

T.C. KOCAELİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
HALKLA İLİŞKİLER VE TANITIM ANABİLİM DALI
HALKLA İLİŞKİLER BİLİM DALI

INDONESIAN TURKISH SCHOLARSHIP (YTB) ALUMNAE'S
ROLE IN GOVERNMENT SECTOR AS TURKISH
GOVERNMENT PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TOOL TOWARDS
INDONESIA

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

RAESITA RAKHMAWATI ROSADI

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ÖZ

Kamu diplomasisi uygulamaları, uluslar arasındaki ilişkilerin sürdürülmesinde önemli bir rol oynar. Kamu diplomasisi, uluslararası kamuoyunu kendi lehine yönlendirmeyi ve ülkeleri hakkında olumlu bir algı oluşturmayı amaçlayan faaliyetler olarak kabul edilmektedir. Kamu diplomasisi, uluslararası ilişkilerde baskı veya tehdit yerine hedef kitleyi ikna etmeye çalışan yumuşak gücü temsil eder. Küresel olarak artan iletişim, kamu diplomasisini devletlerin dış politikalarını ve bu politikalara yönelik uluslararası kamuoyunu açıklamada önemli bir araç haline getirmiştir.

Kamu diplomasisi, hedefine ulaşmak için çeşitli araçlar kullanır. Bunlardan biri baştan çıkarma ve ikna etme, en önemli yönü ise kültür. Kültürün kullanımı, toplumlar ve kalıcı bağlar yaratan ülkeler arasında yakın ilişkiler yaratır. Türkiye bu gücü fark etti ve çeşitli kurumlar aracılığıyla kamu diplomasisini hayata geçirdi. Bu kurumlardan biri de Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığıdır (YTB). Bu ajans, Türkler ve yurt dışında yaşayan tüm ilgili topluluklar için kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerini yürütmektedir. Özellikle bu çalışmanın konusu, YTB tarafından uluslararası öğrencilerin eğitime finansman sağlamak amacıyla uygulanan Türkiye Burs Programıdır. Türkiye Bursu, uluslararası öğrencilere burs desteği sağlamayı ve Türkiye ile ülkeleri ve kültürleri arasında iyi ilişkiler kurmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bu çalışma, uluslararası ilişkilerde kamu diplomasisi ile Türkiye Burs Programının Türk kamu diplomasisi uygulamalarındaki rolü arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektedir. Çalışma ayrıca, Türkiye Bursları (YTB) Alumnae'nin Endonezya Devlet Sektöründe Türkiye'nin Endonezya'ya Yönelik Kamu Diplomasisi Olarak Rolünü değerlendiriyor. Bu amaçla araştırma, kamu diplomasisi teorisinin üç boyutunu kullanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kamu diplomasisi, Halkla İlişkiler, Burslar, Devlet, Endonezya

ABSTRACT

Public diplomacy practices play an important role in maintaining relationships between nations. Public diplomacy is considered activities that aim to direct the international public opinion in their favor and build a positive perception about their countries. Public diplomacy represents soft power in international relations that seeks to persuade the target audience rather than giving pressure or threat. The increasing communication globally has made public diplomacy a vital tool to explain the states' foreign policies and international public opinion towards these policies.

Public diplomacy uses several tools to accomplish its target. One of them is using temptation and persuasion, and the most crucial aspect is culture. The use of culture creates close relations between societies and countries that create lasting ties. Turkey realized this power and implemented public diplomacy through several institutions. One of these institutions is the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB). This agency carries out public diplomacy activities for Turks and all related communities living abroad. Specifically, this study's subject is Turkey's Scholarship Program that is implemented for funding the education of international students by YTB. Turkey Scholarship aims to provide scholarship support for international students and build good relations between Turkey and their countries and cultures.

This study examines the relationship between public diplomacy in international relations and Turkey Scholarship Program's role in Turkish public diplomacy practices. The study further evaluates the Turkish Scholarship (YTB) alumnae's role in Indonesia's government sector as Turkish government public diplomacy tool towards Indonesia. For this purpose, the research utilizes the three dimensions of public diplomacy theory.

Keywords: Public diplomacy, Public Relations, Scholarships, Government, Indonesia

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INTRODUCTION

In today's globalization and internationalization, nations actively communicate and build a relationship to get national interest—this activity is called Public Diplomacy. Public diplomacy essentially deals with communication management among diplomatic actors, including nations and non-state actors, which have specific informational or motivational objectives toward reaching the foreign public through various communication channels to promote national interest (Guy, 2015: 2). The increasing of communication globally has made public diplomacy an important tool to explain the states' foreign policies and international public opinion towards these policies.

Public diplomacy represents soft power in international relations that aims to persuade the target audience rather than giving pressure or threat. Consequently, rather than a one-way transmission of information for one-sided persuasion from a nation to foreign publics, contemporary public diplomacy now emphasizes ways to establish and foster mutual understanding and two-way exchanges of data based on the soft power of a nation (Guy, 2015: 2). The new public diplomacy emphasizes the relational role of non-state diplomatic actors, the inter-connectedness of foreign/domestic publics on multiple layers, and the two-way engagement of publics through the use of "soft power" as the key leverage to attract foreign publics (Guy, 2015: 2).

Public diplomacy uses several tools to accomplish its target. One of the tools is using temptation and persuasion. The most important aspect is the culture. The use of culture creates close relations between societies and countries that create lasting ties through cultural interaction. In this context, culture and its elements should be presented and introduced for the interests of a country programmatically and used as a soft power tool to create positive perceptions in different societies, bringing out the concept of cultural diplomacy (Yildirim, 2015: 350).

Turkey realized this soft power and has implemented public diplomacy through several institutions. One of these institutions is the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities, *Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı* (YTB). This agency carries out public diplomacy activities for Turks and all related communities living abroad. YTB's founding aim is to serve as an institution for Turkey's public

diplomacy activities. YTB's target audience can be categorized into three main groups: Citizens Abroad, Related Communities, and International Students.

Specifically, this study's subject is the Turkish Scholarship Program that is implemented for funding the education of international students by YTB. Turkish Scholarship aims to provide scholarship support for international students and build good relations between Turkey and their countries and cultures. The scholarship programs developed for global student mobility, which allows countries to directly affect millions of young people, enabling them to make their soft power more visible in the world through the large number of young people they host.

Most countries aim to increase their countries' image for young people who will be future leaders thanks to the scholarship opportunities they get. The positive and negative experiences of students who resided in the host country for a certain time also shape their perceptions of these countries. Therefore, scholarship programs are very important in public diplomacy practices, one of which is to build relationships.

To measure this program's success relatively will require a long time since it will take more than 10 - 20 years respectively after students finished their degree to achieve a high position in their career path. But, it will be worth of time to wait. If the scholarships alumnae, they will be able to get a place to benefit both the scholarship granting country and the awardee's country.

This study will then examine the Turkish Scholarship Program (*Türkiye Bursları*) in Turkish public diplomacy practices. The study further evaluates the Turkish Scholarship Program (YTB) alumnae's role in Indonesia's government Sector as Turkish government public diplomacy tool towards Indonesia. For this purpose, the research utilizes the three dimensions of public diplomacy theory by Mark Leonard (2002).

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Research Problems

What is the role of Indonesian alumni who had an education with Turkish Scholarship and now working in Indonesia's government sector as Turkey's public diplomacy tool?

1.2 Objectives of Research

- To examine the familiarity of Indonesian Turkish Scholarship alumnae's in Indonesia's government sector towards Turkey.
- To know how Indonesian Turkish Scholarship alumnae are in Indonesia's government sector about their appreciation towards Turkey.
- To what extent the engagement of Indonesian Turkish Scholarship alumnae's in Indonesia's government sector with Turkey.
- To analyze Turkey's influence on Indonesian Turkish Scholarship alumni currently working in Indonesia's government sector.

1.3 Importance of Research

There is currently a specific window of a gap in this research. The work specifically examines the perception, feelings, and tendencies of Indonesian Turkish Scholarship alumnae's role in Indonesia's government sector towards Turkey. As one of Turkey's public diplomacy tools, Turkish Scholarship has been given to international students worldwide, influencing and engaging with each country's best students. This research will expose the role of the alumnae currently working in the government sector. Moreover, this research will reveal their tendencies towards Turkey during policy-making, both national and international.

1.4 Research Methods

This study conducted qualitative methods and included a case study approach. Creswell (2014) defines qualitative research to explore and understand the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The research process involves emerging questions and procedures, collecting data in the participant's

setting; analyzing the data inductively, building from particulars to general themes; and making interpretations of the meaning of data. The final written report has a flexible writing structure. According to Creswell (2014), case studies are qualitative strategies in which the researcher explores an in-depth program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals. The case (s) is bounded by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using various data collection procedures over a sustained period.

1.5 Research Samples

The six (6)-person Indonesian Turkish Scholarship (YTB) alumnae currently (2020 - 2021) works in Indonesia's government sector.

1.6 Data Collection, Data Instrument, and Data Analysis

A qualitative and multidimensional analysis was performed using individual and semi-structured interview techniques as a research method. The said institution's international students' activities were also reached on the official website, and analyses were made on numerical and discursive data.

As the research technique, interviews with Indonesian Turkish Scholarship alumnae were done by Zoom and Skype. Face-to-face interviews could not be provided because all of the respondents are in Indonesia. Moreover, the face-to-face interview cannot be done due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Also, an official of YTB's representative was interviewed. This research collects data from in-depth-interview, observation, literature review, and government data and reports.

1.7 Research Schedule

December – January: Data collection

February – May: Data analysis and writing analysis report

June: Thesis submitted

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Public Diplomacy

It is possible to trace public diplomacy's roots to the United States of America in the 1960s. Due to the Vietnam War, the Cuban missile crisis, the civil rights issue, the assassination of John F. Kennedy, and student demonstrations, the USA suffered national and foreign instability (Tecmen, 2018: 11). Now, the world of politics has changed a lot, and now wars are in culture, economy, and marketing. It is seen that international politics has also transformed and put public diplomacy into practice. Public diplomacy carries out its image strengthening activities. Public diplomacy is now more important than traditional diplomatic techniques in modern life. Because in the 21st century, countries can influence different nations with the elements of soft power without the need for hard power thanks to the activities they have carried out under the name of nation branding.

Public diplomacy activities are categorized as public diplomacy that is old/traditional and modern. The emergence of new public diplomacy results from governments' changing approach to communication and information technologies' developments (Vickers, 2004). In this context, globalization has also been a factor in the emergence of new understandings of diplomacy since, in foreign relations, it has amplified the position of public opinion. Globalization has also been a factor in the emergence of new diplomacy versions in this context since it has strengthened public opinion's role in international relations.

Via simplified messages that promote national interests, conventional public diplomacy relies on exchanging ideologies, interests, and knowledge about the country. This is achieved by educating international audiences about national philosophies and managing their views (Melissen 2005; Szondi 2008: 11). On the other hand, new public diplomacy expresses the ideals and ideas to achieve larger cooperation and attraction objectives by segmented communications (Szondi 2008: 11-13.).

The primary distinction between the two is the principle of soft power, which suggests that it is possible to use culture, political ideals, and policies to attract others to reap their support. As an evolving source of influence, modern public diplomacy

and soft power both create non-military power. Both academics and practitioners/diplomats have intricately woven the relationships between these two principles. In diplomatic practices, soft power is also an important concept because in the post-9/11 world, especially in environments marked by high levels of intercultural tension and conflict, such as those in which we now find ourselves (Hocking, 2005: 28).

Public diplomacy refers to two-way communications in state-to-public information flows, including the targeted public's feedback (Szondi, 2008: 11; Cull: 2009: 14). Non-governmental organizations conduct public diplomacy through public-to-public communications (Nye, 2008: 103). Public diplomacy efforts are motivated by promoting political and economic interests by increasing foreign publics' receptiveness (Szondi, 2008: 11). While public diplomacy pursues various national interests, it also seeks to create a positive reputation partly achieved through nation branding and the successful management of the brand identity (Szondi 2008: 11). At the same time, these countries can impose their cultures and languages on the world and influence the external public. As a result, gains can be obtained in the global economy market.

As can be understood from the definition, public diplomacy aims to influence foreign public opinion while fulfilling many functions. The main purpose of public diplomacy is to positively affect people living in the regions where it is applied and, accordingly, to ensure the integration of material and spiritual values between different human communities (Erzen, 2014: 54). It is a strategic communication activity in terms of public diplomacy methods. From the strategic communication activity, it is understood that an organization uses various concepts and information to achieve its goals. Public diplomacy is a field that is closely related to concepts such as public relations, brand management, propaganda, promotion, and marketing. According to Erzen, a good stance is displayed on behalf of the country that carries out practices in different geographies through public diplomacy. The art of influencing the foreign public due to these activities creates a good impression using many other prestigious techniques such as cultural diplomacy in people of different nations' perceptions. It emerges as a mutually beneficial phase with its inclusion and mobilizes all diplomacy

opportunities from traditional diplomacy to nation branding strategies (Erzen, 2014: 60).

Szondi sees this new method of diplomacy as an important pillar of reputation management. It has been an important part of every nation to influence different countries' public opinion and develop in the areas to which the country represented is relevant while achieving national goals. It is seen that subjects such as persuasion and influence are also mentioned in public diplomacy's early definitions. It is seen that some areas of culture are included in the purposes, and in this case, it is understood that culture is a part of public diplomacy. Recent developments in the concept emphasize that this new diplomacy method is a system that prepares the necessary environment for the development of foreign policies and the realization of national goals. In the 21st century, with the expansion of both the internal target audience and the external target group, reaching both to reach international goals has become an important issue for public diplomacy experts (Szondi, 2009: 304).

As can be understood from these statements, public diplomacy is a communication activity based on influencing the external target audience. The main purpose is to create a good perception of the foreign public and the necessary promotional campaigns to improve its perception and carry out reputation studies. Accordingly, public diplomacy is in contact with many areas such as brand management, public relations, reputation management, and promotion and announces its activities in these fields to the world through the media. When evaluated in this context, this new diplomacy model is a mutual communication process that aims to have a positive prestige in the eyes of the represented country's foreign public and enables it to develop in the economic field by using the media.

The importance of public diplomacy becomes more evident in the 21st century. In this age where wars are in the economic field, attracting attention and constituting a central area in some issues such as culture or politics will provide significant advantages to countries in the economy and reputation sector. Besides, public diplomacy activities should be carried out continuously, adhering to the repetition principle because societies' opinions can be changed in a short time, but not permanently. However, depending on the activities carried out in a long time, permanent changes in opinion can be implemented from generation to generation. For

this reason, public diplomacy activities should be implemented in a system, and experts should handle this process.

2.2 Public Diplomacy and Public Relations

One of the areas frequently mentioned in public diplomacy studies is public relations activities. So much so, it raises the question is this public diplomacy an "international public relations activity" for states? (Ekşi, 2014b: 89; Sancar, 2015: 112,113). The reason why this question is frequently asked can be shown as the fact that public diplomacy uses the versatile communication method and targets the public, as in public relations. Therefore, some authors deal with public diplomacy in terms of public relations. Sancar defines public diplomacy as an "international public relations activity for the state's foreign policy purposes" (2012: 113).

Signitzer and Wasmer (2006: 435 – 464) viewed public diplomacy as a specific governmental function of public relations. They explained that a matrix of public diplomacy goals could be intertwined with those in public relations. Signitzer and Wasmer maintained that public relations' key objectives could be applied to communication management between a sovereign nation and its strategic foreign publics in an international or diplomatic situation.

Public diplomacy essentially deals with communication management among diplomatic actors, including nations and non-state actors, which have specific informational or motivational objectives toward reaching the foreign public through various communication channels to promote national interest (Golan, 2015: 2). Yağmurlu states that it is impossible to carry out public diplomacy activities without communication and treat public diplomacy as public relations management. According to Yağmurlu, public relations activities, which manage the communication between the organization and its public, can also manage the state, which is also a large-scale organization (Yağmurlu, 2007: 19). On the other hand, Erzen states that public diplomacy needs public relations techniques and practices to achieve its goals. According to Erzen, public diplomacy studies can be of interest to society and target a certain group. Therefore, in public diplomacy activities, public relations methods and techniques are needed to prioritize the target audience, distinguish the target audience from other groups, and determine the methods to be applied (Erzen, 2014: 107).

According to Ekşi, who defines public relations as a communication method with the target audience, public relation is a method of persuading institutions and organizations' customers (2014: 89). In this sense, its function to convince the target audience shows that public relations use methods similar to public diplomacy. According to Yağmurlu, it includes public diplomacy and managerial efforts such as public relations perception management, reputation management, and image management. These efforts aim to control the perceptions of others (Yağmurlu, 2007: 22). When public diplomacy is considered an activity to influence public opinion, this situation is regarded as another similar feature of public relations and public diplomacy activities. However, when examined in line with their purposes, it will be seen that public diplomacy and public relations activities are separated at some point. Public diplomacy is considered a form of international public relations for its foreign policy interests (Sancar, 2012: 116).

A key area of differentiation between international public relations and public diplomacy can be identified in its ultimate goal. While international public relations between an organization and foreign publics may focus on mutually beneficial relationships for the sake of long-term ends of consumerism or philanthropy, public diplomacy's ultimate aim is to gather international support for a nation's foreign policy (Golan, 2015: 3).

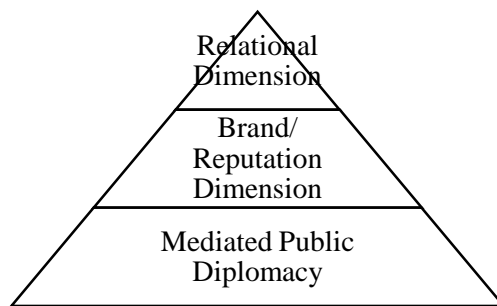


Figure 1: The Integrated Public Diplomacy Model.

The integrated public diplomacy model employs a strategic communication approach that integrates public relations practices and tactics with public diplomacy aims and results. Via third-party mediators, such as global media (global satellite networks, international broadcasting) and international social media influencers, one of the three layers of the integrated model, mediated public diplomacy, urges governments to engage foreign audiences. The mediated public diplomacy layer is an

acknowledgment of the realities of public diplomacy in the 21st century: namely, that the world is watching what governments say and do and not just writing and reporting on their speeches and acts, but also using the opinions and assessments of third-party influencers such as bloggers and digital activists who talk to their governments like nine The other two layers, nation branding/country image and relational public diplomacy, medium and long-term inclusive strategies, place public relations viewpoints and practitioners at the forefront of achieving successful results in public diplomacy (Snow in Golan, 2015: 73).

On the other hand, public relations can carry out its activities not only on the states' interests but also on institutions and companies' commercial or cultural goals. In other words, while public relations are mostly commercial, public diplomacy is political in line with its aims (Ekşi, 2014b: 90). As a result, although public diplomacy and public relations use similar methods and techniques, they differ based on their purposes and resources. For this reason, it would not be wrong to say that public diplomacy also includes public relations activities as a multi-dimensional communication model that provides for long-term relations and is focused on the interests of states.

Strategic communications, which refers to the totality of communications used to promote positive messages about the country, including those from government, business, tourism, finance, and cultural institutions, is a more recent term that unites public diplomacy and public relations. While news management is more focused on political and military and has a reactive stance, strategic communications operate more in the economic sphere. They are process and purpose proactive, to have a global competitive advantage that separates them from their competition, all countries are interested. A country's reputation and national identity affect the bottom line of buying services and goods from trading partners. Strategic communications require proactive campaigns that are refined and developed over weeks and months and create a stake or buy-in for all public diplomacy institutions (Snow in Golan, 2015: 84).

2.3 Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding

Another area that is frequently compared in public diplomacy definitions and practices is nation branding or nation branding, known as "nation branding" in the

literature. Branding and branding can be seen as a part of the communication between brand representatives and customers, which is more prominent in marketing and advertising activities. Szondi describes branding as "when there is a choice to be made by customers and when their preferences can be influenced by a strong brand name and brand value" (2008: 15).

Nation brand is an important concept in today's world. As a consequence of globalization, all countries must compete for the attention, respect, and trust of investors, tourists, consumers, donors, immigrants, the media, and other nations' governments. So a powerful and positive nation brand provides a crucial competitive advantage. Countries need to understand how the public around the world sees them; their achievements and failures, their assets and liabilities, their people, and their products are reflected in their brand image (Anholt, 2005: 296).

Melissen, on the other hand, considers nation-branding, which he stated to be included in the marketing discipline, as activating all the forces that can contribute to the promotion of a nation abroad (2005: 19). As can be seen, it is similar to public diplomacy with its activities such as nation branding, promotion, and target groups. In this sense, one of the common areas of public diplomacy and nation branding is the use of public relations theories (Sancar, 2012: 140).

Nation branding also includes country image-building activities. So much so that, according to Erzen, nation branding mostly indicates the image of the country (2014: 112). Similarly, branding, with its values, norms, and culture, is soft power. According to Ekşi, images and brands that are a part of soft power are shaped by countries' values, norms, identity, and cultural elements. In this respect, branding reflects the identity and images of nations (2014b: 96). From the perspective of public diplomacy studies, Sancar considers public diplomacy as "the management of images, perception, and reputation built on correct identity" (2012: 144). In this sense, it can be said that public diplomacy, which is defined as building relationships by many authors, also includes nation branding activities.

The theory of competitive identity takes its cue from how country images are 'naturally' formed. By accident more often than by design, most countries engage with

the outside world, and thus create their images through six primary areas of activity (Anholt, 2005: 296):

- Their tourism promotion (often the loudest voice in 'branding' the nation or region, as tourist boards usually have the biggest budgets and the most competent marketers), along with people's first-hand experience of visiting the country as tourists or business travelers;
- Their exported products and services, which – when their place of origin is explicit – act as powerful ambassadors for each country and region;
- The policy decisions of the country's government, whether the foreign policy which directly affects the 'audience' or domestic policy reported in the international media;
- For business audiences, the way the country solicits inward investment, and the way it recruits foreign entrepreneurs, workers, researchers, and students;
- Cultural exchange, cultural exports and sport; and
- The people of their own country, such as; politicians, media and sports stars, and the general population. How they behave when abroad and how they treat visitors to their country.

Conducting a detailed study on public diplomacy and nation branding, Szondi states that public diplomacy and nation branding activities have many differences, especially goals, strategy tools, and actors. According to Szondi, while public diplomacy supports political interests, nation branding focuses more on economic interests. However, while public diplomacy is directed towards foreign peoples, nation branding appeals to foreign and local audiences. It does not seem possible to be successful without the local audience's support (Szondi, 2008: 17). As can be seen, nation branding includes activities similar to public diplomacy as in other related concepts; however, it may have distinctive features in terms of goals, practitioners, and strategies. Nevertheless, it should be noted that successful image management and

nation branding activities for countries are a supportive element in achieving public diplomacy activities and their goals.

In terms of scholarship activities, it would not be wrong to state that the scholarship programs created can affect countries' image and national branding. International students have the opportunity to get to know the country they are in within the scope of their scholarship programs and to convey the impressions they have gained during their time here when they return to their country. It can be evaluated that this situation may affect the image and identity formation processes shaped by the cultural factors of nation branding.

2.4 Public Diplomacy and Marketing

In its narrowest definition, marketing can be defined as the necessary promotional activities to sell a product. Marketing is to recognize and meet human needs (Kotler, 2009: 45). The art of influencing foreign publics is all about promoting a nation to external target audiences and realizing perception management of these target audiences. As a result, it is aimed to establish the cultural and commercial hegemony of the represented country in the international arena. Also, winning minds and hearts is achieved through this promotional activity.

For this reason, public diplomacy is a field related to marketing as well as public relations. In marketing, a product can be promoted as well as a country, society or geographical region. When public diplomacy is evaluated in this sense, it makes a country marketing. It introduces all the material and moral values of the country represented to external target audiences. As a result, cultural promotion occurs, but the turnover in the field of tourism is increased. Regions with cultural and historical values are announced to the world with the contribution of mass communication technologies, and as a result, tourist mobility is provided. With this aspect, public diplomacy is the art of winning hearts and minds and a work field with a commercial value and contributes to economic development. As a result of advanced marketing methods, long-lasting customer relationships are realized, countries also make their country image stable with their public diplomacy activities.

In the 21st century, where time is valuable, both countries and international business organizations benefit from communication-based marketing strategies.

Public diplomacy applies marketing activities in the realization of both promotion and commercial goals. In the implementation field, targets generally vary according to their realization time and importance (Harvard Business School, 2005: 3). For this reason, strategies are developed according to the goals and objectives of the applications. A mature marketing strategy has a serious impact on promoting a product or service in almost every sector, including the public sector, and creating a desired behavioural change.

To understand the relationship between public diplomacy and marketing well and understand why people demand products and services, it is necessary to look at marketing basics. Kotler and Armstrong said in their Principles of Marketing that marketing is simply the management of profitable customer relationships. The two main marketing objectives are maintaining and increasing existing customers and attracting new customers by providing customer satisfaction. People think marketing is just about sales and advertising. However, this is only the face of the marketing world. While marketing in the old language is expressing and selling, it means meeting customer needs in the new sense. These products are easily sold if those who carry out the marketing activities can attract the customer's attention, understand their needs well, develop products that will create customer value, and do their pricing, distribution, and promotion. Sales and advertising are just part of the marketing mix. Marketing tools that build customer relationships, satisfy customer needs, and attract customers' attention should be understood from the marketing mix. Marketing is the social and administrative process through which individuals and organizations achieve what they want by creating and exchanging values with others. The narrow business definition sees marketing as a communication consisting of a profitable relationship with customers and changing values.

There are five groups of concepts in marketing that concern customers and the market. These are defined as follows (Kotler, 2016: 29 – 50):

-Needs, Requests, and Demands: Needs express the state of being deprived of something. Desires are human needs that are formed by the influence of people's preferences and culture. For example, for an American, food is necessary, while the Big Mac menu is requested. Desires develop with the influence of the society they live in. The products people buy to have the

highest level of value and satisfaction show the demands. Having a high level of value and satisfaction means demanding a product or service.

- What the Market Offers (Products, Services, and Experiences): This group refers to the knowledge, experience, and products put into the market to satisfy a need or desire. These are not just limited to physical products. They also include various services, activities, and benefits offered for sale. Some of these benefits include banking, air freight service, wholesale, and home repair services. Also, ideas are shown among the services offered to the market.

-Customer Value and Satisfaction: Customers have some expectations from the market. Companies offer these to customers. Customers who are satisfied with the product or service they have purchased will buy the product or service again, while those who are not satisfied will change their preferences. Customer value and satisfaction are the main concepts of customer relationship management.

-Change: Marketing starts with people entering into a changing relationship to satisfy their needs and desires. Replacement refers to an object or service's possession by offering something in return for a desired item or service. Marketing refers to the activities necessary to exchange various items, ideas, services, or products in exchange for something by entering into contact with the target audience.

-Market: The concepts of exchange and relationship reveal the idea of the market. Potential and current buyers of a product or service should be understood from the concept of the market. These buyers share a common need and desire and receive a product or service in an exchange relationship to satisfy this.

Based on these explanations, the marketing process consists of five stages. In the first phase, customer needs and requests are learned together with the market structure. In the second phase, a customer value-oriented marketing strategy is created. In the third stage, an integrated marketing program that offers value to the customer is created. In the fourth stage, a profitable customer relationship is established, and customer satisfaction is achieved. In the last stage, customer value is made, and profit

is obtained through sales. These processes are carried out in changing economic environments and the marketing age. The development of mobile technologies and the fact that the internet is now more in human life has brought social media marketing and digital marketing to the forefront of marketing trends. The field of marketing has thus developed (Kotler, 2016: 29 – 50).

In light of these data, it is possible to say that public diplomacy is a field related to marketing. As stated at the beginning of the department, public diplomacy conducts country marketing by taking advantage of marketing activities. The country's values, culture, and policies are integrated into people's minds in foreign geographies, and image management is made accordingly. Public diplomacy promotes the country by carrying out marketing activities. Therefore, development in the field of tourism also expresses the economic dimension of the issue. Suppose the marketing mix is to be created in public diplomacy. In that case, the country's product, the price of the activity that foreign peoples will participate in the represented country, its geography, or the area where any country's value can be reached. Finally, the promotion activities are carried out on behalf of the country. Suppose we remember the definition of marketing in this sense. In that case, it can be said that public diplomacy practitioners establish a relationship with their target audience as if they are in a profitable customer relationship by exchanging values. As a result, the party implementing public diplomacy adopts the country it represents to the other party. Simultaneously, the target audience gains the awareness process that will enable them to benefit from it daily or in the future and offer something to it. In this sense, the main point that should be emphasized is that public diplomacy is a field of activity close to marketing.

2.5 Public Diplomacy and Soft Power

The relationship between public diplomacy and soft power can be seen by looking at public diplomacy practices. According to Nicholas J. Cull, there are six themes: (1) listening, or the collection and evaluation of data regarding the opinion of foreign publics, (2) advocacy, understood as the communication of a particular idea or value to foreign publics, (3) cultural diplomacy, defined as the attempt to make one's nations cultural resources and achievements known abroad, (4) exchange diplomacy, or the sending of one's country's citizens abroad and the reciprocal receiving of citizens

of other countries for study and acculturation; (5) international news broadcasting. The obvious conclusion is that public diplomacy is an umbrella term for a variety of practices aiming at gaining soft power, and (6) psychological warfare, an actor's use of communication to achieve an objective in wartime, usually through communication with the enemy's public (Cull, 2009: 17 – 22)

The idea of soft power, first coined by Joseph S. Nye in his 1990 book *Bound to Lead* and promoted in his 2004 book *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. It is characterized as "the ability to get what you want by attraction rather than coercion" (Nye, 2004: 5). In comparison to hard power, which is the use of military and economic power to influence others' position, soft power depends on the ability to form others' desires by persuasion and attraction. The emergence of the word 'Soft Power' was a central characteristic of Modern Public Diplomacy, as coined by Joseph Nye at the end of the Cold War. It is an expression of an actor's willingness to get what he wants in the international world because of its culture's appeal rather than military or economic influence. (Nye, 2004: 5). Hard and soft power are related because they are both components of accomplishing one's goal by manipulating others' actions. The difference between them is in the essence of conduct, and the capital's tangibility is one of degree. Command power may depend on manipulation or induction-the ability to change what others do. Co-operative power- the ability to influence what others want can depend on the appeal of one's culture and beliefs or the ability to manipulate the political option agenda in a way that makes certain desires not articulated by others because they seem too impractical (Nye, 2004: 7).

A country's soft power depends primarily on three resources: its culture (where it relates to others), its political ideals (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its international politics (when regarded as legitimate and with moral authority) (Nye, 2004: 11). If a nation's culture contains common ideals and its politics serve other purposes, due to its beauty and power of persuasion, the possibility of achieving what this country wants will increase. For example, nowadays, because of its film industry, entertainment industry, brands, and popular culture, the US benefits from a universalized culture. In today's world, in terms of attractiveness, countries that have embraced democracy, human rights, civil rights, and freedoms as their political ideals

will become more advantageous. Besides, as the country's politics are seen as credible, the soft power of a country increases.

As proxy indicators of soft power, Nye (2004) lists a wide variety of different examples: foreign refugees, Nobel Prize winners, asylum applicants, life expectancy, international students, overseas aid, tourists, number of internet hosts, book sales, and music sales, human rights, popular sports, and public diplomacy spending. Such components constitute soft power tools, and they are not power per se but instead illustrate the power potential. They have to be turned into power by the owners of these tools.

The latter is the framework for the deployment of soft power concerning soft power and public diplomacy ties. Public diplomacy and not soft power (like North Korea) or soft power and partial public diplomacy (like Ireland) are possible for a foreign actor (Cull, 2009: 15). Although soft power and public diplomacy are not the same things, it would not be incorrect to suggest that they feed off each other, as public diplomacy contributes to preserving and promoting soft power. Public diplomacy may be the mechanism for the deployment of soft power, but it is not the same thing as soft power, nor is it the same thing as the army and hard force (Cull, 2009: 15). In the long term, successful public diplomacy promotes national interests and achieves foreign policy objectives through soft power. Investing in public diplomacy increases soft power through good impressions, positive images, and reputations.

2.6 Scholarship Program as Public Diplomacy Tools

The mobility of international students in higher education is becoming more and more important every year. International students, consisting of individuals who want to continue their education in different countries, sometimes benefit from various scholarship programs and sometimes pay their education expenses to achieve this. In both cases, it is clear that international studentship has an economic dimension at first glance. However, it is a fact that international students who study in different countries with scholarships and their means also contribute to an intellectual and social-cultural circulation and sharing throughout the world. Students who reside abroad for education can get to know the culture of the country they live in, especially the language,

lifestyle, food, and music. On the other hand, they represent their country by promoting their country and cultural values in the country host.

Considering the historical course of international student mobility and countries' practices, the point that should be especially emphasized is the state-sponsored international student mobility in the modern period. Studies conducted by states in this field show that international student programs are a public diplomacy tool.

In a specific way, scholarship programs and public diplomacy organizations also connect higher education with foreign policy. Both the physical spaces of universities and higher education and study as an operation play a very important role in the field of public diplomacy for state-sponsored academic exchange (Akerlund, 2016: 22). Even though the decisions on when and how programs were conducted, which countries to set up exchanges with, or which areas were to be prioritized were not made by university staff but by politicians, mediating organizations, and policymakers (Akerlund, 2016: 24).

States develop programs for students of another nation and provide them with education opportunities in their countries. At this point, there are a few important factors that international students consider in their country preferences. It is the language of education that stands out among these elements. Countries, where the most spoken languages in the world are the language of instruction are more preferred. Besides, the quality of education and the opportunities and scholarships provided to the student are effective in which country international students will choose.

The countries most preferred by international students are developed countries. The trend in international student programs is to go from less developed countries to developed countries. Canada, Australia, Germany, England, and the USA are the most preferred, while the region with the highest number of international students is in Europe. These countries also have various scholarship programs; Australia with Australia Awards Program, the USA with Fullbright Program, England with Chevening Program, and Europe with their Erasmus Program.

As a result, international student programs, which have recently become popular, enable different cultures to get to know each other and allow societies to learn

about each other, learn foreign languages , and open different business sectors. Just like Akerlund said, these are the very places where foreigners can get to know their host country, where academic knowledge and the country's ideals and cultural accomplishments should be imbued with them (Akerlund, 2016: 22).

Increasing interest in international student mobility puts countries into competition in this area. It can be said that states have been carrying out planned and strategic studies in international students recently. The studies conducted by states for international students affect students' preferences and cause them to become an attraction center in education.

2.7 The Three Dimensions of Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy is about building relationships: understanding the needs of other countries, cultures, and peoples; communicating our points of view; correcting misperceptions; looking for areas where we can find a common cause (Leonard, 2002: 50). Leonard (2002: 50) stated that there is a hierarchy of impacts that public diplomacy can achieve:

- Increasing people's familiarity with one's country (making them think about it, updating their images, turning around unfavorable opinions)
- Improving people's appreciation of one's country (creating positive perceptions, getting others to see issues of global importance from the same perspective)
- Engaging people with one's country (strengthening ties – from education reform to scientific cooperation; encouraging people to see us as an attractive destination for tourism, study, distance learning; getting them to buy our products; getting to understand and subscribe to our values)
- Influencing people (getting companies to invest, publics to back our positions, or politicians to turn to us as a favored partner)

In 2002 (Leonard, 2002; 50), Mark Leonard proposed the three dimensions of public diplomacy activities:

- Reacting to news events as they occur in a way that tallies with our strategic goals
- Proactively creating a news agenda through activities and events which are designed to reinforce core messages and influence perceptions
- Building long-term relationships with populations overseas to win recognition of our values and assets and to learn from theirs

Each of these dimensions operates according to a different timescale. Reactive news takes place in hours and days; proactive communications and perception-changing activity is planned in weeks and months. In contrast, building relationships can take years before it generates a return. The dimensions also demand different skills and organizational cultures. News management needs to be flexible, reactive, and plugged into the government machine. Proactive communications require highly developed communications skills, strategic planning, budgets, resources, and the expertise to organize events that can capture the imagination. Building relationships depends on earning high levels of trust, creating a neutral and safe environment, and can often be done after removing the government. This is why the longest term of the three dimensions of public diplomacy is the relationship-building among non-governmental actors and the most oriented towards mutuality and exchange between peers and equal partners. Besides, relationship-building is by far the most closely aligned dimension of public relations-related public diplomacy. International exchanges, cultural diplomacy, international conferences and seminars, and face-to-face and virtual networks characterize a two-way, symmetric public diplomacy model (Snow in Golan, 2015: 85).

In public diplomacy, relationship building emphasizes engaging populations rather than winning arguments or selling a brand. Engaging requires that your strategy for public diplomacy increases the impact of contact and interaction that enhances others' appreciation for one's country in the long term. The activities involve strengthening ties between education, science, and sports and increasing tourism, international study, trade, and support for your values. In terms of weeks or months, relationship building will not be measured, but years. The most public-targeted and

public-involved of the three dimensions is this dimension (Snow in Golan, 2015: 85).

As Mark Leonard writes:

Public diplomacy is about building relationships: understanding the needs of other countries, cultures, and peoples; communicating our points of view; correcting misperceptions; looking for areas we can find in common cause. The difference between public and traditional diplomacy is that public diplomacy involves a much broader group of people on both sides and a more comprehensive set of interests beyond those of the government of the day. Public diplomacy is based on the premise that a country's image and reputation are public goods that can create an enabling or a disabling environment for individual transactions. (Leonard et al., 2002: 8–9)

In public diplomacy, Signitzer and Coombs note a distinction between the so-called tough-minded who hold that public diplomacy aims to manipulate foreign audience attitudes using persuasion and 'propaganda' and the 'tender-minded' school. They argue that knowledge and cultural programs must bypass current foreign policy priorities to concentrate on the highest long-range (Signitzer & Coombs, 1992: 140).

CHAPTER 3

3.1 Turkish Public Diplomacy

Turkey's internal and external dynamics are constantly evolving, posing new risks and opportunities in several fields. Reconnecting with its history and geography, Turkey assigns strategic importance to time and place in a globalized world, moving away from the Cold War's one-dimensional and reductionist perspective. Turkey's newly emerging actors position themselves as active players demanding a global transformation of centre-periphery ties to build a more inclusive and equitable world system, from foreign policy, economy, and public policy to education, media, arts, and sciences.

Turkey has been struggling with negative perceptions from countries worldwide. For example, Turkey's negative perceptions have arisen due to anti-Turkish propaganda campaigns and past Turkish governments' rash policies. Extrajudicial killings, prison brutality, ill-advised policies on the Kurdish issue, human rights violations, religious minorities, freedom of thought and belief, and other issues have all led to Turkey's negative reputation both at home and abroad. Turkey is depicted in some circles outside of Turkey as a nation that invaded Cyprus, murdered Armenians, and carried out military operations in neighbouring territories in the name of fighting the PKK. Another noteworthy example is the stifling of Turkey's EU accession process. Other EU member states must reassure their citizens that Turkey is eligible for EU membership as a democratic obligation. To do this, Turkey must develop a positive image in these countries, dispel stereotypes about itself, and bring these cultures and their people closer together in a friendly manner (Emine, 2009: 8).

The goal of Turkey's emerging public diplomacy could be listed as; enabling Turkey to get its voice heard to wider regions across the globe, telling the world the "new" Turkey's story and vision, repairing deeply-established negative image and misperceptions about Turkey, and building its self-image, reconnecting with its past Arab and Muslim societies across a broad geography, act as a model country especially for the Middle East, and most importantly to become a regional and global actor. Turkey must break down prejudices and correct misperceptions and negative images about itself because we live in an age of "image shaping reality." The fashion industry,

where "image is everything," serves as a useful metaphor for countries and their public diplomacy. As a result, Turkey must change its negative image and misperceptions about itself (Ibrahim, 2011: 17).

The image issue shifts the debate to the point at which Turkey must clearly and without ambiguity tell its story to the rest of the world. Many countries use public diplomacy as an unconventional diplomatic tool to tell their story to the rest of the world. Public diplomacy gives the AK Party government a platform to tell the world about the new Turkey. According to the AK Party government, Turkey is regarded as a country capable of striking a balance between its Ottoman past and modernization. It is reconnecting with its past while maintaining modernization. Indeed, the AK Party government's primary motivation to prioritize public diplomacy was the desire to explain its new ideology to the rest of the world (Ibrahim, 2011: 5).

Turkey finally realized the value of public diplomacy and as times changed, so did people's views of diplomacy. It has become an internationally acknowledged reality that conventional diplomacy is no longer sufficient, and soft power is becoming increasingly important. Turkey also realized that public diplomacy activities had become a requirement for every government (Emine, 2009: 8).

Its soft power potential determines the effectiveness of a country's public diplomacy through its policies' credibility and efficacy. Soft power, based on a "value-based" concept of power, describes how appealing a nation is and how deserving it is to be held up as an example to others. Others' recognition of its policies characterizes the ability of a country's soft power as legitimate. Culture, education, the arts, print, and visual media, film, poetry, literature, architecture, higher education (universities, research centers, etc.), non-governmental organizations, science and technology, innovation potential, tourism, economic cooperation platforms, and diplomacy are all sources of soft power. Soft power is shaped by combining these elements and provides insight into a country's cultural diversity and social capital.

The political structure of a country is another important factor in deciding its soft power capability. A political system that prioritizes freedoms and liberties guarantees human rights and freedoms. It is also open and democratic is the most critical of those elements that pave the way for a nation to achieve soft power status

and become a center of attraction. One of the main pillars of Turkey's soft power in this regard is its political background. Despite its ups and downs throughout history, Turkish democracy is improving and gaining credibility among the public, which has a huge impact on Turkey's status as a regional and global player (Ibrahim, 2011: 9).

In terms of shape and material, Turkey's soft power differs from that of other nations. Turkey has a lot of soft power potential because it is situated in a geopolitically important region with a long and deep history. Turkey's soft power, the Middle East, Caucasus, Balkans, and Central Asia, are the most important areas. The explanation for this is that Turkey and these regions share a similar culture, history, and geography, and as a result, these communities sympathize with Turkey. Furthermore, this circumstance fosters mutual respect, collaboration, and unity (Aksoy, 2019: 89). Turkey's ideology and history, and cultural diversity have mobilized regional dynamics and created new spheres of influence.

Today, Turkey stands at the crossroads of this history. The crossroads is not a new colonial venture, dubbed "Neo-Ottomanism" by others. Rather, this is a phase in which the country's people reconnect with their past and geography thanks to Turkey's modern geopolitical imagination and new possibilities in the global political framework. The significance of recalling this experience in describing Turkey's soft power domains cannot be overstated. Turkey's regional and global engagements are also increasing in other areas such as Africa, Asia, and Latin America (Ibrahim, 2011: 10).

Turkey's current identities merge multi-centered globalization and various modernities to give diversity, plurality, and distinctness. Turkey is receiving more and more coverage as a result of this. Turkey's growing international profile and exposure, the proliferation of resident foreign journalists, the proliferation of scholarly studies on Turkey, high-level visits and their impact on global public opinion, and many other factors have made the "story of Turkey" a significant one from east to west in the last ten years. This complex process must be communicated on national and international platforms.

Turkey has been a major player in international forums such as the G-20, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the European Council, NATO, and the OSCE

and has been at the center of regional and international decision-making processes. Recent events in Turkey's domestic and foreign affairs point to creating a unique "Turkish tale" that is rapidly attracting international attention. This story exemplifies the country's multi-faceted and diverse characteristics. On this point, Turkey's new dynamism and development as a regional force and global actor must be conveyed to national and foreign audiences in a timely and practical manner. It is important from a strategic standpoint to adhere to well-advised policies. The way the rest of the world interprets and perceives these policies often takes precedence over fact. Regardless of whether a nation is small or large, open or closed, democratic or autocratic, eastern or western, no country can ignore the power of public opinion. From economic policies to energy resources, environmental concerns to migration policies, and media to regional conflicts, national and international public opinion is increasing every day in deciding matters affecting a large portion of world politics, their execution, and positive or negative outcomes. Countries, multinational organizations, non-governmental organizations, and other institutions that effectively understand public opinion value use public diplomacy.

Turkey's strategic communication and public diplomacy performance are critical for its long-term national interests, regional effectiveness, and international obligations as a growing force. Taking these factors into account, it is clear that Turkey's public diplomacy is a strategic priority.

3.2 Turkish Public Diplomacy Actors

3.2.1 Presidency's Directorate General of Communications

The Directorate of Communications (DoC), developed and operated as per Presidential Decree no. 14 published in the Official Gazette on July 24, 2018, and no. 30488, is Turkey's newest institution. With the goal of "empowering Turkey's brand," the Directorate of Communications coordinates communication activities with all state agencies, uses a holistic communication approach, and collaborates with other agencies and organizations that add value to the country. One of the DoC's main fields of activity is to make efforts for perception, narration, and adding meaning and value at national and international platforms, with awareness to maintain communication, which is at the heart of existence, on a realistic,

sustainable and sound basis. Turkey's nation brands, which need to be considered within this context, are vital for the country towards 2023 goals. Therefore, DoC prioritizes services enhancing the power of representation at an individual and corporate level, which will provide momentum for 'New Turkey' to advance and be understood (iletisim.gov.tr).

The Department of Public Diplomacy's duties, which operate under the Directorate of Communications, are determined in Article 6 of the Presidential decree that stipulates the Presidency's establishment. Some of the duties of the Department of Public Diplomacy in the relevant article are listed below:

- The department set at the national and international level to be an effective communicator at the international community and transfer and apprehend an effective promotion.
- The department works to promote Turkey and public institutions and organizations, universities conduct research in cooperation with civil society organizations, prepare reports and programs, and organizes or supports similar projects.
- The department works to spread information about Turkey and to impact international public institutions and organizations.
- To cooperate and coordinate between public institutions and non-governmental organizations in strategic communication and promotion activities using public diplomacy methods and tools in international platforms to inform the international community in the right direction.
- Watch propaganda activities about Turkey, evaluate, collaborate with related public institutions and organizations and take the necessary measures. (Official Gazette, 2018: 30 488).

To summarize, the Public Diplomacy Department and carrying out activities for Turkey's promotion by examining the activities related to Turkey's promotion or the perception that continued through different people and organizations in similar fields are working to ensure that an accurate presentation about Turkey. As stated before, in public diplomacy, how the country is introduced is as important as its presentation. Presidency in this sense, the foreign press and the international public opinion towards Turkey and examining the news that the

outside world is listening perform various activities trying to determine Turkey's perception.

3.2.2 The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Since the inception of the Republic to this day, the vision and principles of the great leader and founder of the Republic, Atatürk, have not only guided Turkish foreign policy but his maxim "peace at home, peace in the world" also continues to constitute the fundamental objective of this policy. Accordingly, Turkey has pursued an active and peaceful foreign policy since the 1930s. Despite the pressures to the contrary, the competent diplomacy pursued to safeguard the country's interests prevented Turkey from being dragged into World War II and the consequent devastation it would have entailed. Important developments in the Ministry and structural changes were made in the Ministry's organization in the Cold War aftermath. The number of missions abroad increased significantly with the emergence of new states in this period. Simultaneously, the transformation that took place and the challenges experienced in the geography that inhabited in the 1990s introduced various new risks and opportunities for Turkish foreign policy and further enhanced Turkey's significance and role in securing peace, stability, and prosperity in this fragile neighborhood. In 1924, the Republic of Turkey had a total of 39 diplomatic and consular missions abroad. Now, it is represented by 236 missions throughout the world. These missions consist of 135 Embassies, 13 Permanent Representations to international organizations, 86 Consulate Generals, 1 Consular Agency, and 1 Trade Office (mfa.gov.tr).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a major player in Turkey's public diplomacy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is interested in cultural diplomacy and actively advancing Turkey's interests in international organizations and networks. The Department of Information and Public Communication was created in 2011 to coincide with Turkey's more aggressive foreign policy framework. Under the auspices of Overseas Promotion and Cultural Relations, the Ministry focuses on Turkey's promotion and participates in public diplomacy. In its public diplomacy efforts, the ministry partners with all related agencies and organizations. Turkey's promotional efforts are focused on its cultural and historical ideals. Promotional activities aim to introduce Turkey's ideals, culture, language, and literature to the

rest of the world and its archaeological assets, scientific achievements, art, architecture, cuisine, customs, beliefs, role models, and sports. As a result, Turkey's strategy is to carry out events that will leave a lasting impression on international visitors (Sancar, 2015: 11).

3.2.3 The Ministry of Culture and Tourism

With tourism, cinema, and history as its denominators, Turkey's Ministry of Culture and Tourism is perhaps one of the most involved actors in its public diplomacy. The Ministry contributes to Turkish public diplomacy in the tourism sector in two ways: one, through its "Go Turkey" campaign with the slogan "Home of," in which it serves as executive director, and the other, through its "Come See Turkey" campaign, in which it is a collaborator (Sancar, 2015: 20).

Similarly, the Ministry's "Home of" campaign promotes Turkey by using slogans like "Home of Turquoise," "Home of Blue Voyage," "Home of Two Continents," "Home of Troy," "Home of the Blue Mosque," "Home of Cappadocia," "Home of Golden Horn," "Home of Grand Bazaar," "Home of the Silk Road," and "Home of Ancient Gods" to create different images of the country. According to its project managers, the aim of "Home of" is to build an image of Turkey that reflects the target audiences' home and region. "From the Hittites to the Byzantines, the Ottomans to Turkey, Turkey has been a cradle of many civilizations thanks to its strategic position linking Asia, Europe, and Africa. Also, Mevlana, Christianity, Noah's Ark, and the Trojan Horse are considered world heritage sites in Anatolia. Finally, associating Turkey with the concept of 'home' highlights Turkish hospitality."

As for 2023, Turkey has a Tourism Strategy of Turkey – 2023. This strategy is an effort that aims at providing extensions to management and implementations of strategic planning efforts and boosting the cooperation between public and private sectors of tourism regarding the principle of "governance." Tourism Strategy of Turkey – 2023 and Action Plan prepared with a participatory planning perspective have the primary objective of guiding the tourism and travel industry at production management and implementation phases by putting forth a roadmap for the sector (ktb.gov.tr).

3.2.4 Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA)

Many countries in Central Asia and Caucasia, such as Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Kyrgyzstan, became independent states after the Union of the Union Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Following their independence from the Soviet Union, Turkey saw the situation as an opportunity to bridge the gap using their cultural, linguistic, and social memory similarities. With Russia's relative withdrawal from the region, Turkey saw this as an ideal time to strengthen bilateral and regional ties with these countries. To that end, the rhetoric of "one nation, different countries" was an excellent consideration. Turkey's relations with Turkish-speaking countries in Central Asia and Caucasia became a focus of Turkish foreign policy (TIKA, 2021). The recognition of the young Turkic countries by the international community became the country's priority in the 1990s when it came to the Central Asian problem. Following that, Turkey began implementing projects in various fields for relatives living in Central Asia's newly formed countries, including social, economic, and cultural ones. The assistance that was initially provided developed into long-term projects and development cooperation over time.

Since the early 2000s, Turkey's foreign policy has undergone significant changes due to its attempts to become a major player in the region and worldwide. TIKa grew operation area in response to this transition, increasing the number of Program Coordination Offices from 12 in 2002 to 25 in 2011 and 33 in 2012. Via its 62 Programme Coordination Offices in 60 countries spanning five continents, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency is involved in various development cooperation activities in 150 countries (TIKA, 2021).

TIKA's position as a cooperating platform for state institutions and organizations, universities, non-profit organizations, and the private sector is carried out by TIKa. It also serves as a forum for these actors to interact and record Turkey's development assistance. Although the country's development assistance was about 85 million dollars in 2002, it rose to 8.120 billion dollars in 2017. TIKa is one of the Turkish organizations that offer the most technical assistance to Turkic-speaking countries. As a result, Turkey was named the world's country providing the most humanitarian aid in 2017. TIKa is a

development cooperation organization that operates in over 150 countries, including its offices. Via TIKA, Turkey shares its expertise and experience with various countries ranging from the Balkans to Africa, the Middle East to Latin America (TIKA, 2021).

3.2.5 Yunus Emre Institute

The Yunus Emre Foundation is a public foundation established under Law No. 5653, dated May 5, 2007, to promote Turkey, the Turkish language, history, culture, and art. Also, to make such related information and documents available for use worldwide, provide services abroad to people seeking education in Turkish language, culture, and art and improve friendship between Turkey and other countries. Yunus Emre Enstitüsü, as a Foundation-affiliated organization, is conducting studies for Turkish teaching in cultural centers abroad to fulfill the purposes of this act and conduct culture and art activities to promote Turkey and providing support to scientific study. Yunus Emre Enstitüsü, which began operations in 2009, now has over 58 cultural centers worldwide. Apart from the Turkish education provided in cultural centers, Turkology departments and Turkish teaching are funded by international collaborations with various educational institutions. Through cultural centers, several activities are organized to promote Turkish culture and art, and the country is represented at national and international events. The institution has the vision to increase the number of people who forge bonds with and are friendly to Turkey worldwide. It wants to enhance Turkey's recognition, credibility, and prestige in the international arena (yee.org.tr).

Prof. Dr. Şeref ATEŞ Yunus Emre Enstitüsü President said that this institution is a Turkish cultural institution that preserves major Anatolian civilizations. It works to introduce the region's cultural heritage to different parts of the world, plays an important role in spreading the Turkish language's ancient sound, and introduces Turkish historical and cultural heritage. The Institute, which bears the name of Anatolian Sufi Yunus Emre and stands for humanitarian ideals, humanism, and social harmony, continues to take steps toward spreading Turkish language and culture to Cultural Centers worldwide. The Institute, which serves as Turkey's face in cultural diplomacy, aims to open 100 Cultural Centres by 2023,

remarking on the 100th anniversary of the Turkish Republic's foundation. It aims to promote Turkey worldwide through reliable resources, including Turkish instruction and culture-arts programs, and contribute to the world's cultural heritage through events focused on intercultural interaction. As a result, the Institute is committed to partnering with various organizations to promote research and cultural initiatives, share the findings through publications with the general public, and build cultural bridges between world cultures (yee.gov.tr).

The Yunus Emre Institute's Turkology Project is a major project in terms of public diplomacy. The Turkology project aims to improve Turkish language teaching, enhance international relations, and establish Turkish-speaking communities, providing lecturers and materials to approximately 40 Turkish language and literature departments and Turkish language courses. By sending lecturers from Turkey, the Turkology Project is carried out in collaboration with universities worldwide. The project also includes various supports, such as scholarships for active students studying the Turkish language abroad and allocating scholarships for training young Turkologists, all of which are part of this system. Help is given to various Turkish languages, history, art, and culture, and activities that promote the Turkish language and culture within the Turkology Project framework (YEE Faaliyet Raporu, 2016).

3.2.6 Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB)

The Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) was established with the law numbered 5978, which entered declared on April 6, 2010, at the Presidential Decree on the Organization of the Affiliated, Related and Related Institutions and Other Institutions and Organizations dated July 15, 2018 (Decree Number: 4). YTB currently carries out its business and operations following section 51 of Presidential Decree No. 4. In this context, the organization has three main responsibilities; (1) to work on Turkish citizens living abroad and to find solutions to their problems, (2) to carry out activities aimed at developing social, cultural, and economic relations with cognate and related communities, and (3) to ensure the coordination between the relevant institutions by determining all the principles for the successful conclusion of the education processes in Turkey for the students who come to Turkey within the framework of international

agreements with the projects carried out within the framework of the European Union and those deemed appropriate by the public institutions and organizations, except for the Higher Education Council and universities, and has been appointed (YTB Faaliyet Raporu, 2020).

It can be concluded that The Presidency for Turks Abroad was established to oversee projects involving Turkish people living abroad, to provide solutions to their problems, and to carry out activities aimed at improving social, cultural, and economic links between communities. Aside from that, the government agency develops principles to ensure students' success is considered suitable for education in Turkey by public entities and organizations and students who come to Turkey under international agreements after consulting with relevant institutions (YTB Faaliyet Raporu, 2019). As a result, the Presidency's goals are twofold: reaching out to the Turkish diaspora, and the other is to reach out to exchange students.

Turkish scholarship programs are one of the country's most effective cultural diplomacy tools. With a people-oriented approach, the Turkish Scholarship (*Türkiye Burslari*) is an educational exchange program that aims to enhance mutual understanding with other countries and contribute to the richness of global knowledge (trscholarships.org). Turkish Scholarship increases the country's brand value and could qualify as the most comprehensive scholarship program in the world. Every year, there has been an increase in applications for the Scholarship. In 2021, there are 42.000 applications. While in 2019, there are 145.700 applications from 167 countries. The newest data in 2020, despite the COVID-19 pandemic conditions, there were 156.000 applications from 172 countries (YTB Faaliyet Raporu, 2020).

Facilitating an ongoing dialogue, help, and support with Turkey's diaspora is the second aim of this office. YTB has reached families in need worldwide with the assistance and support program for Turkish people living abroad during the COVID-19 pandemic, whose influence is felt deeply in all countries around the world. YTB launched the 'Diaspora COVID-19 Cooperation and Support Program' in this direction. With the scheme mentioned above, 72 projects in 14 countries are supported. In fields as diverse as food packaging, rent, invoice support, hygiene products, mask, and protective equipment manufacturing,

education, and media content development, YTB reached nearly 200 thousand people. (YTB Faaliyet Raporu, 2020). Without a doubt, the work on the 6.5 million Turkish diasporas, most of whom live in continental Europe, is crucial. As a YTB, they want to help people living abroad secure their identities and develop their mother tongue skills. In this context, 25 projects were funded under the Preschool Bilingual Education Program in 2020, and 180 projects under the Turkish Time Support Program in 2020 to cultivate a cultural identity by nurturing both Turkish and Turkish culture, as well as the linguistic and cultural capital of the countries in which they reside. (YTB Faaliyet Raporu, 2020).



CHAPTER 4

4.1 International Students in Turkey

Globalization and the internet era have brought enormous opportunities for people in different countries worldwide to get a better education abroad. It is seen that the education sector is increasing. With the diversification of scholarship programs for international students and increased travel opportunities, millions of students worldwide travel to different countries to gain new experiences and benefit from better educational opportunities. This process, called international student mobility, creates a significant opportunity for countries to increase their prestige in the international arena. For this reason, many countries nowadays establish various scholarship programs for international students. Thanks to the international students they host, countries can develop their soft power by exporting their cultural values to the outside world and gaining economic gain in this sense by being preferred by more students. It can be stated that this situation creates an international competition environment for international students, whose number increases every year. According to the "Education at a Glance" report published by the OECD in 2020, the number of international students studying in higher education worldwide increased more than twice the number in 2005, reaching 5.6 million in 2018 (oecd.org).

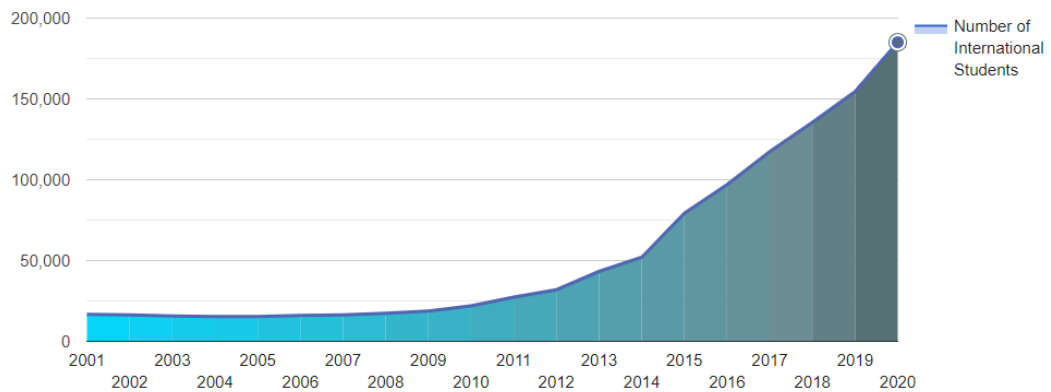
Turkey has also seen this opportunity by actively promoting its Higher Education program through the 'Study In Turkey Program: Discover Your Potential.' Prof. Dr. M. A. Yekta Saraç, President of Council of Higher Education of Turkey, stated that (studyinturkey.gov.tr),

"As Presidency of Council of Higher Education, we believe that internationalization in higher education is an investment for the future and that it should progress as a sustainable process with an understanding of responsibility towards students, academic staff and institutional stakeholders."

The higher education area in Turkey, with quantitative growth it has demonstrated in recent years, has made significant progress in many places, especially in access to higher education. Today, more than 8 million students, 207 higher education institutions with over 170 thousand lecturers, constitute Turkey's higher education area (studyinturkey.gov.tr).

According to the current data published by UNESCO, Turkey became the tenth country in the world with the highest number of international students in higher education, with 125,138 international students in higher education institutions in 2018. The Higher Education Council officially announced that the number of international students studying at Turkish universities in the 2019-2020 academic year was 185,047 (Turkiye Burslari Annual Report, 2020).

International students who prefer to study in Turkey are equipped with European education opportunities in various fields. On the other hand, among the countries with European Credit Transfer System Label (ECTS Label), in terms of the number of universities receiving the ECTS label, Turkey has consistently been ranked first among AYA/European Higher Education Area countries since 2009. The diplomas the students obtain are recognized throughout Europe and an important key that opens the door to them in many leading countries of the world (studyinturkey.gov.tr).



Picture 1. Number of International Students in Turkey

(Source: <https://www.studyinturkey.gov.tr/StudyinTurkey/PartStatistic>)

The fact that international students take part in more and more international mobility every year increases the importance of educational policies in the public diplomacy practices of countries. Student exchange programs, which allow the promotion of the countries' cultural values, their opportunities, and the country profile and their transfer in the international arena, therefore, are becoming a strategic instrument that is rapidly increasing in importance in public diplomacy practices.

Through international students studying in Turkey, Turkey aims to raise generations that will produce solutions to problems of their countries and the world,

have equality of opportunity, and a supra-national perspective. Turkey has opened its doors to many international students for their education in the pre-Republic and Republic period. Scholarships were provided to those students for them to receive an outstanding education in Turkey (turkiyeburslari.gov.tr).

Turkey started its scholarship program for international students in the 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, policies towards international students were systematized for the first time in 1992, and the "Great Student Project" was initiated (turkiyeburslari.gov.tr). This project was initially done to built relations with the states that emerged with the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Russia). The primary purpose of the Great Student Project, which started to be implemented in 1992, is to establish a lasting friendship by introducing Turkish culture in these regions. The Great Student Project, which was carried out mainly to develop cultural and historical connections, continued until 2008. In the report prepared by the Ministry of National Education for the project's success in 2008, it was decided to make significant changes. Day (2012) evaluates this situation as follows:

"According to this report, only 27.112 of the 39.232 quotas were given. As of 2008 were requested, and these young people were placed in various universities in our country. Only 7,464 of the young people studying at our universities within the scope of the project have graduated. The total budget spent for the project in 16 years is about 130 million US dollars. All these data made it necessary to question the effectiveness, efficiency, and extent to which the project reached its purpose. "

This report emphasized that the Great Student Project was carried out only for the states that left the Soviet Union and should be opened to other geographies. In line with this report, international student programs have been reviewed. A few developments also have been made in this area. One of these developments is the Presidency of Turks Abroad and Related Communities, which forms the basis of the study and grants scholarships to international students.

In the 2000s, significant developments were exhibited in all areas, from Turkey's foreign policy to culture, social approach to economic growth, which also reflected on the international education paradigm of the country and caused essential steps to be taken in the said area. Within the presidency framework for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) following its establishment in 2010, the "Türkiye

Scholarships" program has been implemented with the Presidency's initiatives and cooperation with all respective agencies in 2012. As a result, higher education scholarships provided by Turkey for international students were updated and relaunched under the brand name of Türkiye Scholarships (turkiyeburslari.gov.tr).

4.2 Turkish Scholarship Program (*Türkiye Bursları Programı*)

Türkiye Scholarships is a scholarship program that provides financial support and ensures university placement for students in their intended application program. This feature differs from other scholarship programs in the world. Apart from university education, it is aimed to provide students with the benefits of social, cultural, and academic extracurricular programs and activities while they are in Turkey. With Türkiye Scholarships in 2012, which received around 40.000 applications, a rapid increase was witnessed in the application numbers throughout the years, to reach about 150 thousand applications in 2019 (turkiyeburslari.gov.tr).

In its 2020 Annual Report, Turkish Scholarship Program stated its central five core values:

1. Türkiye Scholarships adopts a merit-based scholarship philosophy, relying on the objective criteria applicable for all applicants and aiming to create a cultural, social, and economic interaction at an individual and community level.
2. It aims to improve the capacities and skills of the awardees of Türkiye Scholarships to contribute to development in their home countries.
3. The graduates who complete their studies under Türkiye Scholarships and return to their own countries are encouraged to contribute to the existing academic, social, political, and financial relationship between their countries and Turkey.
4. In particular, the grantees' postgraduate level is expected to contribute to science and literature with their academic work.
5. Türkiye Scholarships provide scholarship opportunities to students who have limited access to education in "the least developed countries" and in "countries experiencing a humanitarian crisis" according to the principles of merit-based

evaluation. The scholarship program persistently promotes equal opportunities in higher education.

Türkiye Scholarships applications which can be made in 8 languages through the online application system, are processed based on the academic achievements, extracurricular activities, and other professional qualifications of applicants. Application address: www.turkiyeburslari.gov.tr. During the evaluation process, applicants are evaluated based on their eligibility for the program they have applied for and their academic and social achievements. The scholarships are granted as part of the long-term (undergraduate and postgraduate) programs with benefits from university placement, dormitory, tuition fees, monthly stipend, and Turkish Language Course. One or more of these provisions can be offered in short-term scholarships, depending on the program.

The long-term programs (undergraduate to postgraduate) level education in 2020 was allowed to choose among 1.561 programs at 70 universities in 42 cities. The long-term program takes 5 – 6 years for undergraduate, 3 – 4 years for masters, and 5 – 6 years for the Ph.D. program. These students can benefit from a free dormitory, tuition fees, a monthly stipend, and a Turkish Language Course. As for the monthly allowance, there has been an increase in 2020. The amount of monthly allowance increased from TRY 950 to TRY 1.100 for Master's students, from TRY 1.400 to TRY 1.600 for Ph.D. students. Besides that, YTB gives an extra stipend of TRY 550 per month for students who choose to live outside of dormitories.

Table 1: YTB's Student Monthly Stipend (2011 – 2020)

Degree	2011	2012	2013	2019	2020
Undergraduate	325	500	500	700	800
Masters	450	750	750	950	1100
PhD	550	1000	1000	1400	1600

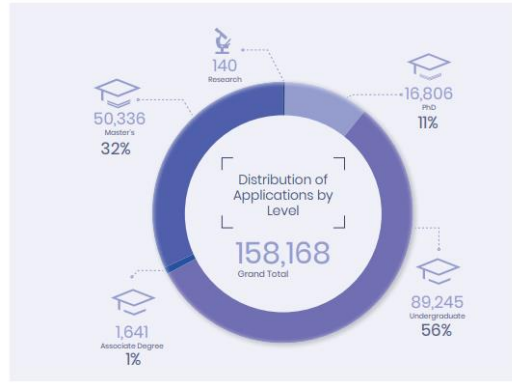
Source: *Türkiye Bursları* Annual Reports

The short-term program is called Research Scholarship Program. It is a 3-12 months long program designed to encourage international researchers and academicians to conduct academic research in their fields at the most prestigious universities in Turkey, enabling them to cooperate with Turkish academicians. The

program is available for Ph.D. holders or Ph.D. candidates at the dissertation stage. This scholarship program only covers a monthly stipend of TRY 4.000 (Türkiye Burslari Annual Report, 2020: 18).

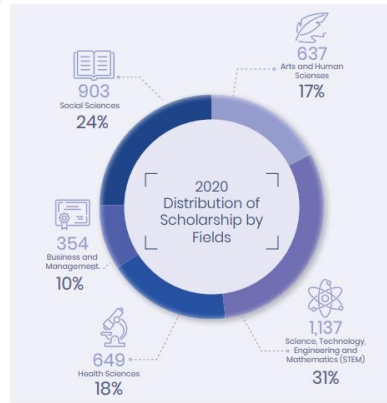
As part of Türkiye Scholarships, joint scholarship programs are also carried out with national/international institutions and organizations through joint financing and delegation. First, there are Higher and Further Education Opportunities and Perspectives for Syrians (HOPES) Scholarship Program. The HOPES project is being carried out with the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) assistance. Its partners, including the British Council, Campus France, EP-Nuffic, and Türkiye Scholarships, are the project's implementing partners in Turkey. The initiative sponsored by the EU Regional Trust Fund in Response to the Syrian crisis - or the MADAD Fund provides scholarship opportunities to Syrian students residing in Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, and Iraq. In 2020, the HOPES scholarships program funded 406 Syrian Türkiye Scholarships Grantees for a nine-month duration. The project in question, which had been running since 2016, ending in August 2020. Second, there is Albert Einstein German Academic Refugee Initiative (DAFI) Scholarship Program. In collaboration with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the DAF Fund provides scholarships to many Syrian students living in Turkey. Türkiye Scholarships is the project's Turkish implementation partner. In 2020, 631 students were supported through this program. The DAFI program also includes 19 immigrant students who will no longer be supported after completing the HOPES project (Türkiye Burslari Annual Report, 2020: 20).

Despite COVID – 19 pandemic in 2020, the number of applications to Türkiye Scholarships increased by 7.8%. 146.600 applications are coming from 167 countries in 2019 and rose to 158,168 applications from 173 countries. One hundred thousand eight hundred nine of these applications passed through the pre-evaluation stage. They qualified to be reviewed at the expert evaluation stage, and 7,020 applicants were deemed eligible at the expert evaluation stage and invited for an interview.



Picture 2: Distribution of Applications by Level (*Türkiye Bursları* Annual Report 2020: 33)

In 2020, long-term scholarship grants were awarded to 1,757 undergraduate candidates, 832 master's students, and 492 Ph.D. students. In 2020, the Research Scholarship received 27 out of 187 applications, and the Success Scholarship received 194 out of 1,030 applications. Finally, there are 25 applicants funded by short-term scholarship programs at the language course level, 253 at the undergraduate level, 37 at the Ph.D. level, and 27 at the study level.



Picture 3: Distribution of Scholarships by Fields (*Türkiye Bursları* Annual Report 2020: 38)

Scholarships are awarded under the Türkiye Scholarship program based on the applicant students' ability and skills development to contribute to the development of their country. Priority is given to local needs in fields where scholarships are provided for the "development of capacity and skills of students enabling them to contribute to the development of their own country," which is one of the program's fundamental values. In line with this, several factors are seriously considered during the program's

country planning preparations. The vision that candidates have during becoming a scholarship grantee and how they will impact their home country, and the contribution they envision providing to relations between their country and Turkey are all significant (Turkiye Burslari Annual Report, 2020: 38).

4.3 Turkish Alumni Program (Türkiye Mezunları)

Turkish Alumni Program is a branch of YTB's division that maintains a relationship with the Turkish graduate, both with scholarship and without a scholarship. The website (turkiyemezunlari.gov.tr) is a portal for alumni scattered worldwide to maintain contact with alumni, make them aware of each other, create employment opportunities, and strengthen their ties with Turkish culture whole. It is also formed to contribute to the development of relations between Turkey and their own country. It has nine primary purposes (turkiyemezunlari.gov.tr),

- To build communication between Turkish alumni, create physical and virtual platforms to ensure cooperation and solidarity.
- To encourage establishing a sustainable relationship between graduates and universities and prepare the ground for cooperation in the academic field.
- They are providing the opportunity to obtain information about graduate studies through announcements and news.
- To facilitate cooperation between Turkey and alumni in various stages of implementation.
- To give Turkish alumni support in their progress and ensure their professional careers contribute to the development of their society.
- They are providing career opportunities for alumni by communicating between Turkish companies and universities.
- To encourage Turkish alumni to continue their bond with the Turkish language and Turkish culture.
- To increase the communication and interaction between Turkish alumni wherever the countries they live in worldwide.
- To strengthen the communication and cooperation between Turkish alumni and representatives of Turkish public institutions.

Currently, there is 30 Turkish Alumni Association (*Türkiye Mezunları Derneği*) branch in 28 countries. Moreover, there are 89 Graduates Meeting (*Mezun Bulusması*) that has been done in 51 countries (*Türkiye Mezunları Çalışmaları, 2021*).



	Afganistan Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Kabil
	Arnavutluk Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Tiran
	Azerbaycan Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Bakü
	Bangladeş Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Daka
	Bosna Hersek Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Saraybosna
	Endonezya Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Jakarta
	Etiyopya Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Addis Ababa
	Filistin Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Ramallah
	Gürcistan-Batum Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Batum
	Gürcistan-Tiflis Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Tiflis
	Irak Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Erbil
	Karadağ Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Podgoritsa
	Kazakistan Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Astana
	Kenya Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Nairobi
	Kosova-Priştine Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Priştine



	Mali Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Bamako
	Moğolistan Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Ulanbatur
	Moritanya Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Nuakşot
	Nijer Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Niamey
	Nijerya Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Abuja
	Pakistan Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	İslamabad
	Senegal Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Dakar
	Sırbistan Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Novi Pazar
	Somali Hargeisa Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Hargeisa
	Somali Mogadişu Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Mogadişu
	Sudan Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Hartum
	Tanzanya Darüsselam Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Darüsselam
	Tanzanya Zanzibar Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Zanzibar
	Ukrayna Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Kiev
	Ürdün Türkiye Mezunları Derneği	Amman

Picture 4 : List of Turkish Alumni Association (*Türkiye Mezunları Derneği*) Branch (*Türkiye Mezunları Çalışmaları, 2021*)

Through these alumni associations, YTB aims to; build strong communication between Turkish graduates and among themselves, ensured that graduates are organized in an institutional structure, and make sure that they are supported and encouraged to have a system that is compatible with the spirit of civil society, creates, implements and realizes projects, in other words, can stand on their own feet (*Türkiye Mezunları Çalışmaları, 2021*).

150,000 Turkish alumni have completed their studies at higher education institutions in Turkey and returned to their countries worldwide. In 2020, a further 2,230 members were included in this graduate family by completing their long-term scholarship programs. This significant number is considered an important asset for Turkey's soft power potential. Alumni who have returned to their country can be agents or Turkey's representatives in each of their career fields.

4.4 Effects of Turkish Scholarship Program on Turkey's Soft Power

As mentioned in the previous section of the research, soft power is a vital power element that helps the country attract the desired audience without pressure and coercion. Soft power persuade attraction from the audience through a positive impression of the country and good reputations. For this reason, scholarship activities for international students, whose number is increasing every year around the world, can be expressed as an effective public diplomacy practice in boosting the country's soft power to reach different nations. In this sense, the study for international students in Turkey's public diplomacy practices through various institutions is considered one of Turkey's soft power.

Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who spoke at the program "*Türkiye Söyleşileri*" ("Turkey Talks") organized under the "International Student Academy" by YTB, drew attention to the great interest in studying in Turkey and said,

"We hope for an increase in the number of students who come to Turkey in the upcoming years." (15 May 2019, www.ytb.gov.tr)

Moreover, he said that Turkey had demonstrated its soft power to the entire world through YTB, noting that soft power is at work with all of its elements in Turkey's foreign policy.

"We have been implementing development projects across the world through TIKA (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency). Again, wherever a disaster occurs, we are the first country to go there with AFAD (Turkish Disaster and Emergency Management Authority). We always lend a helping hand to those in need worldwide and provide hot meal and healthcare services through our Red Crescent. Today, foreign policy areas have expanded so much that our Ministry of Foreign Affairs and parliament members cannot reach all. Today our soft powers are at work with all of its elements in our foreign policy. And YTB is the leading one. We are showing the soft power of Turkey to the entire world through YTB." (15 May 2019, www.ytb.gov.tr)

In his statement above, Foreign Minister M. Çavuşoğlu states that the understanding of diplomacy in the world has changed. The activities of the foreign ministries alone are no longer sufficient. From the Minister's statement, Turkey's diplomacy efforts in different areas have been made through various institutions. However, Minister Çavuşoğlu highlighted that the soft power elements in Turkey are working through other institutions. YTB is the most important of all of these institutions. The most excellent activity that YTB has is the Turkish Scholarship program, which is the main focus of this study.

There are several stories from Turkish scholarship alumni currently reaching a high rank in their career path. First, Azay Guliyev from Azerbaijan, an awardee who studies master degree program between 1995-1996 in the Middle East Public Administration Institute (*Türkiye ve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü /TODAIE*). He has been in the National Assembly since 2005 as an independent deputy. Guliyev, who also serves as the Head of the State Support Committee to NGOs affiliated to the Azerbaijan Presidency, has been the Vice President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) since 2016. Second is Salmir Kaplan from Bosnia, an awardee of 2004. After finishing TÖMER education in Izmir, he completed his Master's degree at Istanbul University, Department of History. He served as the Minister of Culture and Sports (SDA) of the Federation of Bosnia - Herzegovina from 2010 to 2015. At every opportunity, he expresses his love and commitment to Turkey. He also works as a representative in the Turkish embassy in Bosnia-Herzegovina in cooperation with Turkish institutions and organizations. The third is Sadiq Abdullahi Abdi, who graduated from the Middle East Technical University Department of Electrical and Electronics Engineering in 2006. He was appointed as the Minister of Public Affairs and Public Works of the Somali Government in 2017 (turkiyemezunlari.gov.tr).

These stories are a small example that shows a clear example of how scholarship activities and friendship, and good relations are built. The results from the scholarship program can contribute to the economy and soft power of a country in the long run.

4.5 Research Findings

Democratization, which has intensified in the twenty-first century due to globalization and technological advancements that have contributed to the widespread use of the internet and mass media, has affected states' diplomacy practices. The growth in internet use and the rise of internet technology have accelerated the circulation of information in the international world beyond the traditional and regulated communication tools such as television and radio. In this sense, knowledge is seen as internationalized. Today, people living in different geographies can communicate and learn about each other via the internet. This situation may also cause the states to create positive or negative perceptions against themselves in the international environment through their policies. For this reason, managing the perceptions of individuals and the public, whose influence on decision-makers has increased with democratization, has become a priority policy for states.

Two public relations scholars, Austrian Benno Signitzer and American Timothy Combs have attributed international relationships to the advancement of communication technology and increased public participation in the foreign policy procedure. (Signitzer & Coombs, 1992: 137 – 47). Thus, modern governments and other international organizations find themselves using public relations strategies as they conduct what political scientists have called public diplomacy (Grunig, 1993: 141).

Signitzer and Coombs defined public diplomacy as "the process by which both government and private individuals and groups influence directly or indirectly those public attitudes and opinions that bear directly on the foreign policy decisions of another government." Today, they added, governments speak to other governments, but they also talk and listen to the people. The actors in public diplomacy are no longer limited to diplomats. Still, they include a wide range of individuals, groups, and institutions engaged in international and intercultural communication activities that impact the political relationships between two countries (Signitzer & Coombs, 1992: 138 – 139).

Public diplomacy is essentially applying public relations to strategic relationships between organizations and the international public (Grunig, 1993: 143). "International public relations may be defined as the planned and organized effort of a

company, institution, or government to establish mutually beneficial relations with the publics of other nations," write Dennis Wilcox, Philip Ault, and Warren Agee (Wilcox. et al., 1992: 409).

In general, it is considered that public diplomacy practices, which is an attempt by other states to adopt their policies by influencing and persuading the public, are also changing the classical understanding of diplomacy. Today, public diplomacy practices offer states the opportunity to address a much wider area, far beyond the domain of classical diplomacy. For this reason, it is seen that the concept of public diplomacy has begun to become a priority application in the foreign policies of today's states. Governments, political parties, and multinational corporations are all influenced by the public in other countries, and many have developed public relations strategies. The recent expansion of international media, the internet, social media, global business, and global politics has bolstered the role of the international public and international public relations. These policies can be expressed as soft power-based public diplomacy policies to convince the public and win the hearts and support of the public. Golan (2015) stated that public diplomacy is a subset of political public relations emphasizing government as the primary organization and the foreign public's primary public.

The scholarship supports one of the most favorable public diplomacy tools, whose effects can be seen on a long-term basis, constitute the main study area of this study. It is clear that Turkey, through YTB Scholarships, like many other countries, is attempting to maintain its scholarship support for international students, which began in the 1960s. With the Turkey Scholarships (*Türkiye Bursları*) program in 2012, Turkey's scholarship program has become more institutional, sustainable, and affects a much larger audience.

With this scholarship, Turkey was able to reach foreign publics in other countries. One of these publics is students or young generations. Turkey then sees international students as one of its potential public diplomacy ambassadors. As President of YTB Abdullah Eren said (15 May 2019, ytb.gov.tr),

"Turkey has a highly valuable standing and a powerful vision that it takes in the international arena. You, our volunteer ambassadors, will tell about this

vision of Turkey when you return to your country. It is quite important that this vision is conveyed directly by you."

Turkey is targeting Indonesia as one of the South East Asian countries for this scholarship program. Indonesia is seen as a big country with a vast population, significant economic potential. Moreover, there's a similarity with Turkey, that is its considerable Muslim population. Turkey also sees Indonesia as a country with a strong political and economic position in the world. Indonesia has been a member of G20 since 1999, the first time the forum was formed. The G20 is the international forum that brings together the world's major economies. Its members account for more than 80% of world GDP, 75% of global trade, and 60% of the planet's population (g20.org). As Musa Budak (YTB Coordinator) in an interview on 21 May 2021 said that,

"As a country, we already have long historical relations with Indonesia. Even since the Ottoman Empire era, especially with Aceh. We share similar religions, cultures, and social, so we see Indonesia as close relatives. Indonesia has a very big population. Indonesia has a big Muslim population at the same time. It has a big economy and strong political power. That's why we precede Indonesia."

Indonesia and Turkey have a very long history of bilateral relations. The Ottoman Empire was already helping the Aceh Kingdom in Indonesia fight the Portuguese invasion of Sumatera in 16th Century from the recorded history. Started in 1950, this year, Indonesia and Turkey have 70 years of diplomatic relations. On 5 April 2011, "Joint Declaration Indonesia-Turkey: Towards an Enhanced Partnership in a New World Setting" was signed by both presidents in Jakarta, Indonesia. This agreement is a commitment of both countries to enhance cooperation in political-security, economy, culture, education, technology and research, and strategic industries (kemlu.go.id). This solid bilateral relation, similar background, and cultures, and most importantly, a significant Muslim population make Turkey a favorite country to study abroad. In 2019 – 2020, 1664 Indonesian students are currently studying in Turkish Universities (istatistik.yok.gov.tr). This number is excluding the students that are studying in Turkish high school. This number shows an increased interest of Indonesian students to learn in Turkey.

Turkey's scholarship program provides full financial support to qualified international students pursuing higher education in Turkey. These high potential students have a higher chance of advancing in their careers than other students. Turkey

then considers the student who receives the scholarship to be an essential soft power investment.

When we look at soft power, we can see that it can have short, medium, and long-term results. As for the scholarship program, we can see the results in the medium term or mainly in the long term. From the perspective of the Türkiye Scholarships program, given the program's beginnings in 2012, it is not clear that power in this sense has not yet been established.

The graduates or Turkish Scholarship alumni are currently working in many different sectors in Indonesia, such as; education, trades, business, technique, mining, food, etc. Both in the private and government sector. This study then focuses on the alumni currently working in Indonesia's government sector; ministry, agency, and government universities. These alumni are a significant asset, a soft power investment for Turkey as they currently work for the Indonesian government. Just like what Musa Budak said,

"Yes, of course, public or government sector is an important area in developing relationships between Turkey and Indonesia. They will act as a locomotive in the development of this relationship. The bureaucrats are more important. We want them to have an important part or role in their country (Interview, 21/05/21)."

The Indonesian government worker (bureaucrat) works for the states, the government program, and goals. According to UUD RI 1945 no. 43 Tahun 1999 (Indonesia's highest constitution), Indonesian bureaucrat must be available and obedient to Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the state, and the government in carrying out government and development tasks (Shelviana, 2015). They also make decisions, policies, and laws regarding the sector where they work. This is a big chance for Turkey to insert their message, value, or interest towards Indonesia through their alumni. Musa Budak confirmed this statement saying that,

"Our students are very valuable and important for us. After they get an education in Turkey, they will go back to their country. We see them as our ambassador, Turkey's ambassador. This ambassador is not only working in one or two-sector, but they will also work in several sectors, such as politics, economy, social, culture, and between publics. Our graduates own the connection between these publics (Interview, 21/05/21)."

In this study, 6 Turkey's Scholarship (YTB Scholarship) alumni currently working in Indonesia's government sector were interviewed. Total 17 questions asked about Turkey, scholarship program, their study life, and their current jobs. One of the YTB officials was also interviewed to get more in-depth information. Interviews were done individually and face to face through video calls (Zoom and Skype), following the academic style and ethical rules. In the study, the names of the alumni interviewed were not used following the ethical rules.

For this reason, the statements of interviewed students included coded as 1 – 6 and with the initials of their names. The alumni are graduates from Kocaeli University (2), Istanbul University (1), Marmaray University (2), Hacettepe University (1). There are 1 Bachelor Degree, 1 Ph.D. Degree, and 4 Master Degree, graduated in the year 2015 – 2017. Most of them currently have more than three years of work experience after graduated from Turkey. Their current work institution is Indonesia's government sector; ministry, agency, and government universities.

In this study, to understand whether the Turkish Scholarships program caused any change in students' perceptions about Turkey, the questions were collected under four main topics. First, questions were asked about their familiarity with Turkey. In the second part, questions were asked to know their appreciation towards Turkey. Third, it is to understand their engagement with Turkey. Last, it is to understand the influence of Turkey in their lives, especially towards their current jobs in the government sector in Indonesia.

4.5.1 The familiarity of Indonesian Turkish Scholarship alumnae's in Indonesia's government sector towards Turkey.

In the first part of the interviews conducted in the study, questions were asked about their familiarity with Turkey. They were asked whether they had information about Turkey before becoming an awardee of Turkey's Scholarship program and how far their understanding of Turkey. The result is all interviewees came to Turkey for the first time because of the scholarship.

As results of the questions, it was understood that the students did not have enough information about Turkey before they were an awardee. Most of them know Turkey as an 'Arab' country or a Muslim country. It was observed that most

information they get is from social media, the internet, and mass media. For example, 2IR stated that,

"I thought Turkey is an Arab country, speaking an Arabian language, but it turns out so differently. Turkey is just like Europe, especially in Istanbul, Izmir, and other big cities. Lots of women not wearing hijabs."

Similar statement answered by 3AD,

"I have no clue about Turkey. I know a bit about Ottoman Empire, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, and Turkey as a Muslim country."

4SR answered a different statement. He is a Ph.D. student in International Relations major. He has a previous reading and research about Turkey during his Bachelor's and Master's study. He said that,

"Turkey is familiar to me. I have research Erdogan's political reign during my Bachelor's study. By researching Turkey, I begin to deep knowing everything about Turkey. Because of the intensity of researching Turkey, my closeness with Turkey increased. Then I began to conclude that Turkey is more advanced than other Muslim countries. When I was researching Muslim countries, the first came up in Egypt because many Indonesian student alumni from Egypt made movies about Egypt. The second one is Iran because of Ahmadinejad's Islam revolutions. But now it's Turkey. Turkey has people who can make a good contribution to Turkey's image. For example, in literature with Orhan Pamuk, who win Noble Prize."

It was observed that the student's common knowledge about Turkey is mostly about Turkey as a Muslim country. It can understand that all interviewees are Muslim and that Indonesia has the world's biggest Muslim population. With 270 million people, 90% of them are Muslims (bps.go.id).

When asked why they choose Turkey to pursue their higher education, most of them said that it was because of the full scholarship provided, so they didn't have to worry about how to fulfill their needs during the study. Turkey and Indonesia have strong bilateral relations. Both Turkey and Indonesia often give help to each other. Turkey often gives help to Indonesia during natural disasters happen such as Tsunami and earthquakes.

"I know Turkey because they often give help to my city (Aceh) during Tsunami. Turkey gives lots of help, including scholarships. There's a big special quota for Aceh (2IR)."

On the other hand, it is understood that the interviewees who stated that Turkey is their first choice to study abroad are because Turkey is a Muslim country just like Indonesia, so they feel mutually close to the culture.

"I want to study in Turkey because it's a Muslim country, where there is a lot of mosques, so it's easy for me to pray. All foods are halal, so it won't be difficult for me to find food (3AD)."

In the study conducted by Özoğlu, Gür, and Coşkun in 2012 regarding the preferences of international students, it was evaluated that the cultural, religious, and ethnic structure of Turkey was an important factor in students' preference for Turkey (2012: 126).

To understand more about their familiarity with Turkey, they were then asked about their study and life in Turkey. Most of them happily tell their experience and memories during their study. They tell about how excited they are to study abroad, learning new languages and cultures, and gain new experiences and friends.

All of the interviewees stated their difficulties in learning the Turkish language. But their friends, teachers, and other Turkish people are very helpful to them. 2IR, a Bachelor's degree awardee, tells about how his early years in Turkey.

"In the early years of Turkish scholarship, we first learn Turkish in TÖMER (*Türkçe ve Yabancı Dil Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi*/Turkish and Foreign Language Research and Application Center), then choose three universities. Then I choose three universities in English. Finally, I choose Hacettepe. There were only seven foreign students at that time. So, most of my friends are Turks. But, it makes me quicker to learn Turkish."

3AD tells about how he struggles with the Turkish language.

"I am the first foreign student in my major. The rest is Turks. At one time, I feel depressed because I'm in the last rank in my Turkish language class. Moreover, in a real class, academic Turkish is difficult. But, I keep trying, and thank God, I graduate."

4SR also talks about his difficulties in class because of the language barrier.

"(laughing) The first time I came to Turkey, I join TÖMER. Just like an innocent person, I don't know anything about the Turkish language. I learn the language and the culture. When I entered the real class in university, TÖMER feels like kindergarten (laughing)."

1IR tells her story about how she gets close with her friends and supervisor. She has a very strong relationship with one of her supervisors until one of them has considered her as a family and bought her a ticket to come back home to Indonesia.

"I was so close with several of my lecturer. There were only three students at that time, and all of us are foreigners. Because of that, the study was not done in class but the lecturer's office. So the study is just like a normal conversation, not serious. Several times she gave us breakfast and tea. I become so close with one of them, just like her family, stay at her home, and go to her husband's office. Her husband's is now Tahir Büyükakın, *Kocaeli Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı* (Governor of Kocaeli Province). One time, they bought me a ticket home. Because I was so homesick and didn't have any money."

In this study, it can be concluded that all of the interviewees didn't know much about Turkey before being a scholarship awardee. They only knew Turkey as a Muslim country or even an 'Arab' country. It also learned that they choose Turkey to pursue their higher study because of the Turkish government's full scholarship. Another reason is that they see Turkey as a Muslim country and their close relations with Indonesia. So it is understood that Turkey's scholarship program's effect is quite high on Turkey's preference by the six alumni.

4.5.2 The appreciation of Indonesian Turkish Scholarship alumnae's in Indonesia's government sector towards Turkey.

In the second part of the interviews, the interviewees were asked about their appreciation of Turkey after their study. Four of them said that they feel happy and satisfied with their study and life during the stay in Turkey but not with the other, especially about the study. 2IR stated that,

"Thank God I am happy and satisfied during my study in Turkey. Turkey is my second home. I am comfortable with Turkey's education system. I also got the chance to join the Erasmus program in Germany. There, I was considered a Turkish student. The study environment is competitive. I like the library. In Indonesia, people are still talking in the library, but in Turkey, everybody is quiet, and I can study."

4SR expressing his satisfaction with his study and life in Turkey,

"I am satisfied with my study in Turkey. Because geographically, it is difficult to find a country like Turkey, located both in the Middle East and Europe. To be an expert on Turkey is excellent because there's not much of them in Indonesia. Moreover now, Turkey has become attention in Indonesia."

5FR also tells a story about his satisfaction during his master's study in Turkey.

"I am really satisfied because I get a campus in Istanbul. A big city where every student wants to study. Another reason is first that I study Ottoman History at Istanbul University, which is the best in this major, many professors in Turkey are from here. Moreover, my major, history, I can explore a lot. From architecture, literature, etc. Another thing is that a lot of seminars and international conferences, and big libraries."

Another interviewee stated their dissatisfaction with their study. 3AD stated that,

"Academically, I don't get a value-added of knowledge in my major. In Turkey, the Economic Development major is more philosophical, sociological. While in Indonesia, it is more quantitative. So I use my chance in Turkey to develop my non-academic activities such as organization and internship. Overall, academically I am not satisfied."

1RR also stated her dissatisfaction in her study but great satisfaction in other life aspects.

"Well, I can say academically, I am not satisfied. Thank God because this is a master's degree, not a bachelor's degree. This is my second master's, so I feel nothing to lose even though I didn't get much value added in Turkey. Because anywhere in the world, studying Master is mostly learning by ourselves. In my daily life, I am very satisfied. I am the type of person who loves travelling. I have visit 23 cities in Turkey. I am really satisfied. My life is not boring while writing the thesis. I get my value-added in new people, new culture. I have friends in lots of cities in Turkey. I still in touch with them until now."

The interviewees then asked about their opinion towards Turkey after their study to know if there are any differences before their study. All of them stated a significant difference in their knowledge about Turkey. It's culture, language, norms, and the country as a whole. They see Turkey as a developed Muslim country. They said Turkey has an advance in the public insurance system and government. As 2IR said that,

"the thing about Erdogan's government is that the significance in the country's development. For example, in the old times, SGK (*T.C. Sosyal Güvenlik Kurumu*/Turkey's National Insurance) is only for Turkish citizens, but not now. Then education is free for Turkish citizens. Of course, there's a deficiency here and there, but we can see the differences. "

1RR stated that she sees that Islam is growing in Turkey. She now sees Turkey, not as a pure Muslim country.

"I used to know Turkey as a Muslim country. But when I'm in Turkey, I know that Islam is growing. A lot of people outside Turkey didn't know that there's

still a lot of Atheist people or secular people here. They just didn't show it. And in politics, some people disagree with the current government."

They also see Turkey as an advanced country with a good public transportation system with metro and Marmaray train. 3AD said that,

"Turkey is an advanced country, especially in public transportation. There's only a limited metro line in the old times, but now it's getting longer and bigger. I get the chance to try Marmaray too. Very advanced."

From these answers, all of them are very grateful and appreciate Turkey for the opportunity to study in Turkey. Even so, some of them are not satisfied with the study. The reason is because of the curriculum problem and language barriers.

4.5.3 The engagement of Indonesian Turkish Scholarship alumnae's in Indonesia's government sector with Turkey.

In the third part of the interview, it is to know the engagement of the interviewees towards Turkey. All of them said that even today, they still have several values, norms, cultures, or habits from Turkey. 3AD tells about his habits during the study in Turkey still being practiced until now.

"Sometimes, when I speak in Indonesia, there are still several Turkish words that came out. Until now, I still wear socks with slippers, wearing socks when praying. Also, every time I finished eating, I always need something sweets for dessert. Whenever I met an old friend, I will hug them, even though it is not common in Indonesia. I also have a dream that I have a chat in Turkish. Respecting the elder, being on time, don't give false hope, giving regards, these are things that I adapt from Turkey."

4SR also tells about how several Turkish values are still being practiced in his daily life now.

"First, appreciation towards philosophy. The Turks will see something based on its substantial, for example, in diversity practices. So, the problem of halal and haram is finished. This still influences me until now. Second, I influenced by Jalaluddin Rumi's philosophy when facing life problems because Turks often tell the story about it. Third, before I came to Turkey, I always thought that all foreigners in international forums are clever. But it turns out; it's just similar, so now I became braver."

1IR stated that her experience in Turkey had become an important part of her life. She also still practices Turkish culture to appreciate and welcome guests.

"My experience in Turkey can be said as a life-changing experience that is very affecting my current life now. Turkish people are good towards guests. I often

stay at Turkish people's houses; even when I walked in the street, they greet me. And I still practice it until now. Turkey has become my family. Turkey is my second home."

The interviewees then asked about their interest in Turkey after they back to Indonesia. All of them said that they still have the interest to know more if they heard any news or issues about Turkey. They will try to find out more about Turkish website news. In some cases, if they are in a conversation with false information about Turkey, they will try to give the truth or right information. 6AS said that,

"Yes, I still interested whenever there is news about Turkey. Even sometimes, if there is false or fake news, I will clarify. If there's negative news, I will try to neutralize if there's any wrong information."

2IR tells how he becomes a person to-go-to when it comes to Turkey's issue in his job in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia.

"I work in the foreign ministry, so yes. Now my colleagues in the office count on me whenever there are issues about Turkey. Moreover, I still keep in contact with my Turkish friend in the Whatsapp group. Sometimes, I also ask them. Suppose there are issues about Turkey that are not in English. I will be the one who's counted on to search for more information in the Turkish language."

4SR also stated the same thing. Moreover, he is now a lecturer that focused on International Relations.

"Yes, of course, especially if it's unique. For example, as an International Relations lecturer, I follow the issues about Turkey's conflict with Greece in the Black Sea."

These statements show a positive impact from Turkey's soft power program on Indonesian alumni. One of Turkish Scholarship aim is actually to make an ambassador of Turkey in every country's the students came from. As Musa Budak said that,

"Our graduates have power and owner of the connection of Turkey in their countries. Especially in the global and international relations sector, which is traditional diplomacy. These include the ministry of foreign affairs or diplomats (Interview, 21/05/21)."

When asked about work experiences with Turkey, several of them have it. 4SR said that he was going to do a writing project with Yunus Emre Enstitüsü.

"Yunus Emre was once asked me to write about Indonesia – Turkey's relationship, but it postponed. I also often invited Turkish lecturers to present in Indonesian International Conferences."

3AD is currently on research about Indonesia's and Turkey's economic development.

"In jobs, I am currently writing research about Indonesia's and Turkey's economic development to be published in Scopus. I also often connect professors at Marmara University or another campus in Turkey with my fellow lecturer colleagues. I also often became a presenter to speak about Turkey's scholarship."

3AD also has experience when he was working in Indonesian National Development Agency. He was responsible for preparing a presentation for the Director to be presented in MÜSIAD (*Müstakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği*/ Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association) Turkey about economic collaborations projects.

5FR is still keeping update about the academic and literature in Turkey. He keeps working and researching Indonesia and Turkey's diplomatic history. He even still write several journals about Ottoman. In 2020 he published a paper about the history of coffee in the Ottoman era.

"Even though now I work at Indonesia's National Library that focuses on Indonesian history, I keep writing about Turkey. Because it is my hobby and I don't want my Turkish knowledge gone, my Turkish language gone, so I keep reading."

Another story is from 2IR, where he was still working in Regional Revenue Agencies of Banda Aceh Province.

"When the Istanbul Municipality came to visit Aceh, I became their translator during their two days visit. After becoming a translator, I then offered a permanent job in Regional Revenue Agencies of Banda Aceh Province, especially to become the project coordinator for Aceh and Istanbul collaboration."

From these answers, it can be concluded that all of them are engaged very deeply with Turkey. Several of them even said that "Turkey is my second home" or "Turkey is my family." These statements are in line with what Musa Budak said,

"Another important thing is the social and cultural relationship between Turkey and Indonesia. Now, these students coming to Turkey, they're not only studying, but they also maybe have the most precious period of time of their lives. These relationships with Turkey will continue even after returning to their home country (Interview, 21/05/21)."

A strong engagement also shown from their statement said that they are still curious whenever they heard any news or issues about Turkey. In some cases, if they are in a conversation where there is false information about Turkey, they will try to clarify and share the truth or the right information.

4.5.4 The influence of Turkey on Indonesian Turkish Scholarship alumni currently working in Indonesia's government sector.

In the last part of the interview, interviewees were asked to learn how far the influence of Turkey is applied in their lives. When asked about their preferences towards Turkey, they stated that they have a special tendency towards Turkey in every situation.

6AS, who currently works at the Ministry of Public Works and Human Settlements of the Republic of Indonesia, stated that,

"Yes, of course, I will choose Turkey. Currently, there are several projects in my ministry that are in collaboration with Turkey. One of them is to make a floating power plant on the ship. This is to provide electricity in several secluded areas in Indonesia. We already know Turkish people and how they work."

A positive statement also comes from academician 4SR,

"Yes, of course. When building a partnership, we will choose a country that is most familiar to us and know them well. For example, in negotiation with Turks, I understand. So whenever there's an international project, I will choose Turkey."

Other same statements by 3AD, who is also a lecturer,

"Yes, I think. Because of the pandemic, collaboration is now limited. But in research and academic collaboration, I am very open with Turkey. Moreover, now there's a lot of Turkish professors invited to Indonesia."

The interviewees then asked if they could do any work or collaboration with Turkey in the future. All of them said they are very interested and glad to do that. 1RR expressed her excitement to be able to work or collaborate with Turkey in the future. She added that it would be one of her feedback or contribution back for Turkey.

"I want to, and I will gladly do it. This will be my opportunity to give back to Turkey, even though it is just a very small act. Less or more from what I get from Turkey, I can give my feedback. I feel my bonding with Turkey is very strong, so I feel I must give more for Turkey."

2IR said that he would choose Turkey over other countries, considering its minus and positive aspects.

"I can speak Turkish, understand Turkish administration, and I'm a Turkish alumnus. Of course, with these, it will be my main asset to prioritize Turkey, especially in research collaboration (3AD)."

4SR also stated the same thing,

"So far, my international research is with a Turkish professor. Because international research projects in Indonesia must include a researcher from abroad."

These statements are actually in line with what YTB expects from them. As an ambassador, they will choose Turkey over other countries in every line of work they currently at. Musa Budak said about this in the interview,

"As I said before, we considered them as an important asset. Now for Indonesia, it's a big country, with big potency, big economy. Indonesia even is a member of the G20. Now for our alumni, they have several advantages. First, they know Turkish Languages, they know Turkish culture, they also know how things work in Turkey, and they know how to deal with our businessman, what they want and what they need (Interview, 21/05/21)."

The interviewees then asked whether they would suggest people around them choose Turkey from other countries for products, study, or holiday. All of them said yes and will happily suggest choosing Turkey. They will voluntarily give people more information about products of Turkey and to have a holiday in Turkey. 6AS said that,

"Yes, I often recommend to my friends a holiday in Turkey. I will share information about places and cities to visit in Turkey. Even until now, I still use several Turkish products that are available in Indonesia."

Another similar statement from 1RR stated that,

"Yes, I often asked my friends about places in Turkey. Moreover, in Turkey, not many people can speak English. I sometimes offer myself as a tour guide. For a holiday, Turkey is one of the best countries to visit."

For studying abroad, several interviewees also said they would share information about study in Turkey along with its pros and cons.

"For study in Turkey, I often share information along with the pros and cons. I will give information about the universities, cities, and scholarships available (6AS)."

A statement from 5FR said,

"Yes, I will suggest Turkey because I feel Turkey is not only good in social sciences only, but also other subjects like science, engineering, and medicine. I sometimes suggest to friends or my juniors that there are many choices there. I also said that Turkey is not like the Middle East."

2AD also suggests his students pursue their master's degree in Turkey.

"For a Master's degree, I will suggest Turkey. Turkey's scholarship doesn't require any English score test. As long as we have good grades, we can go to Turkey. Turkey is a very developed country, and the people are also friendly. It is good for the students. Now Turkey has become a popular country, lots of flight to countries worldwide with Turkish Airlines. So I will recommend my student to study in Turkey."

These answers are showing very big chances for Turkey to increase their bilateral relationship with Indonesia. International education, export products, and also tourism. Mehmet Budak strengthening the very strong potential that Turkey and Indonesia have, saying that,

"Our graduates not only understand how to deal with Turkish people, at the same time, they know what sector that is important, high-quality products. That's why they are very important. They know the culture and social life of Indonesia. The most important thing is they 'know how.' That's why there is very serious potential in economy and trade between two countries (Interview, 21/05/21)."

From these statements, it can be concluded that all of them are very influenced by Turkey. All of them have special preferences for Turkey. In international projects or work cases, they also have a tendency to choose Turkey over other countries. They also gladly share information about Turkey and suggest people around them choose Turkey for study, holiday, or products. These statements support Scott-Smith's (2008, in Golan 2015: 424) statement that a key assumption behind many of the soft power programs is the notion that they produce favorable sentiments by program participants who may transfer those sentiments to other people in their home nation.

CONCLUSIONS

The practice of public diplomacy has grown enormously in the post-globalization era. Along with the advancement of technology and the internet, mass media and social media impact the public diplomacy tools and methods used worldwide. The wave of information in the press and on the internet is spreading quickly and widely. As a result, obtaining information about specific issues or policies concerning countries is quick and easy and, therefore, not limited to statements made by states or government officials.

People living in different parts of the world can now communicate and learn about one another thanks to the internet. Because of this situation, states may create positive or negative perceptions of themselves in the international community through their policies. Thus, managing individual and public perceptions, whose influence on decision-makers has grown with democratization, has become a priority policy for states. These policies can be described as soft power-based public diplomacy policies to persuade the public and gain their hearts and support.

Public diplomacy, or the attempt to influence and persuade the public to support desired goals, has become a priority in state foreign policies. Many governments engage in activities to develop their values, political arguments, image, recognition, and perception among people from other countries. Scholarship supports, the effects of which can be seen on a long-term basis within these activities, are also the main study area of this study.

It is clear that Turkey, like many other countries, is attempting to maintain its scholarship support for international students, which began in the 1960s. With the establishment of the Turkish Scholarships program in 2012, this program has become more institutional, sustainable and affects a much larger audience. Every year, an increasing number of students express an interest in Turkish Scholarships.

Through YTB and the Turkish Scholarships Program (*Türkiye Bursları*), Turkey sees international students as one of their public diplomacy tools. Turkish scholarship program provides full financial support to qualified international students pursuing higher education in Turkey. These high potential students have a higher chance of advancing in their careers than other students. Turkey then considers the

student who receives the scholarship to be an essential soft power investment. When we look at soft power, we can see that it can have short, medium, and long-term results. As for the scholarship program, we can see the results in the medium-term or mainly in the long term.

In this case, in the traditional sense, power denotes a process whose outcomes can be built over time through mutual communication and interaction, rather than the immediate effects of policies to be formed and initiatives shaped based on these policies. This is why the most extended term of the three dimensions of public diplomacy is the relationship-building among non-governmental actors and the most oriented towards mutuality and exchange between peers and equal partners (Leonard, 2002). Therefore, it can be said that scholarship activities can be directly called a people-oriented move through students. Besides, relationship-building is by far the most closely aligned dimension of public relations-related public diplomacy. The social interaction process between students who benefit from scholarship opportunities and countries that provide scholarship support shapes the long-term outcomes of the activity and how it affects the interacting parties. This process is also shaped by the countries' identities that offer scholarship support, reflecting the meaning and perspective of these programs on the global stage. According to Wendt, identities are the basis of interests (1992: 398). In other words, interests are crucial in the formation of identities. Scholarship activities, in this sense, can be evaluated as inextricably linked to the political goals and international interests of the countries that carry them out. As a result, countries that establish scholarship programs intend to explain their theses to the rest of the world through international students and increase or make visible their soft power in the international arena.

From the perspective of the Turkish Scholarships program, given the program's beginnings in 2012, it is not clear that power in this sense has not yet been established. It can be stated that effectively sustaining the program can be a significant source of soft power in the long run. Students studying in a country with a scholarship granted can offer their support or contribution to the government, giving the scholarship. This contribution can be seen in all of the interviewees' statements, depending on their career position. This shows that the soft power results of scholarship activities extend

over the long term. At this point, international students must leave the country where they study with a positive impression.

Turkey is also organizing various activities to continue the relationship with the alumnae. Turkey holds graduation ceremonies for international students. These ceremonies are attended by high-ranking officials such as the President, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the President of YTB demonstrates Turkey's regard for international students. However, Turkey must work to ensure that the program for international students continues after they graduate. The fact that Turkey frequently organizes alumni gatherings and encourages Turkey Alumni Associations in various countries exemplifies this situation.

It is also understood that this situation has created a new and shared identity as "Turkish graduates" among international students studying at Turkish universities with the help of Turkish Scholarships. Through several activities Turkish Scholarships implements for its graduates, it contributes to continuing the relationship established between graduates and Turkey. This situation also indicates that Turkey is acting on the expectation that scholarship activities will have long-term impacts. In his speech at the graduation ceremony, the President of Turkey stated that he accepts international students as honorary ambassadors for Turkey. The Turkish Foreign Minister stated that YTB's activities spread Turkey's soft power to the world, supporting this impression.

Reaching out to international students from countries who feel distant from Turkey, who negatively perceive Turkey, and maintaining good diplomatic relations, can help Turkey build a more positive relationship with these students and their countries and cultures. At the same time, this situation may be critical for Turkey to defend its notions in the international arena, tell its own story more effectively, and gain the support of the outside world in the face of the difficulties it faces. From this study, we can see the impact of international students' graduates from Turkey, especially those who get a Turkish Scholarship, a government scholarship, plays a vital role as one of Turkey's soft power assets.

The increasing number of international students in Turkey indicates that higher education in Turkey has become better and more popular. Turkish scholarships also

have started to be branded as one of the most prestigious scholarship programs in the world. Turkey provides higher education support to thousands of international students every year with the Turkish Scholarships program, contributing to its popularity as one of the most popular countries to study. Especially for Indonesian students. Turkey has started to be seen as one of the most favourite countries to pursue their higher study.

Indonesia and Turkey have a very long history of bilateral relations. The Ottoman Empire was already helping the Aceh Kingdom in Indonesia fight the Portuguese invasion of Sumatra in 16th Century from the recorded history. Started in 1950, this year, Indonesia and Turkey have 70 years of diplomatic relations. On 5 April 2011, "Joint Declaration Indonesia-Turkey: Towards an Enhanced Partnership in a New World Setting" was signed by both presidents in Jakarta, Indonesia. This agreement is a commitment of both countries to enhance cooperation in political-security, economy, culture, education, technology and research, and strategic industries (kemlu.go.id). This solid bilateral relation, similar background and cultures, and most importantly, a significant Muslim population make Turkey a favourite country to study abroad. In 2019 – 2020, 1664 Indonesian students are currently studying in Turkish Universities (istatistik.yok.gov.tr). This number is excluding the students that are studying in Turkish high school. This number shows an increased interest of Indonesian students to study in Turkey.

The latest data shows that there are more than 500 Indonesian Turkish Scholarships alumni (until 2019, YTB records). These graduates are currently in politics, government, economy, business, academics, and other sectors. This study focuses on the alumni currently working in Indonesia's government sector; ministry, agency, and government universities. These alumni are a significant asset, a soft power investment for Turkey as they currently work for the Indonesian government.

The Indonesian government worker (bureaucrat) works for the states, the government program, and goals. According to UUD RI 1945 no. 43 Tahun 1999 (Indonesia's highest constitution), Indonesian bureaucrat must be available and obedient to Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the state, and the government in carrying out government and development tasks (Shelviana, 2015). They also make decisions, policies, and laws regarding the sector where they work. This is a big chance for

Turkey to insert their message, value, or interest towards Indonesia through their alumni.

Turkish scholarship alumni that already have Turkey's values, political arguments, image, recognition, and perception will include these in their daily work and life. As can be seen from all interviewees' statements, Turkish values have embedded in their lives, and they happily include them in their jobs. Even though they didn't have the opportunity now, they are currently working on it, look for it, or even voluntarily open to be 'used' by Turkey as their ambassador or agent in Indonesia. They want their study and Turkish experience to become more valuable for both Turkey and Indonesia.

It can be seen that Turkish Scholarships have made positive contributions to Turkey's soft power as a successful practice of public diplomacy. In this respect, considering the increasing activities of Turkey for current and graduate international students, it is estimated that Turkish Scholarships can make significant contributions to Turkey's soft power in the long term.

However, in the study, it was seen that YTB did not share enough data. They are unwilling to share the Indonesian alumni data, even though it's important to interview as much as the researcher can to provide better study results. It can be stated that the interviews conducted within the scope of this study are crucial in terms of understanding how the target audience perceives the Turkish Scholarships program. In the study, the face-to-face interview method enabled students to answer the questions more comfortably instead of the questionnaire. Interviews with international students, which lasted an hour on average, and one by one, enabled students to evaluate their thoughts about Turkey and Turkish Scholarships program with more specific expressions. The interviews also helped us evaluate the Turkish Scholarships' effect, which is the study's fundamental hypothesis on Turkey's soft power. As a result of the study, the statements of Indonesian Turkish Scholarship alumni's role in the government sector were examined in detail in the findings section. It was understood that the hypothesis that the Turkish Scholarships program contributed to Turkey's public diplomacy program towards Indonesia was acknowledged.

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ANNEXES

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

1. Initials: 1RR
 - Date of Interview: 10 December 2020
 - Age: 33
 - Turkish University: Kocaeli University
 - Degree/ Major: Master, Economy Policy
 - Years of Study: 2013 – 2017
 - Current jobs/ Institution: Supervisory Board of Central Bank of Indonesia
2. Initials: 2IR
 - Date of Interview: 21 December 2020
 - Age: 29
 - Turkish University: Hacettepe University
 - Degree/ Major: Bachelor, Economy
 - Years of Study: 2010 - 2015
 - Current jobs/ Institution: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. Previously (2 years), Regional Revenue Agencies of Banda Aceh Province
3. Initials: 3AD
 - Date of Interview: 22 December 2020
 - Age: 30
 - Turkish University: Marmara University
 - Degree/ Major: Master, Economic Development
 - Years of Study: 2012 - 2016
 - Current jobs/ Institution: Lecturer, Lampung University. Previously (2 years), Indonesian National Development Agency
4. Initials: 4SR
 - Date of Interview: 22 December 2020
 - Age: 32
 - Turkish University: Marmara University
 - Degree/ Major: Doctora, International Relations
 - Years of Study: 2011 - 2017
 - Current jobs/ Institution: Lecturer, Faculty of Strategic and Global Studies, Indonesia University
5. Initials: 5FR
 - Date of Interview: 22 December 2020
 - Age: 29
 - Turkish University: Istanbul University
 - Degree/ Major: Master, History
 - Years of Study: 2013 - 2016
 - Current jobs/ Institution: National Library of Republic of Indonesia

6. Initials: 6AS

- Date of Interview: 28 December 2020
- Name: Age: 32
- Turkish University: Kocaeli University
- Degree/ Major: Master, International Economy
- Years of Study: 2012 - 2016
- Current jobs/ Institution: Ministry of Public Works and Human Settlements of Republic of Indonesia

7. YTB Official

- Name: Muhamet Musa Budak
- Date of Interview: 21 May 2021
- Institution: Presidency For Turks Abroad and Related Communities (*Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı/YTB*)
- Position: Coordinator/ Manager

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RAESITA RAKHMAWATI ROSADI, S.Ikom.

Profile

Certified Junior Public Relations by BNSP (*Badan Nasional Sertifikasi Profesi/ National Professional Certification Agency of Indonesia*)

Awardee of Turkish Government Scholarship (*Türkiye Bursları*) 2018

Formal Education:

- 2011 : SMA Negeri 1 Bandung
- 2015 : Padjadjaran University, Public Relations Major
- 2021 : Kocaeli University, Public Relations Major

Job Experience :

- 2013 : Presenter of Movie Corner Program Bandung TV
- 2014 : Internship at Corporate Communications, PT. Bio Farma (PERSERO)
- 2015 – 2016 : Public Relations Officer at Batik Komar
- 2017 – 2018 : Public Relations Staff at Public Relations, Department of Bandung City Government
- 2018 : Presenter for Warta Bandung, I Channel TV
- 2018 : Radio announcer for Bandung City Government
- 2018 : Chief Committee of Indonesian City Government PR Summit
- 2021 : Part Time Education Consultant at Schoters
- 2021 : Turkish Language Teacher

Volunteers

- 2015 : PIC of collaboration between Batik Komar and NEST (American NGO)
- 2017 : Bandung Open Education Day by Co-Learning Space
- 2018 : Founder of *Capetang* English Speaking Club Bandung

Publications in 2020 :

1. Jokowi's Impression Management Strategy on Instagram during Indonesia's Presidential Election Campaign In 2019
2. Wonderful Indonesia Campaign as Indonesia's Nation Branding: An Overview through Digital Media as Promotion Tools