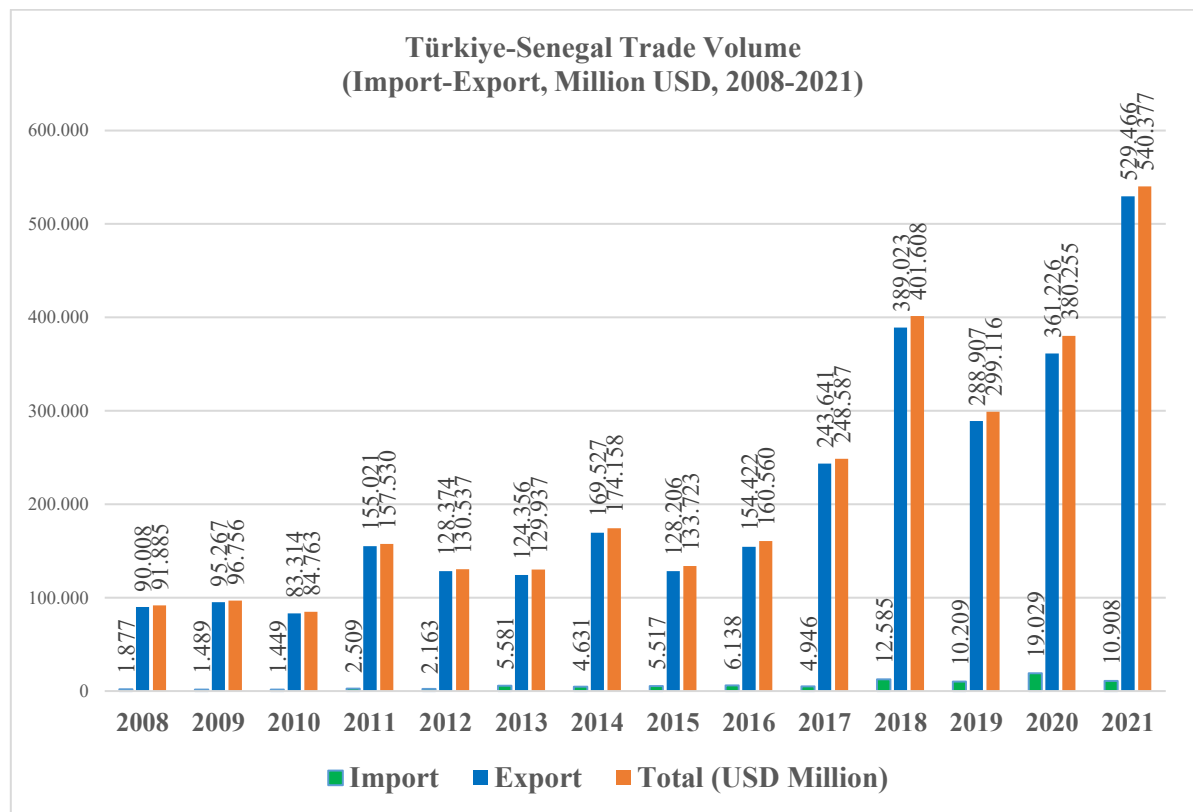
Within this framework, Türkiye-Senegal bilateral – political and diplomatic relations – have been developing day-by-day in every field, and this rapid evolution is also evident in economic and commercial relations with an increasing trend. The same is for the mechanisms of follow-up of these relations. For instance, the *Türkiye-Senegal Commercial, Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement* that institutionalized the *Joint Economic Commission (JEC)*, there was established a crucial mechanism for the follow-up of economic and trade relations. Follow-up has been made as follows:

- i) The I. Joint Economic Commission (JEC) meeting envisaged by the Agreement was held in Ankara on 18-19 December 2006,
- ii) The II. Term JEC Meeting was held in Dakar on 6 April 2010,
- iii) The III. Term JEC Meeting was held in Ankara on 9-11 April 2014,
- iv) Finally, the IV. JEC Meeting was held on 5-6 September 2017 in Dakar.

These follow-up mechanisms illustrate how regular and important are treated the economic and trade relations between Türkiye and Senegal. Despite these mechanisms added to the existing diplomatic missions and frequent high-level official visits, the Türkiye-Senegal bilateral trade volume is not higher than Türkiye-Ivory Coast bilateral trade volume. This reality illustrates that sometimes these mechanisms are just formalities to facilitate issues, but in practice, things may work indeed. The bilateral trade volume between the two countries got a very positive evolution during the last 15 years. As illustrated in the graphic below, the total trade volume of Türkiye and Senegal reached 540.377 million US dollars in 2021, from 91.885 million US dollars in 2008.

In 2021, Türkiye's imports accounted for 10.908 million US dollars of this volume, while it was 1.877 million US dollars in 2008. The main import items are fish, seafood, various ores, optical instruments and devices. Türkiye's exports amounted to 529.466 million US dollars in 2021, from 90.008 million US dollars in 2008. The most prominent items in this amount are iron, steel, electronic goods, and goods made of iron and steel (TradeMap, June 24, 2022). According to these numbers, among the four countries in the case study, Senegal figured in the second position after Ivory Coast which has intense economic and trade relations with Türkiye (see graphics 3, 4, 5 and 6).

Graphic 3: Türkiye-Senegal Trade Volume (Import-Export, million USD, 2008-2021)



Source: The data of this graphic was collected from the Ministry of Economy of Türkiye, www.ekonomi.gov.tr, assessed on 09.02.2022. (The graphic was designed by the researcher).

iii) Cultural Relations

The official text of the relations between the two countries dates back to April 7, 1969, with the signature of the Agreement on Cultural Cooperation to develop cooperation in the fields of education, culture, science, literature, arts, and sports (T.C. Resmi Gazete, 1969). For the same purposes, the Turkish Maarif Foundation is established in Senegal and carries out cultural and educational activities. This foundation organizes and coordinates Turkish schools overseas and organizes courses in different fields including the Turkish language and realizes cultural events for the promotion of both Turkish and Senegalese culture. In addition, Turkish government scholarships have been given to Senegalese students since 1992, first by the Turkish Ministry of National Education, and then, from 2010 by the Directorate for Türkiye Scholarships YTB provided every year to Senegalese students in different fields and levels of studies.

iv) Cooperation for Development

The renovation of the education center building in the city of Ziguinchor in the Casamance region in the south of the country was carried out by Türkiye (TİKA: Güney Senegal’de Eğitime TİKA Desteği, 2012). Türkiye has been more active in providing assistance, especially in regions with difficult access to education. In the rural town of Tivaouane, Türkiye built a kindergarten with a capacity of 120 students and provided infrastructure (TİKA: Senegalli Çocuklara TİKA’dan Anaokulu, 2012). Türkiye renovated a health center in the town of Mbolobirane. This health center provides health services to approximately 10 thousand people in 20 villages in the surrounding area (TİKA: Senegal Mbolobirane Sağlık Ocağı Hizmetine Açıldı, 2014). The Senegal Disabled Unity Association, founded by visually impaired citizens in Dakar, requested TİKA to build a coop. Upon this, a coop was built in the garden of the association and 1.000 chicks, feed and materials used in poultry farming were provided (TİKA: Senegal’de Görme Engellilere Tavukçuluk Projesi, 2016).

Türkiye provided great support to education by building the first kindergarten in Tivaouane. Subsequently, when the previously opened school could not meet the demand, a school for 120 students was opened in cooperation with Senegal National Education. In order to solve the transportation problem of the students at the school, it also donated a minibus for shuttle service (TİKA: TİKA’dan Senegalli Çocuklara Anaokulu, 2014). Along the same line,

Pikine Social Pediatric Institute's educational units such as an education block, examination department, pharmacy, nutrition and rescue were built. A training program was organized in Ankara for pediatric doctors in the Institute's Nutrition and Rescue Training Center (TİKA: Senegalli Doktorlara Eğitim, 2017).

In accordance with the agreement signed between the Turkish General Staff and the Senegalese General Staff, a Turkish Language Training Center has been operating in the Cap Manuel district of Dakar for Senegalese soldiers to learn Turkish. As a result of TİKA's renovation of this building and expansion of its area, Turkish language training was also provided to civilian citizens (TİKA: TİKA'dan Senegal'de Türkçe Öğreniminin Yaygınlaştırılmasına Destek, 2017). In addition to building renovation and construction works, Türkiye organized training programs to increase the efficiency of the personnel working in various institutions in Senegal. In this context, a Solar Energy Workshop was organized in Dakar in partnership with TİKA, *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)*, *Islamic World Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO)* and *Center International de Formation and research on sexuality (CIFRES, in French initials)*. This program is significant for the country to logically calculate its future plans when people know that only a very low 10% of the country has access to electricity.

In addition to supporting renewable energy applications and increasing their capacities, the program discussed the areas of creating qualified human resources (TİKA: Yenilenebilir Enerji Konulu Çalıştaylara Destek Verilmeye Devam Ediyor, 2013). Specialist doctors and health personnel from Senegal were trained in newborn resuscitation within the scope of the *Golden Minute Project* (TİKA: Senegal Sağlık Personeline Yeni Doğan Canlandırma Eğitimi, 2014). Senegal Radio and Television Corporation (RTS-Radiodiffusion Television Senegalaise), the official broadcasting organ of Senegal, requested Türkiye to organize a training program for its personnel. In cooperation with TİKA and TRT, personnel of the institution was brought to Türkiye and trained in lighting, camera, montage, graphics, etc. at the TRT Headquarters (TİKA: Senegal Radyo Televizyon Kurumu Personeline Teknik Eğitim, 2013).

Turkish Ministry of National Education personnel provided training in sewing and embroidery for people at the Senegal Fashion Institute of Cutting and Cutting (TİKA: Senegal Moda Dikiş ve Kesim Enstitüsü'nün Eğitimcilerine Giysi Tasarımı ve Üretimi Eğitimi, 2016).

In this context, staff members of the Senegalese Ministry of Vocational Education, Apprenticeship and Crafts were provided with information during their visits to places in Türkiye that produce woodwork, furniture, leather imitations and leather textiles (TİKA: Senegal Mesleki Eğitim Çıraklık ve Zanaat Bakanlığı Personeline Tecrübe Aktarımı, 2016). Members of the Senegalese Thies Vocational Chamber came to Türkiye and were trained in furniture (TİKA: Senegalli Marangoz Ustalarına Mobilyacılık Eğitimi, 2015).

Within the framework of Türkiye-Senegal security cooperation, a “*Crime Scene Investigation Training Course*” was organized for security personnel from Senegal. In the course, training was provided in areas such as crime scene investigation and the definition of materials used in explosives (TİKA: TİKA’dan Senegal Jandarmasına Olay Yeri İnceleme Eğitimi, 2017). Gendarmerie personnel from Türkiye also gave crime scene investigation courses in Senegal. Türkiye has contributed to the reduction of the deficiency in these areas by making different donations to different institutions upon its use in social life. Religious education is not provided in schools in Senegal. In order to close this gap in the country, various groups have established institutions called “*daara*” where religious education is provided. Türkiye has provided various aid to these institutions. In Mboumba, dormitory materials, cleaning materials and clothing were provided to *daaras* that cater to 800 students (TİKA: Senegal’de Mboumba Bölgesi Daaralarına Malzeme Desteği, 2014).

In Mbacke, another region of the country, *daaras* were supported in the fields of education, dormitory and clothing (TİKA: Senegal’de Mbacke Bölgesi Daaralarına Malzeme Desteği, 2014). The Vocational Training Center in Kolda Region, which is known for civil conflicts and terrorist incidents in Senegal, was provided with computers and office supplies. Stationery and office supplies were provided to ten primary schools in the Adeane district of the Kazamans region (TİKA: TİKA’dan Senegal’in Kazamans Bölgesinde Eğitime Destek, 2016). As part of the “*Capacity Building Project*”, Türkiye provided various equipment to the Ophthalmology Clinic of the Aristide le Dantec Hospital for use during surgery. Doctors from Türkiye provided training to hospital staff on the use of the equipment (TİKA: Senegal’de Aristide Le Dantec Hastanesi’ne Tıbbi Malzeme Desteği, 2015). Türkiye also provides various aids in the field of sports. Senegal's Ministry of Sports has been provided with many sports equipment. Sports equipment including uniforms, shoes, balls and nets were provided to 7

sports clubs in the Sicap-Liberté region (TİKA: TİKA'dan Senegalli Amatör Sporculara Destek, 2019).

There are cross-border political problems in the Casamance region of Senegal bordering Guinea Bissau. Türkiye initiated the “*Dialogue for the Reconciliation of Cross-Border Communities*” process to overcome this problem. In the first phase of the project, meetings were held with local communities. In the second phase, a vegetable garden was established in Simbadibante and Djibanar districts and three water wells were drilled for irrigation (TİKA: TİKA'dan Senegal'de Tarımsal Kalkınmaya Destek, 2015). In the third phase of the project, various agricultural tools were provided to women farmers.

TİKA and the Pan-African Association for the Promotion of Higher Education (CACSUP) organized a team of people to conduct health and veterinary screening for 1.500 villagers and 1.500 animals in Medina Sherif village (TİKA: TİKA'dan Ebola Tehlikesi Altındaki Kolda Bölgesinde Sağlık Taraması, 2014). In Kedeugou Salemate district, 1.009 citizens and 759 animals underwent health and veterinary screening. TİKA and CACSUP also conducted health and veterinary screening for 3.600 people and around 300 animals in Teloum and Diembering villages in Casamance region (TİKA: Senegal Kazamans Bölgesinde Sağlık ve Veterinerlik Taramalarına Destek, 2016). It is important to highlight that TİKA Programme Coordination Office, to implement Turkish Development Assistance, was established in Dakar in 2007 becoming the 3rd representation opened in the African Continent, just after Sudan in 2006 and Ethiopia in 2005. This representation got the responsibility to cover many West African countries including Ivory Coast, Guinea-Bissau, Niger and The Gambia. Programme offices of TİKA were opened in Niger (2010) and The Gambia (2018).

3.2.2. Türkiye-Niger Relations

Niger's foreign policy has been characterized by French influence and sometimes revolutionary toward the western bloc. Known for its potentialities for uranium, Niger is a landlocked country located in West African regions, with many neighbor countries and closer to

the Sahara zone, and often affected by drought. That is why, Mursel Bayram stated that “*because of its geographic location and natural aspect, Niger had to have a foreign policy that was affected by economic and security needs with necessities of international assistance* (Mursel Bayram, 2020: 39).

Therefore, Niger became independent from France in 1960. Its first President Hamani Diori and then Seyni Kountché had to face many difficulties caused by a long drought during the 1960s and 1970s, which pushed Niger to adopt a foreign policy oriented to international organizations and friendly bilateral partners to mobilize all these actors for a common agenda of the governments of Niger. Regarding Türkiye, Niger considers Türkiye as an important partner if not the most prominent non-Western partner. The relations between Niger and Türkiye go back to the 15th century, through Ottoman Empire’s ties with Kanem – Bornu Empire, Agadez Sultanate and Fazzam (Bayram, 2020: 55). Thus, these historical ties helped a lot for the enhancement of the extended relations in political-diplomatic, economic and cultural fields. In this line as stated by Mursel Bayram (2020: 56-57):

“Türkiye was among the first countries to recognize Niger after its independence in 1960, and diplomatic relations have been established since 1966. However, for logistical reasons, the establishment of a Turkish resident Embassy in Niger waited until January 2012. The Embassy of Niger in Ankara became operational in September of the same year.”

With the establishment of the diplomatic missions of both Türkiye and Niger, the relations between the two countries kept increasing in all fields of mutual interest.

i) Political Relations

As of our period, we see that the first contact was carried out by Prime Minister Erdoğan. Erdoğan paid a visit to Niger in January 2013 (Cumhuriyet, 2013: 11). Within the framework of the visit, he had lunch with Mahamadou Issoufou. Afterward, they held bilateral and delegation talks with Niger's Prime Minister Mohamed Yusuf. During the bilateral meeting, they signed agreements in 5 areas. These agreements are as follows:

i) Economic, Commercial and Technical Cooperation,

- ii) Cooperation in Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation,
- iii) Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Water,
- iv) Cooperation Agreement in the Field of Forestry,
- v) Agreement on the Reciprocal Abolition of Visas between the two countries for Holders of Diplomatic Passports.

Along the same line, President Issoufou of Niger paid an official visit to Türkiye on 11-13 March 2014 at the invitation of President Gül. Issoufou's visit was the first visit from Niger to Türkiye at the Presidential level (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2014). President Gül welcomed the visiting President with an official ceremony at the Çankaya Mansion. Following the ceremony, the two sides held head-to-head and delegation talks, and signatures of agreements in different fields of mutual interest. For instance, President Gül stated that the relations to be established in the fields of armed forces, security and other security areas in the future were evaluated in order to contribute to the security in Niger and that Türkiye would not hesitate to support the country. Referring to the historical connection with Niger, Issoufou stated that they have a deep-rooted and ancient friendship (Academy of International Politics, 2013). Following the talks, six agreements were signed in the presence of the leaders:

- i) Technical and Development Cooperation Protocol,
- ii) Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the Undersecretariat of Treasury of the Republic of Türkiye and the Ministry of Planning, Land Administration and Social Development of the Republic of Niger,
- iii) Protocol on Land Exchange for Diplomatic Missions,
- iv) Police Training Cooperation based on the 5th Security Cooperation Agreement,
- v) Joint Declaration on Cooperation in the Fields of Mines, Energy and Hydrocarbons,
- vi) Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Earth Sciences.

For example, accompanying President Issoufou, the Minister of Mines and Industrial Development Omer Hamidou and Minister of Energy and Petroleum Foumakaye Godo met with Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Taner Yıldız. During the meetings, a *Memorandum of Understanding on Earth Sciences* was signed between the General Directorate of Mineral Research and Exploration and the Geology and Mining Research Center of the Republic of Niger (Milliyet, 2015). Within the framework of Türkiye's nuclear power plant construction projects, the rich uranium reserves in Niger will be an important raw material supplier for Türkiye. In the same high-level mutual visits, President Issoufou visited Türkiye in April 2015 to participate in the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the Çanakkale Land Wars. During the visit, he held a bilateral meeting with Erdoğan at the Istanbul Congress Center (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2015). Ousseini Tinni, Speaker of the National Assembly of Niger, visited Erdoğan during his visit in November 2017 and they held a meeting.

On January 24, 2018, Niger Prime Minister Brigi Rafini paid the first visit from Niger at the prime ministerial level. Prime Minister Yıldırım organized an official welcoming ceremony for Rafini at the Çankaya Mansion and after lunch, they held a joint press conference where they emphasized the necessity of the enhancement of Türkiye and bilateral cooperation in different fields. They exchanged views on cooperation in commercial, educational, social and military fields. During the talks, an *Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Education* was signed (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018). Finally, Prime Minister Rafini had a bilateral meeting with his President Erdoğan. Moreover, Prime Minister Rafini visited Türkiye in July 2018 to attend President Erdoğan's inaugural ceremony, and on this occasion, Prime Minister Rafini held talks with his counterpart Prime Minister Yıldırım for the increment of bilateral cooperation between Türkiye and Niger.

ii) Economic Relations

The official dimension of Türkiye's economic relations with Niger has developed within the framework of the *Economic, Commercial and Technical Cooperation Agreement* signed during Erdoğan's visit in 2013 (T.C. Resmi Gazete, 2017). This Agreement established a high-level *Joint Economic Commission (JEC)*. This commission has met once so far. The Turkish delegation was headed by Cevdet Yılmaz, Minister of Development, and the Niger

delegation was headed by Amadou Boubacar Cisse, Minister of State and Minister of Planning, Land Administration and Social Development, in Ankara on November 5-6, 2014. At the meeting, the Niger side stated that they expected investment from the Turks and that they would encourage companies to welcome to their country in this regard.

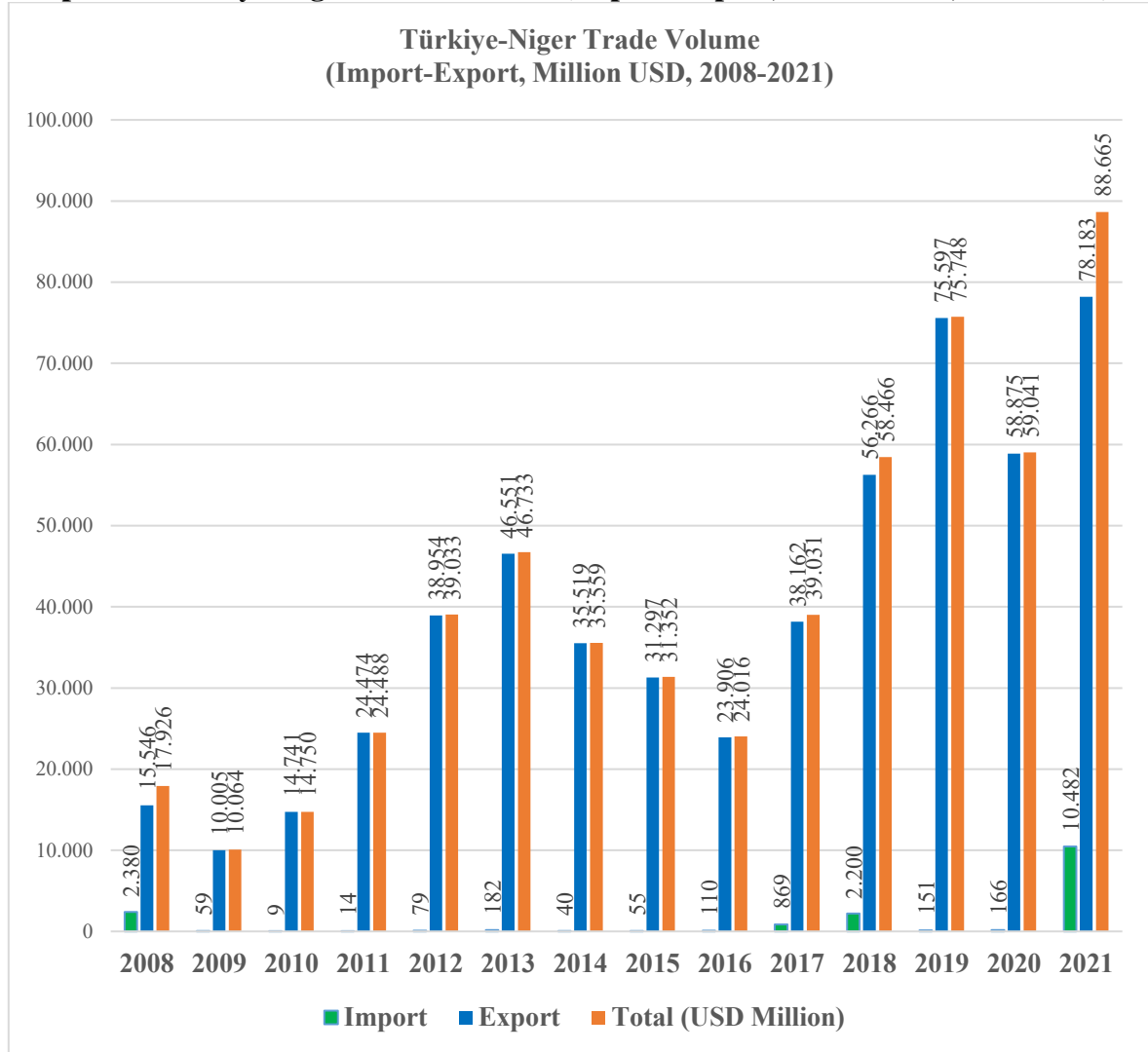
During the then Prime Minister Erdoğan's visit to Niger, the *Türkiye-Niger Business Forum* was organized. Erdoğan was accompanied by businessmen operating in many fields such as food, agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries, machinery, furniture, petroleum, oil and tourism. Speaking at the forum, Prime Minister Erdoğan stated that they take mutual interest as a principle in their relations with Africa and that they will support Niger's development programs (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). This meeting was the beginning of economic forums to strengthen ties between the two countries.

In 2015, the *Türkiye-Niger Business Council* was established between DEİK and the Niger Chamber of Commerce and Industry. In this context, the first meeting of the council was held in Niamey on 26 January 2016 (DEİK, 2016). The meeting hosted by the council was held in Ankara on 23 January 2018 with the participation of Niger ministers and more than 60 Turkish and Niger businessmen during the visit of Niger Prime Minister Rafini. The Niger delegation stated that in addition to developing existing sectors, they would like to add new areas such as technology, energy, health, pharmaceuticals, furniture and textiles. Rafini assured that the necessary legal infrastructure for investment was ready (DEİK, 2018).

SANKON President Atasoy visited the Ambassador of Niger to Ankara Dan Maradi in June 2016. Atasoy stated that “*Niger is a friendly and allied country and that they are ready to invest in all areas. At the end of the talks, it was decided that Atasoy would visit Niger to research investment potentials and sign protocols with institutions*” (DEİK, 2018). Compared to Ivory Coast and Senegal, the trade volume of Türkiye with Niger is at low levels (see graphics 3, 4 and 5). However, during the last decades, the balance is most favorable to Türkiye with higher export volume than imports. In 2008 due to the realization of 17.926 million US dollars, a very low amount of 2.380 million US dollars of this were earned from the product that Türkiye imports from Niger (TradeMap, June 24, 2022). The rest is exports and the main export products are cereals, flour, starch, prepared foods and electronic goods. Again, Türkiye's imports were very low, with precious metals and cultured pearls dominating. In 2021, the

remaining export items from the total volume were the same as in 2008. While the total bilateral trade volume between Türkiye and Niger was 17.926 million US dollars in 2008, it reached 88.665 million US dollars in 2021 (see Graphic below).

Graphic 4: Türkiye-Niger Trade Volume (Import-Export, million USD, 2008-2021)



Source: The data of this graphic was collected from the Ministry of Economy of Türkiye, www.ekonomi.gov.tr, assessed on 09.02.2022. (The graphic was designed by the researcher).

iii) Cultural Relations

The basis of the cultural relations between Türkiye and Niger was established by the *Agreement on Culture and Education Cooperation*, signed on November 2014 (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 25, 2022). With this institutional framework, Türkiye and Niger officialized their very old and deep cultural relations. In fact, Niger has a considerable place

in Türkiye's foreign policy and diplomacy because of their historic ties are originated from the Ottoman Empire era. Mehmet Özcan states that Ottoman Empire had traditional contacts and friendly relations with Kanem-Bornu Empire, which covered today's Niger, Chad, Central Africa Republic and even a part of Nigeria. However, these relations were limited and more friendly than institutional (Özcan, *Türkiye's Rising Role in Africa*, 2013: 7-8).

That is why within the new Turkish policy toward Africa, with the arrival to power of AK Party, Türkiye started to rebuild these relations with arguments on historical ties existing between Türkiye and Niger. This context helped to enhance the cultural relations and rapidly establish almost all Turkish public institutions operating in cultural, educational and other fields. After the reciprocal opening of diplomatic missions in Niamey and Ankara in 2012, Türkiye established the permanent representations of TİKA, Turkish Maarif Foundation and Yunus Emre Institute in Niamey.

For instance, Turkish Maarif Foundation is in charge of organizing and coordinating Turkish educational aspect through the Maarif Schools overseas, including in Niger. This institution share the education system overseas and stresses on the promotion of Turkish culture and education, and contributes to the mutual knowledge of both Türkiye and Niger. Almost for the same purposes, Yunus Emre Institute coordinates activities on Turkish language, organizes cultural events and helps for the promotion of the good image of Türkiye abroad, and contributes to the education or training of the citizens of Niger. However, Turkish Government's scholarships are coordinated and provided to Niger's students (first by Turkish National Education since 1992, and then by Türkiye Scholarships since its creation in 2010). In addition, Turkish Diyanet Foundation which is a public institution acting under the Turkish Presidency for Religious Affairs, provides scholarships to Niger's students exclusively on Islamic studies, in different levels.

iv) Cooperation for Development

In terms of Official Development Cooperation, Türkiye implements development projects in Niger in different fields, within the framework of Turkish Official Development Assistance, through TİKA Programme Coordination Office operating in Niamey, since January

2012. However, as usual for other countries around the world, before the opening of that representation in Niamey, TİKA had been implementing development, and sometimes humanitarian projects through Headquarter in Ankara and its older regional office based in Dakar, Senegal.

For instance, *Türkiye-Niger Friendship Forest* was inaugurated in August 2012 with the planting of 6000 saplings of rosary, acacia and eucalyptus trees on an area of 8 hectares. An area of 2 hectares of this forest started to operate as an urban forest. A solar-powered water well, a 10-ton water tank and a football field were built in the area (TİKA: Nijer Devlet Planlama, Toprak İdaresi ve Toplumsal Kalkınma Bakanı'ndan TİKA'ya Ziyaret, 2012). On this occasion, President Erdoğan attended the tree planting ceremony during his visit to Niger, and witnessed the realization of development projects implemented by TİKA, which according to him “*contribute to the development of Niger and to the consolidation of Türkiye-Niger relations*”. (*Turkish Development Assistance Report, 2020: 17*).

During the ceremony, Niger's Prime Minister Yusuf presented Erdoğan with a camel (Milliyet, 2012.). In the same line, 5,672 tons of food aid was delivered to Niger in cooperation with TİKA, the Ministry of Economy, the Central Anatolian Exporters Union and the Red Crescent. Turkish delegation officials met with Rafini during the delivery of the aid and signed a protocol to build an educational campus with a capacity of 1260 students (TİKA: Nijer'e 6000 Ton Gıda Yardımı, 2012). Between 2006 and 2014, volunteer doctors from Türkiye, under the coordination of TİKA and in cooperation with local doctors, performed 13.929 internal medicine examinations, 2.960 ultrasounds, 2.000 surgical operations, 7.000 dental examinations, 9.270 tooth extractions, 8.000 ear, nose and throat examinations and 5.000 ear operations within the framework of cooperation for development on health services. In addition, 12.500 goats and 12.800 food aid were provided by TİKA in the same context (TİKA: Nijer'de Sağlık ve İnsani Yardım Organizasyonları Devam Ediyor, 2014).

Moreover, in 2015, 48 Turkish doctors, who went to the region with the cooperation of the Ministry of Health and TİKA, performed urology, ophthalmology, general surgery, ear-nose-throat, orthopedics, pediatrics and dental treatment in Tesaua and Aque regions for 15 days (TİKA: Gönüllü Doktorlar TİKA Desteği ile Nijer'e Sağlık Hizmeti Verdi, 2015).

Therefore, Türkiye not only provides instant aid, but also provides permanent health interventions, and support on the fields of education, infrastructures and agriculture. In this context, the support on ambulances and the construction and equipment with modern materials of the hospital, which President Erdoğan promised during his visit to Niger, was completed in 2016 under the name of “*Mother and Child Health Rehabilitation Hospital*” with 53 beds on an area of 5 thousand m² (TİKA: TİKA’dan Nijer’e Sağlık Alanındaki Desteği Devam Ediyor, 2016).

In terms of local development and women empowerment, Türkiye paid attention to Niger through development projects implemented by TİKA. For example, raw materials for sewing and embroidery, knitting, sewing machines, knitting machines, kitchen utensils and cosmetic products were provided for the use of uneducated and disabled girls at the Martaba Women's Training Center in Birni N'Konni region (TİKA: Nijer’de Martaba Kadın Eğitim Merkezine Ekipman Desteği, 2015). In the same year, Türkiye has drilled 259 water wells in Niger, in order to minimize the shortage of clean water and provided for the needs of approximately 500 thousand people around the country, which is more than 60% covered by deserts (TİKA: Nijer’de 500 Bin İnsanın Temiz İçme Suyuna Erişimi Sağlandı, 2015).

In fact, children are very important in terms of population in Niger. Because of 49% of the population is between the ages of 0 and 14, the number of youth is also very significant. Therefore, regular and adequate education for these children will play a remarkable role in the development of the country in the future. With this in mind, Türkiye provides various social assistance such as school renovation, equipment support and dormitory construction. Türkiye provided various school supplies and stationery for the use of 500 students at Lossagoungou Primary School (TİKA: Nijer’de Eğitim Alanında Destek Devam Ediyor, 2016). After identifying the lack of Information and Technology (IT) infrastructure at Agadez University, Türkiye provided IT equipments and various office supplies (TİKA: Nijer’de Agadez Üniversitesi’ne Ekipman ve Malzeme Desteği, 2016).

In line with President Erdoğan's instructions, the project of construction of a school with 42 classrooms for 1.260 students, and a dormitory and gymnasium for 650 students was completed (TİKA, Turkish Development Assistance Report, 2017: 54). For the same purposes of developing the education fields in favor of children, the Turkish-run orphanage in Niger

was provided with infrastructure equipment and materials in order to improve its work conditions (TİKA 2017: 55).

In addition to providing aid, Türkiye also aims to increase the aspect of economic cooperation and the level of its efficiency by organizing training programs in different fields which may help for job creation and management. In this context, through TİKA, a group of 7 people consisting of experts from Niger's Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development and members of fishermen cooperatives were trained in areas such as ponds, hatcheries, fish feeding, fish diseases and cage fishing at the Mediterranean Fisheries Research, Production and Training Institute of Turkish Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, (TİKA: Nijerli Uzmanlara Tatlı Su Balıkları Yetiştiriciliği Eğitimi Verildi, 2017). In addition, a group of 7 people consisting of Niger Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development personnel and members of local beekeeping associations were trained in areas such as queen bees, royal jelly production, hive construction and bee products at the Directorate of Beekeeping Research Institute in Ordu (TİKA'dan Nijerli Arıcılara Eğitim Desteği, 2017).

In the same line, the renovation of the reception hall of the Sultanate of Agadez, which has historical significance, was carried out by Türkiye through its agency for cooperation and development (TİKA: Afrika'da Agadez Sultanlığı TİKA'nın Desteği ile Osmanlıyı Yaşatıyor, 2018). Thus, this link from the Ottoman period is being maintained today in different dimensions. Türkiye carried out another renovation in the building of the Niger Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Handicrafts, and the conference hall session tables of the Chamber, the seats and tables of 3 board rooms were renewed within the framework of Türkiye-Niger cooperation for development (TİKA: Nijer Ticaret, Sanayi ve El Sanatları Odası Tefrişatı TİKA Tarafından Yapıldı, 2018).

In sum, considering these implications, Turkish Official Development Assistance to Niger is significant through the implementation of development projects by TİKA in different fields. It is obvious that these implications not only play a very notable role for the development of the country, and for the local community in different levels; but also these realizations contribute for the enhancement of the political-diplomatic, economic-commercial and cultural cooperation between Türkiye and Niger which has historical relations going back to the era of Ottoman Empire and Kanem-Bornu Empire.

3.1.3. Türkiye-Ivory Coast Relations

The Republic of Côte d'Ivoire²⁶ or Ivory Coast is one of the top countries in Africa, and in West Africa in particular, in terms of economic potentialities and welfare. However, from the 1990s, Senegal almost took this place because of its political stability and the creation of socio-economic plan for development and welfare. Despite these good characteristics of Ivory Coast, the country has faced political instability, social problems and setbacks in socio-economic development from the late 1990s to 2011 (Mursel Bayram, 2020: 143-144). President Ouattara took over the power with the support of the African Union, France and the United States of America. It is important to highlight that, since its independence from France in 1960, Ivory Coast has always been assumed as the “*most francophile*” country in Africa because of its very close relations with France and the West.

In this context, Türkiye has always stated that political instability can harm countries. With this in mind, Türkiye supported the democratically elected government (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July, 2022). Before this, in geographic and demographic aspects, in Ivory Coast, there is a gap between the north and the south in terms of social, cultural and material dimensions. The people of the north are far behind in terms of economic development. For this reason, uprisings started in the north in 2002, as stressed in *Une Histoire Diplomatique des États Ouest Africains* (Mürsel Bayram, 2020: 17-19).

However, with the election of Alassane Ouattara and the end of post-elections political crisis, Ivory Coast came back gradually in terms of stability and return to its good era with economic recuperation of its place in the Western Africa region. It is necessary to highlight that Ivory Coast is one of the most important countries in the West Africa regional organizations like UEMOA, ECOWAS, BCEAO etc, in both monetary contributions and leading to these organizations.

²⁶ Côte d'Ivoire is the version in French meaning Ivory Coast in English. In the literature and, officially, the country uses the two terminologies.

i) Political Relations

Before the opening of the resident Embassy, Ivory Coast was accredited to the Turkish Embassy in Dakar (Senegal). Ivory Coast was accredited to the Turkish Embassy in Tel Aviv, Israel. On November 2009, the Embassy of Türkiye in Abidjan became operational, and the first Turkish Ambassador to Abidjan was Yalçın Kaya Erensoy (Turkish Embassy in Abidjan, 2014). Upon the expiration of Erensoy's term of office, Ambassador Esra Demir took over on July 2014 (Turkish Embassy in Abidjan, 2014). On one hand, in September 2018, the Ambassador to Abidjan was replaced by Yonca Özçeri (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2018). In another hand, the Embassy of Ivory Coast in Ankara became operational in February 2013, with Yacouba Atta, who was appointed as the first resident Ambassador of Ivory Coast to Ankara, and has been in Office until his replacement by the current Ambassador Kadidjata Toure, who took office on July 2020 (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2020).

The first political visit between the two countries took place in 2014 when Guillaume Kigbafori Soro, President of the National Assembly of Ivory Coast, and his delegation attended the handover ceremony for President Erdoğan's election as President of the Republic. *“The guest President held a meeting with the then Speaker of the Parliament Cemil Çiçek and reviewed bilateral relations in terms of parliamentary diplomacy”* (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). Upon the invitation of Minister of Foreign Affairs Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Charles Koffi Diby, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ivory Coast paid an official visit to Türkiye on December 2014. This was the first visit from Ivory Coast to Türkiye at the Foreign Ministry level. Ministers Çavuşoğlu and Diby agreed that *“they would take concrete steps to improve relations in all areas. During the visit, two agreements were signed”* (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). These agreements are:

- i) Agreement on the Establishment of a Mechanism for Political Consultation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs,
- ii) Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Diplomacy, Training, Information and Document Exchange.

During the visit, bilateral relations and regional issues were reviewed and new agenda was established by the Presidents. Upon President Erdoğan's invitation, the President Alassane Ouattara, paid an official visit to Türkiye on March 25-March 2015 (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2015). President Ouattara's visit is of particular importance as it was the first visit from Ivory Coast to Türkiye at the Presidential level. The two leaders held head-to-head and delegation talks and discussed bilateral, regional and international issues. In this context, after the bilateral talks, they held a joint press conference. The parties mutually agreed to exchange 4 thousand square meters of land for the construction of an embassy chancellery. It also was agreed that *“the two countries would support each other in the international arena. Erdogan called on Turkish businessmen to invest in Ivory Coast and said that they should utilize the potential. Within the scope of the meeting, agreements were signed on 8 issues”* (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2012). These agreements are as follows:

- i) Agreement on Cooperation in the Sector of Education,
- ii) Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Youth and Sports,
- iii) Tourism Cooperation Agreement,
- iv) Agreement on the Reciprocal Abolition of Visas for Holders of Diplomatic, Service and Special Passports,
- v) Cultural Cooperation Agreement,
- vi) Agreement on Security Cooperation,
- iv) Framework Agreement on Training, Technical and Scientific Cooperation in the Military Field,
- v) Military Training Cooperation Agreement.

President Erdoğan paid his first official visit to Ivory Coast from Türkiye at the Presidential level on 28-29 February 2016 (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2016). In this

very high-level official visit, President Erdoğan's delegation included his wife Emine Erdoğan, Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of National Defense İsmet Yılmaz, Minister of Environment and Urbanization Fatma Güldemet Sarı, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Berat Albayrak, Minister of Economy Mustafa Elitaş and around 150 businessmen. It is necessary to indicate that certainly, “*economic and trade issues were the key driver of this first-ever official visit of Turkish President to Ivory Coast*” (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016).

President Erdoğan was welcomed at Felix Houphouët Boigny Airport by a large protocol including President Ouattara, Prime Minister Kablan Duncan, almost all ministers of the country, Turkish Ambassador to Abidjan Esra Demir and 60 local tribal leaders. On this occasion President Ouattara organized an official welcoming ceremony for President Erdoğan at the Presidential Palace of Ivory Coast. Following the ceremony, the two sides held head-to-head and delegation meetings and consequently, a joint press conference was held to brief the participants on the content of the meeting. President Erdoğan stated that “*the relations with Ivory Coast were going well in every field and that the relations constituted a cornerstone across Africa*” (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2016).

He stated that Abidjan will be an important capital city by 2020, both with Türkiye's assistance and its own development programs. In his terms, “*we are pleased to welcome a great statesman, a friend of Ivory Coast and Africa*” President Ouattara said of President Erdoğan. President Ouattara awarded Erdoğan the “*Order of the Grand Croix (Grand Cross)*”, the highest state decoration in the country. As a matter of fact, these meetings are of particular importance in terms of signing the agreements agreed upon during President Ouattara's visit. Within the scope of the meeting, 8 agreements were signed (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, 2016). These agreements are as follows:

- i) Memorandum of Understanding between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs,
- ii) Agreement on Reciprocal Land Exchange for Diplomatic Missions,
- iii) 3rd Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Defense Industry,

- iv) Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Health and Medical Sciences,
- v) Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Cooperation in Urban Development,
- vi) Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) of TIKA Development Assistance Cooperation,
- vii) Agreement on Double Taxation Avoidance,
- viii) Agreement on Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of Investments.

It is absolutely obvious that within the framework of his contacts in Ivory Coast during his visit in 2016, President Erdoğan visited Abidjan Governorate. He was given the “*Golden Key of the City of Abidjan*” and the “*Honorary Citizenship Certificate*” by the Governorate. President Erdoğan attended the *Türkiye-Ivory Coast Business Forum* and met his counterpart President Ouattara, where they reiterated his sincerity to further relations (Tokbay, 2016: 4).

ii) Economic Relations

In terms of the official dimension and the basis of economic and commercial between Türkiye and Ivory Coast was established by the Agreement on Economic and Trade Cooperation signed in 2005 by the governments of the two countries. Today, Türkiye considers Ivory Coast one of its top six trading partner in Sub-Saharan Africa and the largest trading partner within the French-speaking Sub-Saharan Africa. During his work visit to Ivory Coast on June 2018, the then Turkish Minister of Commerce appointed Ivory Coast as one of the priority countries for the 2018-2019 period in terms of economic and trade relations. (Turkish Ministry of Economy, 2018). About the mechanisms, this first agreement on economic and trade relations covers many areas from establishing friendly relations between the countries, adopting the principle of mutual benefit in commercial cooperation as an ambition, and the desire to strengthen relations, from joint commercial enterprise to the exchange of experts, from expert training to consultancy services (TBMM, 2007: 12).

On the other hand, the Agreement on *Avoidance of Double Taxation on Income Taxes and Prevention of Tax Evasion* was signed on February 2016 but has not entered into force for now. An *Agreement on Mutual Encouragement of Investments* was also signed between the two countries but has not been ratified by the national parliaments so far. It would not be wrong to say that Nezaket Emine Atasoy, President of the Confederation of Businesswomen and Businessmen of Türkiye (SANKON), was commissioned on behalf of Türkiye to organize trade ties between the two countries. Atasoy visited Ivory Coast in June 2017 with the organization of the Turkish Embassy in Abidjan. He first met with Mamadou Sangafowa Coulibaly, Minister of Agriculture and Development, and he stated that he is ready to cooperate with Turkish investors in the field of agriculture and they agreed to increase the trade volume between the two countries.

They visited Ivory Coast Chamber of Commerce and exchanged views on cooperation. Mrs Atasoy then visited the Headquarters of the Confederation of Ivory Coast Employers, which also operates in other African countries. Following the meetings with Philippe Eponan, President of the Confederation, the two organizations signed a Protocol of Cooperation to Enhance Economic and Commercial Relations (DEİK, 2017). They also met with Jean Cloude Kossi Brou, Minister of Mines and Industry of Ivory Coast, to discuss possible investments in the country. Within the scope of the visits, Atasoy also paid a visit to the Headquarters of the Council of Business Women of the Republic of Ivory Coast. During the meetings with Yao Euphrasie Kouassi, President of the Council and former Minister of State, cooperation in economic, commercial and cultural fields was emphasized. Presidents Erdoğan and Ouattara attended the *Türkiye-Ivory Coast Business Forum* organized during his visit to Ivory Coast. The total number of participants from both countries was around 350, composed of actors from Türkiye and Ivory Coast private sectors. Many companies made presentations introducing their companies, and Turkish and Ivorian companies held bilateral meetings (DEİK, 2016: 1).

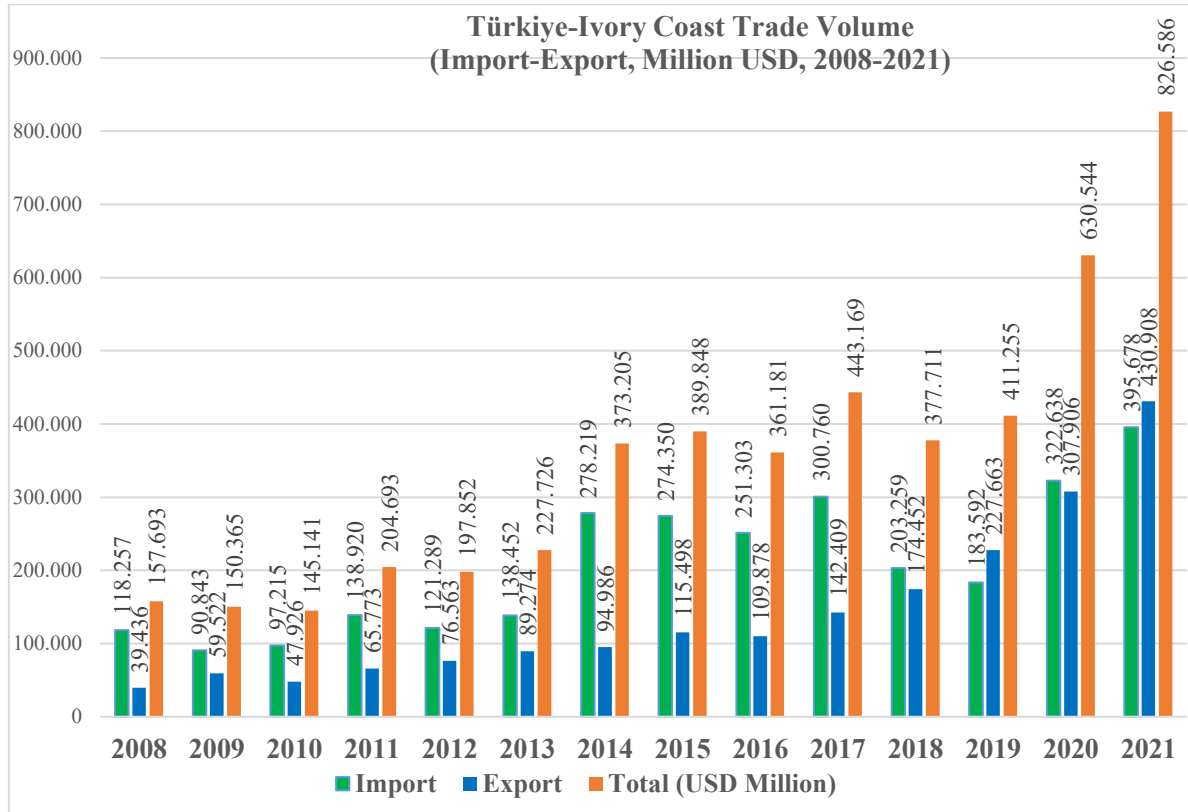
The institutional basis of the economic and commercial relations between Türkiye and Ivory Coast was established with the signature of the Agreement on Economic, Trade and Technical Cooperation in 2005. This agreement consists of the establishment of an contractual framework and engagement of the two countries to facilitate their economic, trade and tech-

nical cooperation. As stated by the then Turkish Minister of Commerce, from then on, “*Türkiye keeps considering Ivory Coast as one of his top six crucial partners in Sub-Saharan Africa in terms of economy and trade. Ivory Coast has been selected as one of the priority countries for the 2018-2019 period*” (Turkish Ministry of Commerce, 2018).

To facilitate mobility and small-mid-sized businesses, Turkish public air transportation Turkish Airlines started to operate direct flights to Abidjan, Ivory Coast, in July 2012. The flights, which currently take place at four weekly frequency levels in the winter periods, are carried out every day of the week during the summer period. This frequency covers passenger and Cargo flights. Therefore, it is obvious that the bilateral economic and trade relations between Türkiye and Ivory Coast have been gradually developed, and the trade volume reached a very notable step recent years. For example, the trade volume of the two countries hit 330.7 million US dollars in 2015 which of 230.5 million US dollars for Türkiye's imports from the Ivory Coast. This trade is mostly consisting of cocoa and cocoa derivatives with 199.3 million dollars value and other part was mainly rubber and cotton (TradeMap, 2015). For the same year, Türkiye's exports totalled 100.2 million US dollars. When we look at the export items, we see salt, sulfur, lime, cement, machinery, and mechanical tools. In 2018, the volume reached 377.6 million US dollars (TradeMap, 2015).

As of 2019, this volume reached 409.7 million USD, while Türkiye's exports to Ivory Coast were 220.9 million USD, and imports from Ivory Coast got 188.8 million USD. However, a total of 203.2 million USD worth of products were procured, of which 177.2 million US dollars was cocoa. Despite the decline in imports, exports increased. As indicated in the graphic below, in the same year, exports amounted to 174.4 million US dollars. Export items were the same as the previous data (TradeMap, 2019). In 2021 the total trade volume between the two countries reached 826.586 million USD making, since ever, the Ivory Coast the most interesting country for Türkiye among the four countries in the case study. In sum, Türkiye has more imports from Ivory Coast than its exports to Ivory Coast. This situation is different from the other three countries. For instance, Türkiye export more to Niger, Guinea-Bissau and Senegal than import. This situation makes one more the relations of Türkiye and Ivory Coast different and interesting compared to the other three countries in the case study. This reality illustrates that Türkiye and these countries are more connected to economy-trade than to politic-diplomacy or culture.

Graphic 5: Türkiye-Ivory Coast Trade Volume (Import-Export, million USD, 2008-2021)



Source: *The data of this graphic was collected from the Ministry of Economy of Türkiye, www.ekonomi.gov.tr, assessed on 09.02.2022. (The graphic was designed by the researcher).*

In terms of investment, since July 2012, Turkish Airlines has been operating direct flights to Abidjan, the capital city of Ivory Coast. The flights, which take place at four weekly frequency levels in the winter period, are carried out every day of the week in the summer period. Moreover, Turkish contractors and multinationals in the fields of energy, construction, textiles and food are the principal actors implicated in the Turkish direct investment in Ivory Coast (DEİK, interview, March 17, 2022).

iii) Cultural Relations

In terms of cultural relations, The official dimension of the cooperation is based on three agreements signed during the visits of Presidents Ouattara and Erdoğan in 2015 and 2016, respectively. The first agreement, *Agreement on Cultural Cooperation*, aims at cooperation between institutions such as theatres, participation in artistic events, direct contact between institutions, exchange of information and documents with the participation of artists, exchange of national play texts, joint performances, organization of cultural days between countries, entered into force on 28 August 2015 (T.C. Resmi Gazete, August 28, 2015: 29459). Moreover, Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMV, in Turkish initials), has a school in Ivory Coast and has been carrying out educational and cultural activities in this country in different fields. This educational-cultural public institution is in charge of organizing and coordinating Turkish schools overseas and realizes cultural events with the main purpose of promoting the image of both Turkish and the country where it is operating.

Almost with the same purposes, but without the system of having permanent representation in the country, Turkish Directorate of Government Scholarships (YTB, in Turkish initials), coordinates Turkish scholarships to all African countries and other counties over the world (Africa, Asia, America and Europe). For Ivory Coast, Türkiye Scholarships have been given by YTB to the citizen of this county since 1992 in different fields and levels of studies, and in recent years by Turkish Diyanet Foundation, but exclusively on Islamic studies. Still, in the aspect of cultural relations, Zrokpa Dopeu Roger, Mayor of Zouhan-Hounie, Ivory Coast, and his delegation visited Türkiye and established contact with Kahramankazan District of Ankara. The parties agreed that they would like to develop cultural relations between them (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, assessed on July 24, 2022).

iv) Cooperation for Development

In terms of cooperation for development, Türkiye provides development assistance to Ivory Coast in various fields such as health, food, education, science and transportation through TİKA. However, in contrast to Senegal and Niger, TİKA does not have a Programme Coordination Office in Ivory Coast for the implementation of development projects within the framework of Turkish Development Assistance.

In this aspect, Türkiye and Ivory Coast established institutional framework to facilitate the communication and implementation of development and humanitarian projects through cooperation agreements and intervention of Dakar Programme Coordination Office, with has been covering many countries in West Africa. For instance, Türkiye, through TİKA, signed *TİKA Memorandum of Understanding on Development Assistance Cooperation and Tourism Cooperation Agreement*. Although the last two agreements have been signed, they have not entered into force yet.

In October 2013, TİKA provided the Cardiology Institute in Abidjan with medical supports (TİKA: Fildişi Sahili'ne Tıbbi Malzeme Desteği, 2013). In April 2014, TİKA provided ambulance and its internal equipment to the Ministry of Health to be used in the transportation and treatment of seriously ill patients living in rural areas (TİKA: Batı Afrika Ülkelerinde Kırsal Kesim Halkının Sağlık Hizmetlerine Erişimine Önemli Destek, 2014). Türkiye has added new aid to its health activities in the region every year. In this context, Türkiye provided various machineries to Ivory Coast hospitals to help addressing the needs of its Ministry of Health (TİKA: Fildişi Sahili Akoupe Zeudji Kasabası Sağlık Ocağına Ekipman ve İlaç Desteği, 2014). In addition to the activities carried out in the field of health, Türkiye also provides material and equipment support to the security forces. In this context, in August 2014, Türkiye provided the Ivory Coast Judicial Police with various supports to be used in the laboratory (TİKA: Fildişi Sahili Bilimsel Polis Teşkilatına Teknik Malzeme Desteği, 2014).

With the participation of health personnel from the Ivory Coast, training was provided in Izmir Urla Emergency Disaster Training and Simulation Center on the use of ambulance equipment, crime scene management and techniques for approaching patients in emergency situations. Every year, police officers from different countries, including Ivory Coast, participate in the International Police Training Cooperation Project jointly implemented by TİKA and the Turkish National Police.

In addition to theoretical training on mutual experience sharing, creating common awareness in the fight against crime and determining common terminology, practical training were also organized for the participants (TİKA: Fildişi Sahili Bilimsel Polis Teşkilatına Teknik Malzeme Desteği, 2016). In continuation of this project, in February 2016, police officers from Ivory Coast were trained in the fields of traffic, police intelligence, use of alcoholmeter

devices, forensic ballistics and fight against drugs (TİKA: Dost ve Kardeş Ülkelerin Polisine Eğitim Desteği Devam Ediyor, 2016). Türkiye also provides a high level of support to educational infrastructure in the region, including Ivory Coast. First Lady Emine Erdoğan organized a visit to the Grand Bassam Orphanage with her counterpart First Lady Dominique Ouattara, Ivory Coast's Minister of Education and Minister responsible for Children and Family (Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye, n.d.). An additional kindergarten and playground were built at the Institute for the Visually Impaired in Abidjan (TİKA: TİKA'dan Fildişi Sahili'ne Anaokulu ve Oyun Parkı, 2016).

In addition, Turkish Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu, who was in the region for the OIC Summit, attended the opening ceremony of the Women's Training and Vocational Training Institute within the Ministry of Women, Child Protection and Solidarity of Ivory Coast (TİKA: Fildişi Sahili'nde Kadın Eğitim ve Meslek Edindirme Merkezi Hizmete Açıldı, 2017). In sum, Türkiye provides development assistance to Ivory Coast in various fields with priority on health, education, food, science and transportation globally through the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA), as the institution in charge of coordinating Turkish Official Development Assistance around the world.

3.1.4. Türkiye-Guinea-Bissau Relations

Guinea-Bissau's foreign policy has been guided by multilateralism approach since the 1980s with the arrival to power of João Bernardo (Nino) Vieira. However, pragmatism and socialism aspects characterized Guinea-Bissau's foreign policy during the decade of 1970 under the leadership of Amilcar Lopes Cabral, who obtained the independence of Guinea-Bissau in 1973 from Portugal. With pragmatism and balance, during this decade, Guinea-Bissau's diplomacy was mostly oriented to socialist countries like China, Cuba, Russia, then East Germany, Algeria, Guinea-Conary and Morocco. The same good relations were established with Asian countries like South Korea etc, which supported the independence ideology and mission led by Amilcar L. Cabral between 1963 and 1973.

Therefore, Mursel Bayram stated that, “*although its essentially socialist ideology, Cabral managed to avoid becoming a victim of the Cold War. He established his goals and needs of the national struggle for independence, and sought material support from all ideological blocs: the Socialist bloc and the Westernist liberal bloc*” (Bayram, *A Diplomatic History of West African States*, 2020: 200-2001). In recent context, Guinea-Bissau's relations include some cooperation agreements without limitation of bloc and fields, because of the multilateral and multidimensional foreign policy conducted by different regimes from the decade of 1990s (arrival of multi-party system and liberal market from 1994) to 2022. Guinea-Bissau has been orienting its foreign policy to multilateralism not only because of the few numbers of diplomatic missions around the world, but also for the political options of its authorities over the last decades.

For instance, like Türkiye, Guinea-Bissau has mainly cooperation in the fields of education, defense and security, economy and trade, and civil aviation. Moreover, Guinea-Bissau has frequent bilateral conversation with Türkiye on regional and international issues through Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP), African Union (AU), United Nations (UN) and (Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)). To sum, as the new paradigm in Guinea-Bissau foreign policy, to believe since early 2020, President Umaro Sissoco Embaló, official visits that took him to Türkiye, South Africa, Indonesia and Nigeria etc opens up new perspectives for Guinea-Bissau. (Mursel Bayram, 2020: 206).

i) Political Relations: From Multilateralism to Bilateralism

Political relations between Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau have so far been limited to contacts within the framework of multilateralism. For example, these relations have been conducted on side of international organizations, international summits and multilateral consultations. On the other hand and very recently, both countries – Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau – attach special importance to the development of bilateral cooperation. Guinea-Bissau opened its Embassy in Ankara in June 2021. In the same line, the Turkish Embassy in Dakar have been accredited to Guinea-Bissau until 2022, when Türkiye opened its diplomatic mission in Bissau in July 2022.

Therefore, it is necessary to highlight that until these dates, the bilateral relations of these two countries were limited at the level of honorary council representations in both Istanbul and Bissau. Guinea-Bissau participated in the *First Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit* held in Istanbul in August 2008 with a delegation headed by the then Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Adelino Mano Quetá. The delegation was received by President Abdullah Gül. On May 2011, the then President of Guinea-Bissau, Malam Bacai Sanhá, who attended the 4th UN Conference on Least Developed Countries held in Istanbul, held a meeting with the then President Gül within the framework of the development of bilateral relations.

On July 2014, the Turkish delegation participated in the 10th *CPLP Summit of Heads of State and Government* held in Dili, the capital of East Timor, and met with the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guinea Bissau, Mario Lopes da Rosa. Ambassador Lopes Da Rosa, then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guinea Bissau, participated in the *Second Türkiye-Africa Partnership Summit* held in Malabo, the capital of Equatorial Guinea, on November 2014. Cipriano Cassama, Speaker of the National Assembly of Guinea Bissau, attended the *10th Conference of the Standing Committee on Economic and Commercial Cooperation of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (COMCEC)* hosted by the UN Grand National Assembly in Istanbul on January 2015. The then Minister of Public Health of Guinea-Bissau, Cadi Seidi, paid a work visit to Türkiye on November 2015 within the framework of the *5th Meeting of the Ministers of Health of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation* held in Istanbul.

In the same perspective of making diplomacy via multilateralism, Guinea-Bissau's authorities continued to participate in international meetings, conferences and summits and within that framework take the opportunity to make contacts with Turkish authorities for the establishment and follow-up of issues in the interest of their bilateral cooperation. For instance, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Guinea-Bissau Ambassador Arthur Silva visited Istanbul on November 2015 to attend the *31st Meeting of the COMCEC*. For the same purposes, the then Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau, Baciro Dja paid a special visit to Türkiye on October 2016 at the invitation of the *Turkish-African Trade Consortium* to hold meetings with representatives of the private sector, for the development of economic and trade relations and call Turkish investors to Guinea-Bissau's market.

More recently and as a sign of the starting point of the establishment of closer high contacts of Guinea-Bissau with Türkiye, José Mário Vaz the then President of Guinea-Bissau attended the inauguration ceremony of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on July 2018, accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and senior officials. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and Communities of Guinea-Bissau Suzi Carla Barbosa paid an official visit to Türkiye on October 2019 just one month before the presidential election of Guinea-Bissau where the then Prime Minister Umaro Sissoco Embaló was elected president.

However, the agenda for the consolidation of bilateral relations of Guinea-Bissau and Türkiye was really implemented from the arrival to power of Umaro Sissoco Embaló Minister as Prime Minister under President Mário Vaz and with his election as President of Guinea-Bissau earlier in 2020. For instance, the President of Guinea Bissau Umaro Sissoco Embaló paid an official visit to Türkiye on 31 January 2020 and held a meeting with President Erdoğan (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, assessed on July 27, 2022). From then, the bilateral relations of Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau gained a new era and as a result of that, the authorities of Guinea-Bissau opened their Embassy in Ankara and reciprocally Türkiye opened its diplomatic mission in Bissau, and consequently, high-level official visits of both Guinea-Bissau and Turkish authorities were intensified. For example, the chief of the diplomacy of Guinea-Bissau Suzi Carla Barbosa paid work visits to Türkiye several times during the last three years, and the Turkish chief of diplomacy Mevlut Çavuşoğlu realized a workvisit to Guinea-Bissau in September 2020 becoming the first-ever official visit at this level.

At the higher level, President Embaló realized official and work visits to Türkiye and President Erdoğan was to pay his first-ever visit Guinea-Bissau in February 2022, a visit cancelled at the last minute when he was in the neighbor country Senegal. This African tour of President was planned for the Democratic Republic of Congo, Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. Within the framework of this planned visit to Bissau, many officials from different Turkish entities visited Guinea-Bissau and make previous contacts with Guinea-Bissau's authorities for the establishment new agenda of cooperation and the enhancement of the bilateral relations between the two countries.

ii) Economic Relations

Guinea-Bissau has very interesting characteristics and many impressions of economic and trade potentialities. In recent years, in Guinea-Bissau, a real growth rate of 5% was realized in 2017 and the GDP was recorded as 1.3 billion US dollars. As of 2017, according to purchasing power parity, it is 1.800 US dollars per person in Guinea-Bissau. Agriculture and service sectors have a significant place in the country's economy. On the other hand, the economy of Guinea-Bissau is heavily affected by the political crisis in the country (Trademap, assessed on July 19, 2022). Guinea-Bissau's import and export figures increased in 2017 compared to previous years. The country's exports, which were 163 million US dollars in 2016, increased to 241.2 million USD in 2017, and the country's imports increased from 196 million dollars to 281.2 million USD in 2016 (Trademap, assessed on July 19, 2022). The main products exported by the country are cashew nuts, seafood, Indian peanuts and peanuts. The main imports of the country are food products, machinery and petroleum products.

Guinea-Bissau's 400 km long coastline is rich in seafood. However, only 30 thousand tons of the annual potential of 300 thousand tons is used. More traditional fishing activities are carried out in the country. Although livestock is important for the people living in the inner parts of the country, it can only meet the needs of the domestic market (Trademap, assessed on July 19, 2022). Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau's economic and trade relations have been very limited compared to Türkiye-Ivory Coast, Senegal and Niger. The main reasons maybe the weak knowledge of the private sectors of both Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau of their markets, and the non-existence necessary institutions, like diplomatic missions in both Bissau and Ankara, that existed just from 2021 and 2022 respectively.

Moreover, both political-diplomatic and economic-trade relations between Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau were limited to multilateralism. For example, some occasional contacts and agreements made during meetings on side of summits, conferences, political consultations in the international organizations and economic-business forums. For instance, the then Minister of Trade, Tourism and Crafts of Guinea-Bissau Vicente Fernandes, visited Türkiye on October 2018 to participate in the *II Türkiye-Africa Economic and Business Forum* held in Istanbul. During this forum, a "*Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement*" was signed between Türkiye and Guinea Bissau (DEİK, 2018). The then Minister of Trade and Industry

of Guinea-Bissau Mamadu Iaia Djalo participated in the *88th Izmir International Fair* held in Izmir on September 2019, and he occasionally met with his Turkish counterpart and they stressed on the issue of the development of economic cooperation between Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau.

According to a diplomat of Guinea-Bissau working in the Guinea-Bissau Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and Communities, Department of Bilateral Cooperation, “*day-by-day, it is evident that the economic relations of Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau have been gaining new horizons*” (interview, March 19, 2022). Therefore, in recent years, with the development of political-diplomatic relations, economic cooperation was also enhanced progressively and Turkish businessmen, who are very active, especially in Senegal, have more and more interest in Guinea-Bissau. In addition, previously signed bilateral agreements on different areas, have been reviewed for implementation. For instance, signed agreements are as follows:

- i) Ankara Metropolitan Municipality-Bissau Municipality “*Sister City Protocol*” (2011),
- ii) Civil Aviation Memorandum of Understanding-MoU (2014),
- iii) Agreement on Security Cooperation (2014),
- iv) Agreement on Air Transport (2014),
- v) Agreement on Economic and Trade Cooperation (2018, but yet to be approved),
- vi) Agreement on Mutual Visa Exemption for Official Passports (2021),
- vii) Joint Economic Commission (JEC): There is not yet institutional structure similar to JEC or Business Council established between the two countries.

In terms of direct foreign investment, Türkiye’s multinational established in neighbour Senegal like SUMA-LİMAK holdings and others opening in different African countries

like Karpower Energy, have started to attach interest to Guinea-Bissau's market (Guinea-Bissau's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and Communities – Secretary of State of International Cooperation, Department of Bilateral Cooperation, interview, March 19, 2022). In this sense and very recently, (agreement signed on April 2022), SUMMA-LİMAK holding as a Turkish multinational specialising on construction of big infrastructures, obtained the offer contract for the construction (enlargement, innovation and equipment) of Bissau International Airport. With this contract concluded between the Government of Guinea-Bissau and the council of administration of the holding, the works are supposed to start very soon possible, and this could be a great start point for a Turkish multinational operating in Bissau.

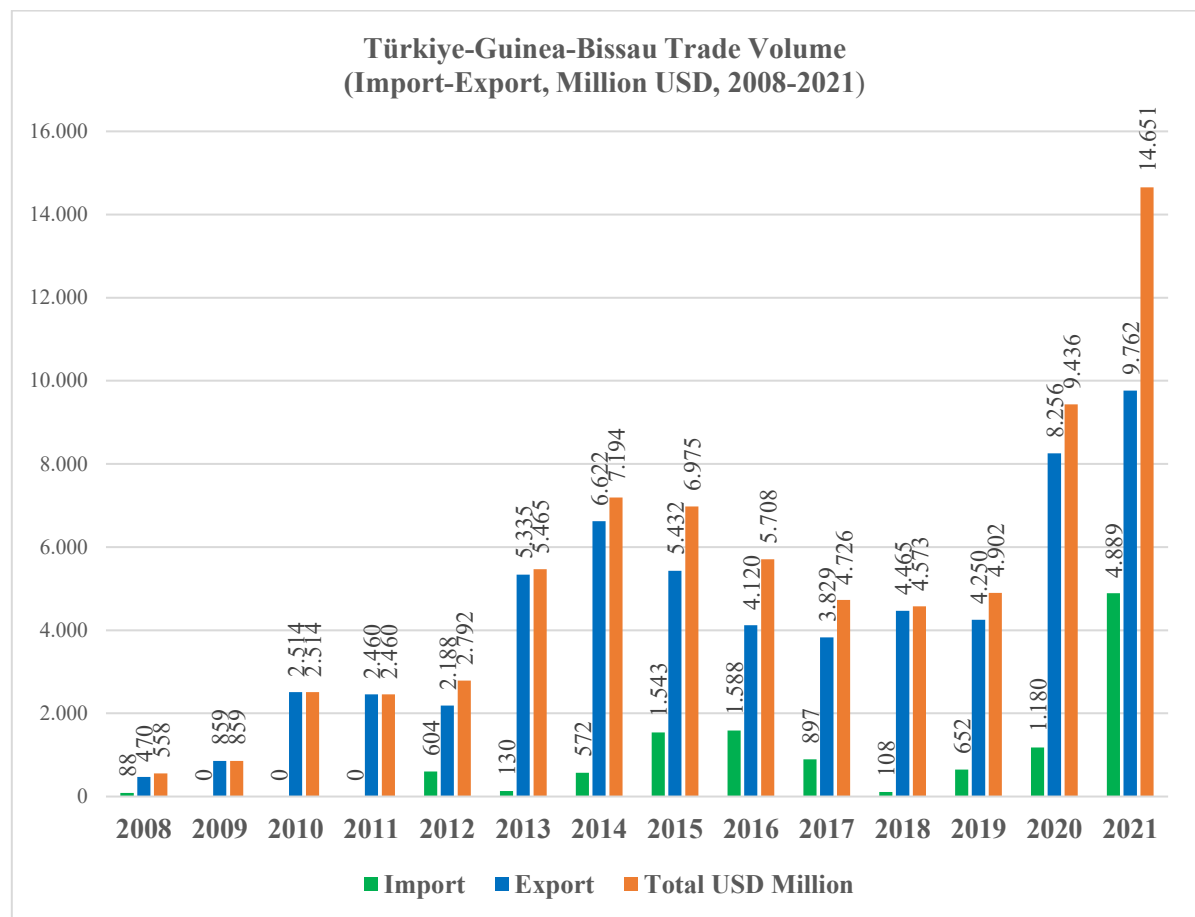
Türkiye's importation items from Guinea-Bissau are globally leather, unprocessed hides, hazelnuts, oilseeds, cashews and fruits. Guinea-Bissau mainly imports from Türkiye materials and products like iron, wheat, hygienic towels and tampons, couscous, electric accumulators, cakes, biscuits, chocolate and other food items, wire, cable, soap, surface active organic products, technological products and foodstuffs based on iron-steel, agriculture and chemical industry.

Logically, Türkiye imports from Guinea-Bissau raw materials and Guinea-Bissau imports from Türkiye manufactured materials. Because of the industrial and transformation capacities that Türkiye has, which are lack Guinea-Bissau yet. Therefore, raw materials are used to feed the industry existing in Türkiye, and the manufactured products and materials are a need for the Guinea-Bissau market with an economy that is yet to be industrialized. This reality illustrates the engagement of the political-diplomatic aspect of the cooperation in order to push for the transfer or sharing of the know-know on industry and technology knowledge (Guinea-Bissau's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and Communities, Department of Bilateral Cooperation, interview, March 19, 2022). For example, the graphic below indicates the interaction and shows the real aspects of the trade relations of Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau.

The trade aspect which is also very significant, is stil very limited compared to the bilateral trade volume levels between Türkiye and Ivory Coast, Senegal and Niger (see Graphics 3, 4, 5 and 6). Bissau-Guinean investors also kept searching the Turkish market and make

business by importing construction materials, food, hygienic and electric materials and products. For instance, in 2019, just before the arrival of Covid-19 and the consequent restrictions, the trade volume of Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau was recorded as 4.902 million US dollars. In 2008 (the year of First Türkiye-Africa Summit), the bilateral trade total volume was just 558 thousand US dollars. Instead, this volume reached 14.651 million USD in 2021 (see Graphic below).

Graphic 6: Türkiye-Guinea-Bissau Trade Volume (Import-Export, million USD, 2008-2021)



Source: The data of this graphic was collected from the Ministry of Economy of Türkiye, www.ekonomi.gov.tr, assessed on 09.02.2022. (The graphic was designed by the researcher).

iii) Cultural Relations

On the matter of cultural cooperation, Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau have yet many challenges. In operational aspects, Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMV, in Turkish initials) has been acting from its permanent representation in Senegal, and covering Guinea-Bissau. Therefore, TMV and TİKA keep acting from Senegal and Ankara, as it was for the diplomatic mission where the Turkish Embassy in Dakar has been accredited to Bissau, until July 2022 with the opening of the Turkish Embassy in Bissau. In addition to the aspect of educational and cultural relations, the Turkish Government's scholarships are provided by (YTB, in Turkish initials) to Guinea-Bissau students since 1992 in different fields and levels, and by Turkish Diyanet Foundation, but exclusively in Islamic studies. However, compared to Senegal, Ivory Coast and Niger, the number of students are very low yet for Guinea-Bissau. That is in terms of the number of graduate students, applications and quota (see Graphic 8).

This reality illustrates the challenges and limitations of the relations between Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau in not only the cultural sector but also in political-diplomatic and economic-commercial fields. On an institutional basis, there is not yet any agreement on cultural and educational cooperation apart from a specific Protocol on *Education Framework Relative to the School of Turkish Maarif Foundation* operating in Bissau since 2016 (Turkish Maarif Foundation, interview, April 29, 2022). Because this school was built in 2010 by the Turkish Government through TİKA, has been operating under Guinea-Bissau's Ministry of National Education.

iv) Cooperation for Development

As a common statement of the scholars in international relations, there are always two or more actors implicated to have an inter-action or co-operation. The international cooperation consists of the interaction of state actors of the international system – state or non-state actors – with specific purposes that may be in different fields and level. These purposes may be reached by the concerned actors according to their abilities, capacities and influences using soft and hard methods of negotiations and co-operation. Within the framework of Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau relations, the aspect of cooperation for development is a reality but is yet to be

set up. “*Considering the situation, necessities and demands of Guinea-Bissau, Turkish development assistance give priority to the health, agriculture, education and administrative infrastructure sectors*” (TİKA1, interview, March 15, 2022).

For instance, TİKA has realized many projects in Guinea-Bissau in the fields of “*education, health, agriculture, administrative and civil infrastructures sectors*” (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, March 9, 2022). The construction of the *Guinea-Bissau-Türkiye Friendship High School* in Bissau in 2010 by the Turkish Government through TİKA, and scholarships provided by the Turkish Government via the Turkish Ministry of National Education and then through YTB, illustrate the presence of Turkish development assistance in this cooperation with Guinea-Bissau. Moreover, during recent years; training programs for doctors, nurses, police, agriculture officials, municipality and urbanization, young diplomats etc implemented by TİKA, are some indicative projects realized in different fields in the scope of Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau cooperation for development.

3.2. SIMILARITIES, DIFFERENCES AND ASYMMETRIES IN THE COOPERATION

Shortly, this section presents the aspect that characterize the cooperation between Türkiye and the four countries selected for cases of study. It will highlight the similarities to differences and asymmetries in the relations of Türkiye with these countries.

3.2.1. Türkiye as ECOWAS and CPLP’s Observer Member

Türkiye's new foreign policy towards Africa is not limited to a handful of African countries like its privileged relationship with North Africa in the past. As can be seen from Türkiye's footprint on the continent, all African countries share the same goal. However, for the purpose of this study, Türkiye's relations with Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) will be emphasized. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established in Lagos, Nigeria on May 28, 1975 by 15 states in the west of the African continent. Later, Cape Verde became a member in 1996, while Mauritania left the membership in 2000. The

Organization currently has 15 members. The Organization covers a geographical area of 6.1 million km² and a population of approximately 300 million. ECOWAS, with its Secretariat in Abuja, emphasizes cooperation with other multilateral organizations, including the EU, and with Western countries. Established in 2000, the ECOWAS Parliament is hosted by Nigeria.

The organization took a structural step forward in January 2007 with the transformation of the ECOWAS Secretariat into a nine-member Commission consisting of the President, Vice-President and seven Commissioners. The number of Commissioners has been increased from 12 to 15, most recently by the decision of the February 2013 Summit. Although the Organization was established following the example of EU-type regional unions, efforts to create an economic union have been slow. However, it is possible to say that there has been more rapid development in recent years on political and military issues of concern to the region.

However, the problem of insufficient personnel, which has been increasing in the organization in recent years and which is acknowledged by the leaders of the organization, causes disruptions in the work of the organization, inadequate reporting and inadequate announcement of the activities of the Organization to accredited representatives and the public, especially attracts the reaction of Western countries that contribute funds to the activities of the organization. ECOWAS is far behind its economic targets. On the other hand, as a result of the political developments in West Africa in recent years, ECOWAS has gained importance in political and military issues concerning the region. In this period, the Organization has been more focused on political and regional security issues. The Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), which constitutes the military wing of the organization with ad hoc missions, has undertaken important tasks in intervening in civil wars and conflicts in the region.

Both mediation initiatives and humanitarian operations have yielded positive results in ECOWAS' efforts to find solutions to regional crises with the support of the international community. Currently, the West African region has many political crises, security and economic problems. Today Mali, Guinea-Conakry and Burkina Faso face political crises after the coups d'etat that occurred in Mali on 18 August 2020 against Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, then in Guinea-Conakry on September 2021, and in Burkina Faso on 23 January 2022. Added to these

political crises, security (terrorism) problems in Mali since 2011 and in Burkina Faso since 2015. These security problems exist in the Sahel Region which is the most vulnerable zone in the continent in terms of security and drought.

For these issues, ECOWAS has been playing an active role in the resolution of these crises. Because this regional organization has its own instruments to deal with mediations, harmonization and ensure peace, stability and development of the region. For instance, the current ECOWAS Chairperson Umaro Sissoco Embaló, President of Guinea-Bissau who took over the Ghanaian Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo on July 3, 2022, for one year, paid his first-ever visit on behalf of ECOWAS to Guinea-Conakry and Burkina Faso just one week after his assumption to ECOWAS Presidency (ECOWAS official website, July 2, 2022). In terms of Türkiye-ECOWAS Relations; Türkiye's desire to start *Free Trade Agreement (FTA)* negotiations with ECOWAS was conveyed to the Organization through diplomatic channels in January and March 2010, but no response was received. However, Türkiye's relations with ECOWAS were mentioned in the Final Declaration of the 39th ECOWAS Summit of Heads of State and Government held in Abuja, Nigeria.

In the negotiations under the Economic Partnership Agreement between the organization and the EU, the EU side requested ECOWAS to start negotiations on a Free Trade Agreement with Türkiye. On the other hand, as a reflection of ECOWAS' difficulties in reporting, coordination and organization, important ECOWAS meetings and events are late or not communicated to our Embassy as well as other foreign missions accredited to ECOWAS. On the other hand, Kadre Desire Ouedraogo, Chairperson of the ECOWAS Commission, participated in the African Union Summit held in Addis Ababa on 27-28 January 2013.

Chairperson Ouedraogo, who met with Turkish Minister of Development Cevdet Yılmaz at the Summit, expressed his keenness to develop cooperation with Türkiye and expressed his desire to visit Türkiye to carry out the necessary consultations to ensure the establishment of a bilateral treaty structure with ECOWAS member countries. Türkiye contributed 750,000 USD to the “*The African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA) Trust Fund*” within the UN framework. Following the transformation of AFISMA under ECOWAS into the Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) under the

UN, the balance of this contribution, approximately 500.000 USD, was transferred to the “*Peace and Security in Mali Trust Fund*.”

On the other hand, Türkiye contributed 30.000 USD to the projects developed by the UN Special Representative for the Prevention of Genocide and the Responsibility to Protect for the Central African Republic, ECOWAS and the African Union. The Second Türkiye-Africa Partnership Summit held in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea on 19-21 November 2014 was attended on behalf of ECOWAS by Dr. Toga Gayewea McIntosh, the then Vice President of the ECOWAS Commission (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). Türkiye changed its action plan in 1998, proposing a new foreign policy toward the African continent. However, from 1998 to 2005, there was a period of inaction in the action plan. The reformed policy of 1998 was reinstated in 2005, declared the “*Year of Africa*” (Aybar, 2013), which launched Türkiye's new opening to Africa. In the same year, Türkiye's then prime minister visited a number of African countries, which later led to Türkiye becoming an observer in the African Union.

In 2007, the Turkish Prime Minister was invited to the annual African Union summit and issued a statement on Türkiye's relations with Africa (Özkan, 2010). In early 2008, Türkiye was granted strategic partner status in Africa during the AU summit. In April 2008, Türkiye's new status led to a Türkiye-Africa summit in Istanbul, where a cooperation agreement was signed. The roadmap for these partnerships covers several areas of activity, including trade and investment. The second Türkiye-Africa Summit was held in November 2014. Likewise, important meetings, conferences and visits were organized to strengthen bilateral relations. The Türkiye-Africa Ministry of Education Conference was held in Istanbul on October 19, 2017 and the Türkiye-Africa Agriculture Conference was held in Antalya on April 27, 2017. As a result of these efforts to improve mutual relations, trade between Türkiye and Africa reached 18.9 percent in 2017, almost tripling the 6.8 billion USD in 2005 (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2018).

The relationship between the two new partners has not stopped growing as Ankara and African diplomatic representation increases. According to the Turkish Foreign Ministry, a total of 39 Turkish embassies operate in different African countries, while Ankara receives

currently 32 African embassies. As its diplomatic presence increased, Türkiye opened commercial councils in 26 African capitals. In addition, the Turkish Foreign Economic Relations Council has established business committees in 19 sub-Saharan African countries. Türkiye has also signed trade and economic cooperation agreements with 38 African countries to create a solid contractual basis for mutual economic relations. In addition, Turkish Airlines has a fleet of more than 300 airplanes to ensure smooth trade with the African continent and has a dense service network in the African continent. At the beginning of 2017, it flew to 55 cities in 37 African countries (Turkish Airlines-flight net note, 2018). Türkiye's leading shipping company Arkas Container Transportation Inc. Trades, directly connecting Türkiye to 9 African countries (Arkas konteyner Taşımacılık, assessed on May 25, 2022).

On the other hand for CPLP; on 23 July 2014, at the Summit Meeting of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) held in Dili, the capital of East Timor, the Republic of Timor was accepted as a Joint Observer to the Organization. However, CPLP was established in 1996 with the aim of disseminating the Portuguese language, establishing cooperation in the field of development and ensuring political and diplomatic coordination among member countries. It comprises eight countries from different continents, Angola, Brazil, Cabo Verde, East Timor, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and Sao Tome and Principe, with a population of around 250 million (CPLP, assessed on June 21, 2022). At today's Summit, it was decided that Equatorial Guinea will join the Community as the ninth member.

The CPLP is becoming one of the most prominent multilateral organizations in the international arena due to the prevalence of the Portuguese language in the world, the rich natural and human resources of the member countries, and the political, commercial and cultural networks linking four continents. Having good bilateral relations with CPLP member countries, Türkiye's establishment of institutional relations with the CPLP with the status of Joint Observer supports the multidimensionality of our foreign policy and complements our policies of opening up to Africa, Latin America and Asia-Pacific regions. In this respect, the observer membership status in the CPLP constitutes a new link in the cooperation networks that Türkiye has been developing in different geographies in recent years (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014).

In abstract, although Türkiye wants to play an influential role in the African continent as a member of these two organizations, in terms of bilateral relations within ECOWAS, there are levels of cooperation based on mutual interest and mutual benefit. Türkiye is also an observer member of the CPLP and is implementing an outreach plan to all African countries in terms of its multidimensional relations, but in bilateral relations, the factors of interest, mutual interest and availability for cooperation are prominent. For example, although Guinea-Bissau is a founding member of both ECOWAS and the CPLP, Türkiye's political-diplomatic, economic-commercial and cultural cooperation with Guinea-Bissau has taken a back seat.

3.2.2. Türkiye: Between Diplomacy and Trade

Since 2002, the AK Party has been in power and has achieved significant successes in domestic and foreign policy. Aiming for a proactive foreign policy since this period, Türkiye has taken important steps in terms of both political and diplomatic developments. From the 2002 general elections until the 2007 general elections, the AK Party focused more on Türkiye's domestic politics but did not ignore Africa in foreign policy. In the 2007 general elections, the AK Party came back to power with 341 deputies and started to focus on Türkiye's foreign policy as much as on its domestic policy. This has had an impact, especially on countries in the African continent.

When 2005 was declared the “*Year of Africa*” in Türkiye, the same positive atmosphere was observed in the countries in Africa. In this context, the African Union accepted Türkiye as an observer member. Then, in 2008, Türkiye was declared the ‘*Strategic Partner*’ of the continent, which led to the development and strengthening of bilateral political relations. In the same year, the First Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit was held in Istanbul on August 18-21, 2008, which led to the diplomatic development of relations and the number of Turkish embassies in the African continent has gradually increased since then.

According to Ufuk Teğebaş, (2013: 322), the summit, which was organized under the main theme of “*Cooperation and Solidarity for a Common Future*”, was attended by 49 African countries, including 6 Presidents, 5 Vice Presidents, 7 Prime Ministers, 1 Deputy Prime

Minister, 14 Foreign Ministers and 12 various Ministers. At the end of the Summit, two documents titled “*Istanbul Declaration*” and “*Cooperation Framework for Türkiye-Africa Partnership*” were unanimously adopted (Tepebaş, 2013: 322-323).

Considering the period before the summit was convened, Türkiye's political and diplomatic relations with African countries were weak. In the context of political relations, high-level visits were also limited. In this context, visits were made to Ethiopia in 2005, to the Republic of South Africa in 2006 and Sudan in 2007 at the level of Prime Minister. After the Summit, Presidential visits were made to Kenya and Tanzania in 2009, to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Cameroon in 2010, and Ghana and Gabon in 2011. Again at the level of the Prime Minister, participation in the 8th Summit of the African Union in 2011 was ensured.

Summit of the African Union in 2011 and the visit to Somalia in the same year were also important political developments. Türkiye's political and diplomatic developments toward African countries have gradually gained momentum. Especially the Prime Ministerial visits in Gabon, Niger and Senegal on January 6-11, 2013 had a positive impact on bilateral political and diplomatic activities (Oba, 2013). The 9 main topics of the *First Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit* of August 18-21, 2008 under the theme “*Cooperation Framework for Türkiye-Africa Partnership*” are rough as indicated in the table below.

Table 8: Main Decisions of the Cooperation Framework for Türkiye-Africa Partnership (First Türkiye-Africa Summit 2008)

1	Cooperation in the field of Environment
2	Collaboration in the field of Health
3	Cooperation on Trade and Investment
4	Intergovernmental Cooperation
5	Cooperation in Peace and Security
6	Cooperation in Culture, Tourism and Education
7	Cooperation in the fields of Infrastructure, Energy, Transportation and Telecommunications
8	Cooperation in Media, Information and Communication Technology

9	Cooperation in Agriculture, Agribusiness, Rural Development, Water Resources Management and Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs)
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Sources: *Ufuk Tepebaş, Rising Africa and Türkiye, 2005, pp.324-324.*

It can be said that the First Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit was an important beginning in the deepening, improvement and strengthening of political and diplomatic relations between Türkiye and African countries. Because until this date, it was observed that the number of 12 embassies increased rapidly and a proactive development in bilateral relations was observed (Eyrice Tepeciklioğlu, 2019: 47-50). The biggest contribution of the First Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit, which took place on August 18-21, 2008, for Türkiye was that Türkiye was elected as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council for 2009-2010, after 48 years, with the highest number of votes in its group. African countries made a major contribution to these votes. During this period, 151 countries out of 192 UN member states voted in favor of Türkiye in a secret ballot. Hosting 53 states, it is seen that Türkiye received great support from the African continent (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 2008).

It was also decided to organize a meeting for the Second Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit. The Second Summit was held in Malabo, the capital of Equatorial Guinea, on November 19-21, 2014. In the context of diplomatic relations, Türkiye's policy towards African countries has achieved great success, especially between the two summits. In other words, between 2008 and 2014, Türkiye opened 25 embassies in Africa. The details are given in Table 2 below (Hazar, 2016: 251-260). One week after the Second Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit held in Malabo, the capital of Equatorial Guinea between 19-21 November 2014, an embassy was opened in Rwanda and an ambassador was appointed. The *Second Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit* was held in Malabo. The “2015-2019 Joint Implementation Plan” document adopted at the end of the summit set out a five-year timetable for Türkiye's projects with African countries in various fields. The main headings of the document, which covers many topics.

Table 9: Türkiye's Joint Implementation Plan 2015-2019 Policy Towards African Countries

No	Selected Sectors for Close Follow-Up Between Summits
1	Making Trade and Investment Sustainable
2	Cooperation on Peace and Security
3	Ensuring Education and Culture Solidarity
4	Contributing to Youth Empowerment
5	Creating Technology Transfer
6	Revitalizing Rural Economy and Agriculture
7	Promoting Cooperation in Energy and Transportation
8	To hold Summit with the African Union every five years

Source: *Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Official website, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/Turkiye-af-rikailiskileri.tr.mfa>, assessed on 27.07.2022.*

It was also decided at this Summit to meet with the African Union in the context of a “*Ministerial Review Conference*”, which is planned to be held every five years. Accordingly, the *Second Türkiye-Africa Ministerial Review Conference* was held in Istanbul on 11-12 February 2018 and turned into a good and strengthened opportunity in bilateral relations. In the light of all these political and diplomatic developments, it can be said that the relations between Türkiye and African countries are gradually strengthening and high-level mutual visits have started to take place frequently.

In this respect, based on the years 2003-2020, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan organized 51 trips to 28 African countries as Prime Minister between 2003-2014, and as President between 2014-2020. It is important to highlight that, 5 of these trips were to Egypt, 4 trips each to Algeria, Senegal and Tunisia, 3 trips each to Ethiopia and Somalia, and 2 trips each to the Republic of South Africa, Sudan, Libya and Morocco. This reality illustrates the importance that Türkiye paid to North Africa and East Africa for a long time, before reorienting this focus toward West Africa and Central Africa. One visit each was made to Mauritania, Mali, Gambia, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Uganda,

Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, Madagascar and Djibouti (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, assessed on 27.07.2022).

However, Türkiye's active policy towards African countries has led to the organization of Summits and the development of political and diplomatic relations. Since the Second Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit convened on November 19-21, 2014, both political and diplomatic relations have been proactive. In April 2021, the number of embassies increased to 43 when Ambassador Esra Demir presented her letter of credence to the Government of Togo. On the other hand, with the presentation of the letter of credence of Ambassador Ali Sait Akın to the Government of Guinea-Bissau in July 2022, the number of Turkish embassies in Africa reached 44 as of this year (Arslan, 2021).

In this respect, the fact that 44 embassies were opened in 54 UN-recognized African countries in a short period of time, shows the speed of Türkiye's diplomatic activities on the African continent. The third of the Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summits, the first of which was held in Istanbul in 2008 and the second in Malabo in 2014, will be held in 2020 under the presidency of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. While it was planned to be held in Istanbul, the summit was postponed due to Covid-19 (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 27, 2022). After the 2005 opening to Africa, as can be seen from the data above, many African countries took important diplomatic steps and appointments were made at the ambassadorial level. In this data, it is seen that embassies were opened in Ivory Coast and Niger after 2005. Türkiye's diplomatic relations with Senegal, another country of the study, are based on an older and deep-rooted history. Türkiye's embassy has been operating in the Republic of Senegal since 1963. In terms of Guinea Bissau, another country, the Ankara Embassy of Guinea-Bissau was opened in Ankara in 2021. In the same perspective, in 2022, Türkiye's embassy started to operate in Guinea-Bissau.

In conclusion, as it is understood from the previous sections and chapters, the economic-commercial factor is the most important factor in the cooperation between Türkiye and Africa, and specifically between Türkiye and the 4 related countries. It can be stated that the political-diplomatic and cultural-educational (ideological) fields are only used as tools and mechanisms, while the main interest and goal is mutual economy and trade. The secondary

data analyzed and the interview data evaluated reveal these interests. Therefore, diplomacy is used as a tool and economy as a goal.

3.2.3. Senegal and Niger

The Turkish Embassy in Dakar, which became operational in 1962 just two years after Senegal gained its independence in 1960, was one of the first embassies opened in Africa. With the opening of Senegal's Embassy in Ankara in August 2006, mutual representation has been ensured and relations have gained momentum. Especially in recent years, there has been a significant revitalization in the relations between our countries in every field. Until today, many bilateral visits have been realized.

President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan paid an official visit to Senegal within the scope of his West Africa tour between February 28 and March 2, 2018, accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Economy, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, Minister of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, Minister of Customs and Trade and Minister of Culture and Tourism. President Erdoğan t paid another official visit to Senegal on January 28, 2020, and a *Bilateral Business Forum* was organized during the visit. Among the recent development steps taken by Senegal, the “*Emerging Senegal Plan*”, which covers areas such as economy, transportation, infrastructure, industry, education, agriculture and food sufficiency, stands out. The recent development steps are being implemented within the framework of this Plan and Turkish companies play an important role in the current investment environment. In this context, there are large-scale infrastructure projects recently undertaken by Turkish companies in Senegal.

Senegalese President Macy Sall attended the opening ceremony of Çamlıca Mosque on May 3, 2019 and paid a special visit to Türkiye on November 20, 2019. The rapidly developing relations between the two countries in every field are also reflected in bilateral trade data, and economic and trade relations between Türkiye and Senegal are on an upward trend. Türkiye-Senegal bilateral trade volume was realized as 292 million USD in 2019 (Trademap, 2019).

The 1992 Türkiye-Senegal Commercial, Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement established the *Joint Economic Commission (JEC)* mechanism. The first *Joint Economic Commission (JEC)* meeting envisaged by the agreement was held in Ankara on 18-19 December 2006, the second JEC meeting was held in Dakar on 6 April 2010, and the third JEC meeting was held in Ankara on 9-11 April 2014. Finally, the *IVth Joint Economic Commission (JEC)* meeting was held on 5-6 September 2017 in Dakar under the co-chairmanship of Minister of Interior Süleyman Soylu and Minister of Interior Abdoulaye Daouda Diallo (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, assessed on July 24, 2022).

The last visit at the level of inter-country visits was made by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in February 2022. During this visit, President Erdoğan attended the opening ceremony of the 50.000-seat Dakar Olympic Stadium, built by a Turkish company, together with Senegalese President Macky Sall and the Heads of State of other invited countries. President Erdoğan also officially inaugurated the new building of the Embassy in Dakar (Stupniknews, assessed on July 24, 2022). On the other hand, the Maarif Foundation is engaged in education and training activities in Senegal. Turkish Airlines organizes 8 passenger and 4 cargo flights to Dakar every week. The first office of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) in West Africa was opened in Dakar in April 2007. The government has been providing scholarships to Senegalese students since 1992 (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, assessed on July 27, 2022).

Exporters' associations host Senegalese business people during fairs in Türkiye. Senegal participates in the “*Türkiye-Africa*” and “*Türkiye-World Foreign Trade Bridge*” events organized in Türkiye at a high level every year. There are 10 commercial companies, restaurants, foundries and an educational institution owned by Turkish citizens in Senegal. In addition, there is a flour and animal feed factory established by a Turkish company and a construction company named SUMMA-LİMAK Holdings. Moreover, commercial companies import textiles, auto spare parts, hardware, electrical equipment and food products (TRT Haberler, assessed on July 27, 2022).

In terms of the economic relations between Türkiye and Niger have an important history, the relations were disrupted due to the colonization period of Niger. Especially in the recent period, Türkiye has started to improve its relations with Niger with the development of

its relations in the region with the African opening. Within the scope of cooperation policies between Türkiye and Niger, the “*Trade and Economic Cooperation*” (TEC) signed in 2013 aims to improve foreign trade between the two countries (DEİK, 2019: 6). Niger's economy largely consists of the agricultural sector, animal husbandry and mining enterprises. In addition, the industrial and service sectors are very underdeveloped in the country's economy. It is important to indicate that most of Niger's exports are agricultural products and products obtained from mineral resources (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021). Türkiye-Niger foreign trade volume is based on the sectors in which the Niger economic system is predominant.

Table 10: Türkiye's Foreign Trade with Niger (thousand of USD, 2001-2020)

Year	Import	Export	Balance
2001	897	40	857
2002	769	45	724
2003	2.167	272	1.895
2004	3.310	16	3.294
2005	3.884	129	3.755
2006	3.967	585	3.382
2007	11.114	1.061	10.053
2008	15.546	2.380	13.166
2009	11.005	59	10.946
2010	14.741	9	14.732
2011	24.474	14	24.460
2012	38.954	79	38.875
2013	46.320	165	46.155
2014	35.251	22	35.229
2015	31.297	55	31.242
2016	23.906	110	23.796
2017	38.162	869	37.293
2018	56.266	2.200	54.066
2019	72.085	84	72.001
2020	59.123	165	58.958

Source: *International Trade Center, 2020, assessed on July 22, 2022.*

Looking at Türkiye's exports to Niger in Table 8, which shows the foreign trade volumes between Türkiye and Niger in the period 2001-2020, exports from 2001 to 2020 generally increase at low volumes. The export volumes between 2001 and 2020 are low compared to the efforts to improve development cooperation policies between Türkiye and Niger. Türkiye exported 897 thousand USD to Niger in 2001. With the development of the relations established, the amount of exports increased to a certain extent and an average of 5.8 million USD was exported in the years between 2002-2008. Between 2009 and 2014, exports averaged around 28.4 million USD. In the 2015-2020 period, Türkiye has become one of the important export destinations of Niger with an annual average export volume of 46.8 million USD. When Table 9 is analyzed, it is determined that the amount of Türkiye's exports to Niger is very low, although it is determined that the amount of exports has increased with the effect of the cooperation and development aid established between Türkiye and Niger.

However, the numbers above indicate Niger's imports from Türkiye and Niger's total imports from the world. These numbers illustrate that the ratio of Niger's imports from Türkiye has increased along the period of 2001 and 2019. The ratio, which was 0.23% in 2001, remained below 1% until 2006. These ratios show that the foreign trade relationship between Türkiye and Niger was weak between 2001 and 2006. In 2007, the share of imports from Türkiye increased to 1.16%, rose to 1.28% in 2008 and fell to 0.67% in 2009 (Trademap, 2019). Although Niger's imports from Türkiye generally increased during the 2001-2019 period, the reason why the ratios show a decline in some years is that Niger's total imports from the world increased at a higher rate in these years. Rates increased between 2010 and 2013, reaching 2.70% in 2013, the highest rate in the 2001-2019 period. Rates started to decline in the years between 2013 and 2016 and started to rise again between 2016 and 2019. Finally, in 2019, Türkiye's share in Niger's total imports was realized as 2.60%.

Table 11: Türkiye's Top Exports to Niger (thousand of USD, 2001-2020)

Year	Products 1: Cereals, flour, starch, milk pro- ducts and bakery products	Products 2: Machines, mecha- nical devices, nuc- lear reactors and various industrial products	Products 3: Food Products	Products 4: Electrical machinery parts and spare parts of these pro- ducts
2001	51	11	25	0
2002	32	6	151	45
2003	275	12	55	35
2004	916	275	176	526
2005	1.864	159	432	1
2006	1.799		382	140
2007	5.331	477	428	575
2008	9.948	161	1.226	850
2009	4.734	243	1.349	53
2010	7.460	345	1.438	228
2011	13.145	618	895	412
2012	17.267	752	2.146	507
2013	23.240	2.065	3.018	873
2014	12.737	2.352	3.756	725
2015	11.083	1.102	3.008	1.676
2016	5.569	1.276	3.481	1.015
2017	12.568	2.673	5.363	1.680
2018	7.317	5.719	6.245	6.238
2019	8.370	6.532	3.466	13.358
2020	18.326	5.589	4.708	7.544

Source: *International Trade Centre, 2020. Assessed on July 22, 2022.*

Looking at the main products exported by Türkiye to Niger, as shown in table above, the most exported products in the first group between 2001 and 2020 are cereals, flour, starch and dairy products. Products in the secondary group: machinery, nuclear reactors and small industrial products. Products in the third group: electrical products and parts. The fourth group

consists of food products. Since the amount of Türkiye's imports from Niger is very low, the variety of products imported is also very low and most of the imports are precious stones such as pearls, jewelry, natural stones and precious metals.

However, one of the most important aspects of our relations with Niger is our development assistance. As indicated above, in the section concerning the cooperation for development, in 2012, TİKA Niamey Program Coordination Office started officially its activities in Niger and has been implementing many projects (schools, technical high schools, classrooms, fistula treatment center, surgical clinic, ambulance, orphanage, friendship park, fountains-toilets, water wells, women's employment, modern agriculture). Turkish NGOs are also very active in Niger, drilling water wells, providing free health services and distributing food items to the people. All these fields constitute the engagement of the respective institutions and authorities for the enhancement of Türkiye-Niger relations in order to ensure mutual gains.

Table 12: Turkish Public Institutions represented in Senegal and Mechanisms/Agreements established (2022)

No	Name of the Institution	Exists	Doesn't Exist	Nature of the Institution /Instrument
1	Embassy of Türkiye	✓		Political-Diplomatic
2	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) Office	✓		Cooperation for Development
3	Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMV) Representation	✓		Culture-Education
4	Yunus Emre Institute Representation	✓		Culture-Education
5	Turkish Maarif School	✓		Education
6	Turkish Airlines Flights	✓		Economy
7	Agreement on Economic and Trade Cooperation	✓		Economy-Trade
8	Joint Economic Commission (JEC)	✓		Economy-Trade

9	Economic and Business Council (DEİK)	✓		Economy-Trade
10	Total			9 Institutions/ Mechanisms

Source: The table was designed by the researcher after compilation of different data.

The table revealed, one more, the mechanisms existing for Türkiye to have relations deepen with Senegal. However, Türkiye has almost all its public foreign institutions operating in/to Senegal. From diplomatic missions to direct flights and agreements and other mechanisms. Despite that, considering the trade volume and exportation of Türkiye from Ivory Coast, Türkiye still has deeper economic and trade relations than with Senegal, Niger and Guinea-Bissau. Therefore, it is obvious that in terms of political-diplomatic and cultural cooperation, Türkiye-Senegal relations have more roofs and engagement compared to Ivory Coast, Niger and Guinea-Bissau. However, according to the existence of institutions operating in this area and mutual political consultations, Türkiye has closer relations with Senegal and Niger than with Ivory Coast and Guinea-Bissau.

Table 13: Turkish Public Institutions represented in Niger and Mechanisms/Agreements established (2022)

No	Name of the Institution	Exists	Doesn't Exist	Nature of the Institution /Instrument
1	Embassy of Türkiye	✓		Political-Diplomatic
2	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) Office	✓		Cooperation for Development
3	Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMV) Representation		✓	Culture-Education
4	Yunus Emre Institute Representation		✓	Culture-Education
5	Turkish Maarif School	✓		Education
6	Turkish Airlines Flights	✓		Economy

7	Agreement on Economic and Trade Cooperation	✓		Economy-Trade
8	Joint Economic Commission (JEC)	✓		Economy-Trade
9	Economic and Business Council (DEİK)	✓		Economy-Trade
10	Total			7 Institutions /Mechanisms

Source: The table was designed by the researcher after compilation of different data.

3.2.4. Ivory Coast and Guinea-Bissau

Shortly, diplomatic relations between Türkiye and Ivory Coast were established in 1964. From 1964 until 2009, Ivory Coast was accredited by the Turkish Embassy in Dakar and the Embassy in Abidjan became operational on November 15, 2009. The Embassy of Ivory Coast in Ankara, the first Embassy of Ivory Coast opened abroad after President Ouattara took office, was opened in February 2013 (Embassy of Ivory Coast in Ankara, April 14, 2022).

Following the gradual stabilization of the FS following the election of Alassane Ouattara as President, the working visit of the then Minister of Foreign Affairs Charles Koffi Diby to Türkiye on December 2014 and the official visit of President Ouattara to Türkiye on March 2015 gave an important impetus to its relations with Türkiye. On February 2016, the President paid an official visit to Ivory Coast with a large delegation including the Minister and other ministers. During the visit, nine documents were signed between Türkiye and the FS in the fields of education, security, economy, technology and development (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, July 24, 2022):

“The Trade Agreement and the Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement signed in 2005 form the basis of the economic and trade relations between Türkiye and Ivory Coast. One of our top six most important trading partners in Sub-Saharan Africa, Ivory Coast is Türkiye's largest trading partner in French-speaking Sub-Saharan Africa.

Ivory Coast has been selected by the Ministry of Trade as one of the priority countries for the 2018-2019 period.”

In 2017, the trade volume between the two countries reached 443.1 million USD. Türkiye’s exports to Ivory Coast amounted to about 142.4 million USD, while imports were worth 300.8 million USD (Turkish Institute of Statistics, 2018). Türkiye's main exports to Ivory Coast are salt, sulphur, plastic products, lime and cement; iron and steel, boilers, machinery and mechanical equipment, spare parts, furniture, and products made from grain, flour, milk, cotton and cocoa, as well as in mining sector. Türkiye's imports from Ivory Coast far exceed its exports. In 2017, exports totalled 142.4 million USD and imports totalled 300.7 million USD (Turkish Institute of Statistics, 2018). According to *Doing Business*, Ivory Coast was ranked 44th in the world's easiest countries to incorporate in 2015 (DEİK, 2018).

Since July 2012, Turkish Airlines has been operating direct flights to Abidjan. Flights, which are operated with four weekly frequencies during the winter season, are operated every day of the week during the summer season. Moreover on July 23, 2014, a high-level Turkish delegation participated at the *10th CPLP Summit of Heads of State and Government* held in Dili, East Timor. In terms of political and bilateral relations, Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau have so far been limited to contact within the framework of international organizations.

However, from 2014 on, the reality was changed not only toward old partners but also for “*new partners*” like Guinea-Bissau. In 2019, the volume of bilateral trade between Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau was recorded as 4.95 million USD. During the Forum, a “*Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement*” was signed. *On the other hand, both countries attach special importance to the development of bilateral cooperation. TİKA has realized many projects in Guinea-Bissau in the fields of 'education, health, administrative and civil infrastructure strengthening*” (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, assessed on May 25, 2022)

As a result, when the diplomatic, economic and cultural relations between Türkiye and these four countries are analyzed in terms of the difference between Türkiye's relations with these countries and their relations with Türkiye, the difference in the level of cooperation becomes evident. For example, Türkiye's political-diplomatic relations with Senegal and Niger are more consolidated. There are mutual diplomatic representations/diplomatic missions,

TİKA, Turkish Maarif Foundation and Turkish NGOs in Senegal and Niger (Embassy of Ivory Coast in Ankara, April 14, 2022).

Ivory Coast and Guinea-Bissau, on the other hand, have not yet developed relations with Türkiye. Especially when political-diplomatic relations are compared to Senegal and Niger, it is understood that they have not yet developed much. For example, Guinea-Bissau opened its Embassy in Ankara in 2021, and Türkiye opened its Embassy in Bissau in 2022. The Turkish Embassy in Senegal was accredited to Bissau until this date. Türkiye opened its Embassy in Ivory Coast in 2009, and Ivory Coast opened its Embassy in Ankara in 2013. Until this date, the Embassy of Türkiye in Senegal was accredited to Ivory Coast. Türkiye has had Embassies in Senegal since 1962. These two countries have also had diplomatic representation in Ankara since early 2010.

Table 14: Turkish Public Institutions represented in Ivory Coast and Mechanisms/Agreements established (2022)

No	Name of the Institution	Exists	Don't Exist	Nature of the Institution /Instrument
1	Embassy of Türkiye	✓		Political-Diplomatic
2	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) Office		✓	Cooperation for Development
3	Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMV) Representation		✓	Culture-Education
4	Yunus Emre Institute Representation		✓	Culture-Education
5	Turkish Maarif School	✓		Education
6	Turkish Airlines Flights	✓		Economy
7	Agreement on Economy and Trade Cooperation	✓		Economy-Trade
8	Joint Economic Commission (JEC)	✓		Economy-Trade

9	Economic and Business Council (DEİK)	✓		Economy-Trade
10	Total			6 Institutions/ Mechanisms

Source: The table was designed by the researcher after compilation of different data.

The table above revealed, one more, the mechanisms existing for Türkiye to have deeper economic and trade relations with Ivory Coast. Cultural relations remain limited, despite the existence of political-diplomatic institutions and mechanisms for both the enhancement of economic, trade and cultural cooperation. Therefore, the mutual interest of the two countries remains on economic and commercial issues.

Table 15: Turkish Public Institutions represented in Guinea-Bissau and Mechanisms/Agreement established (2022)

No	Name of the Institution	Exists	Doesn't Exist	Nature of the Institution /Instrument
1	Embassy of Türkiye	✓		Political-Diplomatic
2	Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) Office		✓	Cooperation for Development
3	Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMV) Representation		✓	Culture-Education
4	Yunus Emre Institute Representation		✓	Culture-Education
5	Turkish Maarif School	✓		Education
6	Turkish Airlines Flights		✓	Economy
7	Agreement on Economic and Trade Cooperation	✓		
8	Joint Economic Commission (JEC)		✓	Economy-Trade
9	Economic and Business Council (DEİK)		✓	Economy-Trade

10	Total	3 Institutions/ Mechanisms
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Source: *The table was designed by the researcher after compilation of different data.*

As of the table above, compared to Ivory Coast, Senegal and Niger, the relations between Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau remain very limited in all aspects (political-diplomatic, economic-trade and cultural-education). However, Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau have more deepened cooperation in the field of culture and education according to the existence of institutions operating in this area. There is no doubt that economic-trade relations for Türkiye and Ivory Coast, Senegal and Niger are more developed than with Guinea-Bissau (see graphics on Türkiye's trade volume with each of the four countries).

3.3. TECHNICAL AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE ISSUE

In this section, the study examines the instruments that constitute Turkish cultural diplomacy and humanitarian diplomacy. The dissertation makes as well an analysis of the use of these instruments by the Turkish foreign policy toward the African continent and in particular toward the four concerned countries: Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger and Guinea-Bissau.

However, it is important to state that during recent years (from the 2000s), Türkiye has been using these instruments via different actors created by the Turkish Government to implement its agenda for opening up the world, to Africa as well and gradually consolidate its cooperation with the African continent where the presence of Türkiye was very limited. Therefore, the instruments, actors and mechanisms of the implementation of Turkish cultural and humanitarian diplomacy will be examined in the following sections.

3.3.1. Cultural Relations and Institutional Exchange Programs

The literature illustrated that the Turkish cultural diplomacy toward the African continent (Sub-Saharan Africa in particular) has been very limited until the end of the 1990s with

the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the new world system – the multipolar world system. Moreover, this policy of opening up to new horizons like Africa may be related to the arrival to power of AK Party in 2002 and the continuity of Turkish liberal program started, somehow, by the regime of Turgut Özal in the previous decades.

As stated by Felipe Sanchez Tapia, (2020: 10), Turkish cultural diplomacy is directed and coordinated by different Turkish actors or institutions like Yunus Emre Institute, Maarif Foundation, Türkiye Scholarships (YTB), Diyanet Foundation as well as the media: TRT World and Anadolu Agency. On the other hand, Turkish humanitarian diplomacy is fundamentally consisted of the Turkish Red Crescent (Turkish Kızılay)²⁷, Disaster and Emergency Management (AFAD)²⁸ and, somehow, Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA). According to Nur Sağman, current Director General for Africa of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited by Bilal Dinç & Ayvaz Çolakoğlu, (*Nur Sağman: Africa-Türkiye, we are Together*, 2022: 2):

“I think we have to make more effort. When I was in Conakry, I organized cultural events such as concerts with Turkish musicians. African artists have also given concerts in Türkiye. I had the honor of initiating the concert of the great Guinean singer Mory Kante, famous with his song ‘Yeke Yeke’ en Türkiye, to celebrate Africa Day on May 25, 2016 in Ankara where he sang in the presence of our First Lady and guests. In this sense, the nature and the implications of these actors will be examined separately along the following sections of this study.”

3.3.2. TİKA’s Role for the Enhancement of the Cooperation: Technical Assistance

The Turkish Official Development Assistance (ODA) is led by the Presidency of Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA). Established in 1992, TİKA initially was to set up official development missions, and provide development assistance and humanitarian

²⁷ Turkish Kızılay (commonly called Turk Kızılay) is an official – public – institution fully responsible for humanitarian issues of the Republic of Türkiye.

²⁸ AFAD: Disaster and Emergency Management is an official institution operation under the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Türkiye responsible for disaster and emergency issues and its interventions are completely humanitarians.

aid toward the brotherly ‘*Turkic Republics*’ (Turkish-speaking countries): the Balkans, the Causasus and Central Asia.

TİKA coordinates and executes the ODA of the Republic of Türkiye through programs and projects, and is a prominent actor in Turkish foreign policy and diplomacy. Back then, the primary goal of TİKA was to support these brotherly countries, which newly gained their independence after the collapse of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), for their adaptation to the free-market economy and their development in every field, and to share Türkiye's experience in development issues. However, during the following period, TİKA expanded its geographical influence into the Balkans in parallel to Turkish economic growth and its overarching approach to foreign policy. In the same line, TİKA makes an important expansion in the Middle East (ME) and Africa in the last 15 years (TİKA1, interview, March 15, 2022).

For instance, when Türkiye decided to establish a “new foreign policy” wishing to assert itself in the regional and international arena, the Turkish Government set up some institutions like TİKA to concentrate the experience and expertise accumulated during years in terms of development in different sectors and sphere of the country and the society. The concentration of this experience and expertise aimed to establish an important institution able to orient, coordinate and execute a crucial aspect of the foreign policy, like Turkish international cooperation and development (TİKA2, interview, March 16, 2022). On one hand, this means the ability to set up a mechanism that may coordinate the public Turkish institution, Non-Government Organizations and other institutions or establishments that work on development issues. On the other hand, the Turkish Government aimed to set up this institution to coordinate the interaction with abroad – other countries – concerning:

- i) International cooperation for development,
- ii) Sharing experience and expertise on development issues,
- iii) Technical, development and humanitarian assistance,

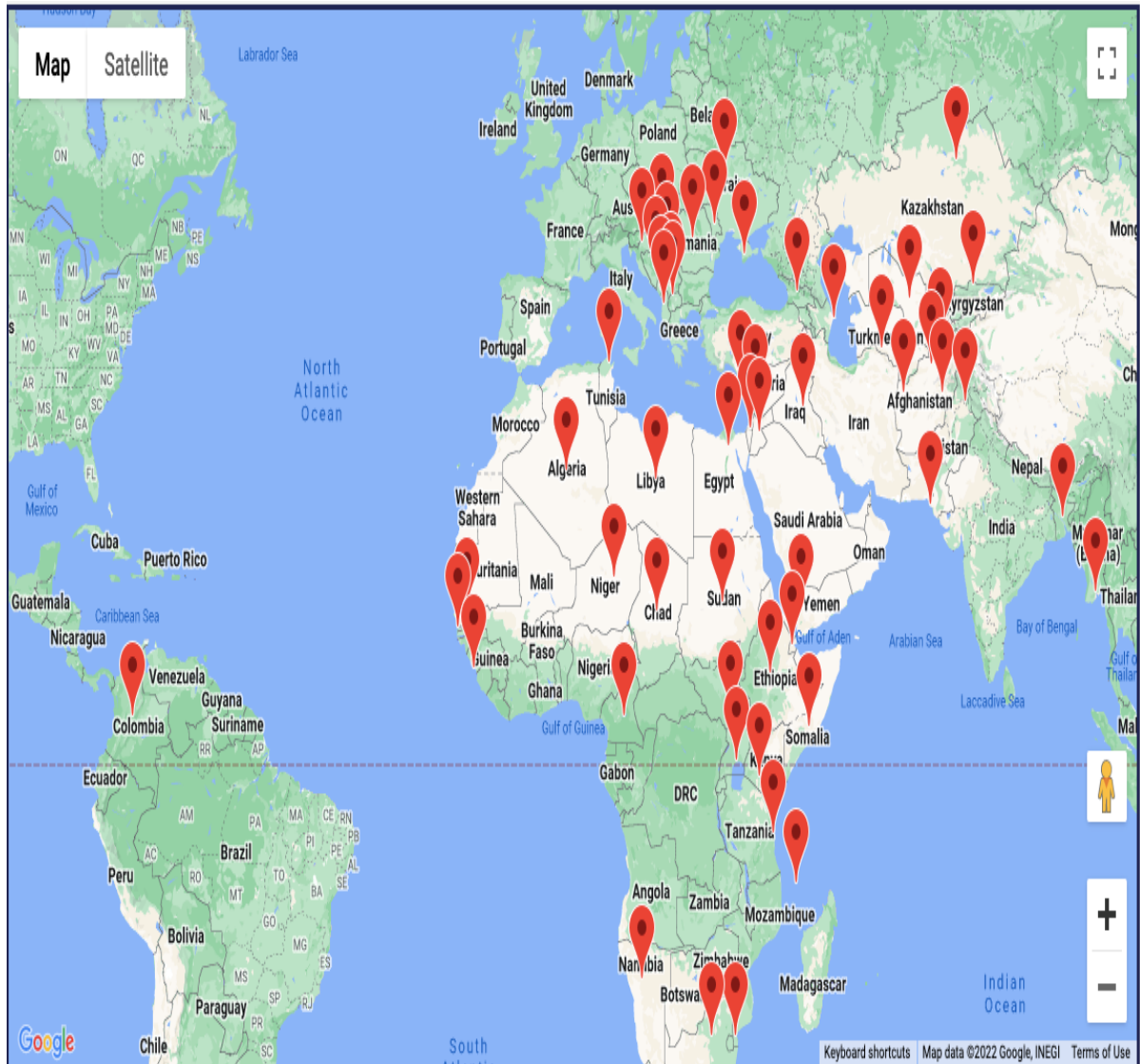
- iv) Coordination, with Turkish public institutions, other institutions and diplomatic missions abroad, on bilateral, regional and international issues such as development and humanitarian assistance.

In this line, it is stated that following the end of the Cold War in 1990, Türkiye turned toward former Turkish-speaking Soviet Republics where Türkiye kept some geopolitical influence because of its special relations with these countries, considering their historical and cultural ties (TİKA3, interview, April 12, 2022). Moreover, Tom Wheleer highlights that, since the early 2000s, the engagement of Turkish foreign policy has undergone considerable changes. This change has been accompanied by a growth in the Turkish economy and the adoption of a proactive position in the international system. For Tom Wheleer, “under the Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmed Davutoğlu, Türkiye has adopted a more assertive role in the region Turkey below to, but has also reached out to new horizons like Africa, South America and Asia using all necessary mechanism for this purpose: soft power tools available to it” (Tom Wheleer, *Ankara to Africa: Türkiye's Outreach Since 2005*, 2011: 4).

In parallel to this proactive Turkish foreign policy and while Türkiye started to implement a real African policy in the 2000s, TİKA has gradually expanded its activities toward the African continent. For example, Türkiye became a member observer to the African Union in 2005 and during the same year, Türkiye declared the year 2005 as “*African Year*” making a very important step toward a new era of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the African continent. In the same year, TİKA opened its first office in the African continent in Ethiopia in 2005 (East Africa), followed by Sudan in 2006 (Central Africa) and Senegal in 2007 (West Africa). It is important to highlight that the opening of these offices was very well planned and very strategic since these countries obviously represent prominent place in Turkish diplomacy. Therefore, it is clear that the historical ties between the Ottoman Empire and the Empire of Abyssinia (Ethiopia Empire), Kanem-Bornu Empire (including some countries of Central Africa like Sudan) and because of the historical diplomatic relations they established since the earlier independence of Senegal in 1960. Therefore, these three offices are the first representatives of TİKA opened in the African continent.

In terms of representation, TİKA, whose legal duty is to “*develop relations in economic, commercial, social, cultural and educational fields with the target countries and communities through projects, programs and activities, ensure assistance technical and related processes*”, (TİKA Annual Report, 2012: 29-30), is currently acting in 5 continents and in 60 countries with 62 Program Coordination Offices (PCOs). Thus, 25 of them are in the African continent and 21 of them are in the Least Developed Countries (LDCs). Through Ankara Headquarters and its respective offices overseas, TİKA continues to implement its activities on technical development assistance and humanitarian aid in more than 170 countries in the world. In fact, TİKA implements development projects in different sectors over the world – through its PCOs in collaboration with the Turkish diplomatic missions abroad, local authorities – mostly public institutions – and other institutions that collaborate with the authorities for the development of the local community.

Figure 6: TİKA Offices Overseas (63 offices in 62 countries over the world, out of which 25 in Africa)



Source: TİKA Official website, assessed on April 24, 2022.

In fact, from 1992 to 1999, TİKA was acting under the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the following years, the institution that manages the official development assistance of the Republic of Türkiye was directly managed by the Turkish Prime Ministry, becoming more interventive, prestigious and opened toward new horizons like Africa, South America, East Asia and Pacific.

With the change of the political system of the Republic of Türkiye in 2018 – to the presidential system - TİKA became more autonomous maintaining its current structure, but

passing to act under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. However, TİKA kept collaborating with Turkish diplomatic missions overseas in order to realize development projects and some humanitarian activities. On one hand, this change may be understood as an adaptation to an eventual new orientation of Turkish foreign policy that may have more engagements toward Turkish history and culture, more projects in Turkish culture and history: re-establishment of the Ottoman paths, heritage by implementing projects of infrastructures in the fields of culture, history etc.

On other hand, this change may be just a position of the relevant authorities in the perspective to give TİKA more autonomy and serve directly the Turkish diplomacy – Turkish international cooperation for development – under the orientation of the Presidency of the Republic, since the system provides no more Prime Ministry. Therefore, in parallel with the implementation of the ‘1998 Action Plan for Opening up to Africa’ and the ‘*new Turkish diplomacy*’, the agency kept increasing its presence and actions over the world and in Africa in particular. (Numan Hazar, *Türkiye in Africa: The implementation of the Action Plan and the evolution after fifteen years*, 2012: 13-14). In addition, and according to Ibrahim Kalın, “*this institution –TİKA– assists the government in the field of foreign policy for more significant external actions while ensuring the implementation of official development and humanitarian assistance, but also the helping in the promotion of Türkiye's image in the world including Africa*” (Kalın, *Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in Türkiye*, 2011: 1).

From the perspective of Ibrahim Kalın, Türkiye was not very well known in the African continent, just as Türkiye knew very little about Africa. So, thanks to its presence and above all its policy of spreading the Turkish image, TİKA as one of the major elements of the Turkish ‘*diplomacy of influence*’, achieve gradually this objective while implementing important development projects in Africa. Ibrahim Kalın an academician and General Secretary of the Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye argued that “*the new Turkish public diplomacy is building on Türkiye's expanding soft power in the Balkans, the Middle East, the Caucasus and new regions of the world like Africa and South America as well*” (Kalın, 2011: 1-2).

Indeed, the new Turkish foreign policy aims to relaunch the place of Türkiye in the international system, hence its openness to Africa. Because, until the 1990s Türkiye had a ‘*passive foreign policy*’, Türkiye has been re-positioning its diplomacy as an important actor

in the international order. For instance, Türkiye engages its foreign policy in new regions and in collaboration with emerging actors as well as with its old allies. According to Kalın, as Türkiye engages new regions and emerging actors as well as continues relations with its old allies, it develops new capacities for the various elements of soft power and strategic communication in regional and global contexts (Kalın, 2011: 1-2). From the perspective of public diplomacy, Ibrahim Kalın (2011: 2) illustrated that:

“Türkiye’s soft power capacity comes from its history, culture and geography. Rather than seeing them as obstacles or burdens, the Turks are now turning them into strategic assets in both domestic and foreign policy. From foreign policy, economy and public policy to education, media, arts and sciences, Türkiye’s newly emerging actor’s position make itself as an active player demanding the global transformation of centre-periphery relations in order to create a more democratic and fairer world system.”

For instance, TİKA has the ability to reach out to countries where it does not have PCOs with its wide range of organizational structures. In 2022, in its 30th anniversary, TİKA reached the number of 170 countries where development projects were implemented in different fields with a total of 30.000 projects, programs and activities included. It is important to highlight that TİKA develops projects in almost every sector, particularly health, education, vocational training, strengthening administrative and civil infrastructures, supporting agriculture and other production sectors, strengthening the social status of women and young people, and protecting cultural heritage. TİKA makes cooperation and coordination with academic institutions, agricultural cooperatives, and NGOs working in different sectors, and meets the needs of friendly and brotherly countries in all areas of development by sharing Türkiye's experience and expertise. To sum, TİKA adopts some principles while providing development assistance like:

- i) Demand-oriented and human-oriented projects,
- ii) Sincerity and transparency in the cooperation,
- iii) Solution-oriented and rapid response to needs and crises,
- iv) Unconditional, fair, equal and sustainable partnership for sustainable development,

v) Mutual learning, sharing experience and responsibility in the collaboration.

In terms of strategies and principles, Türkiye determined in its 11th Strategic Development Plan which covers the period of 2019-2023, some strategies and principles of cooperation for development. TİKA as the institution responsible for Turkish international development cooperation gradually adopts specific measures related to the development of socio-economic and human development. (TİKA 2021 İdare Faaliyet Raporu, 2021: 25-26). For these reasons, while supporting development projects, TİKA continues to develop plans and implement many activities within the framework some strategies and principles like:

- i) Ensure a national strategy allowing to increase the effectiveness of Türkiye's development assistance,
- ii) Implement these strategies to ensure that the aid and technical assistance provided by Türkiye is used within the framework of international cooperation and its makes contributions to capacity building and the development of mutual economic and commercial relations in target countries, including LDCs,
- iii) Ensure the collaboration with Turkish NGOs working in the field of development for the local community which experiences community development and may serve overseas,
- iv) Increase the institutionalization in order to implement some systematic and regular training programs, capacity building and technical assistance in the field of development for public personnel in recipient countries,
- v) Implement development programs to support the development efforts of the countries which have very close relations of cooperation with Türkiye, especially those that have specific development plans,
- vi) Share Türkiye's development experience and expertise to other countries. Increasing awareness raising activities such as production and vocational training and other fields according to the priorities of the recipient countries.

In this line, the activities of TİKA like projects, programs and sharing of experience and expertise on cooperation for development may be considered as a reflection of Türkiye's entrepreneurial and humanitarian foreign policy in international affairs. Indeed, the aid granted to African countries by Türkiye is growing at the same time as the increase in the number of representative offices of the agency. Turkish humanitarian aid in 2012 amounted to 2 billion dollars, of which 31% was granted to Africa. (TİKA, Türkiye Kalkınma Yardımları Raporu, 2012: 129).

In 2005 the total budget of development assistance for Africa is estimated at 750 million dollars and it rose to 825 million dollars in 2010. However, the majority of the aid was allocated to Somalia, which benefited from 86 million of the 1,05 billion dollars distributed in 2012 to Africa. (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkish-Africa Relations, 2022: 1). Therefore, since its establishment in 1992, TİKA has undertaken the task of the main performer and coordinator of Turkish development assistance. As of 2021, TİKA has carried out nearly 30.000 projects and activities in more than 170 countries with 62 Program Coordination Offices established in 60 countries. (TİKA 2021 İdare Faaliyet Raporu, 2021: 9).

In addition, within the framework of the Turkish engagement in the Somali crisis, Somalia benefited from an additional allocation of more than 300 million dollars in humanitarian aid and official development assistance. (TİKA, 2012: 129-130). In this perspective, there is a considerable increment in terms of financial and technical capacities for development assistance allowing the Turkish Government to assert its place on the international scene during the last decades. Therefore, in 2012, with the new position of Turkish authorities concerning international development assistance, Türkiye changed its status from aid recipient to a donor country. By the way, in terms of humanitarian aid, Türkiye has become the fourth largest donor in the world after the United States, the European Union and the United Kingdom (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Enterprising and Humanitarian Foreign Policy, April 24, 2022).

According to a senior Turkish diplomat cited by Rabia İclal Turan, the senior diplomat, was happy to see importance of Africa '*finally*' being understood, but she added that Türkiye has always been aware of it, and Türkiye's perspective on relations with the African countries is not only '*business-oriented*' but also '*human oriented*'. Moreover, on the sidelines of the Third Türkiye-Africa Economic and Business Forum, a two-day event held at the end of 2021

in Istanbul, before the Third Türkiye-Africa Summit, the Director General for Africa of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs cited by Rabia İclal Turan, (*Türkiye has human, business-oriented approach to Africa*, 2021: 1-2) highlighted that:

“We want to develop together. We want to support them and be on their side”. I am happy that the continent’s importance is “finally being understood” but stressed that Türkiye has “always been aware of it. Africa is not only the continent of the future but also the continent of today, she said. “It has all kinds of potential. In terms of both human and natural resources. It is an extremely rich continent in many ways.”

In addition, she indicated that the cooperation and communication between Türkiye and Africa are ‘extremely genuine’ and that “*everyone will realize that without Africa, there cannot be a prosperous*” (2021: 1). That is why Türkiye and Africa keep enhancing their relations and realize that they have mutual interests and mutual benefits in bilateral and multilateral terms. Obviously, the humanitarian aspect of Turkish cooperation for development facilitates the enhancement of these relations. From this perspective, it is important to highlight that Türkiye has maintained its status gained in recent years as the most generous country in the world and has been at the top with a 1.15% of ODA to national income ratio. According to Mehmet Özcan, (2010: 7-8), it is obvious that, for humanitarian assistance, Türkiye continues to be the conscience of the world by maintaining its first place with a rate of 1% in terms of both amount and the ratio of assistance in terms of gross domestic product (GDP). However, apart from the human aspect of Turkish international cooperation for development, Türkiye focuses on the crucial sectors of socio-economic development. To sum, Türkiye’s development assistance is mostly related to sectors that may deeply contribute to human development and socio-economic sustainable development.

Table 16: Sectoral Distribution of Türkiye's ODA to LDCs (Africa)

No	Sectors	Sub-sectors
1	Administrative and Social Infrastructures, and Services	Education, health, administrative and civil infrastructure, water and sanitation, etc.
2	Economic Infrastructure and Services	Transportation, energy, banking, etc.
3	Production Sectors	Agriculture, industry, construction, mining, tourism, trade, etc.

4	Commodities and General Budget Support	General budget support, support to international and regional organizations and other commodities, etc.
5	Others Sectors	Administrative cost, promotion of development assistance, etc.
6	Multi/Crosscutting Sectors	General environment protection and other multy-sectors.
7	Emergency and Humanitarian Assistance	Emergency response, food and water provision, rehabilitation, disaster prevention, etc.

Source: *The information of the table was collected from TİKA: Turkish Development Assistance Report, 2020, assessed on January 20, 2022.*

As stated by Mehmet Özcan (2010: 6-7), Türkiye has been improving its relations and cooperation with the African continent within the basic principles of its multidimensional foreign policy. Because Türkiye as emerging power which has more and more of a voice in the international system, see the African continent as a strategic partner. Therefore, Türkiye and Africa have common interests and mutual benefits in this cooperation. The Turkish development assistance by sharing its development experience with Africa is considered one of the benefits that the African continent expects from Türkiye which also expects political support from Africa.

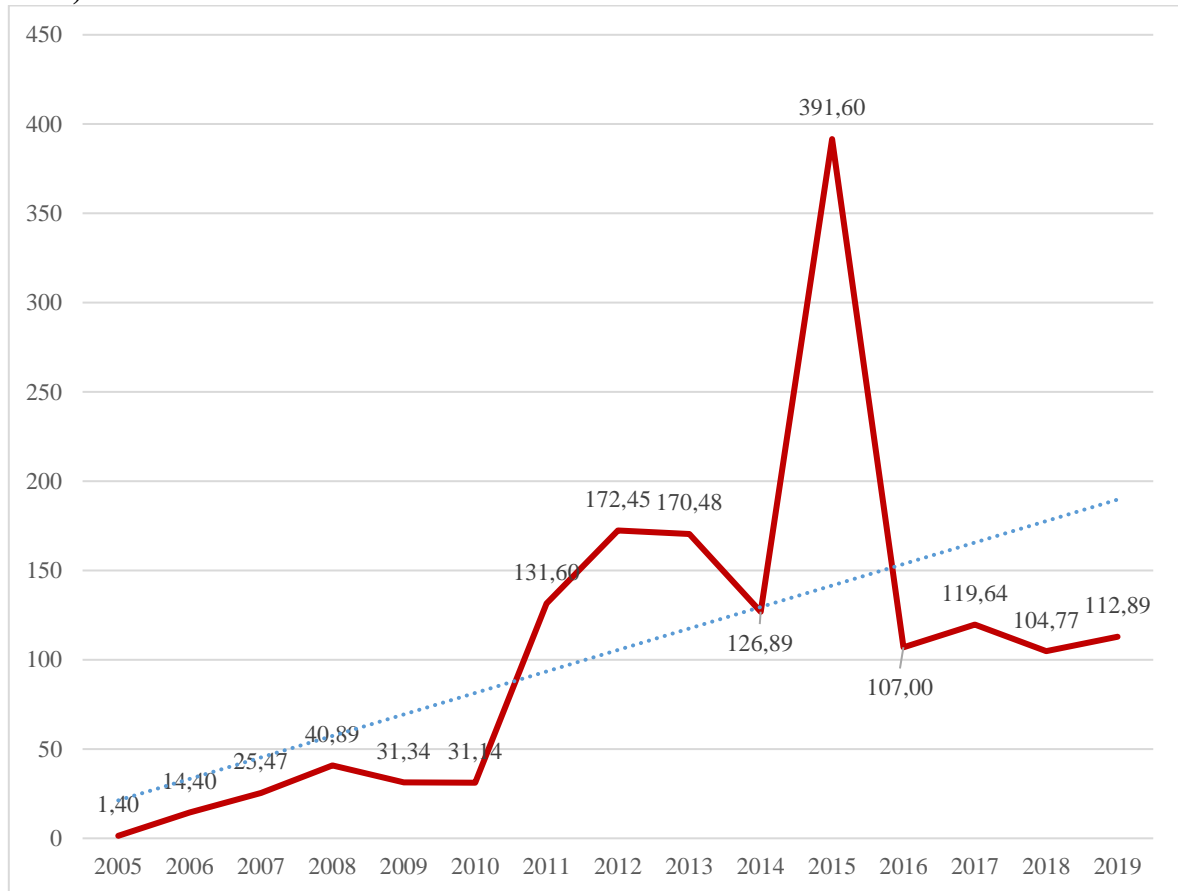
For example, as of the second half of the 21st century, Africa is expected to play a more active role in the international system and become a significant actor on the global stage. The economic potential and geopolitical weight that Africa offers in many fields have started to attract many countries and investors in recent years. In this sense, in terms of cooperation for development, current Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs Mevüt Çavuşoğlu stated that “*Türkiye shares its experience, social, political and cultural heritage, opportunities and resources with African governments and people within the framework of the principle “African solutions to African problems” and on the basis of mutual benefit and mutual respect.* (President of the Republic of Türkiye Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, *Speech during the III. Türkiye-Africa Summit, Istanbul, December 18, 2021*). In this context, the ‘Africa Action Plan of 1998’ prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Türkiye and within the scope of the multidimensional

“Opening to Africa Policy” is considered one of the important milestones for relations with Africa, the cooperation between Türkiye and Africa started to gain dynamism in different areas.

In addition, with the declaration of Türkiye as a *Strategic Partner* by the African Union (AU) in 2008, Türkiye-Africa relations deepened and a number of important developments took places, such as the organization of Türkiye-Africa Partnership Summits, the adoption of the Türkiye-Africa Joint Implementation Plan, the organization of the Türkiye-Africa Economy and Business Forums and the gradual opening of TİKA Offices in different African countries. Considering that 35 of the 47 Least Developed Countries (LDCs) are located in Africa (Word Bank Data, April 24, 2022), TİKA has gradually increased its activities toward the African continent in parallel to the development of political and diplomatic relations between Türkiye and the African countries.

Therefore, Türkiye's development assistance to LDCs in Africa with a total of 1.58 billion dollars between 2005 and 2019 is shown in Graph 2. The amount of development assistance, which was 1.40 million dollars in 2005, increased more than 10 times to 14.40 million dollars in 2006. Reached its historical record with 391.60 million dollars in 2015, Türkiye's development assistance to LDCs in Africa was around 110 million dollars annually in 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2019.

Graphic 7: Official Development Assistance of Türkiye to Africa (million USD, 2005-2019)



Source: *TİKA: Turkish Development Assistance Report 2020, assessed on January 20, 2022.*

This graphic illustrates that while Türkiye continues its development assistance efforts in 5 continents with both public institutions and non-governmental organizations, Africa keeps being a priority for Türkiye. Furthermore, bilateral official development assistance made by Turkish public institutions to Africa between 2005 and 2019 aggregated to 2.21 billion dollars 29 in favor of development efforts made by the African continent with its own agenda and in collaboration with its partners like Türkiye.

As indicated in the report, the African countries that benefited the most from Türkiye's bilateral official development assistance between 2013 and 2019 are Somalia, Tunisia, and

²⁹ According to OECD/DAC reporting system, in which Türkiye publishes its official development assistance reports, there are two different official development assistance figures, gross and net. Due to the calculation system, if the repayments of the concessional loans are high, even if official development assistance was positive, net development assistance can be seen as negative. Calculation here is based on net development assistance.

Egypt (TİKA: Turkish Development Assistance Report, 2021). Therefore, in Sub-saharan Africa, only Somalia is part of the top African countries that benefited the most from Turkish development assistance in recent years. However, in West Africa, Niger keeps been a crucial country and the one that benefited the most from Türkiye's development and humanitarian aid. More details on this issue will be provided in the section dedicated to Niger in comparison to the other 3 West African countries examined in this work.

In this line, Ambassador and Director General for Africa Nur Sağman cited by (Rabia İclal Turan, 2021: 2-3), highlighted that in recent years Türkiye has stressed the importance of ties with African countries, with Erdogan visiting 30 of the continent's 54 countries, along with active Turkish diplomatic missions, institutions, and organizations on the continent, including TİKA, Turkish Airlines, Yunus Emre Institute, and the Maarif Foundation. Furthermore, she witnessed that (2021: 2-3):

“She was part of a delegation accompanying Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan earlier this week on a four-day trip to Angola, Togo, and Nigeria. During his “fruitful” visit, bilateral agreements were signed on the economy, military, and education. The presidents of Burkina Faso and Liberia also traveled to Togo to see Erdogan, said Sağman, adding that a joint declaration was issued after the mini-summit. First lady Emine Erdogan also attended the opening ceremony of a new school in Togo run by Türkiye Maarif Foundation.”

In short, the relations and friendship continue to grow stronger with the crucial implication of TİKA on development assistance and humanitarian aid, and with collaboration in the fields of education, health, agriculture, infrastructure and culture. Turkish foundations and NGOs also accompaign this dynamism and assume a role of the forefront through their significant support for water and sanitation, education and local development in different countries of the African continent. The role of NGOs in the enhancement of Türkiye-Africa relationships is examined in the section concerning the implication of non-state actors in the cooperation. In fact, the activities of TİKA are not limited only to a collaboration with the Turkish Government: public institutions, universities, academic institutes, local development organizations etc. TİKA also works closely with other organizations and associations for the

implementation of programs and activities in several areas including socio-economic, agriculture, health, education and environment, generally considered social sectors.

Nevertheless, Turkish humanitarian aid is divided into two stages: on the one hand, TİKA coordinates, somehow, the humanitarian aid and emergency assistance via the Government as an official institution. On the other hand, TİKA collaborates with other agencies that are not directly attached to the Turkish Government, but work for the development of the community in Türkiye and abroad as well. In this sense, within the framework of Turkish humanitarian assistance, there are four main institutions – foundations – collaborating with TİKA:

i) "Turk Kızılay" which means Turkish Red Crescent

This institution was established in 1868 as an official humanitarian agency of the Republic of Türkiye (Turk Kızılay, What do we do?, 2022: 1). With its Headquarter in Ankara, Turk Kızılay as its representatives in the 81 provinces of Türkiye operating in favor to the local community all around the territory of the Republic of Türkiye.³⁰ Moreover, this humanitarian agency expanded its humanitarian activities overseas including in Africa. In parallel to the Turkish opening up to Sub-Saharan Africa during these last decades, Turk Kızılay collaborates with TİKA in the implementation of humanitarian aid programs, especially in the field of health, education, emergency programs, food security and other assistance to refugees and needy persons in different parts of the world including certain African countries in cases of emergency.

For instance, the role played by Turk Kızılay in collaboration with TİKA was important, especially in Somalia and Sudan since 2010 due to the humanitarian crisis provoked by the political crisis in these two countries. More recently, their interventions were significant

³⁰ Official website of Turk Kızılay: <https://www.kizilay.org.tr/Subeler>, assessed on 24.04.2022.

in the West African countries affected by Ebola such as Liberia, Serra Leone and Guinea Conakry in 2014 and 2015 respectively. However, the activities of Turk Kızılay and the humanitarian aspect of this foundation will be examined in detail in the section of this study dedicated to humanitarian diplomacy.

ii) AFAD (Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency)

According to its slogan, *“AFAD plans, performs, directs and coordinates disaster management activities with the understanding of "Türkiye's Joint Power in Disasters."* This agency carries out search and rescue, humanitarian aid, evacuation and transfer activities and establishes humanitarian infrastructures around the world (AFAD Strategic Plan, 2013-2017:1). AFAD works or collaborates with all Turkish public institutions, but is acting under the Ministry of Interior.

As stated in AFAD Strategic Plan (2013), Türkiye ranks third in the world in terms of earthquake-related casualties and eighth in terms of the total number of people affected. Every year, the country experiences at least one magnitude 5 earthquake – which makes proper disaster management and coordination absolutely crucial. That is why, *“Türkiye's disaster policy dates back to the aftermath of the 1939 Erzincan earthquake, which killed nearly 33,000 people and left at least 100.000 injured. Two decades later, the Turkish Parliament passed the Law on Precautions to be Taken in the Event of Disasters Affecting Public Life and Assistance to Provide to fill the long-standing legal vacuum”* (AFAD Strategic Plan, 2013-2017:1-2).

In line with this approach, the legislative effort on disasters continued with the 1988 statute on the Principles of Organization and Planning of Emergency Assistance in Disasters. The 1999 Marmara earthquake, however, marked the turning point in the area of disaster management and coordination. This devastating disaster clearly demonstrated the need to reform disaster management and compelled the country to establish a single government institution

to single-handedly coordinate and exercise legal authority in cases of disaster and emergencies. In this line, AFAD was established to act under the Prime Ministry and various other agencies were abolished in order to ensure serious coordination and management of disasters by AFAD exclusively.

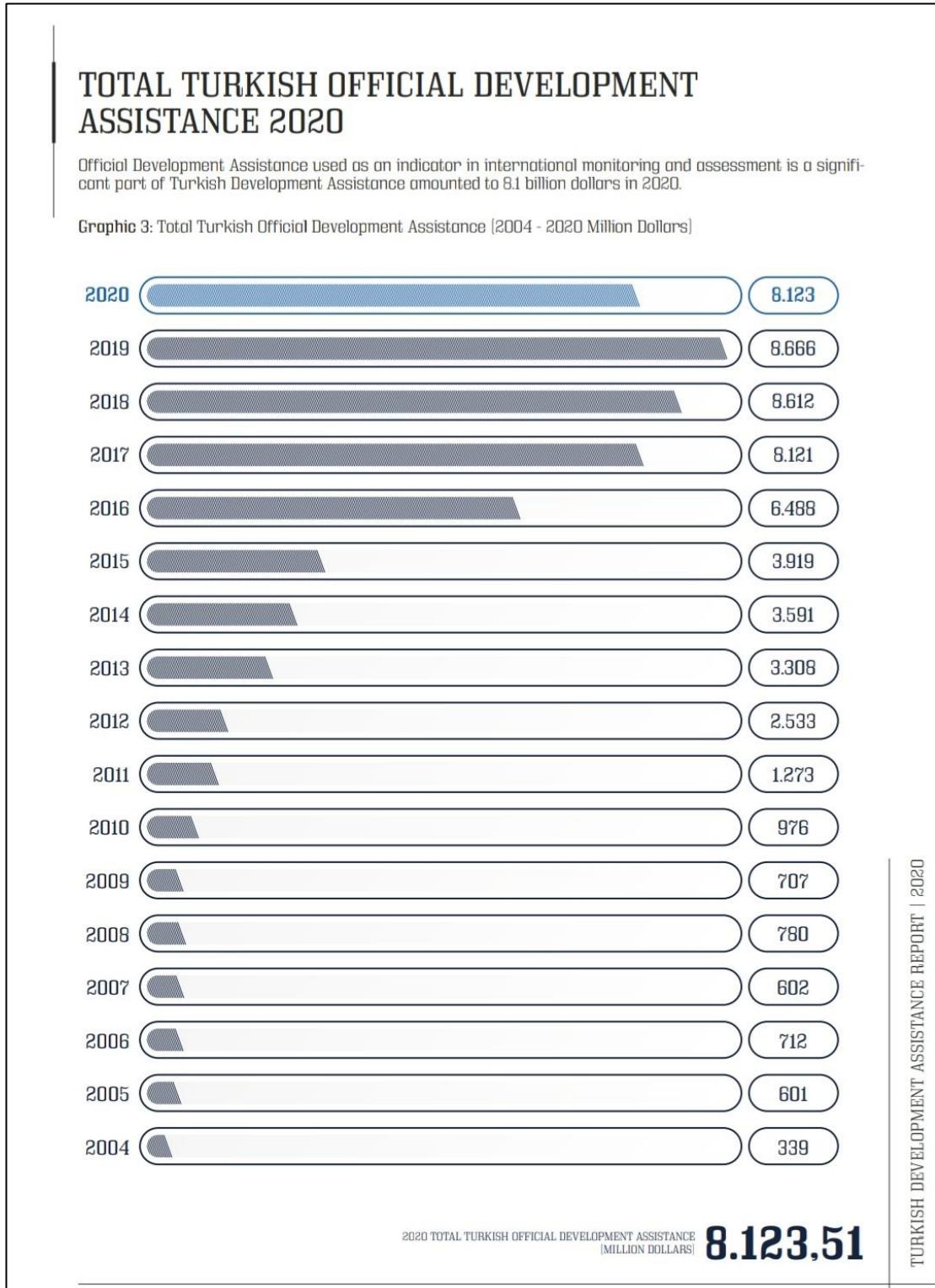
With the adoption of the presidential system of governance which entered into force on July 15, 2018, AFAD (previously an agency under the office of Prime Ministry) re-formed as an agency under the Ministry of Interior and continued to act as an institution working to prevent disasters and minimize disaster-related damages. It was also in charge to plan and coordinate post-disaster response, and promote cooperation among various government agencies in Türkiye and overseas, including Africa. AFAD continued to share its experience and – *Model of Integrated Disaster Management System* – within the necessities and framework in cooperation with other friend countries.

In this regard, AFAD currently has 81 provincial branches across Türkiye in addition to 11 search and rescue units established in different parts of Türkiye. With its position as the sole authority on disasters and emergencies, AFAD cooperates with a range of government institutions and non-governmental organizations depending on the nature and severity of individual cases. In this sense, over the past seven years, AFAD successfully coordinated to Türkiye's response to a number of devastating earthquakes and floods, among others, and helped survivors get their lives back on track (AFAD, interview, April 05, 2022). At the international level, AFAD realized successful missions to provide humanitarian assistance to over 50 countries on 5 continents including the African countries like Somalia, Sudan, Mozambique, Chad as well as Palestine, Ecuador, Philippines, Nepal, Yemen, and many other countries.

For instance, according to the Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2018 which contains global data for the year 2017, “*Türkiye was the first country in humanitarian aid with*

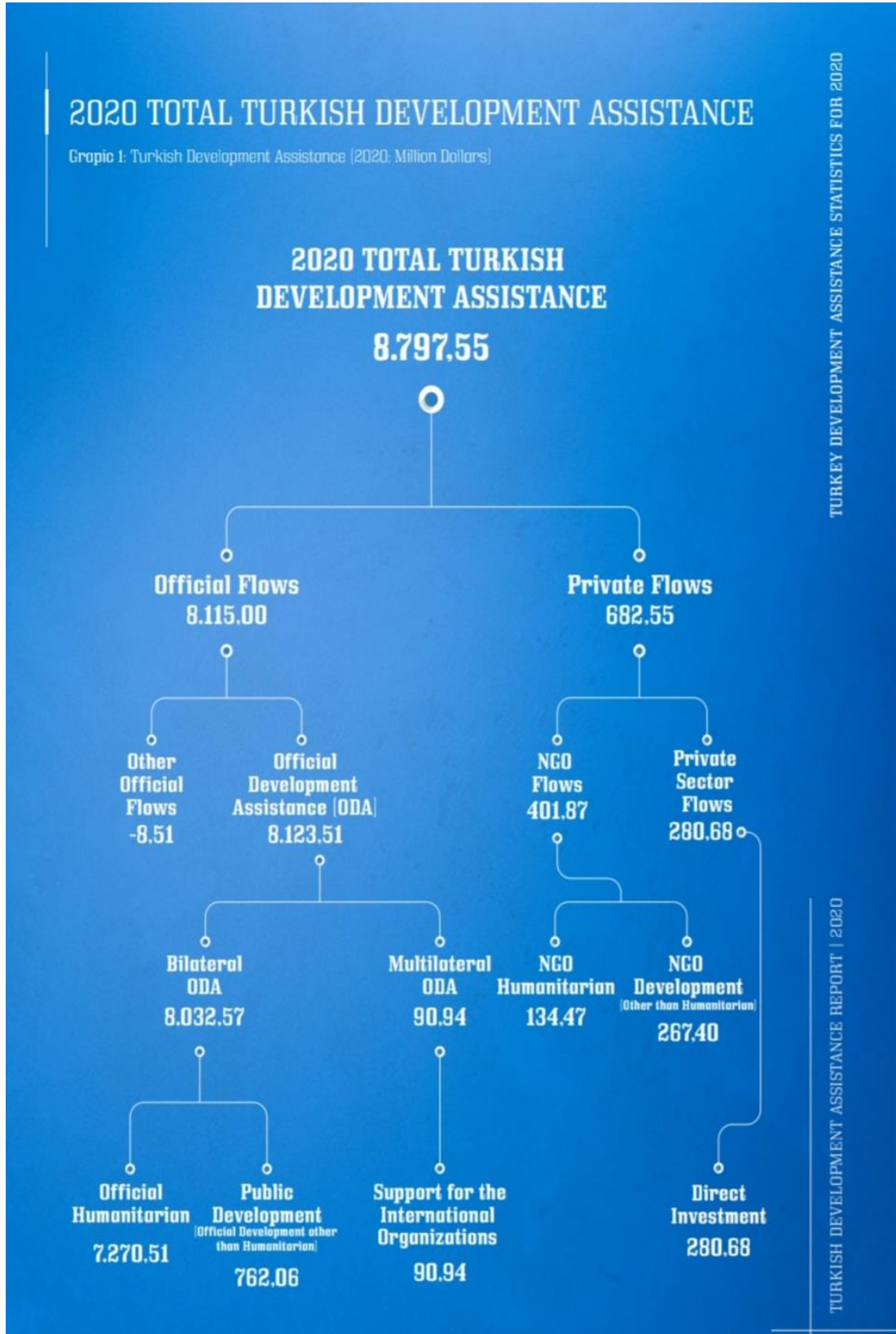
8.07 billion US Dollars. Türkiye has preserved her leading position with a 0.85 % ratio between its national income and humanitarian assistance, as the “most generous nation” in the world. For sure, in terms of humanitarian assistance, AFAD remains committed to developing necessary strategies and serving people in need at home and abroad (AFAD, interview, April 05, 2022). However, apart from AFAD, Turk Kızılay and one aspect of TİKA’s actions enter into the Turkish public humanitarian assistance to different countries and contribution to the international humanitarian organization. The figures below, illustrate Turkish official development Assistance, Turkish humanitarian aids, Turkish contributions to international organizations, and even Turkish direct foreign investment during the last decades.

Figure 7: Turkish Official Development Assistance (billion USD, 2004-2020)



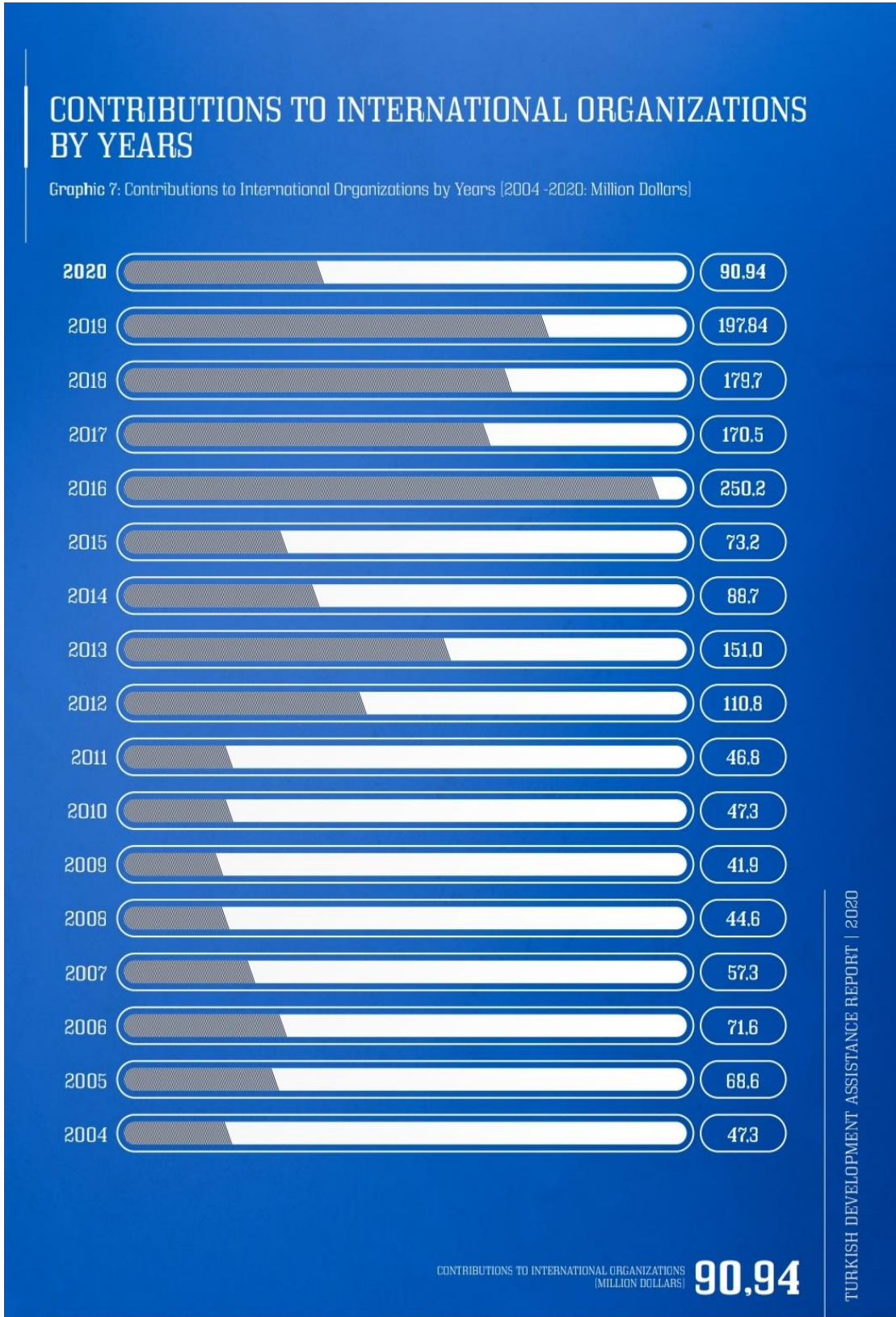
Source: TİKA: *Turkish Development Assistance Report*, (2020: 9).

Figure 8: Turkish Development Assistance (official, humanitarian, and private flows)



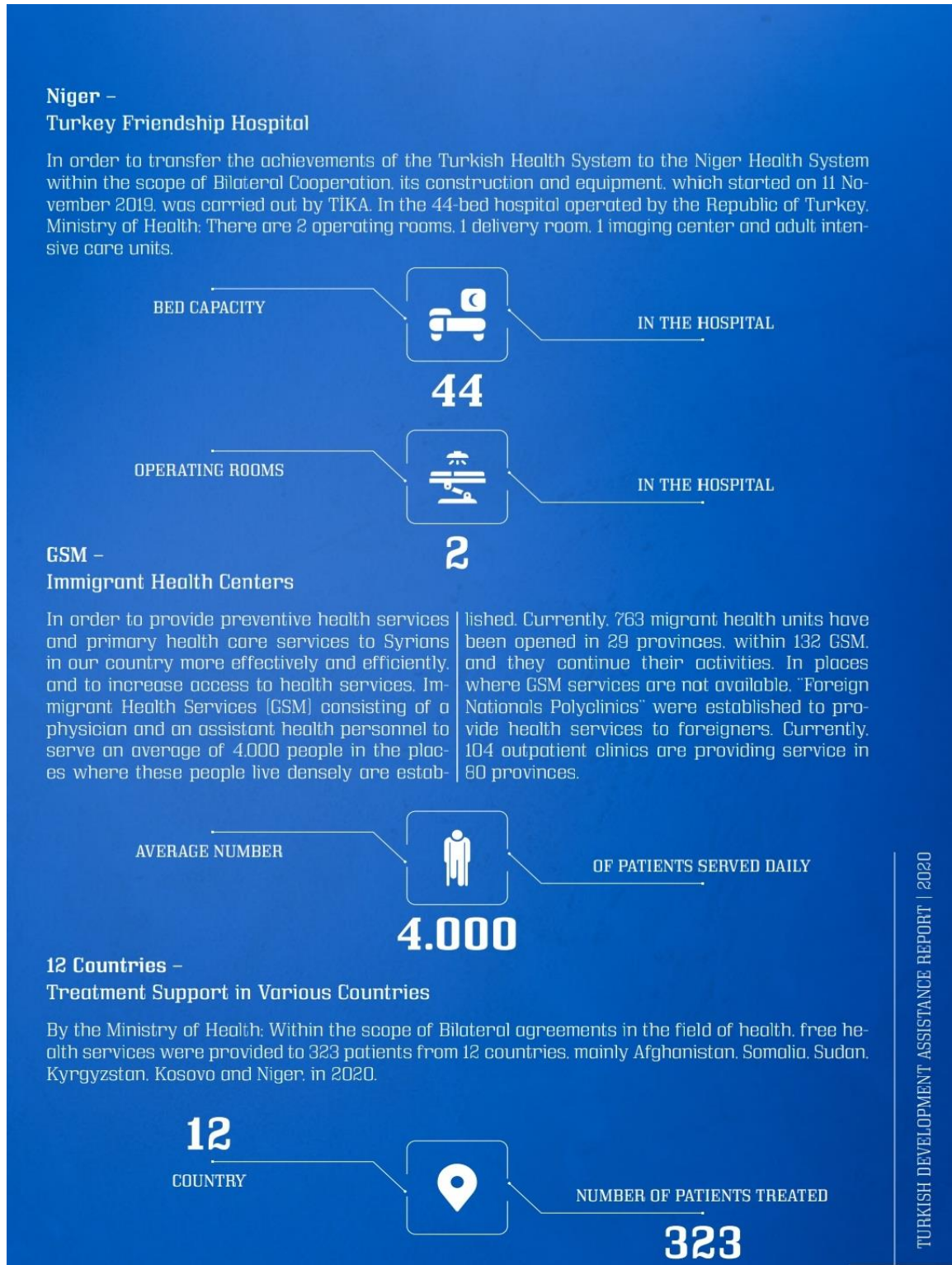
Source: TİKA: Turkish Development Assistance Report, (2020: 8).

Figure 9: Turkish Contributions to International Organizations (million USD, 2004-2020)



Source: TİKA: Turkish Development Assistance Report, (2020: 12).

Figure 10: Türkiye Friendship Hospital – Niger (illustration of a reference project of Turkish Official Development Assistance)



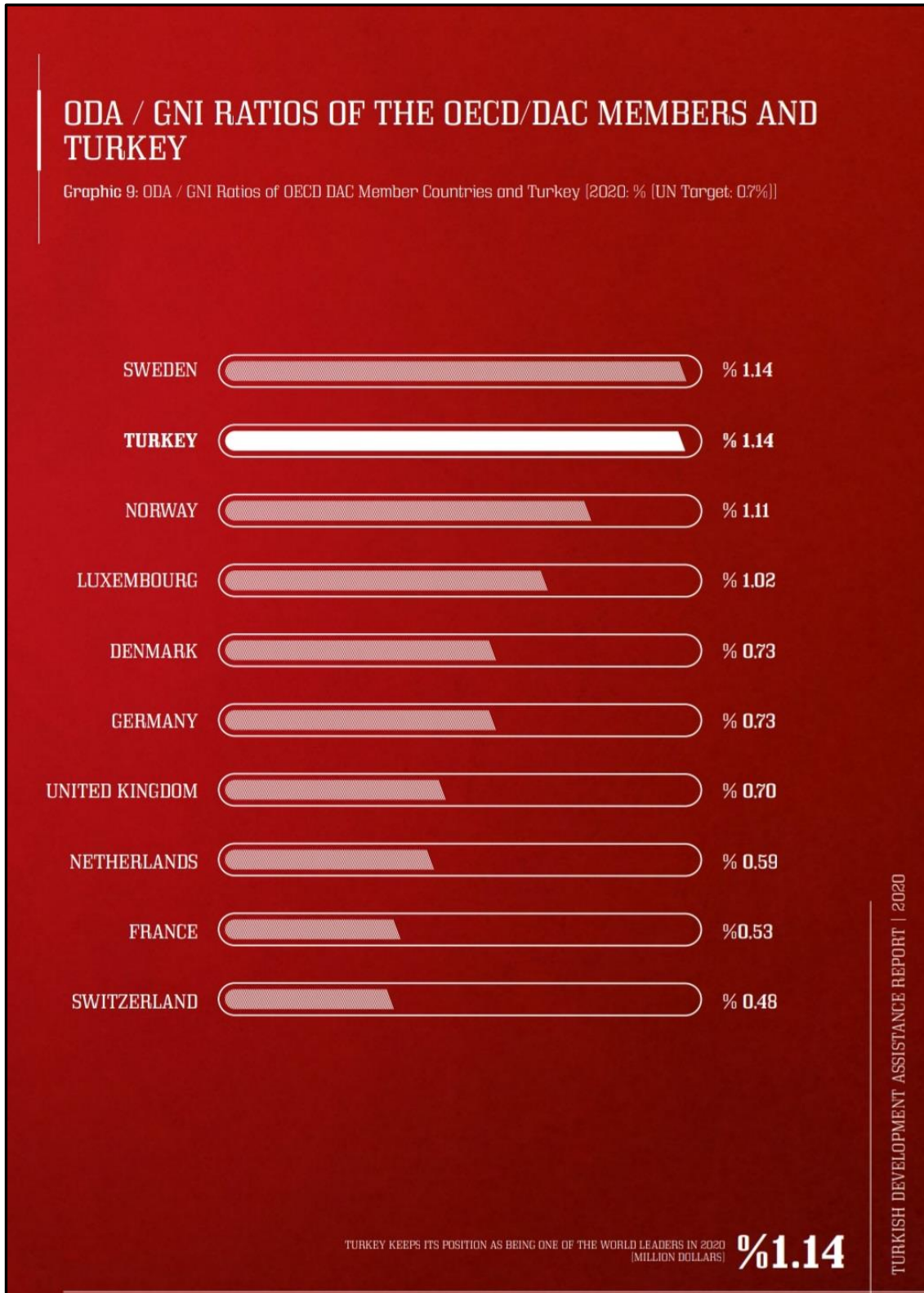
Source: Turkish Development Assistance Report, (2020: 39).

Figure 11: The Place of Official Development Assistance of Türkiye in the OECD/DAC Members (million USD, 2020)



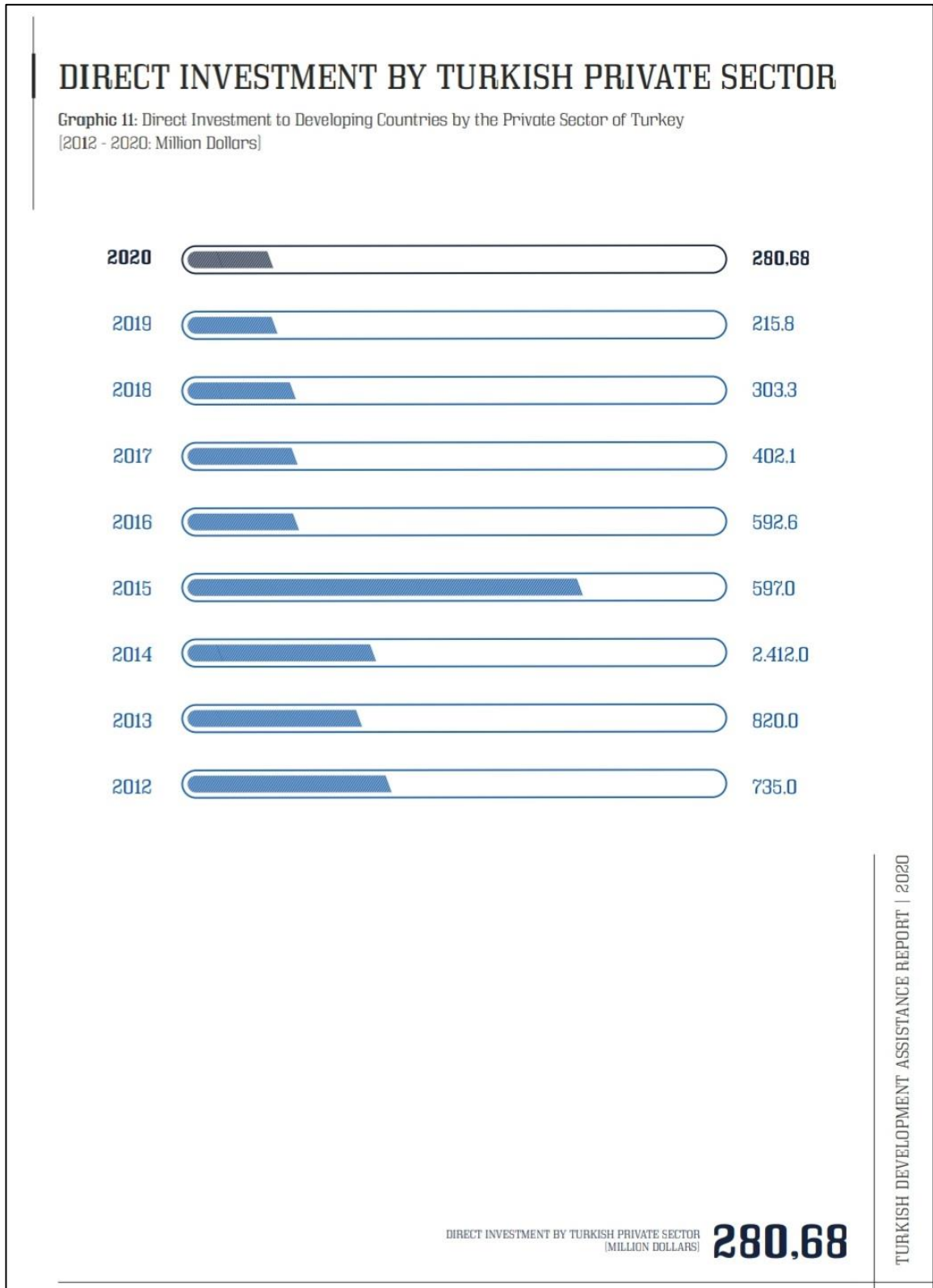
Source: TİKA: Turkish Development Assistance Report, (2020: 14).

Figure 12: Turkish Official Development Assistance Ratios of the OECD/DAC Members and Türkiye



Source: TİKA: Turkish Development Assistance Report, (2020: 13).

Figure 13: Turkish Direct Investment – Private Sector (million USD, 2012-2020)



Source: TİKA: Turkish Development Assistance Report, (2020: 13).

3.3.3. Türkiye Scholarships (YTB) and Exchange Diplomacy

The main purpose of this sub-title is to examine the contribution of the educational sector to the enhancement of Türkiye-Sub-Saharan Africa cooperation. In other words, it will try to analyze the role played by education – scholarships – in the development of Türkiye – Sub-Saharan Africa relations. While making this examination, the theoretical aspect will be analysed in order to understand the strategies that might be behind the sector of education or scholarships.

Joseph Nye, stated clearly that, “*seduction is always more effective than coercion*” (Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, 2004: x). For him, any country that has a clearly established agenda in international politics is often “*better oriented and consolidates its purposes most easily with other countries*” (2004, x). The cultural factors – education and scholarships – would be elected as a very important element for the consolidation or development of Turkish cooperation with the African continent, since this one still illustrates its needs for know-how transfer, imported systems of education, scholarships or even assistance in this very crucial area of international cooperation. In the same line, Ibrahim Kalın, current spokesperson for the Presidency of the Turkish Republic, highlighted that (Kalın, 2011: 1-2):

“In accordance with a multi-dimensional foreign policy, there is a necessity to pursue a multi-dimensional strategy for the promotion of Türkiye abroad, which covers a broad spectrum, ranging from economy and trade to culture, from social development to education and from cultural diversity to richness of intellectual life.” Moreover, he added that, “the ‘goal’ is to promote Turkish culture, language, and art, and, of course, to contribute to the development of bilateral relations between Türkiye and other countries, as well as to help Turkish citizens in their adaptation to the country in which they live.”

In contextual terms, it’s a fact, it’s quite important to recall that in aftermath of the USSR’s collapse in 1990, Türkiye, as heir to the Ottoman Empire, oriented its foreign policy and actions toward the former Ottomane State’s domination or territories commonly called ‘*Turkic world*’ including former Soviet Republics. With these territories, Türkiye as a Republic always had historical, linguistic, and cultural ties and geographical proximities. Following this geographical sphere, Türkiye, obviously, has been expanding its influence or opening

policy to the Balkans, Caucasus, and then to the Middle East and lastly, toward the African continent and South America.

In this context and related to this study, the Turkish government established a vast program of cooperation with the African continent, as a whole, via the Türkiye-Africa Summit, where final declarations and agreements were made, and bilaterally with the respective African countries. In this line, with certain parallelism to the implementation of the Türkiye – Africa Opening Plan of 1998, the Turkish government set up very intelligently the programs of Turkish scholarships and cultural exchange programs with these countries. From the abovementioned date, the Turkish government announced the necessity of the gradual implementation of some cultural programs and immediately started to grant scholarships to African students or countries at different levels.

However, Mehmet Özcan, an academic and researcher on international relations and Turkish foreign policy, *Türkiye'nin Afrika'da Artan Rolü: Pratik Çabalar ve Söylem Arayışları*, highlights that "like Turgut Özal, Erdoğan's AK Party sees the world as a place full of opportunities, and therefore, opening up Türkiye to the world is an important component of Turkish foreign policy" (Özkan, 2012: 18-19). Instead, it's important to recall that the Turkish government has established a specific, strategic, and comprehensive African policy since the early 2000s with the rise to power of the AK Party through which Africa has become increasingly significant for Turkish foreign policy's agenda.

By the way, education is regarded as as one of the most critical elements in this agenda, or fort he not only to get ways of starting point to the cooperation but also as a tool for promoting the image of Türkiye across and over the African continent and the image of Africa in Türkiye as well. For example, according to the relevant institution, the government of Türkiye will provide scholarships to approximately 3.000 African students through *Türkiye Scholarships* in 2021 (the Directorate of Scholarships, YTB in Turkish initials)³¹, Diyanet Foundation and other similar institutions; this number is very considerable since the cooperation of Türkiye with Africa has been very limited until the last 15 years.

³¹ Official webside of Türkiye Scholarships (YTB), <https://www.ytb.gov.tr/en/international-students/Türkiye-scholarships>, assessed on 02.12.2021.

Therefore, he has clearly stated that, historically, Türkiye has paid attention to international programs related to helping students realize their studies in Türkiye before the establishment of the Republic and from the establishment of the Republic to today. On the official website of Türkiye Scholarships, it's stated that; "*our country opened its doors to many international students for their education both in the pre-Republic and the Republic period, and scholarships were provided to those students for them to receive a distinguished education in our country*" (Official website of Türkiye Scholarships (YTB), <https://www.ytb.gov.tr/en/international-students/Turkiye-scholarships>, assessed on December 02, 2021). In addition, he chronologically stressed that:

"While, in 1960s, scholarships were being provided within the framework of bilateral agreements signed with other states; especially with the support of the late President Turgut Özal, international student policy of our country was systematized for the first time in 1992 and a project titled as Great Student Project was initiated.

Since the beginning of the 2000s, major developments exhibited in all areas from Türkiye's foreign policy to culture, social policy to economic development; it was also reflected in international education paradigm of the country and caused important steps to be taken in the said area.

Within the framework of the tasks entrusted to our Presidency established in 2010, Türkiye Scholarships program has been implemented with our Presidency's initiatives and other relevant agencies cooperation in 2012 and higher education scholarships provided by our country for international students was updated."

As a consequence of this opening policy, Türkiye has implemented day-by-day several educational and cultural programs in order to facilitate the enhancement of the political, diplomatic, and socio-economic cooperation between Türkiye and the African countries; set up opportunities for African students and young people and satisfy, somehow, the demands of the African countries in terms of scholarships for their young people. Nevertheless, today it is really difficult to know the exact number of African students in Türkiye with Turkish government scholarships and private ones. "*The number of African students has substantially increased over recent years, reaching 7.000 students in 2014, but this number has multiplied, reaching over 13.000 in 2021*" (YTB official website, assessed on December 02, 2021).

In this sense, both Türkiye and the African countries, collectively and individually, get their interests satisfied and consider this interaction a “win-win” cooperation. If Türkiye intends to improve its image on the continent and even around the world through these scholarships and graduated students, it must facilitate its expansion to Africa and better its image positively overseas; Africa or African countries are tired of getting an answer to their still-weak education systems by demanding scholarships for their students at various levels, exchange programs for their lecturers at various levels, and hoping for a return through the transfer or "importation" of graduated students regarded as valuable human resources capable of transforming those education systems and transferring some know-how.

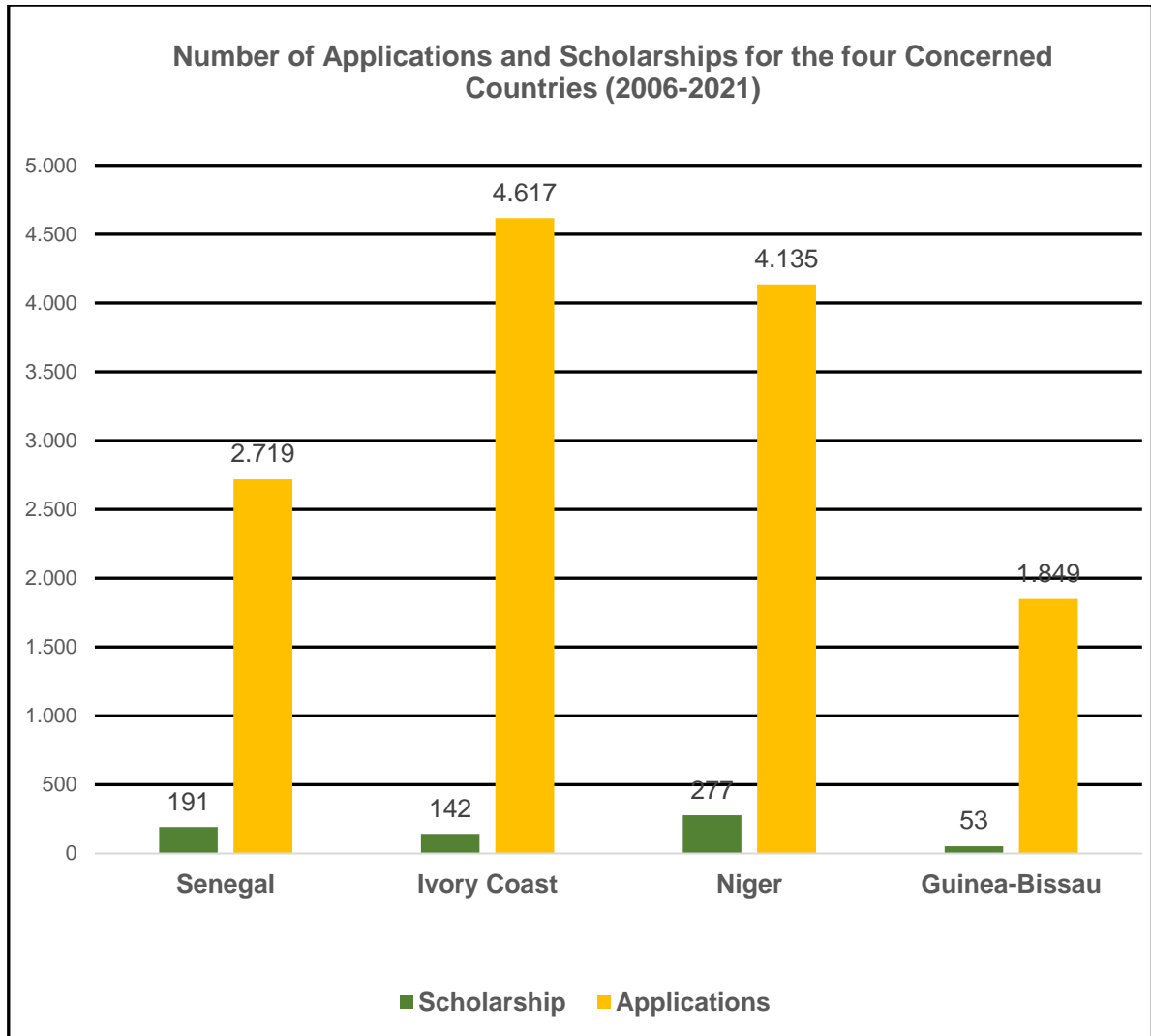
On the list of the Program Türkiye Scholarships for Africa, which is available on the official website of *Türkiye Scholarships*, 54 African countries are concerned by this scholarship program. Thanks to this program, many students from almost all African countries come to Türkiye in order to complete their studies in different fields and levels, and at different universities all around Türkiye – Turkish language, bachelor, master, Ph.D degrees and research programs to lectures – gradually appropriating very well the Turkish language, culture and importing new realities to their respective countries, but also the Turkish image overseas, thereby assisting their countries to better understand Türkiye and how to cooperate with it.

These students become well-trained and sometimes even elites that serve in their respective countries, such as for the development of this cooperation and serving both their countries and sometimes Türkiye via its multinational companies or rarely its public institutions. With this reality established, it is possible to assert that education – through its respective programs – is a critical pillar of Turkish diplomacy in Africa because this sector may incorporate the essence of Turkish soft power toward the continent, also known as cultural diplomacy, which may have significant short and long-term effects for Türkiye and Africa’s reciprocal knowledge, facilitating the implementation of their common agenda.

Mehmet Ali Bolat, former chairperson of the Federation of International Students in Türkiye (UDEF, in Turkish), in a report entitled *Türkiye'de Afrika Çalışmalarının Bugünü ve Yarını Çalıştayı Raporu*, highlighted that “the great majority of African students in Türkiye come from the countries of North and East Africa including Morocco, Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and Djibouti” (Bolat et. al., 2014: 28). However, Western African

countries like Senegal, Niger, Nigeria, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Nigeria, Liberia, and Burkina Faso have been gaining a considerable number of students, but not compared to the rest of the African regional zones.

Graphic 8: Türkiye Scholarships: Number of Applications and Scholarships for the four Concerned Countries (2006-2021)



Source: The data of this graphic was collected from YTB, March 29, 2022. (The graphic was designed by the researcher).

Commonly and back to history, the Government of Türkiye has provided provides scholarships to the four countries concerned in this study, namely Senegal, Niger, Ivory Coast, and Guinea-Bissau, since 1992. However, the scholarship programs became more effective in the early 2000s with the gradual implementation of the Türkiye Africa Opening Action Plan and the arrival of the AK Party to power. In accordance with this policy of opening up to the

African continent, which combined with the economic and even political liberalization of Türkiye consolidated from the 1990s, the Government of the Republic of Türkiye, through the Ministry of National Education, continued coordinating this program of scholarships until the establishment of Türkiye's Africa Action Plan in 1998 (YTB, interview, April 13, 2022). Consequently, the relations between the two sides has been gradually developed and both sides started to know each other in cultural aspects too. This enhancement of the relations resulted in the increment of the number of scholarships and students that helped or even obliged the creation, in early 2010, of the *Türkiye Scholarships Program* under the coordination of YTB to organize, orient and coordinate this big program related only to foreign countries (foreign students in different fields and levels).

In this line and as stated on the official website of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “*since 1992, the Government of Türkiye grants scholarships to Senegalese students*” as well as it is highlighted that “*since 1992, Türkiye has provided scholarships to students from Niger within the scope of the "Türkiye Scholarships" program*”, the line said that “*since 1992, Türkiye has been providing "Türkiye Scholarships" to Ivorian students*” and “*since 1992, Türkiye has provided scholarships to students from Guinea-Bissau*” (Official website of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, assessed on April 05, 2022). In this perspective and very recently, YTB President Abdullah Eren, on January 07, 2022³², stated that students' interest in the scholarships has been on the rise with each passing year since the onset of the program, which was originally launched in the 1990s under another name, later reformed and transferred to the authority of YTB in 2012. He added that:

“... back to 2012, Türkiye Scholarships program received 42,000 applications, while last year it reached a record number of 165,500 applications from 178 different countries. This year, we also aim to set a new record,” said Eren. The institution provides around 5,000 scholarships every year including full-time degrees (bachelor's, master's and Ph.D) as well as short-term programs such as research scholarships and language and culture programs. Following graduation, students are initiated into the Türkiye

³² For more information, please check: <https://www.dailysabah.com/Türkiye/education/Türkiyes-popular-scholarship-program-opens-2022-applications?>, assessed on January 06, 2022.

Alumni network, which has around 150,000 graduates from more around 156 countries” (YTB, January 07, 2022: 1).

These statements not only emphasized the importance of the scholarships established by the Turkish government and coordinated by YTB, but also provided statistics, stated the purposes, and summarized the historical background of the Republic of Türkiye’s scholarship programs aimed at the overseas, particularly the African continent. Therefore, this program has significant positive impacts on the agenda for the enhancement of Türkiye-Sub-Saharan African relations, and especially for the development of the relations between Türkiye and the four countries above mentioned. Because education, culture, and scholarships seem to play a very important role in the reciprocal knowledge of the parties interested in this cooperation (YTB, interview, April 13, 2022).

In this process, the two parties appear to be committed to intensifying their cultural relations in conjunction with the intensification of their economic and geopolitical relations. In 2008, the year of the Türkiye-Africa Economic Cooperation Summit, the Research Center for African Studies in Türkiye (*African Studies Research and Application Center, AÇAUM*) was inaugurated, which will work with other three institutes of African studies in Türkiye, such as (*Kirklareli University African Studies Research and Application Center, KU-AÇUM*) and (*Erciyes University African Studies Research and Application Center*) all as academic research centers on the African continent, recently created with the aim of studying the African continent, exploring the opportunities for promoting Africa in Türkiye and expanding its image in African countries.

In addition, it is important to highlight that the Turkish government, through the *Diyanet Foundation*, sponsors some of these students, even if the majority of the Turkish government’s scholarships are sponsored by YTB.³³ The Turkish Diyanet Foundation, acting under the Presidency of Religious Affairs³⁴, is also in charge of and coordinates a considerable number of African students at different levels, but only in the fields of Islamic studies, like high school, bachelor, master, and Ph.D, and short-term exchange programs on the area of Islamic studies. According to the interviewed Expert of YTB, it’s evident that in recent years,

³³ The Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs, www.mfa.gov.tr, assessed on January 06, 2022.

³⁴ Diyanet Foundation, <https://www.diyamet.gov.tr/>, assessed on January 06, 2022.

the interest in studying in Türkiye and the number of applications to Türkiye Scholarships has gradually increased and consequently helped young people from various African countries to discover Turkish universities and come to Türkiye in order to do their studies (YTB, interview, April 13, 2022). Therefore, statistically, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact number of students in charge of the government of Türkiye because, aside from scholarship holders, the number of those in their own charge has become more and more considerable. For these reasons, it has become quite difficult to gather more exact data on this subject.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that there has been a considerable increase in the number of African students in Türkiye since 2008, with the signature, during the *First Türkiye-Africa Summit*, of the ‘*Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Framework*’, and Türkiye keeps becoming more and more known by Africans and vice versa. According to this and the available analysed literature, this means that the relations between Türkiye and the African content are globally multidimensional and multisectoral, from politic-diplomacy to education-culture but with a focus on trade-economy as the final aim of both sides. However, as stated above apart from YTB, Turkish Government Scholarships are also coordinated and guaranteed by Türkiye Diyanet Foundation, commonly called *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı* (TDV). This foundation is acting under the Presidency of Türkiye Diyanet which is considered a Ministry itself and has its own program and budget to coordinate the religious affairs in Türkiye. As stated in its strategic action plan quoted by the Turkish Development Report (2020: 91):

“With the works out all over the world, Türkiye Diyanet Foundation gives hope to the oppressed without discrimination of religion, language, colour and gender, acts with the mission of dominating goodness on earth and the vision of being a foundation in the service of humanity in seven continents. The Foundation, which prioritizes educational activities abroad, works to provide education to young people from 111 countries of the world at all levels of education.”

In this line, it is clear that this foundation plays an important role in the implementation of Turkish development assistance. Because acting as a Turkish public institution, the activities of this foundation also enter Turkish Official Development Assistance and take part in Turkish international development contribution and transfer of know-how in different fields.

However, it is important to highlight that the actions of this foundation are mostly humanitarian than development related, and these activities are more religious than official or transversal.

For instance, it is indicated that “*extending Türkiye's helping hand to millions of people in crisis regions where hunger, natural disasters, war and violence are experienced in different geographies of the world, Türkiye Diyanet Foundation carries the joy of Eid to the needy geographies with the iftar tables set up in Ramadan and the qurban sacrifice organizations during the Eid al-Adha*” (2020: 91-92). These programs or activities are commonly realized, almost every year during the same periods of religious events, in Niger, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau and Ivory Coast, as well as in other countries of the African continent, and over the world. Moreover, circumstantial humanitarian actions are made by this foundation toward regions of the world or countries where disasters such as earthquakes, floods and drought, war and humanitarian crises are experienced. These humanitarian actions mostly consist of providing food, clean water by drilling water wells, and electricity by solar energy and these programs are generally implemented by volunteers and officials of the foundation itself. For example, it is stated by the (Turkish Development Assistance Report, 2020: 91-92) that:

“In 2002, with the “Share Your Victim, Get Closer With Your Brother” project, we have sacrificed in 339 regions of 77 countries, including Africa, the Balkans, the Turkic Republics, the Caucasus, the Far East and South America, especially Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, Palestine and Arakan, where poverty and crises are intense abroad. Philanthropists' relics have been delivered. Water wells drilled at a depth of 50-500 meters operate with electricity and solar energy. Of the boreholes with an average lifespan of 15-25 years, 143 were drilled in 2020.”

In short, Türkiye Diyanet Foundation is one of the Turkish public institutions that carry out the strategies, actions and programs of Turkish development assistance abroad. In other words, this foundation is part of Turkish public institutions that implement development and humanitarian activities which constitute Turkish Development Assistance (TDA). However, all these actions are coordinated by the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) which is in charge of developing strategies and coordinating the Turkish Official Development Assistance (ODA) toward other countries and international organizations, with

other Turkish public institutions. Therefore, Yunus Emre Institute is one of the Turkish public institutions that TİKA coordinate within the implementation of Turkish ODA.

3.3.4. Yunus Emre Institute and Cultural Diplomacy

Among the institutions working on Türkiye-Africa relations is the Yunus Emre Institute, commonly called Yunus Emre Institute (YEE) in the Turkish language. This institute was established in 2007 under the supervision of the honorary members of the institute such as the President of the Erdoğan Republic, the then Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mevlut Çavuşoğlu, and the Minister of Culture Mustafa Kılıç; this is to name just the main members among other senior government officials. Such initiatives reveal the importance given to the education and cultural sectors in order to pay attention to this institute, who stated aim is to promote the language, culture, and image of Türkiye through "*cultural diplomacy*" (Özcan, 2012: 37-8).

It is clear that in parallel to the affirmation of Türkiye into international politics in both multilateral and bilateral terms, the Turkish presence in the African continent increased day by day (YEE, interview, April 11, 2022). As a consequence of this interest, in recent years, the Turkish government kept developing its ties with new regions of the world like Africa and South America where very important institutions like Yunus Emre Institute are gradually opened around the world including in South America and Africa. However, the institute keeps developing its activities in old geographies such as Europe, Asia and Middle East, but gives more and more attention to the new regions, especially African countries. For instance, it is highlighted that "*Türkiye's economic, political and cultural achievements in the last ten years have put Türkiye into an important place both in its own geography and in the world. This situation has led to a serious increase in demand for learning Turkish abroad*" (TİKA: Turkish Development Assistance Report, 2020: 92).

For these reasons and to meet the new demands, the institute, on the one hand, Yunus Emre Institute opens Turkish Cultural Centers in the countries in need and Turkish languages are learned and even to give the opportunity to the studies of Turkish language as an optional language in public schools of these countries where Yunus Emre Cultural Centers are opened.

On the other hand, in parallel to other cultural activities, these centers aim to promote cultural relations of Türkiye with these countries but also contribute to the promotion of Turkish image overseas, for instance in Africa, and vice-versa. In addition, “*the Institute contributes to the opening of libraries, the establishment of art exhibitions, the establishment of Turkish classes in schools as well as book distribution projects in countries where it operates, which all help to establish relations with Türkiye. During the coronavirus period, the Institute provided support to take measures against the virus and to reduce its spread, and to follow scientific and technological developments*” (2020: 92). For instance, the institute stressed on the:

- i) Opening of many artistic activities and Turkish language classes in the countries it operates,
- ii) Organization of cultural and educational events,
- iii) Improvement of friendships between Türkiye and the concerned countries increasing cultural exchange,
- iv) Support for scientific and technological research during the coronavirus period.

Therefore, these cultural institutions like Yunus Emre Institute have a very important role in the enhancement of Türkiye-Africa relations in all senses. Because these “*soft*” institutions are some mechanisms or strategies for the implementation of Turkish soft power to develop political-diplomatic, economic and trade relations which are the final purpose of both Türkiye and the African countries. Moreover, as a Turkish public institution, YEE keeps carrying out cultural and educational activities with its cultural center over the world coordinated by the headquarter from Ankara. However, it is clear that Türkiye uses elements linked to cultural diplomacy within the framework of public diplomacy. In this line it is important to highlight that:³⁵

“Starting to operate in 2009, Yunus Emre Enstitüsü has more than 63 cultural centers³⁶ abroad. Apart from the Turkish education given in the cultural centers, Turkology de-

³⁵ Yunus Emre Official Website: <https://www.yee.org.tr/en/corporate/yunus-emre-institute>, assessed on, June 25, 2022.

³⁶ Yunus Emre Institute has today more 63 Cultural Centers in about 50 countries around the world including in Africa, Europe, Asia and American continents. In Africa there are centers in Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan and Tunisia. Therefore, Yunus Emre Institute has Cultural Center in Senegal – Dakar which covers Guinea-Bissau but it does not have yet representative in Niger and Ivory Coast.

partments and Turkish teaching are supported with the co-operations made with different educational – public and even private institutions – in different countries. Several activities are organized to promote our culture and art through cultural centers, and our country is represented through national or international events.”

To summarize, the institute carries out its activities under two main titles or programs like i) teaching the Turkish language to foreigners and ii) promoting culture and art in the countries it operates. Accordingly, some executive departments are progressively formed to support these two fields such as the activities performed and projects developed for cultural promotion and art related to the enhancement of friendships relations between the countries. All these activities, programs and projects are conceived within the scope of the *Strategy Development Department of the Institute*, and led by its president who is a bureaucrat serving the government of the Republic of Türkiye from the headquarters, Ankara, in the field of education and culture overseas (YEE, interview, April 11, 2022).

The Institute has its representative in Senegal which covers Guinea-Bissau and coordinates Turkish teaching activities and some cultural programs in Senegal, and Guinea-Bissau when necessary. In sum, these activities are an extension of Turkish cultural diplomacy abroad for the enhancement of its relations of friendship and cooperation stressed by its proactive foreign policy within the framework of the implementation of Africa Action Plan and the increase of political and diplomatic relations between Türkiye and Africa.

3.3.5. Maarif Foundation and Cultural Diplomacy

Another Turkish public institution acting in the field of education is Turkish Maarif Foundation, commonly called *Türkiye Maarif Vakfı* (TMV) in the Turkish language. This foundation is the most recent one among the others above indicated. However, its role is very important for Turkish foreign policy and Turkish cultural diplomacy. Established in 2016, Turkish Maarif Foundation which is present in many regions of the world carries out projects related to the field of education through its schools operating in many countries of the world.

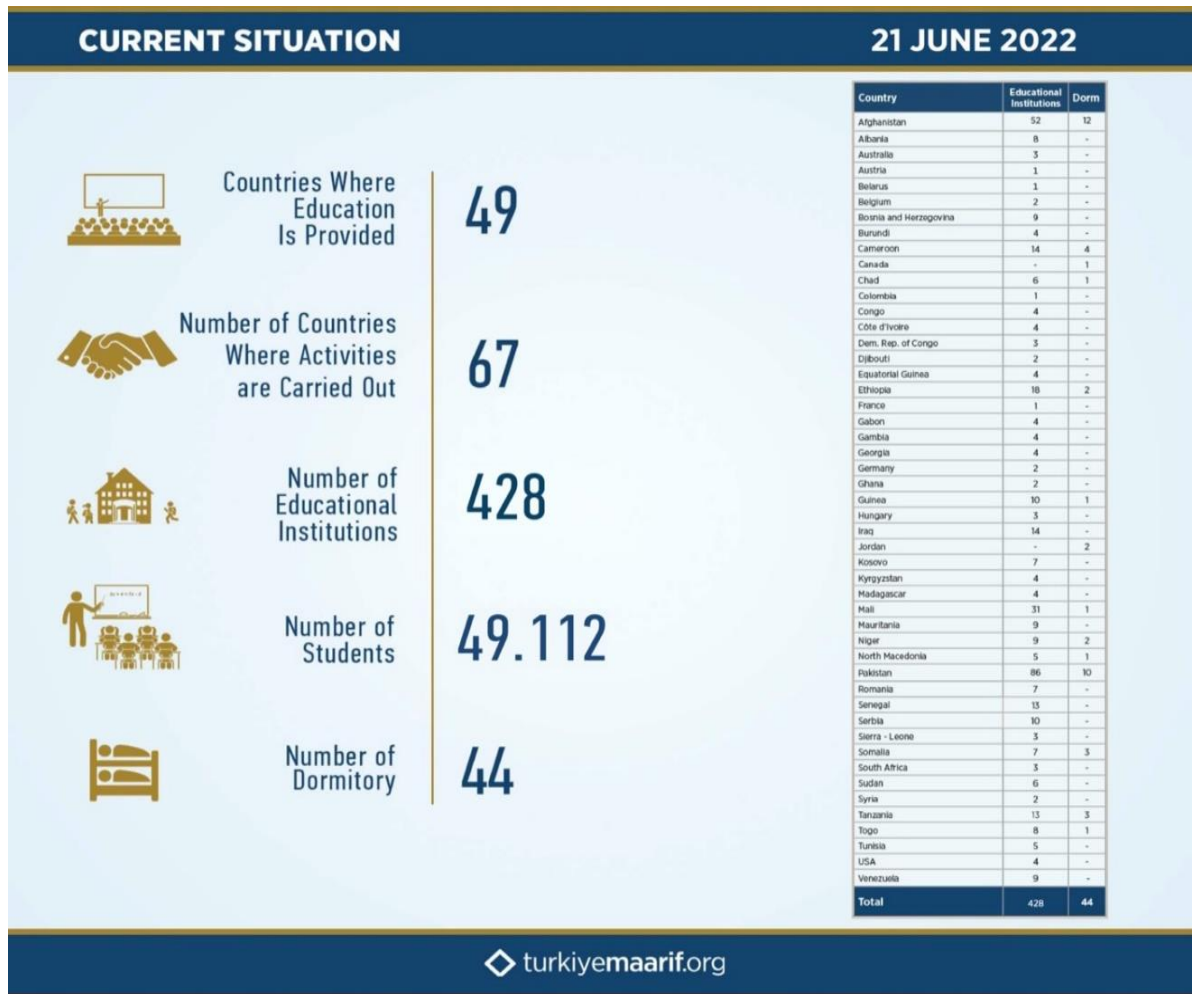
In fact, it is important to highlight that, “*Turkish Maarif Foundation projects affect all other sectors and play a key role in development in the countries where it operates. The foundation acts in line with objectives such as eliminating educational inequalities, disseminating*

quality education, and offers training to individuals that it contributes to, that can use their qualifications for all humanity in the future” (Türkiye Maarif Foundation official website, assessed on June 25, 2022). When analyzed, it is clear that the activities of the institution become widespread in regions prioritized by the Turkish Government and consequently by the foundation, and these activities generally take place in regions where poverty is high and access to education is yet insufficient. In this sense, the foundation opens schools – primary schools, high schools and universities – in the countries where is operating and provides education services within the framework of human values.

In addition to this mission, Turkish Maarif Foundation serves as a gateway to the international educational area of Türkiye which makes visible the Turkish public diplomacy and help to enhance the cultural interaction paving the way for the achievement of common well-being and mutual interest of the cooperation between Türkiye and the African countries, in particular, the countries where is operating. According to an expert of Maarif Foundation, in the strategic plan of the foundation, it is clearly stated that, *“together with the Ministry of National Education, TMV which was established in 2016 by the Turkish Parliament, is the sole entity authorized to provide educational services abroad. As a non-profit public educational foundation, TMV is entitled to run institutions from pre-school to higher education”* (Turkish Maarif Foundation, interview, March 29, 2022). In terms of its vision and mission, he highlighted that:

“Turkish Maarif Foundation become a pioneering educational institution nurturing pure-minded people who use knowledge for the peace and welfare of the humanity. In the same line, the foundation carries out comprehensive educational activities throughout the world based on the common values of humanity and Anatolian tradition of wisdom.”

Figure 14: Presence of Turkish Maarif Foundation in the World (2016-2022)



Source: Maarif Foundation Official Website, <https://Türkiyemaarif.org/page/2018-maarif-in-the-world-16>, assessed on 27.06.2022.

In this line, Turkish Maarif Foundation is in charge of managing the educational aspect of Turkish international cooperation and consequently an aspect of its cultural and public diplomacy overseas. It is obvious that, with the new face of the Turkish foreign policy since the arrival to power of AK Party and the new orientation of its diplomacy toward new geographies, Türkiye kept using multidimensional strategies of cooperation and institutions such as Maarif Foundation were established to contribute to the implementation of this agenda. Therefore, the activities of the foundation reflect the purposes of Turkish multidimensional and

multisectoral diplomacy. Therefore, the foundation is acting in specific areas all around in the education field and promoting of friendship via the educational sector as follows:

- i) Education abroad: TMV foundation opens and manages pre-schools, primary secondary and higher education institutions (schools and universities, dormitories and other kind of educational infrastructure) around the world,
- ii) Educational support: the establishes programs to facilitate informal educational research and cultural centers, libraries, and laboratories and provide career follow-up and guidance system,
- iii) Support scientific works, publications, workshops, symposiums, conferences and other activities related to the promotion of cultural relations between Türkiye and countries abroad,
- iv) Scholarships and housing: the foundation offers scholarships for all levels of education on national, regional and global scales, and provides educational grants, housing and in-kind support with educational materials from pre-school education to university.

3.3.6. Turkish Kızılay and Humanitarian Diplomacy

Türk Kızılay which means Turkish Red Crescent, was established in 1868 as an official humanitarian agency of the Republic of Türkiye (Türk Kızılay, What do we do?, 2022: 1). With Headquarter in Ankara, Türk Kızılay has representatives in the 81 provinces of Türkiye operating in favor to the local community all around the territory of the Republic of Türkiye.³⁷ Moreover, acting in more than 140 countries over the world, this humanitarian

³⁷ Official website of Türk Kızılay: <https://www.kizilay.org.tr/Subeler>, assessed on 24.04.2022.

agency expanded its humanitarian activities overseas including Africa. In parallel to the Turkish opening up to Sub-Saharan Africa during these last decades, Turk Kızılay collaborates with TİKA in the implementation of humanitarian aid programs. These projects and programs are globally implemented in the fields of health, education, emergency programs, food security and other assistance to refugees and needy persons in different parts of the world including certain African countries in cases of emergency.

For instance, the role played by Turk Kızılay in collaboration with TİKA was important, particularly in Somalia and Sudan since 2010 due to the humanitarian crisis provoked by the political crisis in these two countries. More recently, their interventions were significant in the West African countries affected by Ebola such as Liberia, Serra Leone and Guinea Conakry in 2014 and 2015 respectively. However, Turk Kızılay is one of the Turkish foreign policy's actors fully responsible for the implementation of Turkish humanitarian assistance and consequently Turkish humanitarian diplomacy overseas. According to an expert of Turk Kızılay in charge of Africa, *“Turkish Red Crescent, which increases its capacity with the assistance activities it carries out in the field of humanitarian assistance, has become a global actor in humanitarian assistance activities”* (Turk Kızılay, interview, March 28, 2022).

Moreover, about the policy and purposes of Turkish humanitarian interventions around the world, he added that *“the Turkish Red Crescent, which continues its activities without discrimination of language, religion or race, extends a helping hand to millions of people in different parts of the world”* (Turk Kızılay, interview, March 28, 2022). For example, it is clearly stated that (Turk Kızılay, 2022:1-2):

“In addition to humanitarian assistance activities in countries such as Palestine, Sudan, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Kyrgyzstan, Kosovo, Somalia and Pakistan, the Turkish Red Crescent has undertaken many lasting welfare activities. It focuses its projects in countries in need in areas such as housing, schools, community centers, places of wor-

ship, construction of public facilities, providing and supporting livelihoods, health, education, social assistance, agriculture and irrigation. Turkish Red Crescent currently has a Permanent Delegation Head in 16 countries.”

It is evident that in terms of mission, Turk Kızılay has responded to people’s emergency and basic needs in shelter and nutrition – caused by natural and man-made disasters – on different occasions, periods and parts of the world as the Turkish government or official institution. As a prominent element of Turkish foreign policy, Turkish foreign policy under AK Party pays great attention to human-directed assistance in both humanitarian and development related assistances overseas. In the last years, the organization of International Humanitarian Summits and Peace Forums, held in Türkiye under the auspices of the Turkish government, is not only an illustration of the purposes of Türkiye in coming over the humanitarian crisis around the world, but also its agenda of taking a crucial place in the international system. With clear purposes to contribute to the international agenda in finding sustainable solutions and to participate actively in the international system – decision-making actors – helping in the promotion of Türkiye as a generous country.

For instance, the World Humanitarian Summit was held in Istanbul on 23-24 May 2016, and generated many commitments and actions in favor of vulnerable people over the world. As indicated in the final declaration of the summit, the former United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, highlighted that “*the world was witnessing the highest level of human suffering since the Second World War*” (Istanbul World Humanitarian Summit, May 24, 2016: 1). This is the reason why Ban Ki-moon convened that this summit was “*the first-ever World Humanitarian Summit to generate commitments to reduce suffering and deliver better for people caught in humanitarian crises, and to demonstrate support for a new Agenda for Humanity.*” 2016: 1-2). From a political and diplomatic point of view, the fact the summit was held in Istanbul bringing together different and several actors in international politics shows the engagement of Türkiye became globally-renowned.

“The summit brought together more than 9.000 participants representing 180 Member States, including 55 Heads of State and Government, hundreds of civil society and non-governmental organizations, and partners including the private sector and academia. Together, they generated more than 3.500 commitments to action and launched more than a dozen new partnerships and initiatives to turn the Agenda for Humanity into meaningful change for the world's most vulnerable people. The Platform for Action, Commitments and Transformation Plan was created to host these commitments and as a hub to track progress and change beyond the World Humanitarian Summit.”

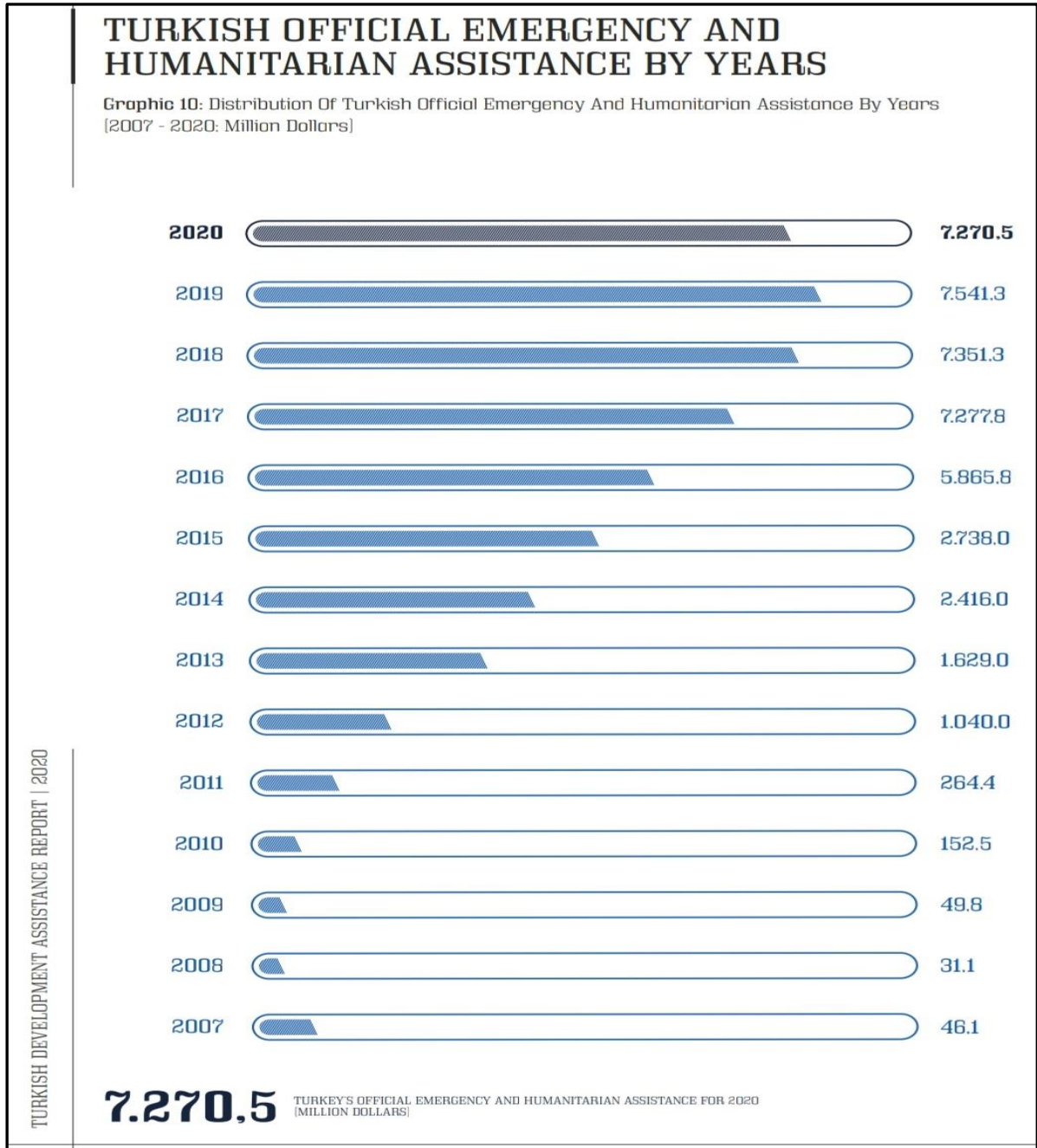
In the same line, the *Global South-South Development Expo 2017* was held in Antalya the 5th biggest Turkish city in terms of population. The title of the summit, ‘*South-South Cooperation for Peace, Prosperity and Partnership: From Delivering Aid to Ending Need – Advancing the 2030 Agenda in Crisis Contexts*’, indicates clearly the purpose of the actors for this mega humanitarian and development meeting organized by Türkiye. Turkish humanitarian diplomacy became gradually visible in international politics and its generosity also. For instance, “*in 2016, Türkiye was the world’s second largest humanitarian donor and most generous country in terms of ratio to its national income, spending 6 billion US dollars on humanitarian assistance. Türkiye now hosts 3.2 million refugees from Syria*” (Antalya: South-South cooperation can spur great humanitarian and development impact, November 17, 2017: 1).

In the same line, in 2020, Türkiye provided 7.2 million US dollars on humanitarian assistance globally oriented within the framework of south-south cooperation and according to emergencies directly linked to human basic needs. Therefore, it is to illustrate that south-south cooperation is about saving livelihoods and sustainable solutions to humanitarian issues over the world. That is why Ursula Mueller, the former United Nations Deputy Emergency Relief Coordinator and co-chair of the Antalya Humanitarian Forum, highlighted that it is all about offering a helping hand to nations as equal partners and it is about sharing experiences

and lessons learned, knowledge and technical expertise in humanitarian and development issues.

On the sidelines of this Global Expo, coordinator Mueller met Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu recognising that this mega meeting provided a great opportunity to thank the Turkish Government and Turkish people for their generosity in both receiving refugees and providing humanitarian assistance to them in Türkiye and overseas, in other countries and international organizations. In this sense, the graphics and statistics below illustrate the essentials of Turkish humanitarian interventions during the last years and these statistics help us to understand how important the humanitarian aspect of Turkish diplomacy is.

Figure 15: Turkish Official Emergency and Humanitarian Assistance (million USD, 2007-2020)



Source: TİKA: *Turkish Development Assistance Report, (2020: 14).*

These figures provide important information on the various aspects of Turkish Development assistance, which may be summarized on Turkish development assistance that includes both Turkish official development assistance and Turkish development assistance by Non-Government Organizations. Moreover, the fully-private aspect of the cooperation is also

part of Turkish presence in the African Continent in general, and in the concerned four countries in particular. For instance, this makes reference to Turkish direct foreign investment and private investments ensured by Turkish multinationals and enterprises acting in different fields. Turkish private interventions are mostly regarding the sectors of construction in general (infrastructures and materials), textile (transformation units and exportations), transportation (air, bridges and ports), agriculture and livestock (transformation units, materials, and machinery), energy and mines (machinery, ships for providing of electricity and mine exploration) and health (health infrastructure and their explorations, and medical equipment etc).

Therefore, Turkish development assistance – official and humanitarian – all together, is mostly consisted of social sectors and sectors of production like health, education, vocational training, and agriculture and livestock. In contrast, Turkish private investments in the African Continent in general, and in the four countries in particular, are globally related to economic and production fields that attract more foreign investments like energy, industry and economic and administrative infrastructures, where Turkish multinationals like SUMMALIMAK holdings, Karpower Energy, Turkuaz, Albayrak holdings etc are mostly active.

CHAPTER 4: THE FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH

This chapter highlights the findings of the research accordingly to the analyzes and examinations made throughout the preceding chapters of this dissertation. Shortly, this part of the study serves to provide a pre-conclusion on the main focus and on what was examined throughout the work.

4.1. STRATEGIES AND MECHANISMS OF TÜRKİYE’S OPENING UP TO AFRICA

Published in 1998, the *Action Plan for Opening Up to Africa*, which includes details on a wide range of issues from economy to trade, education to culture, politics to military activities, aims to build a solid and coherent infrastructure for relations with the African continent and to achieve two-way gains in the medium term. Undoubtedly, the need for new markets and raw materials, as is the case for countries that have shown interest in the region before Türkiye, also plays an important role in these objectives. On the other hand, the most striking aspects of the measures and actions at the political level in the action plan prepared by Türkiye, an Afro-Eurasian country, for the continent in 1998 are as follows (Hiçyılmaz, 2017: 11):

- Increasing the number of Embassies in Africa, which consists of 54 independent countries, from 12 in 1998 to 44 in 2022,
- Opening honorary consulates in capitals without representative offices and appointing honorary consuls from among local businessmen,
- Accrediting ambassadors from Ankara to key African countries where there are no representative offices,
- High-level invitations from African countries,
- Official visits to African countries,

- Expanding contacts with African countries within organizations such as the UN and the Organization of the Islamic Conference,
- Providing humanitarian aid.

In addition, the measures and actions taken to improve economic and trade relations, which have an important place in the Action Plan (Hiçyılmaz, 2017: 11-12), are as follows:

- Signing Technical and Scientific cooperation agreements with African countries,
- Mutual protection and encouragement of investment, avoidance of double taxation,
- Inviting ministers of trade, industry, agriculture, education and health as part of efforts to inform countries,
- Inviting and sending experts for mutual reviews,
- Establish technical assistance programs for African countries,
- Becoming an extra-regional donor country to the African Development Bank,
- Becoming a member of the African Import-Export Bank (Afreximbank),
- Turkish banks opening banks or establishing partnerships in some African countries,
- Realization of mutual businessmen visits,
- Encouraging large, medium and small enterprises (SMEs) in Türkiye to invest in Africa,
- Prioritizing some African countries in raw material exports,
- Development of air and sea transportation,
- Participation in international and industrial fairs organized in African countries,
- Encouraging Turkish contractors to do business in Sub-Saharan African countries.

On the other hand, the action plan has also set numerous targets in the field of education and culture, which are of great importance in terms of establishing ties with both political figures and the public in the target countries. In this context, it was envisaged to sign cultural agreements with the countries of the continent, carry out cultural exchange programs, carry out activities to promote each other to both publics, and increase the number and attractiveness of scholarships for African students (Beden Erdoğan, 2013: 83-85).

Within the framework of the action plan, measures were also envisaged in the field of education and culture, and the number of scholarships offered to Africans was increased. At

the same time, it was emphasized that Turkish scholarships should be more attractive. In order to improve cultural relations, cultural agreements or cultural exchange programs with African countries were envisaged. Cooperation and contact between universities were encouraged. Special attention was given to information activities to introduce Africa to the Turkish public and Türkiye to Africa. In addition, it was suggested that institutions and organizations such as the Foreign Policy Institute and the Strategic Research Centers invite academics and educators to conferences and seminars in Türkiye and establish a Center for African Studies within these institutions and organizations (Beden Erdoğan, 2013: 83-85).

In 1998, after the signing of the action plan, many activities were carried out in line with the objectives set out in the plan. In this context, a strategy called *Strengthening Economic Relations with Africa* was developed and put into practice in 2003. The headlines of this strategy, which was prepared mostly to strengthen contacts at the commercial and economic level, are as follows (Hiçyılmaz, 2017: 13):

- i) Increase the share of African countries in Türkiye's total trade,
- ii) Facilitate the entry of SMEs into continental countries,
- iii) Increasing Türkiye's power against its external competitors in Africa by enabling joint or direct investments in African countries,
- iv) Transfer of technology,
- iv) Increasing the share of engineering, construction and consultancy firms in the African market.

Two years after the *Strategy for Strengthening Economic Relations with Africa* was put into practice, there was a milestone development in the relations between Africa and Türkiye and 2005 was declared the 'Year of Africa' by Türkiye. This development proved how important the African continent was for Türkiye and how high the level of relations could reach in the coming years (Şengül, 2015: 81). In 2005, when the Year of Africa was declared, Türkiye also gained observer country status in the African Union and Türkiye's Embassy in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, was accredited by the African Union. At the *10th African Union Summit* held in January 2008 in Addis Ababa, where this embassy is located, Türkiye was declared the "strategic partner" of the African continent (Beden Erdoğan, 2013: 86-87).

In 2008, another important development took place and Türkiye's application for membership in the African Development Fund and the African Development Bank in February 2008 was approved at the Governors' Meeting held in May 2008. Thus, Türkiye became the 25th non-regional member of the African Development Bank (Cansaran, 2012: 89). After 10 years of activities and actions taken in many fields from the opening in 1998 until 2008, the most striking achievement for Türkiye was the membership of the United Nations Security Council for the years 2009-2010, which was obtained for the first time after 1961 (Şengül, 2015: 85). In fact, Türkiye was elected as a provisional member of the United Nations Security Council for the 2009-2010 period with an overwhelming majority of 151 countries' votes (Beden Erdoğan, 2013: 86) in the votes held at the United Nations Security Council in October 2008. The most striking point in these votes was that 50 African countries voted in favor of Türkiye (Şengül, 2015: 86).

In achieving this success, \$20 million of the \$50 million budget allocated for the candidacy process was used to write off the debts of poor countries, some of which are sub-Saharan African countries, which could not pay their dues to the UN and therefore could not vote, and to enable them to vote (Tepeciklioğlu, 2012: 78). However, this success, which was a result of the mutual trust-based relationship with Sub-Saharan African countries, especially during the 10-year period, was not repeated in the next vote in which Türkiye was a candidate and Türkiye was not able to become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for the 2015-2016 period. Türkiye, which was supported by 151 countries in the 2009-2010 period, was supported by only 60 countries for the 2015-2016 period (Şengül, 2015: 86).

The fact that Türkiye could not find the support it was looking for from African countries, especially in the 2015-2016 voting period, revealed the necessity for Türkiye to reconsider its relations with the continent in the last few years (Şengül, 2015: 85). In 2008, the Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit was held within the scope of 1998 Africa Initiative Action Plan, which stipulates that summits should be held in certain periods in order to carry out and evaluate bilateral relations. At the summit, which meant the official ratification of the last 10 years of cooperation between Türkiye and Africa, the “*Istanbul Declaration on Türkiye-Africa Cooperation: Cooperation and Solidarity for a Common Future*” and “*Cooperation Framework for Türkiye-Africa Partnership*” were unanimously adopted (Şengül, 2015: 103).

Within the framework of these agreements, intergovernmental cooperation, trade and investment, rural development, agriculture, SMEs, water resources management, energy, peace and security, transportation and telecommunications, culture and education, media and communication were identified as priority areas of cooperation (Cansaran, 2012: 89). 6 Presidents, 5 Vice-Presidents, 7 Prime Ministers, 1 Deputy Prime Minister, 14 Foreign Ministers, 12 Ministers, and representatives of 11 international and regional organizations including the African Union attended the summit, and the cooperation mechanism between Türkiye and Africa gained continuity (Şengül, 2015: 103).

However, the fact that only six presidents from Africa attended the summit and some of the other states did not participate at a high level led to comments that these countries were not sufficiently informed about Türkiye's goals for the region. At this point, it became necessary to explain and prove once again to the interlocutors that the basis of the relations between Türkiye and African countries is not colonialism but a mutual win-win understanding (Beden Erdoğan, 2013: 87). Finally, in order to follow up the decisions taken at the 1st Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit, it was decided to establish a monitoring mechanism in accordance with the provisions of the *Türkiye-Africa Partnership Cooperation Framework* and to organize a Senior Officials Meeting in the second year following the summit, a Ministerial Review Meeting in the third year and a Türkiye-Africa Cooperation Summit in an African country in the fifth year (Beden Erdoğan, 2013: 87-93).

In this context, the 1st *Türkiye-Africa Cooperation High Level Officials Meeting* was organized in 2010. On December 15, 2010, a joint press release was announced at the end of the meeting held in Istanbul and the *2010-2014 Türkiye-Africa Partnership Joint Implementation Plan*, which has been in progress since 2009, was adopted. In addition, within the scope of the *Türkiye-Africa Partnership Cooperation Framework* of the 1st Türkiye-Africa Summit, the 1st *Türkiye-Africa Partnership Ministerial Review Conference* was held in Istanbul on 15-16 December 2011 in order to evaluate the progress made in Türkiye-Africa relations and to shed light on the activities to be implemented in the future, and a final declaration of the Conference was published (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017).

In 2014, 6 years after the first summit in Istanbul in 2008, the 2nd Türkiye-Africa Partnership Summit was held with the theme of “*a new partnership model for strengthening*

sustainable development and integration". With the participation of 30 high-level representatives from 30 African countries, the summit was held in Malabo, the capital of Equatorial Guinea, between November 19-21, 2014 and decided to adopt a Joint Implementation Plan for the period 2015-2019 (Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017). The main headings within the framework of this plan, which includes a large number of measures and actions for mutual implementation, are as follows (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017):

Table 17: Recommendation for Follow-up (Sectors)

No	Sector Especially Recommended for Follow-up
1	Consultations on political issues and inter-parliamentary relations
2	Cooperation within international organizations and with regional economic communities and civil society
3	Corporate cooperation and trade and investment
4	Agriculture, agribusiness, rural development, water resources management and small and medium-sized enterprises
5	Health and environment
6	Peace and security, migration, dispute resolution and mediation
7	Infrastructure, energy, mining and transportation
8	Culture, tourism and education, youth and sports
9	Media, information and communication technologies, implementation and monitoring mechanism

4.1.1. The Concern of the Cooperation

After the deepened examination of the cooperation between Türkiye and Africa in general, and Türkiye with the four concerned countries in particular along the anterior parts of this work, it is evident that the concern or interest of this cooperation is more economic and trade than anything else. That is why, for Türkiye, the focus is mostly on economic diplomacy since the final aim is to make maximum benefits from the African potentialities (new market, resources and young population able and opened to work).

For the African countries, also economy and trade are added to the geopolitical issue. Türkiye is a strategic partner for Africa to make balance in the international organization – international system – but also to make maximum benefits from Turkish multinational in different fields to invest in the continent like infrastructure, agriculture, energy, defense industry and transfer of know-how. Türkiye is also a crucial partner in terms of job creation for the mostly young population of the African continent. The establishment of institutions like embassies, development and humanitarian assistance institutions and cultural and religious institutions certainly help the enhancement of the relations between the sides and consolidates the steps leading to reaching the final purposes for both Türkiye and the concerned countries.

In this lane, as highlighted by Richard Rosecrance, (*Trade State*, 2002: 158), “*today, the main actors in international politics - states-nation- that seemed to become more and more interested in economic and trade issues than ever.*” In this perspective, economic diplomacy as a mechanism of the state is effectively serves the national interest in the economic and trade or business spheres. Therefore, it is obvious that the relations of Türkiye and the African continent in general, and with the four countries in the case study in particular, are mostly connected to economic and trade purposes since both sides – Türkiye and these countries – are most interested on this aspect of cooperation and work hard to deepen their relations and get their mutual benefits.

For instance, in the multipolar era of international politics and post-modern era or environment, especially since the 1990s with the growing globalization, where traditional international politics and international cooperation are being fragmented and state-to-state diplomacy or classical diplomacy is becoming more and more complex with not only the diversification of the actors but also the growing interest of the state in economic and trade issues, states have been adopting their diplomacy to the new economic challenges, paying great attention to the strategies of economic relations.

Most clearly, Rosacrance argues that “*it is emerging a world where the most important resources are also the least tangible, where the reserves of good/materials, capital and labor count less than the economic flows, and where regional interests are supplanted by the global economy*” (2002: 159). In this context, Rosecrance illustrated the emergence of a new kind of state that give important to economic diplomacy. For example, today Türkiye has deepened

relations with Ivory Coast in the field of the economy (agreements) and trade (higher trade volume with 826.586 million USD in 2021) than with Senegal (540.377 million USD in 2021), Niger (88.665 million USD in 2021) or Guinea-Bissau (14.651 million USD in 2021); as indicated in the graphics 3, 4, 5 and 6 respectively. However, the perception of the people is that Türkiye has closer relations with Senegal and Niger.

Because Türkiye has traditional relations with Senegal and Niger than with Ivory Coast and Guinea-Bissau. For instance, Türkiye opened its embassy in Senegal in 1962 (this embassy has been accredited to Ivory Coast until 2006 when Türkiye opened its embassy in Ivory Coast). Turkish public institutions like TİKA, Turkish Maarif Foundation, Yunus Emre Institute, Anadolu Agency and Turkish Airlines all are present in Senegal and Niger. Only some of these institutions were, recently, opened in Ivory Coast (only the embassy, Turkish Maarif School and Turkish Airlines) and Guinea-Bissau (there exist only the Turkish Embassy and Turkish Maarif School yet).

Therefore, the assumption is that the presence of these institutions is to enhance the relations between the two sides and for the enhancement of the relations in all fields: political and diplomatic, economic and trade, cultural and educational. Nevertheless, in this case with this reality, the presence of these institutions became questionable if they are necessary or not, or maybe they have to be more active and get focus on the main aim of the actors – Türkiye and the countries in case study. It is also necessary to highlight the importance of the presence of Turkish private sectors (mostly in Senegal and Ivory Coast) and civil society organizations (mostly in Niger and Senegal) than Ivory Coast and Guinea-Bissau. Generally, Turkish public and private institutions acting in Senegal keep covering Guinea-Bissau as it was from Senegal to Ivory Coast until recent years.

4.1.2. Türkiye, an Alternative new Partner of Africa and ECOWAS States

Since the early 2000s, Türkiye has increasingly penetrated the African market and its trade flows have improved significantly (TUIK, 2018). As one of the emerging economies with remarkable economic development in recent years, Türkiye has readjusted the focus of its economic diplomacy and firmly focused on developing new markets in Africa. In this

sense, Afacan and Bacik (2013) argue that “*Türkiye's expansion in SSA countries can be explained by economic and political interests. After the recession in the Western world, it must rely primarily on an export-oriented strategy and conquer alternative markets for its exports, and secondly, with the aim of breaking some of its crises and precious reconciliations, such as the Cyprus crisis, in order to gain support in forums such as the United Nations*”. (Ozkan, 2010: 17) highlights that Türkiye needs to gain allies and converges views in some international debates for the transformation of its economy that requires exploring new and solid economic partnerships.

Traditionally, Türkiye's trade relations in Africa have been concentrated in North Africa. This is partly explained by their geographical proximity and the historical link achieved by the Turkish presence in North Africa dating back to the Ottoman Empire (Ozkan, 2010). Therefore, “*between 2008 and 2017, the share of North African countries in Turkish exports averaged 5.8%, compared to 2.6% for SSA countries*” (TÜİK, 2018). Regarding West African countries, especially the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Türkiye's trade with this economic area was very low before 2006. It was close to 1% in 2017 (TÜİK, 2018). While this proportion may seem negligible, it deserves attention because these countries are mostly low-income countries. The deepening of the trade relationship between the two countries is also a recent thing, and efforts are still needed to deepen or transform this relationship, which will bring hope for development among developing countries with a new pattern of global trade.

ECOWAS countries want to transform their economies and forge partnerships to help them achieve pro-poor structural change. It is then important to analyze and predict to what extent an ongoing partnership can be more profitable for both parties. The purpose of this study is to carry out an economic analysis of the strengthening and potential of trade relations between Türkiye and ECOWAS countries. It analyzes the current path of economic relations and explores the achievable trade and investment potential between the two parties. Specifically, we analyze the industry advantage paths between Türkiye and ECOWAS countries. Furthermore, we assess the extent to which the two sides exploit the trade potential between them and examine the similarities between their imports and exports. There are many global studies (Ozkan, 2010; Afacan and Bacik, 2013) that have analyzed Türkiye's relationship with

Africa in general, but almost all have focused on the political aspects of Türkiye's growing interest in Africa.

Shortly, in connection with the previous section, the African continent, considering both multidimensional and bilateral relations, sees Türkiye as a new partner and Türkiye has become an important partner as an alternative to the old partners. Türkiye looks at the African continent in the same way and Africa has become a very important and strategic partner for Türkiye in terms of the number of countries (54 countries), demographics (around 350 million) and representation in international organizations.

4.1.3. Senegal and Niger's Traditional and Deepened Relations with Türkiye

Senegal has been used as a center of slave trade by colonial states in the past history. Senegal formed a federation with Mali between April and June 1960 during the independence process. A separatist movement is also emerging in Senegal. Türkiye established diplomatic relations with Senegal and its resident embassy started its activities in 1962. The Senegal Disabled Unity Association, founded by visually impaired citizens in Dakar, requested TİKA to build a solid cooperation with Senegal. In this line, a school for 120 students was opened in cooperation with Senegal National Education. 5 specialist doctors and 39 health personnel from Senegal were trained in newborn resuscitation within the scope of the '*Golden Minute Project*' Senegal Radio and Television Corporation, the official broadcasting organ of Senegal, requested Türkiye to organize a training program for its personnel.

Senegalese President Macky Sall met with Erdoğan in Istanbul. Sall was in Türkiye for the commemoration of the Çanakkale Land Wars. Erdoğan held meetings with President Sall, Speaker of Parliament Moustapha Niass and Prime Minister Mbaye. The first high-level political contact was realized through an official visit. On this occasion, bilateral and regional issues were discussed and views were exchanged on the OIC Summit to be held in Dakar in March. After his term expired in 2014, Moustapha Mbacke was appointed in his place. He met with Senegalese Foreign Minister Mankeur Ndiaye.

The official text of the relations between the two countries dates back to April 7, 1969, when the *Agreement on Cultural Cooperation* was signed by the parties on April 20, 1969 to develop cooperation in the fields of science, literature, education, arts, culture and sports entered into force. During Niang's visit, they signed three agreements. Two agreements were signed within the framework of the talks. The renovation of the education center building in the city of Ziguinchor in the Casamance region in the south of the country was carried out by Türkiye. In the rural town of Tivaouane, Türkiye built a kindergarten with a capacity of 120 students and provided infrastructure. Türkiye renovated a health center in the town of Mbolo Birane.

President Abdullah Gül stated that the direct flights of Turkish Airlines to Dakar, which started in 2009, contributed to the relations between the two countries. President Wade traveled to Istanbul and gave a lecture at Yeditepe University. Memorandum of Understanding on Technical Cooperation between Turkish Standards Institute and Senegal Standards Organization. Unlike other countries in the region, there has been no military tutelage rule since independence. Türkiye has been more active in providing assistance, especially in regions with difficult access to education. Pikine Social Pediatric Institute's educational units such as education block, examination department, pharmacy, nutrition and rescue were built. The main import items are fish, seafood, various ores, optical instruments and devices. The most prominent items in this amount are iron, steel, electronic goods, and goods made of iron and steel. In addition to supporting renewable energy applications and increasing their capacities, the program discussed the areas of creating qualified human resources.

President Gül assumed the role of mediator in the crisis and held talks to restore relations. This central position continues today. During the talks, the ministers signed a *'Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation between Ministries'* Agreement on Avoidance of Double Taxation. Moreover, *'development of water resources, ponds, dams, flood protection, well drilling, drinking water supply'*, and *'establishment of an meteorological station'* were some instrument established during the official visit of the Prime Minister to Senegal on January 9, 2013, the first visit abroad of the year. President Sall welcomed Erdoğan with an official ceremony at Dakar Leopold Sedar Senghor Airport. During Erdoğan's visit, Kolin Construction signed an agreement worth 400 million Euros for the construction of roads. A training program was organized in Ankara for 5 pediatric doctors in the Institute's Nutrition

and Rescue Training Center. Turkish Ministry of National Education personnel provided 8-day training in sewing and embroidery for 14 people at the Senegal Fashion Institute of Cutting and Cutting.

Five staff members of the Senegalese Ministry of Vocational Education, Apprenticeship and Crafts were provided with information during their visits to places in Türkiye. The two countries set a target of 400 million US dollars in trade volume in the near term. The trade volume between the two countries amounted to 133.7 million US dollars in 2015. Türkiye's imports accounted for 5.5 million US dollars of this volume, while Türkiye's exports amounted to 128.2 million US dollars. In 2018, the trade volume reached 401.5 million US dollars. Sports equipment including uniforms, shoes, balls and nets were provided to 7 sports clubs in the Sicap-Liberté region. Upon this, a coop was built in the garden of the association and 1000 chicks, feed and materials used in poultry farming were provided. Exhibitions on Turkish Folk Dances, Turkish Handicrafts and Turkish Cuisine were organized at the fair. The fair was open to visitors from all over the world. It was held in Istanbul, Türkiye, from September 26 to October 1. It is the largest Turkish fair in the world, with more than 100.000 visitors.

In terms of, the Turkish Embassy in Dakar remained accredited to Niger until 2012. Niger's Embassy in Ankara was opened 9 months after the Niamey Embassy started its operations on January 3, 2012. The Türkiye-Niger Friendship Forest was inaugurated in August 2012 with the planting of 6000 saplings of rosary, acacia and eucalyptus trees. First contact was carried out by Prime Minister Erdoğan. Afterwards, they held bilateral and delegation talks with Niger's Prime Minister Mohamed Yusuf. Ousseini Tinni, Speaker of the National Assembly of Niger, visited Erdoğan during his visit in November 2017 and they held a meeting. Accompanying Issoufou, Minister of Mines and Industrial Development Omer Hamidou met with Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Taner Yıldız.

They exchanged views on cooperation in commercial, educational, social and military fields. This meeting was the beginning of economic forums to strengthen ties between the two countries. President Issoufou of Niger paid an official visit to Türkiye on 11-13 March 2014. It was the first visit from Niger to Türkiye at the Presidential level. President Abdullah Gül welcomed the visiting President with an official ceremony at the Çankaya Mansion. In 2015, 48 Turkish doctors, who went to the region with the cooperation of the Ministry of Health and

TİKA, performed urology, ophthalmology, general surgery, ear-nose-throat, orthopedics, pediatrics and dental treatment. An area of 2 hectares of this forest started to operate as an urban forest. A solar-powered water well, a 10-ton water tank and a football field were built in the area. Medersa Secondary School in Demana Village of Niamey received infrastructure support in the form of desks, chairs, boards, etc. Türkiye provided 170 tons of dry food, 450 cartons of biscuits and 2.500 blankets to refugees living in camps in the Diffa region of Niger due to Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria.

Türkiye provided various beekeeping materials to 120 beekeepers in Alambore, Tamu, Mali and Hausa villages. Niger's first ambassador was Adam Abdoulaye Dan Maradi. Upon the expiration of Maradi's term in 2017, Salou Gozibo was appointed and took office in June 2017. On January 24, 2018, Niger Prime Minister Brigi Rafini paid the first visit from Niger at the prime ministerial level. Erdoğan paid a visit to Niger in January 2013. Yıldırım organized an official welcoming ceremony for Rafini at the Çankaya Mansion. Rafini visited Türkiye in July 2018 to attend Erdoğan's swearing-in ceremony.

During the ceremony, Niger's Prime Minister Yusuf presented Erdoğan with a camel. Rafini assured that the necessary legal infrastructure for investment was ready. He added that, the equipment of 4 ambulances provided to Niger was renewed, and regular and adequate education for children should play an important role in the development of the country in the future. In 2015, a volume of 31 million dollars was realized. In 2018, the volume reached 58.5 million dollars. The remaining export items from the total volume were the same as in 2015. Because 49% of the population is between the ages of 0 and 14. Senegal and Niger are known to have stronger relations with Türkiye due to their history, cultural and political-diplomatic ties at a very good level. However, this is not reflected in economic and trade relations. According to the data obtained, Türkiye's relations with Ivory Coast are stronger. With Guinea-Bissau, on the other hand, it has started to show new developments.

4.1.4. Africa as a Crucial Actor for Türkiye in the International System

Five years after the implementation of the Africa Action Plan, Türkiye adopted the “Strategy for the Development of Trade and Economic Relations with Africa” to develop and maintain economic relations with the region in all areas.

This strategy has deepened with the opening of embassies, Trade Counsellors' Offices, Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency Offices, Turkish Airlines and other institutions and organizations on the continent. This strategic implementation includes the following points: Increasing the volume of foreign trade with Africa, facilitating entry and exit to and from Africa for Turkish SMEs (Small and Medium Enterprises), increasing Türkiye's share in the construction sector in Africa, increasing the share of Turkish investments in Africa and supporting the development of Africa (Özel, 2019: 44).

After the Africa Strategy Paper was published in the Official Gazette in 2010, the needs for this strategy were added and improved. In 2010, the volume of foreign trade with Africa was \$15.7 billion, while by 2021, the volume of foreign trade had increased to around \$26 billion (Milliyet, 24 July 2022). Egypt in the North Africa region and Nigeria in the Sub-Saharan Africa region are Türkiye's first-ranking trade partners (TASAM, 25 June 2022). With a foreign trade volume of \$2 billion, Nigeria has become Türkiye's largest trade partner in Sub-Saharan Africa (AA, 25 July 2022).

Türkiye's Third Business Forum with Africa was recently held in Istanbul on 21-22 October 2021 (TASAM, 25 June 2022). The ministerial meeting focused on “*Deepening Türkiye-Africa Partnership: Trade, Investment, Technology and Logistics*”, “*Türkiye-Africa: Cooperation in Agriculture and Agro-Industry*”, “*African Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) and New Market Opportunities*” and “*Post Covid-19, Sustainable Health Partnerships: Türkiye-Africa*” were discussed. The President of Türkiye emphasized the win-win approach in the relations with Africa and the Turkish Minister of Trade stated that they are deepening their mutual relations with Africa, that the contributions of Turkish business people have an important place in further strengthening the partnership between Türkiye and Africa and that Türkiye is ready and committed to the development of Africa.

With this business forum, both Turkish and African business people will come together and prepare the ground for partnerships in economic fields and Türkiye and Africa will have significant gains in economic and commercial fields. For example, Ambassador Albert Muchanga, Commissioner for Economic Development, Trade, Industry and Mining of the African Union Commission, pointed to the market space and rich underground resources of the African continent. He highlighted that relations in economic and commercial areas should be developed with Türkiye in a win-win approach and that Africa should be a continent with a population of 1.2 billion. Ambassador Muchanga stated that:

“The African Continental Free Trade Area, which has been formed with 26% of the working-age population since the second half of the 21st century, is on its way to becoming the largest free trade market in the world, that with this business forum, Türkiye-Africa relations will be reviewed, the partnership will be further strengthened and new opportunities will be obtained, and at this stage, Turkish business people should use the existing opportunities on the continent without delay.”

The President of the Turkish Foreign Economic Relations Board Nail Olpak, (DEİK, 2021), stated that Türkiye and Africa have established a network of sustainable relations for the future, and that the partnership strategy and development have come to the fore due to “*glocalization*”, that during the pandemic process, the *Türkiye-Africa Economic and Business Forum* was moved to the virtual platform and an online discussion environment was created to find a solution to the urgent needs of both countries and the challenges they face, and that trade, investment, innovation, employment and doing business together were discussed at the 3rd Business Forum (DEİK: Türkiye-Afrika Forum, 2021).

Looking at the comments on the business forum by President Erdoğan, senior economic executives and African representatives, it can be seen that Türkiye is always ready to help the development of the African continent with the idea of building a sustainable future for mutual gain. This is not only an aid to African development but Türkiye is also expected to contribute to its own development with the gains it will make. “*Türkiye's economic activities in Africa have increased as a result of the facilities provided by Turkish embassies in Africa and the easy access to Africa by Turkish Airlines*” (Özel, 2019: 36). In this sense, “*Türkiye's trade volume with Africa was 2.5 billion dollars in 1995, 7.7 billion dollars in 2004*” (Altan,

2005: 1); “18 billion dollars in 2017 (Özel, 2019: 36) and today this figure has increased to around 26 billion dollars, if trade on defense industry is included.” Looking at the data, it is seen that Türkiye's foreign trade volume with Africa has increased 10.4 times in the last 26 years. This last data is proof of how much importance Türkiye attaches to Africa and how much it has gained as a result of its activities in Africa.

The mutual opening plan between Türkiye and Africa was successfully completed and the strategic partnership phase was initiated after 2010 instead of the opening plan. The *African Union Summit in 2008*, the publication of the *African Strategic Document in 2010*, the Ministerial Review Conference in 2011, the *Second African Union Summit* in 2014 and the 4-year *Türkiye-Africa Partnership Implementation Plan* covering the years 2010-2014 have deepened mutual relations in the field of economy as in every field. One of the main objectives of the Partnership Implementation Plan is to contribute to the Africa 2063 Agenda and Africa's development after 2015. Accordingly, a 4-year *Türkiye-Africa Partnership Action Plan* for 2015-2019 was put into practice.

Under the main heading of Trade and Investment of this plan the following issues are addressed: Mutual visits at the ministerial level in economic and commercial fields, establishing a common database in the field of trade, supporting the African product strategy, creating friendly business environments, organizing fairs, organizing trade forums, mutual information sharing and joint projects, increasing foreign trade volume. The plan also may help to establish experience sharing training programs in the field of economy, Türkiye-Africa business councils, and develop finance, banking and industrial areas.

The issues addressed under the main heading of the agricultural sector of the partnership action plan are aimed at improving and developing the agricultural sector in parallel with the above-mentioned issues (Afrika Ortak Uygulama Planı, 2015). One of the most important cornerstones that accelerated Türkiye's economic activities in Africa was Turkish Airlines. After the Action Plan for Opening Up to Africa, Turkish Airlines has organized flights to 51 destinations in at least 32 countries (127 destinations in 52 countries by 2021) (Türk Hava Yolları Rezervasyon, 2021). “*These flights have facilitated and accelerated the activities of Turkish businesspeople both at the state level and in the private sector*” (Özel, 2019: 43).

The *Türkiye-Africa Business and Economic Forum* was held in Istanbul on November 2-3, 2016. This forum was attended by Africa's economic ministers, heads of economic organizations and business people, as well as Türkiye's Ministry of Trade, Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEİK) and Turkish Exporters Assembly (TIM). The forum was attended by the President of the African Union in charge (AU), 27 African ministers, 7 deputy ministers, 4 secretaries-general (Commissioners) of the 4 major economic organizations in Africa together with the African Union, 1257 business people from Africa, 729 from Türkiye and 159 members of the press. The First Türkiye-Africa Agriculture Ministers' Meeting and Agriculture Business Forum was held in Antalya on April 27-28, 2017. This forum was attended by the Prime Minister of Türkiye, the President of the African Union, the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock of Türkiye, the Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEİK), 45 Ministers from 49 countries, 14 Deputy Ministers, 21 Ambassadors, 19 representatives of international organizations and Türkiye-Africa business people, with a total of nearly 1500 participants.

A Ministerial Review Conference was held in Istanbul on February 11-12, 2018. With this conference, Türkiye-Africa relations in the field of economy, as in every field, were discussed and tried to be improved. The Second Türkiye-Africa Economic and Business Forum was held in Istanbul on October 10-11, 2018. The President of Ethiopia, the President of the African Union in charge (AU), representatives of the African Union (AU) in the field of economy, 26 ministers from Africa (43 African Countries) and 245 official delegation members (Counsellors and other relevant government officials), 850 African business people and 950 Turkish business people participated in this forum.

Türkiye continues to contribute to the African Union every year. In order not to interrupt relations with Africa during the pandemic period, the Türkiye-Africa Economic and Business Forum was held online on October 8-9, 2020 with the cooperation of the Turkish Ministry of Trade and DEİK. A total of 2500 business people from 46 African countries and 35 other countries, including the President of Türkiye, 22 ministers from Africa (from 26 African countries), 4 deputy ministers and African Regional Economic representatives participated in this forum (African Union official website, July 25, 2022).

As a result, Türkiye is developing its economic relations with the African continent day by day. The foreign trade volume of 26 billion dollars with Africa is proof of Türkiye's determination in its Africa strategy. Maintaining and developing relations with Africa, which aims to become a world power in the field of economy and markets in the second half of the 21st century, seems to be very important for Türkiye's future.

4.1.5. Achievements, Challenges and Asymmetry of the Cooperation

If the rise of Africa is a fact, so is the rise of Türkiye in Africa. Today, despite the presence of competitors, we see a very active and intense interaction between Türkiye and African countries in terms of trade, commerce and diplomacy. Today, Türkiye is more prominent in Africa, which has a unique place in Türkiye's multidimensional, proactive foreign policy over the past 15 years. Türkiye strives to use all channels of diplomacy, trade, investment, education, health, security and military cooperation, as well as tools of soft power such as cultural and historical use, to further expand its influence on the African continent (Ünveren, 2021:7-8).

As a result, Africa is now also more visible in Türkiye, where there is an influx of African businessmen, students, tourists and migrants. Today, the Somalis, Sudanese, Libyan, Egyptian, Tunisian, Algerian, Senegalese and Nigerian communities in Türkiye's major cities have become more visible. In addition, the number of African embassies in Ankara has increased from 10 in 2008 to 37 in 2021. This obviously requires us to look at current soil and African affairs from a multi-dimensional rather than a single perspective.

Türkiye's history on the African continent dates back to the 16th century when the Ottoman Empire first arrived in North Africa. Later, the territory of the Ottoman Empire extended to the coasts of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea towards the Sahel. For four centuries, the Ottoman Empire has been the dominant power in Africa, establishing five separate governments in Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Eritrea. However, in 1912, the Ottoman army withdrew from continental Europe, leaving the administration of the fortress to

the European colonial powers. Although quite rich, the historical legacy of the Ottoman Empire on the continent remains unexplored by scholars. Also, during the republican era, Türkiye's center of gravity shifted to the West.

Apart from this long Ottoman period, modern Türkiye's current engagement with Africa officially began in 2005, when Türkiye declared 2005 the 'Year of Africa' and adopted a new concrete policy of 'opening to Africa'. Since then, we have witnessed Türkiye's diplomatic efforts on the African continent, as relations with Africa are one of the most important foreign policy goals, according to the Turkish Foreign Ministry, and the opening of new diplomatic missions has improved Türkiye's relationship with the African continent. Today, Türkiye has 44 active embassies across the continent, up from 12, 20 years ago. In fact, Türkiye is the fourth most representative country in Africa after the United States, China and France.

In addition, Türkiye was granted observer status by the African Union (AU) in 2005, followed by the first Türkiye-Africa Summit held in Istanbul in 2008 as a strategic partner. The Istanbul summit focused on a "*common future*", "*cooperation*" and "*solidarity*" among the parties involved. In addition, "*Türkiye and African partners have agreed to implement a specific programme of action on the basis of equality, mutual respect and mutual benefit*" (Second Türkiye-Africa Partnership Summit Final Declaration, 2008: 1). The second summit meeting between Türkiye and African countries was held in Malabo, the capital of Equatorial Guinea in 2014. According to the follow-up mechanism of the Istanbul Declaration, the ministerial review meeting of the summit meeting should be held every three years. In Malabo, participants accepted the *Joint Implementation Plan for the period 2015-2019*.

Still, Türkiye's Africa policy is not limited to holding regular summits. Official visits to African countries have also played an important role in developing Türkiye's cooperation with Africa. In this regard, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has visited 30 different African countries several times over the past 15 years, including war-torn Somalia. This is generally considered a record for non-African leaders (Akça, 2019). After a two-year hiatus due to the coronavirus pandemic, he restarted his African tour in October 2021 from Angola, Togo and Nigeria. Economic cooperation and trade relations are one of Türkiye's priorities on the African continent. To promote trade relations between Türkiye and African countries, Türkiye regularly organizes Türkiye-Africa Economic and Business Forums in collaboration

with the African Union to regulate and develop trade relations between Türkiye and the African continent. The inaugural forum was held in Istanbul in 2016 and was attended by trade and economic ministers from 42 African countries, and more than 2.000 business people. The second forum was held in 2018 in Istanbul with the theme “*Investing Together for a Sustainable Future.*”

In the same year, at a more regional level, Türkiye established the Türkiye-ECOWAS Business and Economic Forum to deepen Türkiye's economic and trade ties with West African countries (Şahin, 2018). The last *Turkish Economic and Business Forum* was held in Istanbul in October 2021. The Turkish Foreign Economic Relations Council (DEİK) has 45 business councils in African countries to promote bilateral trade and mutual investment. Türkiye's total trade with Africa increased from \$3 billion in 2003 to over \$23 billion in 2021. Turkish foreign direct investment in Africa is approaching \$10 billion. Turkish private companies are also eyeing investment and business opportunities in African countries. For example, Turkish Airlines (THY) now flies to 61 different destinations in 40 countries on the African continent.

Türkiye's energy cooperation with Africa is also showing signs of increasing. Türkiye imports oil and Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) from African markets. North African country Algeria has become Türkiye's fourth largest natural gas exporter, however bilateral trade between Nigeria and Türkiye accounts for 90% of Türkiye's LNG imports from Nigeria (Kalehsar, 2020). In this line, in 2017, oil and mineral-rich Chad announced an invitation to Turkish companies to explore oil in the country. Likewise, Somalia has invited Türkiye to explore oil in its waters. In addition, Türkiye signed a naval agreement with the UN-recognized Libyan Government of National Accord that provides for the establishment of an exclusive economic zone and exploration from the northeastern coast of Libya to the southeastern coast of Türkiye.

Türkiye sees agriculture as a strategic sector that could also improve relations with African countries. In this regard, in 2017, Türkiye held the first Turkish-African Agriculture Ministers Meeting and Agricultural Economic Forum in Antalya, and signed agreements with six African countries in the fields of agriculture, fishery and animal husbandry. In addition to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the African Union

Commission, responsible for New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), 40 ministers of agriculture from 54 African countries attended. *"The parties discussed food security, nutrition, financing and credit opportunities, agro-industry and development issues to strengthen soil-Africa cooperation"* (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations-FAO, 2021).

It is common that the TİKA to implement projects in Africa Offices to provide local farmers with farm implements, seeds, fertilizers and pesticides to improve their agricultural capacity. *"Development and humanitarian assistances are also a very important pillar of Türkiye's presence on the African continent, as there is a huge development gap between Africa and the rest of the world."* (NEPAD, 2022). For example, access to clean water and electricity remains a major problem for millions of Africans. In this regard, Türkiye pays particular attention to development projects on the African continent. TİKA has Programme Coordination Offices in 22 African countries, and Turkish civil society non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are very active as development and humanitarian aid organizations in Africa. These institutions fund general schools, vocational schools, Islamic schools, hospitals and clinics of all sizes.

In fact, throughout the republican era, Türkiye has only performed well in Africa under the AK Party, which came to power in 2002. However, Türkiye's approach to Africa is by no means completely successful and without obstacles. Türkiye's African policy is facing major challenges from domestic and international issues. First, Türkiye's internal political and economic stability plays a vital role in Türkiye's continued engagement in Africa, as development and humanitarian assistance remain Türkiye's stronghold on the continent. In addition, major powers such as France, Russia, China and the United Arab Emirates are questioning Türkiye's strong presence in Africa out of strategic considerations.

Despite the challenges, the main indicator of Türkiye's African policy is the interaction that has developed with each other over the past decade. Although Türkiye's presence in Africa is becoming more and more evident, the African presence in Türkiye is also a cause for concern. For example, today 39 African countries have embassies in Ankara, and thousands of African students study in Türkiye. For work, education, trade and investment or tourism, many Africans now prefer Türkiye as a destination. *"Communities of Somalis, Sudanese,*

Egyptians, Tunisians, Senegalese and even Nigerians are growing in Türkiye. But it is true that Niger, Ivory Coast and Guinea-Bissau's citizens globally see Türkiye as a destination for study, not migration" (Embassy of Guinea-Bissau in Ankara, interview, April 02, 2022). In this sense, not only Türkiye is rising in Africa, but Africa is also rising in Türkiye.

CONCLUSION, EVALUATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This part of the study presents a summary, discusses conclusions, and makes evaluations and recommendations. It also describes the challenges and the evolution of the cooperation and identifies the opportunities for further research in this field. The study aimed at remedying some of the existing weaknesses in the current literature on Türkiye-Africa studies, on Türkiye itself, and the four concerned countries in particular.

1. CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

The study was ambitious and vast because it is research consisting of theoretical and empirical research that covers countries and analysis concepts and cooperation at different fields and levels. Political and diplomatic, economic and commercial, cultural and educational aspects of the cooperation were the main focus of the analysis. However, the analysis concluded that, for both Türkiye and the four concerned countries, the main interest of the interaction – cooperation – is economic diplomacy and support in terms of international issues. For instance, in *Türkiye's Action Plan for Opening up to Africa of 1998*, many activities were carried out in line with the objectives set out in this action plan which has been serving as a starting point, and even a guideline for Türkiye-Africa relations. In this context, a strategy entitled *Strengthening Economic and Trade Relations* with Africa was developed and put into practice in 2003 by Turkish authorities. In short, the headlines of this strategy, which was prepared mostly to strengthen cooperation at the economic and commercial level, have been followed by Turkish and African countries' authorities considering the decisions and recommendations made by the Head of State and Government during the Türkiye-Africa summits, and bilateral meetings.

Therefore, it is necessary to highlight that in theoretical aspects, the main object of this dissertation is related to the examination of public diplomacy's instruments used by the states to implement their agenda in their cooperation with other states. As indicated in table 1 (p.30)

and throughout the dissertation, Türkiye has been using some elements of public diplomacy in its cooperation with Africa in general, and especially with the four West African countries in the case study. However, the excessive use of public diplomacy can result in discomfort on the part of the cooperation partner, who in turn becomes distrustful and careful, and even withdraws from certain issues in their relationship with the partner.

For example, the excessive promotion of the image, identity and values of the country abroad by applying very strategic communication, and using cultural and linguistic means, may disturb the partner. Because the partner itself may understand these strategies of cooperation as an imposition of foreign values (culture, language, and history). Therefore, it is clear that Türkiye has been using these elements or factors that constitute its public diplomacy, like his history inherited from the Ottoman Empire, his very strategic geographic position as a Euroasian country, and his demographic weight. In addition, during the last decades, Türkiye has adopted strategic communication and developed notable actions in the areas of culture and education by proving scholarships and establishing exchange programs in favour of many countries around the world including African countries as illustrated in this work.

That is why a vast and comparative analysis was favored to understand the interest and levels of the relations, and strategies or mechanisms of the cooperation of Türkiye and Sub-Saharan Africa in general, West Africa, and the four concerned countries in special. This examination was necessary because of a lack of rigorous, genuine, and thorough case studies on this subject or field. Globally, the existing literature focus on the historical background of Africa – the Ottoman Empire’s relations with old African Empires – or on one region in general (mostly Eastern Africa), or one sector or program (education or scholarships, commerce and visits of the authorities of both sides). The study was mostly built from the examination of a framework developed by existing literature (secondary data) around public diplomacy, economic diplomacy, and cultural diplomacy as the main concepts of the dissertation. However, the gathering of primary data departed it by enriching the literature.

The extent of data used in this study is globally from the last two decades, and most of it is from 2015 to 2022, as indicated in the section concerning the literature review of this dissertation. The study has then generated new data and framework and opened new ways for further research to strengthen the literature in the field of international cooperation in general

and Türkiye-Africa and West Africa in particular. Moreover, unlike previous studies which globally focus on a limited historical background including the Ottoman Empire era or descriptive and generalized works on North Africa, East Africa, Somalia, etc. The work offers an analysis of theoretical and empirical framework, a specific case study – Western African countries, the four countries in particular – and provides recent data for academic, public and private use and further research.

With deep analysis of the strategies, mechanisms and instruments used by the actors carrying out this cooperation, the study concluded that there are remarkable asymmetries on the level of the relations between Türkiye and each of the four concerned countries: Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger and Guinea-Bissau. From this analysis, the level of interest, the limitations and the challenges of the Türkiye-Africa cooperation policy became evident, and invite the research to provide evaluation and recommendations. For these reasons, the dissertation offers recommendations that mostly come from the point of view of the researcher with a basis on the examinations of the data and the conclusions got from the answers of the respondents. The main recommendations are related to the improvement of the mechanisms of follow-up to the decisions taken by the parties for the consolidation and enhancement of their relations of cooperation and friendships. That is also valid for the implementation of the strategies defined by the Head of State and Government during the Türkiye-Africa summits, economic and business forums, joint economic commissions and bilateral meetings. In this sense, the principal recommendations are under the following sub-titles:

2. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR BOTH SIDES

Within the framework of *Türkiye's Action Plan for Opening up to Africa of 1998*, which is considered the basis of Türkiye-Africa relations, it is recommended to the parties to remember and take into consideration that this plan includes details on a very wide range of issues from the economy to trade, education to culture, politics and diplomacy to defense and security fields. That the main purpose of the establishment of this action plan is to build a very solid and coherent framework or basis for not only the establishment of Türkiye-Africa relations but also to achieve two-ways or mutual benefits for Türkiye, for Africa as a continent and for the African countries in bilateral terms.

It is clear that on one hand, as is the case for countries known as “*traditional partners*” of Africa, Türkiye also pursued her need for new markets and raw materials (economy and trade issues). Türkiye also searches for an “*Allied Continent*” in the international system or international organizations where common and crucial decisions are taken by “*vote*”, where countries are deemed to have “*reasons*” or got “*wrong*” by the vote of the majority of countries. In these contexts, the “*quantity*” aspect of representation is determinant and the alliance with the African Continent accounts much for representing some 54 countries recognized by the United Nations. On the other hand, in geopolitical or geostrategic terms, both quantitative and qualitative aspects of representation account. That is why Türkiye also became a strategic partner for the African Continent face to other actors of the international order, and for international issues where the balance of power is often necessary. The African Continent also emphasizes its needs for technology transfer, Turkish investments and investors and transfer of know-how on industrialization and production. For these reasons, the study highlights some recommendations under the following sub-titles:

i) Politic and Diplomacy: Follow-up and Periodical Evaluation

- Consideration of the recommendation and decisions taken by the Türkiye-Africa summits,
- Shortening of the period of Türkiye-Africa summits from 5 years to 2 or 3 years of break,
- Increment of high-level, official, bilateral visits during which agreements of cooperation are often signed in different sectors of mutual interest,
- Development of bilateral contacts or bilateral relations with respective follow-up of the engagements taken by the authorities in different fields,
- Coordination and effective use of the communication channels for the implementation of the taken engagements and signed agreements,
- Expanding contacts with African countries within organizations such as the United Nations (UN), African Union (AU), African Regional Organizations, and the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation,

- Increment of development assistance and humanitarian aid by transferring knowledge and implementing systems for sustainable development.

Apart from political and diplomatic fields, the cooperation of Türkiye with the African countries also needs periodical follow-up in other crucial sectors. If the political and diplomatic aspects are a '*strategy*', economic and trade fields are globally a '*purpose*' of the cooperation. In this line, the recommendation in these fields are as follows:

ii) Economy and Trade: Follow-up and Periodical Evaluation

In this line, political and diplomatic engagements must serve as means and instruments of the establishment of mechanisms, measures and action for the enhancement of economic and trade, educational and cultural relations which have a very important place in the Action Plan idealized by Türkiye and the African Countries in multilateral and bilateral terms. For these reasons, it is recommended for the development of these up mentioned fields, as follows:

- Increase the share of African countries in Türkiye's total trade,
- Facilitate the entry of SMEs into continental countries,
- Increasing Türkiye's power against its external competitors in Africa by enabling joint or direct investments in African countries,
- Transfer of technology,
- Increasing the share of engineering, construction and consultancy firms in the African market,
- Establishment and follow up of the agreements on mutual protection and encouragement of investment and avoidance of double taxation,
- Follow-up of Join Economic Commissions (JEC) and Economic-Trade Commissions, Economic and Business Council already established with the majority of African countries including Senegal, Ivory Coast and Niger,
- Establishment of the Joint Economic Commission (JEC), Economic-Trade Commission, Economic and Business Council between Türkiye and Guinea-Bissau, and its effective follow-up,

- Türkiye to become a member of the African Import-Export Bank (Afreximbank),
- Türkiye to explore Turkeximbank for financial support and investments in the African market,
- Turkish banks to open banks or establish partnerships in some African countries,
- Realization of mutual business people visits,
- Encouraging large, medium and small enterprises (SMEs) in Türkiye to invest in African countries including Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger and Guinea-Bissau,
- Turkish multinational presents in Senegal to open branches in Guinea-Bissau, Niger and Ivory Coast,
- Development of air and sea transportation,
- Turkish Airlines to open direct flights to Guinea-Bissau, as it did for Senegal, Niger and Ivory Coast,
- Participation in international and industrial fairs organized in African countries,
- Encouraging Turkish contractors or investors to do business in Sub-Saharan African countries,
- Signing technical and scientific cooperation agreements with African countries.

However, apart from the fields of economic and trade, education and culture are also remarkable aspects of this cooperation. For instance, in the fields of politic and diplomacy, the sectors of education and culture are used as a means for the development of Türkiye-Africa cooperation. In this sense, the recommendation in these fields are given under the following sub-title:

iii) Education and Culture: Establishment of Agreements and Effective Follow-up

Türkiye-Africa Opening Policy has also set numerous targets in the sector of education and culture, which are of great importance – instruments – in terms of establishing ties with both political figures and the public in the concerned four countries in particular, and in the African Continent in general. In soft ways, education and culture serve as mechanisms for the

establishment and enhancement of the relations between the two sides. Therefore, the signature of agreements and protocols in the fields of culture and education serves to carry out cultural exchange programs and to provide scholarships to African students. These mechanisms also help to carry out activities for the promotion of both Türkiye and the countries in the case study, to increase the attractiveness of mutual knowledge and promotion of good economic and commercial environment. For example;

- Follow-up on the agreements signed in the fields of education and culture,
- Cooperation and contact between universities and research centers,
- Creation of exchange programs and platforms between Turkish universities and the four concerned countries (Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger and Guinea-Bissau),
- Institutions and organizations such as the Foreign Policy Institute and the Strategic Research Centers; and similarly to Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger and Guinea-Bissau, to invite each other academicians to joint conferences and seminars in Türkiye and the respective countries,
- Attention to objective information on activities (high levels visits, TV programs, academicians conferences, etc) to introduce Africa to the Turkish public and Türkiye to the African public (without exclusive generalization of the negative image of African countries or Türkiye),
- Creation of mechanisms for an effective and efficient follow-up of the scholarships and students so that the purpose of providing scholarships became effective for the sending countries and the receiving country.

Shortly, the nature of Türkiye-Africa relations is multi-dimensional and multi-sectoral. So, there are many issues to address in the fields such as political-diplomacy and education-culture which are considered as ‘*strategies*’ for the enhancement of cooperation. However, economic and commercial sectors remain an ‘*aim*’ of the cooperation, and it is necessary to implement the mechanisms of follow-up in all those fields.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Although this is a unique study among few works addressing the issue of Türkiye and the four concerned West African countries with a theoretical framework, international cooperation in the perspective of Türkiye-Africa is gaining a wide and complex place in the literature with evidence from different stakeholders or scholars. It is obvious that this study will open a new perspective and push for questions towards further research on this field and similar ones. Therefore, future research should focus on more specific issues like investment and priority sectors, as well as on the impacts and challenges of the cooperation. In short, further research should assess the aspect of the Türkiye-Africa cooperation policy and the micro level of these relations in order to measure the impacts of so-called win-win cooperation, mutual interest, or mutual benefits of the actors in inter-action or co-operation.

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ANNEXES

Annexe 1. List of the Institutions Interviewed (Turkish Institutions)



HACETTEPE UNIVERSITESITY
Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Political Science Ph.D Programme

1. Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Directorate General of Political Affairs for Africa
2. Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) - Department of Middle East and Africa
3. Ministry of Economy of Türkiye - Department of Africa (West Africa Section)
4. Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEİK) - Department of West Africa
5. General Directorate of Turkish Government Scholarships (YTB)
6. Turkish Maarif Foundation (TMV)
7. Yunus Emre Institute (YEE)
8. Turk Kızılay (Turkish Red Crescent)

Annexe 2. List of the Institutions Interviewed (Institutions of African Countries)

1. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation and Communities of Guinea-Bissau – Secretary of State for International Cooperation (Directorates of Bilateral and Multilateral Cooperation)
2. Embassy of Senegal in Ankara
3. Embassy of Ivory Coast in Ankara
4. Embassy of Guinea-Bissau in Ankara

Annexe 3. Interview Questions (Turkish Version)

Tez Başlığı: Kamu Diplomasisi Perspektifinden Türkiye-Batı Afrika İlişkileri: Senegal, Fildişi Sahili, Nijer ve Gine-Bissau Örnekleri

Türk Diplomatlara, Bürokratlara ve Özel Sektör Kurumlarına Sorulan Sorular

1. Ülkeniz-Tabiiyetiniz?
2. Cinsiyetiniz?
3. Yaşınız?
4. Eğitim durumunuz (en son aldığı diploma göz önüne alınacaktır)?
5. Mesleğiniz (Şu an yaptığınız iş)?
6. Kaç yıldır bu kurumda çalışıyorsunuz?
7. Bir diplomat – bürokrat – iş insanı olarak Türkiye'nin Afrika ülkelerine açılımını nasıl buluyorsunuz? Değerlendirir misiniz?
8. Sizce Türkiye'nin Afrika'ya yönelik Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ekonomi Diplomasisi nelerden oluşmaktadır? Sizce hangi alanlara neden öncelik veriliyor? Amaç - hedef nedir?
9. Göreviniz gereği en çok hangi Afrika ülke ve kurumlarıyla ilişki içindesiniz ve bu işbirliğini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
10. Türkiye ile Afrika ülkelerinin - özelde de Nijer, Senegal, Fildişi Sahili, Gine Bissau'nun işbirliği konusunda, öncelikleri birbiriyle örtüşüyor mu? Yoksa farklılıklar var mıdır? Varsa hangi alanlarda farklılıklar vardır?
11. Türkiye'nin bu ülkelerle ilişki ve işbirlikleri hangi alanlarda ve düzeydedir? Değerlendirir misiniz?
12. Türkiye ile Afrika ülkelerinin bu günkü ilişkilerini yeterli bir düzeyde görüyor musunuz? Evet - hayır ise neden?
13. Sizce Afrikalıların, özelde de bu ülkelerin Türkiye'ye bakışı, yaklaşımı nasıldır? Değerlendirir misiniz?
14. Sizce Türkiye ile Afrika ülkeleri arasındaki ilişki ve işbirliği durumuna Batılı ülkelerin yaklaşımı nasıldır? İlgilenmiyorlar mı, rahatsız mı oluyorlar? Bir engelleme söz konusu mudur?
15. Sizce Türkiye ile Afrika-özelde bu ülkelerle işbirliğinin daha da geliştirilmesi için neler yapılmalıdır?
16. Benim sormadığım ancak sizin önemli gördüğünüz ve bana anlatmak istediğiniz bir konu var mıdır?

Araştırmama katkıda bulunduğunuz için size çok çok teşekkür ediyorum.

Annexe 4. Interview Questions (English Version)

Title of the Thesis: Türkiye and West Africa Relations in the Perspective of Public Diplomacy: The Cases of Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger and Guinea-Bissau

Questions to Turkish Diplomats, Bureaucrats and Private Sector Institutions

1. Your country-your nationality?
2. Your gender?
3. Your age?
4. Your academic level/training?
5. Your profession (current occupation)?
6. How many years have you worked in this institution?
7. How many years have you lived in Türkiye (Do you know Türkiye)?
8. As a diplomat/bureaucrat how do you rate Türkiye in general?
9. Within the framework of your work, with which Turkish institutions do you work (cooperate/collaborate) more?
10. Within the framework of cooperation between your country and Türkiye, what are the priority sectors and do these sectors coincide; (If not, what are the differences)?
11. What is the level of cooperation between your country and Türkiye, and how do you rate this level? (Low, good, excellent, others...).
12. Can you assess Türkiye's openness to Africa and comment on Türkiye's cooperation policy?
13. For you, what are the elements that constitute Türkiye's Public Diplomacy for Africa and what are the priority sectors of this cooperation and why? (What is the main objective)?
14. Do you find the level of cooperation between Türkiye and Africa in general satisfactory? If yes, why; if not why?
15. What are the priority areas of cooperation between your country and Türkiye (and do you find the level of cooperation satisfactory)?
16. For you, what is the perception of Africans (in particular, African bureaucrats and those of your country) on Türkiye? Do you have any comments?
17. For you, what is the perception that Westerners (West) have on cooperation between Türkiye and Africa in general, and that of your country in particular? (They do not take it into account, they are disturbed or they have a blocking intention)?
18. According to you, what should be done for the development of cooperation relations between Africa and Türkiye in general, and your country in particular?
19. Is there anything I didn't ask that you would like to add?

Thank you so much for your contribution!

Annexe 5. Interview Questions (French Version)

Titre de la Thèse : Relations entre Türkiye et l’Afrique de l’ouest dans la perspective de la diplomatie publique : Les cas du Sénégal, Côte d’Ivoire, Niger et Guinée-Bissau

Questions pour Diplomates et Bureaucrates Africains:

1. Votre pays-votre nationalité?
2. Votre sexe?
3. Votre âge?
4. Votre niveau académique/formation?
5. Votre profession (occupation actuelle)?
6. Depuis combien d'années travaillez-vous dans cette institution?
7. Depuis combien d'années vous vivez en Türkiye (connaissez-vous la Türkiye)?
8. En tant que diplomate/bureaucrate comment vous présentez la Türkiye d'une manière générale?
9. Dans le cadre de votre travail, avec quelles institutions turques vous travaillez (coopérez/collaborez) de plus?
10. Dans le cadre de la coopération entre votre pays et la Türkiye, quels sont les secteurs prioritaires et est-ce-que ces secteurs coïncidents; (si non, quelles sont les différences)?
11. Quel est le niveau de coopération entre votre pays et la Türkiye, et commentez-vous ce niveau? (bas, bon, excellent, autres...).
12. Attendez-vous à évaluer l'ouverture de la Türkiye vers l'Afrique et commenter la politique turque de coopération?
13. Pour vous, quels sont les éléments qui constituent la Diplomatie Publique de la Türkiye pour l'Afrique et quels sont les secteurs prioritaires de cette coopération et pourquoi? (quel est l'objectif principal)?
14. Trouvez-vous satisfaisant le niveau de coopération entre la Türkiye et l'Afrique, en général? Si oui, pourquoi; si non, pourquoi?
15. Quels sont les secteurs prioritaires de coopération entre votre pays et la Türkiye (et trouvez-vous satisfaisant le niveau de coopération)?
16. Pour vous, quelle est la perception des africains (en particulier, des bureaucrates africains et ceux de votre pays) sur la Türkiye? Avez-vous des commentaires?
17. Pour vous, quelle est la perception que les terminé (Occident) ont sur la coopération entre la Türkiye et l'Afrique en général, et celle de votre pays en particulier? (ils n'en tiennent pas en compte, ils sont dérangés ou ils ont une intention de blocage)?
18. Selon vous, qu'est-ce que doit être fait pour le développement des relations de coopération entre l'Afrique et la Türkiye en général, et votre pays en particulier?
19. Voudriez-vous ajouter quelque chose?

Merci beaucoup pour votre contribution!

Annexe 6. Interview Questions (Portuguese Version)

Título de Tese: Relações entre Türkiye e África Ocidental na perspectiva da diplomacia pública: Casos de Senegal, Costa do Marfim, Níger e Guiné-Bissau

Perguntas aos Diplomatas e Burocratas Africanos:

1. Seu país-sua nacionalidade?
2. Género?
3. Idade?
4. Nível académico/formação?
5. Profissão (ocupação)?
6. Há quantos anos trabalha nesta instituição?
7. Há quantos anos está a residir na Türkiye (conhece a Türkiye)?
8. Enquanto diplomata/burocrata, como acha a Türkiye ou melhor como avalia a Türkiye de forma geral?
9. Com que instituições turcas mais trabalha (coopera/colabora) e como avalia a vossa interação?
10. Quais são os sectores prioritários da cooperação entre o vosso país e a Türkiye e será que as vossas prioridades coincidem; (se for não, qual é a diferença)?
11. Qual é o nível de cooperação entre a Türkiye e o vosso país e como avalia este nível de relação?
12. Pode avaliar a abertura da Türkiye para a África e a sua política de cooperação?
13. Para si, como e quais são os elementos que constituem a Diplomacia Pública da Türkiye para a África e quais são os sectores prioritários desta cooperação e porquê? Quer dizer, qual é o objectivo principal?
14. Acha satisfatório o nível de cooperação entre a Türkiye e a África em geral? Sim, porquê - se for não, porquê?
15. Quais são os sectores prioritários em termos de cooperação entre o vosso país e a Türkiye (acha o nível satisfatório)?
16. Para si, qual é a percepção dos africanos (em particular dos burocratas africanos e do vosso país) sobre a Türkiye? Tem algumas considerações?
17. Para si, qual é a percepção que os ocidentais (Ocidente) têm sobre a cooperação entre a Türkiye e o vosso país (não se importa, incomodado ou há desejo de bloqueio)?
18. Para si, o que se deve fazer para o relançamento das relações de cooperação entre a África e a Türkiye em geral, e entre o vosso país e a Türkiye em particular?
19. Gostaria de acrescentar algo que não perguntei?

Muito obrigado pela contribuição!

APPENDIX 1. ETHICS COMMISSION FORM

Tarih: 03/01/2022
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3.01.2022

SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE

İlgi: 22.12.2021 tarihli ve E-12908312-300-00001930999 sayılı yazınız.

Enstitünüz Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi (Siyaset Bilimi) Anabilim Dalı Doktora Programı öğrencilerinden **Abdu DJAMANCA**'nın **Prof. Dr. Ali ÇAĞLAR** danışmanlığında hazırladığı **“Türkiye ve Batı Afrika İlişkileri: Senegal, Fildişi Sahilli, Nijer ve Gine-Bissau Örnekleri”** başlıklı tez çalışması Üniversitemiz Senatosu Etik Komisyonunun **28 Aralık 2021** tarihinde yapmış olduğu toplantıda incelenmiş olup, etik açıdan uygun bulunmuştur.

Bilgilerinizi ve gereğini rica ederim.

Prof. Dr. Vural GÖKMEN
Rektör Yardımcısı

Bu belge güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.

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