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Turkey's 'New Role' Creation under AKP Leadership:

Relationship between decision-maker's perceptions and state's international performance

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Author: Bahra Lokman Saleh

Advisor: Darcy Thompson

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Abstract

This thesis, in its general framework, explores the recent transformation of Turkey's role in international sphere under the ruling AKP government. Upon the rise of rise of AKP to power in 2002, the tradition of Turkey's foreign policy orientations underwent significant transformations and challenges which signified the country's ambition to adopt a 'new role' in the regional and international contexts. The states' drive to create or recreate a role has been widely discussed among theorists of IR studies, especially the role theorists. According to *national role conceptions*—a fundamental conceptual framework of role theory—a state's role is produced within a process of its decision-makers' *self-defined* goals, beliefs which shape the state's performance and role identity at the international level. Using this theoretical framework as an analytical tool, this thesis particularly aims to explore and understand the process Turkey's 'new role' creation. In this regard, since Ahmet Davutoglu is commonly known as the architect of the AKP's foreign policy decision-makings, this thesis looks at Davutoglu's speeches and Turkey's official development assistance as examples of both decision-makers' perceptions and state's international performance. This study concludes that Turkey's aid performance is orientated toward Davutoglu's perceptions and conceptions, which appear to have been underpinned by the ideology of neo-Ottomanism.

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Disposition

This thesis is structured into different chapters as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction. This chapter includes the introduction to the topic background; the focus and significance of the study and the research question. This chapter introduces Turkey's transformation and its drive to create a new role under the ruling AKP government. It also introduces the notion of state roles in the domain of international relations.

Chapter 2: Literature review. This chapter takes a journey through the academic contributions to the research topic. It introduces what has been discussed about Turkey's drive to create a new role in the international sphere, and how scholars discuss state roles in IR studies.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework. This chapter introduces the theoretical framework this thesis has used as an analytical tool to understand the research problem. In general, this thesis has used role theory in IR studies, within this theory, *national role conceptions* as the core conceptual framework of the theory has been used.

Chapter 4: Methodology. This chapter discusses the methodological philosophy, approach, strategy and techniques the thesis has used throughout the study process.

Chapter 5: Findings. This chapter presents the findings from the data collection process. This thesis focused on Davutoglu's speeches and Turkish foreign aid coordination. The findings thus presents the pictorial summery and analysis produced from the data collection process.

Chapter 6: Analysis. This chapter analyses and discusses the findings in relations to *national role conceptions* theoretical framework so as to answer the research question. This chapter also provides a summary of the discussion.

Chapter 7: Conclusion.

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Chapter 9: Appendix. Due to space constrains, this thesis provides full detail of the findings: TIKA's activities, Davutoglu's excerpted speeches and TIKA's ODA regional distributions.

Abbreviations

JDP   Justice and Development Party (Turkish: *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi – AKP*)

TIKA   Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (Turkish: *Türk İşbirliği ve Kalkınma İdaresi Başkanlığı*, TİKA)

OECD   Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

ODA   Official Development Assistance

DAC   Development Assistance Committee

SETA   Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research

AFAD   Prime Ministry Disaster & Emergency Management Authority

BRIC   Brazil, Russia, India and China

MINT   Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria and Turkey

EU   European Union

IR   International Relations

FPA   Foreign Policy Analysis

DA   Discourse Analysis

Note:

In the text, the Turkish abbreviation of ''AKP'' and ''TIKA'' are used to refer to the Justice development Party and Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency.

Introduction

On August 30th 2011, the then Turkish Foreign Minister, Ahmet Davutgolu, conduced a tour to Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Romania where he performed the *tarawih* prayers[1] in Kosovo cities of Pristina and Prizren and Eid al-Fitr prayer at Sarajevo's Gazi Husrev Bey Mosque, which is an Ottoman-constructed mosque. While landing in Romania, he performed noon prayer at Hunrak Mosque, an Ottoman constructed mosque in Constanta, where he also expressed Eid's best wishes to the local residents (Celin 2011). This was the first time for a Turkish foreign minister to meet political figures from the Balkan region inside the Ottoman-constructed mosques. This tour, however, triggered controversial discussions about Turkey's AKP international behavior. Choosing "mosque" as a place of exchanging diplomatic conversations between Turkey and the region in fact gave a momentum to the existing discourse about AKP's role at the international level (ibid.).

Turkey's Transformation under AKP Rule

The tradition of Turkish politics has undergone significant transformations upon the rise of the ruling AKP (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*) to power in 2002. To-day, the AKP is the ruling political party which is known for both its neoliberal conservative democracy – rooted in Islamic ideology (Toledan 2011, 40). From 2002 onwards, Turkey has boosted its economic profile and become the 16th largest economy in the world[2]. The AKP's Turkey has also claimed to be a model for the Muslim world, assuming its version of what has been called 'Islamic democracy' in which it advocates the compatibility and balance between Islam and democracy (Ibrahim 2013, 5; Warning and Kardas 2011, 129).

Over the past decade, Turkey has experienced a new era of domestic and foreign affairs of which the latter has attracted more considerable international attention due to its drive to assume a new image in the international sphere. Academic scholars and political analysts normally describe the AKP's new image and role as new diplomatic activism (Ulgen 2013, 5;

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[1] *Tarawih* is Islamic prayers practiced by Muslims during both Ramadan month and the first morning of the two Islamic feasts, Eid Al-Fitr (Ramadan) and Eid Al- Adha

[2] According the official governmental website of 'Invest in Turkey' (http://www.invest.gov.tr), Turkey had managed to transform its economic outlook in a short time from 2002 to 2014.

Turan 2012, 7; Ruma 2010, 133). Turkey's diplomatic activism denotes the fact that the country's level of involvement in the global context has increased in various ways. Turkey's constant claim to build peaceful and stabilized environments in its neighboring region represents AKP's desire to mediate in the conflicted areas surrounding Turkey's peninsula (Kulalikaya and Nurdun 2010, 132). In the past few years, Turkish government held several High-Level Committee meetings with representatives of potentially conflicted areas such as Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Israel, Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, assuming a mediating role (Evin 2009, 229; Fisher 2009, 13; Ruma 2010, 136). The dawn of the Arab Spring gave yet another momentum to the existing discussion of Turkey's moderate, secular and Islamic version of democracy and neoliberal economy – the Turkish model – and have encouraged countries like Egypt and Tunisia to replicate Turkish model for their emerging democracies (Ibrahim 2013, 5)

Furthermore, the AKP's pursuit of a new image and role paved the way to the rise of Turkey as an emerging donor in the intentional donor community, which represents yet another example of Turkey's diplomatic activism. Turkey's ODA (Official Development Assistance) 2012 contributions of $2.53 billion made the fourth largest donor among the international donor community[3]. According to the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) annual report for 2013, Turkey's net ODA reached its climax, $ 3.3 billion, which represents a 30% increase in real terms in comparison with 2012 (ibid).

The former Foreign Minister and current Prime Minister, Ahemet Davutoglu[4], is commonly identified as the architect of Turkish new role and image (via his foreign policy visions) in the international arena. Normally, Rejep Teyyip Erdogan, the current Turkish President, is regarded as the leading figure of Turkey's new political and economic image and role, but in reality as this thesis will show, Davutoglu takes the credit as the mastermind behind

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[3] The data were taken from the official OECD website - http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats/turkeys-official-development-assistanceoda.htm

[4] Ahmet Davutoglu is the current Prime Minister of Turkish Republic and the leader of AKP political party, who previously served as the chief advisor to the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan from 2002 to 2009 and as Turkish Foreign Minister from 2009 to 2014. He is also political scientist, academician and diplomat. In 2001, he published *Strategic Depth*, which is generally considered as the most influential doctrine of Turkey's foreign policy orientations towards the international politics.

Turkey's new role and image in the global context (Walker 2010, 2; Soler 2011, 3; Fisher 2009, 10). Davutoglu's vision of Turkey new role is presented in his prominent book, *Strategic Depth*, which describes Turkey as a great and central power. In his book, he has re-defined and re-conceptualized Turkey's foreign policy based on five prominent principles which resulted in the significant change of Turkey's foreign policy orientations and most importantly Turkey's behavior in the international system. The five principles, the pillars of AKP's foreign policy, are as follows:

> 1) Balance between freedom and security
>
> 2) Zero problems with neighbors.
>
> 3) Multi-dimensional and multi-track policies.
>
> 4) A new diplomatic discourse based on firm flexibility.
>
> 5) Rhythmic diplomacy (Sozen 2011, 110)

These pillars have been driven by the desire to introduce a new narrative in the Turkish diplomatic politics. Apparently, all of the five pillars aim at a new diplomatic discourse with which Turkey could play an active, flexible, friendly and multi-dimensional role towards its outside world – namely its neighboring regions. Furthermore, these pillars thus have altogether motivated Turkey to a) not only claim to solving problems with its neighbors but also become a problem solver b) pursue good relations with everyone and c) assume a new active diplomacy based on dialogue and flexibility. Therefore, these principles particularly represent Turkey's desire to create new image and role in the international arena, pursing a new diplomatic activism. Throughout the analysis of the findings, this thesis will illustrate that Turkey's pursuit of new diplomatic activism appears to have been underpinned by the ideology of neo-Ottomanism, which enables Turkey to adopt an active regionalist role considering its past religious and ethno-cultural elements (Tüysüzoğlu 2014, 93).

Role Building Process

Under the AKP ear of leadership, Turkey has undergone significant transformations due to its drive to play a new role. This new role has its manifestations in Turkey's current behavior in the

international sphere. Generally, states' roles in the international arena vary from one to another. Theories of IR (International Relations) emphasize ON various reasons of why states seek to change or preserve their roles over time. This thesis is interested in looking at why and how one particular state, Turkey, changed its role. Role theory, as an IR theory, offers a framework in this regard to understand the very reasons of why states change their roles in the international structure and how this is being done. Role theory looks specifically at the role creation process.

Although role theory has its roots in the studies of theater and social psychology, it became a very prominent theory in the fields of international relations and foreign policy analysis by the beginning of 1970s. The American political scientist, Kalevi Holsti, first (1970) elucidated on the notion of role theory to analytically explain states' roles (behavior) in the international structure – role building process. To do so, he evolved on role theory and generated the notion of *national role conceptions*, which stands as the core conceptual framework of role theory. Holsti's theoretical framework argues that it is primarily decision-makers' own perceptions that drive and shape states' role (performance) in the international or regional systems. Holsti's perception of role building process will be thoroughly discussed in the theory chapter of the thesis.

Focus and Significance of Thesis

This thesis focuses on Turkey's role building process under the leadership of ruling AKP. To understand how Turkey's role building process has taken place is the central objective of this study. Therefore, I will employ *national role conceptions* conceptual framework of role theory framework as an analytical tool to investigate the process. My thesis will introduce a new approach for looking at these transformations through conceptualizing Turkey's role building process from the lens of *national role conceptions*. That said, this thesis looks into the potential effects of Davutoglu's perception on the performance of Turkey's behavior at the intentional level.

Research Question

This thesis aims to answer: How has Turkey's 'new role' developed? What factors and processes have contributed to this 'new role' creation, and how can one understand this change process?

Literature Review

The purpose of this thesis is to understand how Turkey's new role and image has been produced over the past decade of the AKP's leadership. It is therefore essential to introduce debates about Turkey's new role and image in the international context. In the following paragraphs, this thesis will shed light on different arguments and definitions academic scholars and writers have synthesized in regards to Turkey's changing national performance in the global context. This thesis will also introduce debates and thoughts about the notion of states' roles in international relations but also states' role creation process. This chapter therefore aims to illustrate respective understandings the academic works have contributed to the thesis topic, and find a way where this study could introduce a new approach to the existing understandings.

Turkey's New Role

The discussion about Turkey's changing role in the international order is rather controversial. There is however a general agreement among the analysts and authors believing that the AKP's era of leadership marked a breakaway from Turkey's traditional role in global politics – being a bridge or a buffer country between the East and the West. Over the past decade till present time, Turkey has been claiming and in fact showing the world that it no longer remains a bridge or buffer country, but rather is a "central" country and also a "global actor" in the regional and international systems (Bozagliglu 2008, 70). Yucel Bozagliglu, a Turkish academician, argues the AKP headquarters have worked to introduce a new discourse about the role of Turkey which presents the country as a central power due to its geographic location between the Muslim and Western world by improving good relations with it surrounding regions.

In order to identify Turkey's 'new role', authors normally refer to the founding principles of the AKP's new international and regional narrative – Davutoglu's vision. The motto of "zero-problem policy with neighbors" represents the AKP's heavy emphasis on using soft power, improving relations with neighboring countries and enhancing bilateral agreements, asserting Turkey's diplomatic efforts to play the role of regional and global power (Onis 2011, 58). Ziya Onis, a Turkish scholar, believes Turkey's performance is going with the direction of the BRICs

countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) due to its ambition assuming "a more active role" in the changing global system (ibid.). On the other hand, Turkey's role as a "mediator" is yet another debate, arguing Ankara's role as a mediator that has been usually discussed when it comes to its regional policies towards neighboring Middle East and North Africa, Balkans and South Caucasus. In other words, Turkey has been pursuing diplomatic means to have a say in regional politics, especially at the time of emerging crisis. Its mediatory role in Iranian nuclear ambition, August 2008 Georgia-Russian War, Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Bosnian-Serbian conflict and Iraq and Syrian crises, all exemplify Turkey's new mediatory role towards the neighboring region (Evin 2009; Ruma 2010). This leads to the discussion of Turkey's new role as "peace contributor" in the regional and global context. Hajrudin Somnu, the Ambassador of Bosnia-Herzovagina to Turkey, argues Turkey has put deliberate efforts to provide peace, stability and prosperity in the Balkan region by which he credits AKP's "soft power" diplomatic means (Somnu 2011, 38). Building up on the discussion of Turkey's role of playing "soft power", Omer Taspinar, Senior Turkish scholar, believes that Ankara's changing role is merely the matter of "exerting more soft power" projections in economic, political, cultural and diplomatic terms regions where Turkey perceives interests (Taspinar 2011, 2).

Some studies rather emphasize on Turkey's changing role as a "rising donor" due its increasing contributions to humanitarian and official development assistance. Some academic authors tend to argue Turkey's new role performance from the lens of the country's increasing foreign aid contributions. Turkey's desire to be a visible donor among the international donor community corresponds to yet another active role. However, the reason for playing this role is rooted in Turkey's claim of being "a responsible" actor contributing to the global social, political and economic development, especially towards its "civilizational kin" – starting from Central Asia to Africa (Kardas 2013, 2; Bikmen 2013, 1). On the other hand, another reason Turkey has recently adopted "donor" role is fuelled by the AKP's drive to create a "peaceful and stable environment", helping the countries suffering from conflicts (Kulalikaya and Nurdan 2010, 138). These arguments underline Turkey's recent diplomatic activism, yet they lack conceptual understandings behind the production of these rapid changes.

Furthermore, Turkey's changing role has been sometimes tied to rather ideological perspectives. Due to AKP's root in Islamic ideology but also the political and security upheavals in the Middle East after the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, Turkey has recently played a new role – shifting axis towards the Muslim world (Oğuzlu 2008, 25). Another interpretation of this new role underlines Turkey's new image as "the leader of the Muslim world", due to the AKP's claims of Islamic democracy but also common history with Islamic civilization (Murinson 2006, 945; Ruma 2010, 138; Warning and Kardas 2011, 148). On the other hand, some analysts argue that Turkey's changing role and image in the regional system corresponds to the ruling AKP's desire to "actively re-shape the regional order of things", or play as an "order setter" – criticizing this role for holding ideological undertone (Toledan 2011, 42; Ulgen 2013, 9).

Nevertheless, there is another perspective argues that the AKP's Turkey has not adopted any new role and image, instead it merely represents a continuity of Turgut Ozal's policies[5] of the early 1990s (Aras 2009, 9). As a chief advisor to Davutoglu, Bulent Aras rejects all the criticisms that define Turkey's emerging active role with ideological grounds, assuring that AKP's only attempts to establish good relations with everyone but also reconcile with its history. Unlike Ozal's launch of activism in the early 1990s, AKP's diplomatic activism at the international level has yet attracted worldwide attention due to the fact that Turkey nowadays enjoys enough resources to put its role perceptions into implementations (Fisher 2009, 11).

Notion of States' Roles in IR Theories

The questions of how states produce certain roles and why these roles vary from a state to another are widely discussed and debated among IR political scientists and theorists. To-day the authors of IR theories have been questioning states' roles, attempting to understand how these roles are being produced. Generally, the major IR theorists (Waltz 1958; Holsti 1970; Walker

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[5] Turgut Ozal was Turkish politician from the Motherland Party who served as the 26th Turkish Prime Minster from 1983 to 1989 and the 8th President from 1989 to 1993. He is known for his ambition to position Turkey as a regional active power in the international sphere, especially towards the emerging Turkic republics in Central Asia. After the dissolute of Soviet Union and the end of Cold War, Ozal declared Turkey will no longer act like buffer country and instead pursue an active role in the global context.

1978; Chafetz 1997), who focus on the notion of state's roles, tend to analyze the determinants of state's overall behavior at the international level with a three-fold explanation. First, the role of individual policymakers can determine state behavior. Second, national and societal developments can determine state behavior. Third, changes in international structure can also determine state behavior (Hobson 2000, 11). Furthermore, Stephen Walker, as a prominent IR theorist, argues that "role expectations, role cues and role demands" are the three independent variable determining state's role (behavior) in the international structure, by each he means state's obligations, actions and additional features "such as the compassion of the audience" (Wish 1980, 534). The change of each variable exerts a certain influence on the change of state's overall role in the intentional relations.

Another perspective about national role production concerns with the states' location in the international structure. Sometime national roles go through conflict and competition with each other, and countries therefore respond and enact roles to cope with these conflicts. Because of this, Walker argues that "role structure" at this particular situation is the product of the "role-location process", of nations in the system (Benes 2011, 6). At the time of conflicts, the decision of a national role to change its role in an attempt to solve its own conflict, will impact the decision of the other national roles in the given system. An example here would be the case of Syrian crisis and its effects on the decision-making (role changing) of the other neighboring national roles in the regional system, as each country needs to adopt its role to cope with the existing conflict.

The four major IR theories, realism, liberalism, constructivism and Marxism, yet explain the notion of state roles from potentially different perspectives. J. H. Morgenthau, one of the leading IR theorists of twentieth century, explains state roles from the lens of two key components of classical realism theory, power and national interest. In other words, the classical realists generally believe that rational states behave and act in accordance with their national interests to maximize their power in the international context (Walt 1998, 31). Whereas, Kenneth Waltz, as a neorealist, focuses more on the impact of "international structure" in shaping state roles, arguing that international structure is anarchic and in order for states to survive balance of

power becomes necessary (ibid.).   The theorists from liberalism school however argue that state roles are being produced based on the notion of cooperation and economic interdependency which encourages states to avoid conflict (ibid.)

On the other hand, constructivism provides a different approach to the notion of state roles in the international structure. Constructivists like Alexander Wendt, Ted Hops and Audie Klotz, tie states' roles in the international system to "norms, identities and social practices," believing that role creation process is determined by these variables which shape the way states act, understand and "respond to their situations" (ibid, 41; Hopf 1990, 172; Benes 2011, 4). Lastly, the theorists from Marxism school generally believe state behavior in the international system is determine by capitalism system in which all states pursue maximizing their "capital accumulation" and enact roles for the sake of their pursuit of capital (Ziso 2010, 89).

Concluding Remarks

The above studies have generally attempted to *identify* the AKP Turkey's 'new role' in the international arena. There is a lack of conceptualization of how this 'new role' actually has produced in the first place and how one can understand the conceptual foundations behind the production and the process of the 'new role'. This thesis therefore aims to fill up this gab by thoroughly providing a conceptual understanding behind Turkey's role building process, and specifically looks at Turkey's ODA performance in the international sphere, which is underexplored by both national and international authors. To do so, the aforementioned IR theories do not seem perfectly appropriate to answer the research question; therefore, this thesis uses *national role conceptions* theoretical framework to conceptually explore the *process* of Turkey's 'new role' creation under the AKP leadership.

Theoretical Framework

 This thesis, in its general framework, will use role theory as an analytical tool to understand the process of Turkey's role and image creation under the ruling AKP leadership. As briefly mentioned in the introduction, this thesis in general will employ role theory of IR studies to understand and explore how Turkey's new role has been produced. However, it is important to make a note for the readers that within role theory lies Holsti's *national role conceptions* as a core conceptual framework of the theory, which is what this thesis will continue to use throughout the following chapters. Since *national role conceptions* is conceptual framework within the larger field of role theory, it is important to shed light on how role theory became a prominent IR theory. Unlike other theories in IR studies, role theory had not been initiated by IR theorists in the first place, but instead it was borrowed from other fields of studies. It is therefore important to understand the history of role theory and its recent adoption into IR studies.

Initiation of Role Theory

The ancient Chinese philosopher, Confucius, once said, "The ruler rules, the minister ministers, the father fathers, and the son sons" (Biddle 1979, 58). By this, he meant to refer to the notion of role in general and how each person, according to his or her social and political position in the society, plays the role he or she should play. This saying, in fact, involves three key notions: role, behavior, and position of the actor. To date, theses notions constitute a central focus of the conceptual understanding of role theory. Despite its wide use in the studies of cinema and theater, the notion of *role* received a great deal of interest among sociologists and social psychologists studying human behaviors (actions and decisions). This later became known as what is called *role theory*. Prominent phycologist t and sociologist from New Zealand, Bruce J. Biddle, has dedicated years of his life studying role theory in the context of social psychology. Biddle elucidates the concept of role and argues that a) "roles are behavioral," b) "roles are performed by persons," c) "roles are normally limited in some ways by contextual specifications," and d) "roles consist of those behaviors that are characteristic of a set person in a context" (ibid. 60). That said, he has conveyed the fact that role performance changes from a context to another and that contexts such as classes, places, and occasions (i.e. positions in social

structures), pose limitations and boundaries on persons' roles; whereas, characteristics include categorization of the behaviors. In sum, Biddle has highlighted that roles consist of those behaviors that are performed by persons in a context with varied characteristics.

Holsti's National Role Conceptions

Role theory, borrowed from the studies of psychology and sociology, recently attracted considerable attention in the studies of IR and foreign policy analysis (FPA). Role theory in the studies of IR generally attempts to underscore how a nation perceives itself, "its role and position" in the international system (Smith , Hafield and Dunne 2012, 32). The way states behave and perform in certain ways in the international domain remains the central focus of Role theorists. Kalvi Holsti (1970) was the first political scientist who elucidated on the notion of role in the IR studies by inventing the conceptual framework of *national role conception* of role theory. He is the one who first borrowed role theory into IR studies, but his role theory is understood through the conceptual framework of *national role conceptions.* From there, he set the stage for other IR theorists, for instance Stephen G. Walker, to evolve on the notion of role theory.

Holsti's approach to states' roles in the intentional system has been intensively manifested in his conceptual understanding of national role conceptions. As briefly defined in the introduction, national role conceptions are policymakers' "*own definitions*" and *image* of the general kinds of "decisions, commitments, rules and actions suitable to their state" along with the functions they think their state should perform in the international relations (Holsti, 245). In other words, national role conceptions are the policymakers' *image* of suitable decisions, actions and functions which they think their state should take toward, or within, the external environment. The idea that individually *defined* and *imagined* perceptions fundamentally determine states' roles (performance) in the international system, in fact, constitutes the principal premise of the conceptual framework of national role conceptions.

The reason for this solid focus on individual decision makers lies in the fact that one's behavior is determined by one's "self-defined" goals and norms and what is socially expected

from the self. In other words, it is "self-defined goals and norms of conduct, social norms and expectations" that determine individual behavior (239). This explains how Holsti has drawn his theoretical framework of *national role conceptions*, and additionally, how these self-defined goals, norms along with expectations of decision-makers will translate into states national role performance in the international context. Role performance consists of set of decisions, patterns, commitments and actions state decision-makers take towards other nations in the international system – state performance towards, or within, international system. Role performance of governments are also called *national roles* in Holsti's words. The following diagram presents Holsti's fundamental approach of role theory (246).
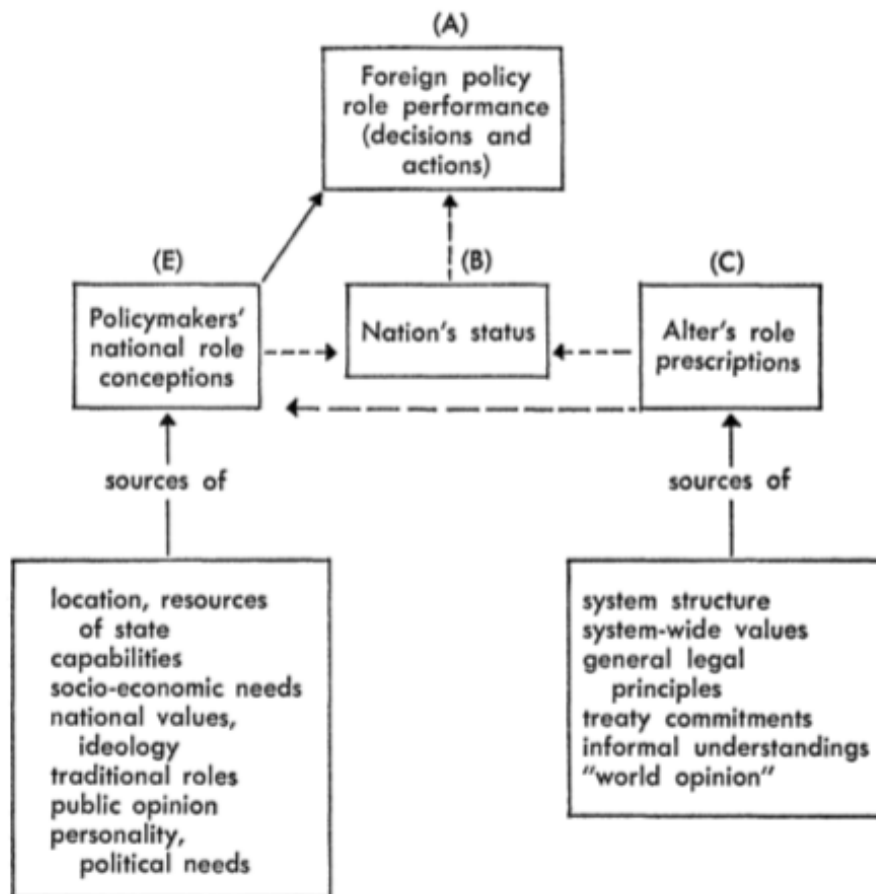

Figure 1: Role Theory: National Role Conceptions and Role Performance

In addition to *national role conceptions* there are "role prescriptions and status" which both function as indirect independent variables posing indirect influence on states' role performance in the international structure. Status refers to the "rough estimation" of the state's ranking in the international arena whereas role prescriptions include the "norms, expectations, cultures, societies, institutions or groups" that are "external" influences to the decision-makers (ibid.). Therefore, there are four concepts by which states' overall foreign policy attitude and actions in the international sphere can be understood: national role conception self-defined, role performance, role prescription and position/status.

However, Holsti's major emphasis of the above diagram is concentrated on the notion of "national role conceptions" and the potential sources of the conceptions – box E. In other words, the diagram assumes that state performance, *national roles,* "results from, or is consistence with decision-makers' conceptions of their state orientations and tasks in the international system" (245). As mentioned earlier, these conceptions are interpreted as the decision-makers "image of the appropriate orientations and functions of their state" toward, or within, external environment" (ibid.). Although "status and role prescriptions" are also relevant to role performance of governments, Holsti chooses to underexplore them because he thinks their influence is indirect and less effective. As shown in box E, the sources of national role conceptions vary such as location of the state, national values, ideology, traditional roles, public opinion, political and socio-economic needs and state resources. Each of these sources could more or less has an impact shaping national role conceptions of the decision-makers, and ultimately shaping the governments' overall national roles – role performance.

Furthermore, Holsti's conceptual framework also introduces a certain typology descriptions of state roles in the international system. He argues conceptual framework of national role conceptions has a powerful potential to describe a nation's behavior in relations to its involvement in the international arena. On the international level, a nation's role represents the nation's identity. In other words, a nation's role performance through foreign policy decision makings fundamentally displays the nations' identity. It is essential to keep in mind states' foreign policy decision makings shape states' overall behavior in the international arena. That

said, the more the state is involved in the international affairs, the more visible its role and identity it is (Thies 2009, 7). Holsti distinguishes the role typology of states based on the level of involvement which ranges from "complete involvement" where the role "is the identity" and loads of effort is expended upon the role to "complete noninvolvement" in which the role does not implicate identity at all (ibid.). The typology of national roles is therefore listed from complete involvement to complete noninvolvement such as "revolutionist/imperialist, bloc, balancer, mediator, non-aligned, buffer, isolate and protectee" (Holsti, 255). In sum, the core dynamic of role theory from the lens of Holsti's conceptual framework—*national role conceptions*—argues that decision-makers' own beliefs, images and goals, shape state's performance, i.e. national role conceptions of decision-makers drive national role performance of states. (UK Essays 2013)

Theory Application

With the help of *national role conceptions* theoretical framework as an analytical tool, this thesis will look at Turkey's role building process under the ruling AKP leadership. This theory is helpful because it looks at how individual's self-defined perceptions drive the state's overall performance (behavior) in the external environment. It is particularly helpful because it looks at how these two components, perception and performance, interact to create a new role and image for states in the international system. Having this theory as an analytical tool, I will look at Davutoglu's speeches as the perception Turkey's role building process, and will investigate Turkey's actions in the sphere of international development aid as Turkey's performance within the international system.

It is important to note that since *national role conceptions* is also about decision-makers' *images* of appropriate functions to their state, this thesis, throughout the following chapters, will use "conceptions and perceptions" or "conceptions/perceptions" or one of them (either perceptions or conceptions) interchangeably while referring to decision-makers' set of beliefs, images, goals.

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to understand and explore how has Turkey's new role and image been produced over the past decade of the ruling AKP government, uncovering the new role creation process by looking at the interactions between policymaker's perception and the state's overall role performance in the makings of new roles. For this purpose, an appropriate methodology should be provided to help proceeding the nature of this thesis. This chapter will therefore present different steps of the methodological approach, strategy and technique this thesis has used, referring to (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009) as key methodology book as guidelines.

Inductive Approach

This thesis aims to explore the nature of Turkey's new role creation process. My research question looks into the factors and processes that have contributed to this new role creation process in order to make sense of and analyze the overall process. This thesis neither proves nor test anything. For instance, I do not attempt to identify whether or not the Turkish government has recently become a mediator in the regional and international politics. Instead, I try to commit the scope of my thesis to uncovering how Turkey's 'new role' building process has developed toward, or within, the international system over the past decade of the AKP leadership.

Since the mere purpose of this thesis is to understand, explore and analyze this changing process, the inductive approach is the most appropriate way to look at this type of research. The inductive approach enables me to look at the problem from a bottom-up framework to generate a broader understanding in connection with my theory that explains the whole Turkey's new role creation process. In the inductive approach, as (Bryman 2012, 24) presents, the researcher "infers the implications of his or her findings for the theory that prompted the whole exercise. The findings are fed back into the stock of the theory, and the research findings associated with a certain domain of enquiry." Therefore, generating a broader understanding of how has Turkey developed its new role creation process, and inferring the thesis findings with *national role conceptions* theoretical framework, explains the inductive nature of this research.

Interpretivism

This thesis will follow the tradition of interpretivism philosophical stance. The choice of a philosophical stance will influence the result of data collections and data analysis (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009). Among other common research philosophies such as positivism, realism, constructivism, objectivism and pragmatism, this thesis will assume interpretvism as it allows me to produce an end result from my collected data.

In particular, interpretivism stance provides me with the opportunity to produce meaningful explanations by analyzing the collected data. Another reason for my choice of interpretivism tradition lies in the fact that it allows me to grasp and explain meanings out of thoughts, ideas and actions individuals confer upon their own and other's (Bryman 2012; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009). Since this thesis looks at Davutoglu's perceptions through his speeches, interpretivsim stance seems the most appropriate research tradition with which I could explain how his perceptions interact with Turkey's national performance, but also infer a broader and meaningful understanding as an end result of data analysis.

Research Strategy

The choice of case study appears to be the most appropriate research strategy of my type of research. Case study design normally allows the researcher to look at a single case in an attempt to establish detailed, extensive and intensive analysis of the case (Bryman 66). The prominent methodologists specializing on case study design are Robert Stake (1995) and Robert Yin (2003, 2006). In Stake and Yin's perspective, case study design generally makes the researcher to a) construct a detailed and well-explored research and b) make sure that "the essence of the phenomenon is revealed" (Baxter and Jack 2008, 545). In other words, the purpose of case study design is to establish a solid and detailed understanding of certain situation in its real context. This design therefore helps me understand the essence of how and why Turkey's new role creation process has developed during the AKP leadership, but also apply intensive and detailed analysis in relations *national role conception* theoretical framework. This way case

study design allows me to reach clear and analytical conclusion of the collected data with a solid understanding of the process.

Data Collection and Data Analysis

This overall choice of this thesis falls under the category of mono-method research, meaning "either quantitative or qualitative data is collected rather than a combination of both" (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009). The data collection of this thesis has been conducted qualitatively. To simplify, the aspects that make my thesis qualitative in nature are three-fold: a) this study deals with "words rather than numbers" while analyzing Davutoglu's speeches, b) applies inductive approach because my research question will produce a broader understanding about Turkey's new role creation process in relations with *national role conceptions* theoretical framework, and c) and employs interpretivism as philosophical stance to grasp meaningful concluding result from my data collection and data analysis of my research phenomenon (Bryman, 380). However, within the qualitative framework, I have chosen a mixed-method for my data analysis, using discourse analysis and document analysis method strategies. I have chosen discourse analysis to analyze the first part of my data, the speeches; and document analysis to go into depth analyzing Turkish ODA activity reports. I will further elaborate on the two strategies in the following sub-sections.

In regards to my thesis time horizons, I have assumed longitudinal, meaning the study of "events and behaviors over a longer period of time" (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill 2009). This thesis has chosen the case study of Turkey's era of AKP leadership as its time horizon which begins from 2002 to present time. Davutoglu's political and diplomatic role in Turkish politics also begins in 2002 when he was appointed as chief advisor to the then Prime Minister Erdogan. In order to understand how Turkey's new role creation process has developed, what might be the contributing factors to the process and what can be the reflections of the process in real-life national performance, I have decided to look at two sets of data – speeches and documents.

To be able to answer the research question, I looked at Davtuoglu's speeches to understand his perceptions of Turkey's new role. Excerpts from seven of his speeches have been

collected, they are a mixture of national and international speeches. I have however made a random selection while collecting his speeches. For the international speeches, I used English youtube/google searches with keywords of "Davtuoglu's speeches" and "Turkey's role." As for the national speeches, I randomly selected the speeches which came up in my English and Turkish search so as to minimize any potential biases. The speeches are yet a mixture of scripts and videos. Three of the speeches are given in English to international audience at international conferences, whereas the other four are given in Turkish for national audience at national conferences. Davutoglu was appointed as Erdogan's chief advisor at the very dawn of the AKP rule in 2002 till 2009, yet the collected speeches are given between 2009 and the present time due the fact Davutoglu became the Turkish Foreign Minister in 2009. With receiving some translation help, I translated and transcribed the Turkish speeches. To make sense of and analyze the collected speeches, I have assumed discourse analysis methodological strategy.

Discourse Analysis (DA)

Discourse analysis as strategy of data analysis allows the researcher to break down the meanings produced from language or other forms of communication. DA, as Bryman explains it from Jonathan Potter's (1997) point of view, deals with language spoken or written and "emphasizes on way version of the world, of society, event, and inner psychological worlds are produced in discourse" (Byrman, 528). Breaking down Davutoglu's speeches, as a form of discourse, therefore allows me to understand and explain produced meanings his perceptions and versions entail about Turkey role toward, or within, international arena.

In order to breakdown the excerpted speeches into a unit of analysis, I have used initial coding technique in this regard. Initial coding has been a very supportive method technique to "label, separate, compile and organize" data. (ibid, 568). Following the initial coding step, I developed more focused codes. In other words, I organized the initial codes into more precise themes. For instance, the initial code of "Turkey's historical roots; power derived from it" was developed into "past/historic significance" theme. The themes are: past/historical significance religious/ethno-cultural prominence, responsibility to region, active player and regional power.

The themes represent Davutoglu's perceptions. The speech codes /themes analysis will be thoroughly presented in the findings chapter.

Furthermore, according to *national role conceptions* theoretical framework, I needed to take these these perception themes and look to see if and how they are represented in Turkey's action/performance at the international level. I used ODA in particular because it was accessible, while data on other forms of Turkey's international action were not. Therefore, I decided to look at Turkish ODA as representative of Turkey's action/performance to see if Davutoglu's perceptions influenced the coordination of ODA. Here, document analysis is chosen as the second method strategy for the collection and analysis of Turkish ODA.

Document Analysis

To collect Turkish ODA data, this thesis used the published documents from the governmental TIKA agency (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency) as the primary source. Since its establishment in 1992, TIKA has been functioning as a governmental agency being responsible for registering Turkey's official outflows and inflows of foreign aid[6]. TIKA used to run under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before its transition into the direct supervision of Prime Ministry Office in 1999. TIKA's activity has geographically expanded since 2002, and today it runs its service with "39 Program Coordination Offices in 38 cooperation partner countries" (TIKA 2015). Most of my data were collected from TIKA's official website. There are three types of publications on this website: daily news publications, annual aid reports and annual activity reports. The difference between the annual aid reports and the annual activity reports is that the former provide all of the annual statistics and numbers of aid outflows, whereas the latter provide detailed descriptions about each activity TIKA has carried out in different sectors and in different countries across regions in the world.

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[6] Normally Turkey's foreign aid contributions are carried out by two major governmental agencies, AFAD and TIKA. The former coordinates aid in humanitarian and disaster terms; whereas, the latter usually coordinates Turkish ODA in bilateral and multilateral terms. AFAD was established in 2009 to carry out aid missions in response to urgent humanitarian crises and natural disasters, extending helping hand to anywhere in the world where there is urgent humanitarian crises or natural disasters such as the humanitarian crises in Syria and Kobani and the very recent natural disaster in Nepal.

Throughout the study process, I constantly kept an eye on the website and read through their daily news and activities. However, for the data collection process, I have collected all the annual activity reports from 2005 to 2013, as these years were the only published ones, to look through the descriptions of annual activities in each year. However, not all of the data have been collected digitally on the website; rather, I have physically collected the annual activity reports of 2012 and 2013 in hard copies, because they were not published on the website by the time I was collecting the data. While doing my internship at SETA (Political, Economic and Social Research Foundation) foundation in Ankara, I used my connections to collect the 2012 and 2013 annual activity reports. While in SETA, I happened to know several researchers and research assistants, they were friendly and supportive. In addition, I also looked at the published annual reports from 2004 to 2013 to see the data on Turkey's regional distribution of ODA. I collected all the annual regional distributions and constructed pie charts about them. Due to space constrains, the pie charts will be presented in the appendix. Another piece of data I collected out of these annual reports demonstrates the evolution of Turkey's ODA since 2002 till 2013. Both types of the publications, annual activity reports and annual reports, helped me answer my research question – *if and how* Davutoglu's perceptions of 'Turkey's new role' translate to a new international role.

The reason why I chose the time horizon from 2004-2005 to 2013 are two-fold. Firstly, this time is basically AKP's era of leadership. Secondly, TIKA's publications starts from 2004(for the annual reports) and 2005 (for the annual activity reports) till 2013, so these years were the only available and accessible ones. The website publishes in Turkish and English. However, some of the reports were only published in Turkish, and this posed a major challenge for my data collection and analysis processes. I nonetheless successfully managed to overcome the challenge due to my Turkish language skill, and the fact that several of the documents were in published in English actually eased the process to a certain extent, too. In regards to the data analysis process, document analysis strategy has been very supportive.

As Gleen Bowen puts it, document analysis "is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents" which basically requires that "data be examined and interpreted in order

to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge" (Bowen 2009, 27). This methodological strategy pays significant attention to texts, images and figures. While collecting all the data, I looked through the annual activity reports, outlining all Turkish ODA per country. In order to see *if* and *how* Davtutoglu's perceptions of a 'new Turkey' translates to a new international role, I needed to take the themes, which came up in my discourse analysis his speeches, in order to guide my investigation and help me narrow the scope my document analyses. While looking into TIKA's annual ODA activity reports, which presented Turkey's development assistance activities across countries and years, I used the produced themes to guide me look for any patterns of connections between Davutoglu's perceptions and the orientation of Turkish ODA. I went through the documents and looked at the nature of the activities under each code and tried to come up with activity-related themes in connection with the themes as to narrow my investigation of the documents. From there, I came up with three overarching focuses of ODA activities that showed patterns of connection with 'past/historical significance, religious/ethno-cultural prominence and responsibility to region' themes from the speeches. The focuses revolve around 'mosque-related, Ottoman-related and Turkology-related activities. The thematic analysis of the reports will be thoroughly presented in the findings sections.

However, TIKA's annual activity reports *do not* provide statistics on how much aid (in US$ or Turkish Lira) has been spent on these particular activities. For instance, they do not provide how much money has been spent on a mosque restoration in Kosovo. Instead, as shown in the appendix chapter, they merely mention where, when and how these particular activities have been annually carried out by TIKA across different cities in different regions. Therefore, this thesis does not deal with statistics on these particular activities (mosque, Ottoman and Turkology related projects); instead, it illustrates *if and how* Davutoglu's perceptions of Turkey's 'new role' has interacted with or reflected the way Turkey performs in the international arena via its ODA activities.

On the other hand, while looking into TIKA's ODA annual reports, I used the two remaining themes produced from my discourse analysis of the speeches, *active player* and *regional power*, as guides to help me investigate patterns of connections between Davutoglu's

perceptions and ODA orientations, but also narrow scope of my investigation throughout the documents.   From there, I came up with general figures about the rising of Turkish ODA across years of the AKP era since 2002 but also the increasing regional distributions of the ODA since 2004. There general figures illustrated connections with Davutoglu's perceptions of Turkey as *active player* and *regional power.* The themes thus helped me sort the development of Turkey's ODA contribution as well as its regional distribution. In the findings chapter, I will present the rising Turkish ODA contributions, but the figures regarding the regional distributions are sorted and presented through10 pie charts in the appendix due to space constrains.

Limitations

This thesis has dealt with two limitations that I could not control as a researcher. The first limitation lies in the fact that much of the collected data was in Turkish. This posed a challenge throughout the research process, and it came as a consequence of the nature and choice of my research topic. However, I could successfully overcome the challenge relying on my Turkish language skill and translation help from a native Turkish speaker when I struggled. This translator was able to verify my own translations of Turkish discourse, as well as translate text herself when needed.

The second limitation lies in the fact that this thesis only looks at Turkish ODA as example of Turkey's international action – diplomatic activism. The reason for this is two-fold. First, this thesis did not look at other forms of international actions or diplomatic activism, because it was not easy for me to collect data on other forms of issue due to access limitations to official documents in the country. Second, TIKA, as an official responsible agency for Turkish ODA, is a heavily documented agency functioning as an integral part of Turkey's foreign and diplomatic activism. Every activity Turkey conducts and has conducted since especially 2005 has been registered. When I did my internship at the foreign policy department in SETA foundation, I worked as an assistant on a project writing a policy brief to TIKA and analyzing Turkish ODA from a foreign policy perspective. There, I learned the fact that TIKA is a heavily documented aid agency, its data are potentially accessible and it functions as Turkey's international actions, and I was also surprised by the fact that is a lack of international attention

on Turkish ODA. Because of these reasons, this thesis decided to only consider Turkish ODA annual activity reports.

Ethical Consideration

I have chosen Turkey as my country focus because of two reasons. First, coming from political science background, Turkish politics is one of the areas of my interest. Second, Turkey is a country where things change rapidly and has undergone a very rapid change over the course of the past decade. One however could say that being a Kurdish researcher and writing about Turkish politic involves a level of subjectivity due to the fact that my ethnic identity has historically and presently been the subject of discrimination and assimilation in Turkey. This could be potentially true, especially while doing ethnographic research, which I did not. This thesis has also decided to merely explore rather than prove anything. More importantly, the finding has been produced using scientific methodologies, and additionally, the analysis will be written in relations with a theoretical framework. Therefore, I have taken all the responsibility to commit myself to an academically objective and hide my personal emotions.

It is indeed important to mention the ethical considerations of my research. I certify that this study as a whole from the beginning of the process till the end is independently conducted by myself. In regards to data collections, I collected most of my data from TIKA official website. Yet, as mentioned above, I also collected three physical copies of the annual reports from TIKA in Ankara. It was never easy to achieve these copies as two of them are yet to be officially published on the TIKA website. For this purpose, I used my network at SETA foundation where I did my internship in Turkey to contact TIKA to ease the process. I have therefore made sure to use all the information from my collected data accurately and correctly. Another essential point to mention is the level of subjectivity. Being a Kurdish researcher and writing about Turkish politic has automatically involved me in a level of subjectivity due to the fact that my ethnic identity has historically and presently been the subject of discrimination and assimilation in Turkey. However, I made sure to keep in mind that it is indeed my responsibility as a researcher to hide my personal biases or emotions and commit myself to an academically objective study with the best of my ability.

Findings

This chapter presents the findings of my research. As discussed earlier, *national role conception* theoretical framework demonstrates that decision-makers' *self-defined* conceptions and perceptions shape their state's overall national role performance in the international environment. The reason for using this theoretical framework is not to prove anything. Instead, I use the theory particularly to help me understand how states re-create their international role and image, what the process in this role creation is, and why a new role is developed. Since the purpose of this thesis is to understand how Turkey's new role has developed as a case study, this theory helps me identify and understand the process of Turkey's new role creation and its contributing factors. According to *national role conceptions*, there appears to be a causal relationship between decision-makes' perceptions and state's international performance. In this regard, this thesis looked at Davutoglu's perceptions and Turkish ODA coordination. The former as representative of decision-makers' perceptions and conceptions, whereas the latter as representative of Turkey's international performance. Therefore, I explored the data to see *if and how* this relationship exists between Davutoglu's perceptions and the Turkey's behavior, but also to understand the characteristics of Turkey's 'new role' in the regional and international system.

Davtutoglu's Perceptions

Due to space constrains excerpted speeches are presented in the appendix chapter. This section presents the analysis of the excerpted speeches. As discussed in the methodology, this thesis has used discourse analysis methodological strategy to look for key ideas, themes and thoughts in Davutoglu's language (in both video and script formats) communication. To do so, this study used initial coding technique at first, which consequently enabled me to develop focused codes, organizing the initial codes into more precise themes. The following table presents the result of the initial coding and the theme construction process.

Speech	Initial Coding	Theme
1	- History and geography cannot be changed - Turkey's power based on geography	• Regional power • Past/historical significance • Responsibility to region

	- Understanding history	
2	- Turkey needs to use history - Geographical prominence - Power of Turkey's history - Understanding history	• Past/historical significance • Regional power • Active player • Religious/ethno-cultural prominence
3	- Turkey's role as donor/activism - Turkey as responsible actor/caretaker - Turkey's role as helper stems from history	• Active player • Past/historical significance • Responsibility to region
4	- Turkey involved in global diplomacy - Turkey's role regionally - Turkey has geographical leadership - Turkey's historical roots; power derived from it	• Active player • Regional power • Religious/ethno-cultural prominence • Past/historical significance
5	- Turkey's geographic power - Turkey's state relationships rooted in history - Turkey's role as regional helper - Regionally tied; "our people"	• Regional power • Active player • Past/historical significance • Responsibility to region • Religious/ethno-cultural prominence
6	- Turkey carrying religious influence in geographic region - Turkey's role religious power - Turkey's role as regional helper	• Religious/ethno-cultural prominence • Past/historical significance • Regional power • Active player • Responsibility to region
7	- Geographic scope – Turkish history - Turkey's geographic power - Turkey as ethno-culturally diverse	• Regional power • Active player • Religious/ethno-cultural prominence

Table 1: The thematic discourse analysis of Davutoglu's excerpted speeches

The theme produced from the excerpted speeches are five: religious/ethno-cultural prominence, past/historical significance, regional power, active player and responsibility to region. As this thesis has followed the philosophical stance of interpretivism, allowing me to produce an interpretive and explanatory end result from the findings, this stance has also enabled me to analyze the meaning people discuss upon their own other's behavior and action. This thesis draws a connection between Davutoglu's perceptions and the so-called neo-Ottomanism, which is an ideology that has been used to describe Turkey's foreign policy ambitions. As the following chapter will show, there is a field of literature discussing this concept. I will examine this, and highlight the similarities between Davutoglu's perceptions and this ideology.

ODA Performance

As explained in the methods chapter, I have used the produced themes which came up from my discourse analysis of the speeches to guide me through my investigation of my document analysis of the ODA reports, but also narrow the scope my explorations. While looking into TIKA's annual activity reports from 2005 to 2013, the themes produced from the speeches helped me look for patterns of connections and insights between Davutoglu's perceptions of Turkey and the coordination of Turkish ODA. From this pool of activities, I came up with three overarching thematic focuses of aid 'mosque-related activities, Ottoman-related activities and Turkology[7]-related activities,' which showed patterns of connections with Davutoglu's perceptions of 'religious/ethno-cultural prominence past/historical significance and responsibility to region'. Then, I recorded all of the activities in regards to the aforementioned focuses of activities as well as their descriptions across countries in different regions (see the Appendix).

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[7] Turkology is a scientific branch dealing with "Turkic and Turkish language and dialect" which was first established by the Ottoman Turks in Paris, 1795. Later on the Ottoman Turks expanded Turkology to Moscow and London. Nowadays, Turkology is a large scale project that runs in many countries across the world and TIKA particularly started running this project since 2002. Turkology is also language department in several universities across the world (TIKA 2013).

Nevertheless, the fact that I came up with 'mosque-related activities, Ottoman-related activities and Turkology[8]-related activities from my document analysis of the TIKA's annual activity report does not mean Turkey's ODA is limited to these focuses of activities. Rather, Turkish ODA activities are diverse revolving around focuses such as health, agriculture and environment sectors along business and economic infrastructures. For the purpose of this study, however, I used the produced themes from the speech discourse analysis to guide and help me explore insights and patterns of connections between Davutoglu's perceptions and Turkish ODA coordination, but also narrow the scope of my investigations throughout the document analysis process.

Mosque-related activities are the activities TIKA have carried out in relations to mosque renovations, restorations and constructions in different counties across different regions since 2005. The majority of the mosques have been renovated are Ottoman constructions from the time of the Empire. The Ottoman-related activities are the activities TIKA have carried out in projects such as: restoration of Ottoman constructed bridges; restoration and constructions of *madrasa* and *melevihane[9]*, restoration of Ottoman constructed fountains, baths, complexes, monuments, tombs and consulates; construction of Islamic cultural centres; printing books about Ottoman history and literature and holding exhibitions and conferences about Ottoman history. And, Turkology-related activities revolve around examples as offering Turkish language courses and sending assistance to Turkology departments in different universities across different regions. The following table presents my findings of these three overarching focuses of mosque, Ottoman and Turkology related aid activities. Due to space constrains, detailed descriptions about the activities are presented in the appendix chapter.

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[8] Turkology is a scientific branch dealing with "Turkic and Turkish language and dialect" which was first established by the Ottoman Turks in Paris, 1795. Later on the Ottoman Turks expanded Turkology to Moscow and London. Nowadays, Turkology is a large scale project that runs in many countries across the world and TIKA particularly started running this project since 2002. Turkology is also language department in several universities across the world (TIKA 2013).
[9]*Madrasa* is Ottoman and also Arabic and Persian word for school. In Turkish language however it means religious-based school. *Mevelevihane*is a religious-based place where religious people gather doing religious activities and rituals.

Regional Countries	Mosque-related activates	Ottoman-related activities	Turkology-related activities[10]
Balkans and East Europe			
Bosnia	13	12	8
Albania	15	6	6
Macedonia	9	8	5
Kosovo	16	11	6
Serbia	0	5	0
Ukraine	1	0	5
Bulgaria	4	0	1
Montenegro	6	7	3
Middle East and Africa			
Palestine	0	6	2
Syria	0	3	3
Lebanon	2	5	0
Yemen	0	0	3
Egypt	2	5	0
Iran	0	0	1
Libya	1	1	0
Sudan	3	3	2
Somalia	2	0	2
Ethiopia	0	9	0
Senegal	3	0	0
Central Asia, South Asia and Caucasus			
Kazakhstan	0	0	7
Kyrgyzstan	1	0	2
Uzbekistan	0	0	3
Turkmenistan	0	1	3

[10] It is important to mention the fact that the numbers of the Turkology-related activities do not completely correspond to all of the Turkology activities have been carried out in each country since 2005. The numbers only represent every time I came across the name of each country where Turkology-related activities have taken place. The reason for that refers to the fact that Turkology-related activities are discussed differently across the annual activity reports (see appendix). For instance in 2009, a total of 179 Turkology regional projects and summer internships were carried out in Uzbekistan, Turkmanistan, Kirgizistan, Kazakhista, Mongolia, India, Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo, Mecedonia, Romania, , Uukrain, Slovakia, , Belarus, Estonia, Lativia, Lethuania, Montenegro, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Afganistan, Syria, Yemen, Palastine, Sudan, Cuba and Tatarstan in Russian Federation. And sometimes, as in 2005, only the number of countries where Turkology activties have taken place were given. Information and spicification about how many of these activies were carried out in each counties, were not mentioned. Therefore, the number of Turkology-related activites are apprently bigger than what it is shwon in my table.The appendix further will this reality.

Mongolia	1	0	3
Afghanistan	4	4	5
Pakistan	6	0	0
Azerbaijan	0	0	1
Georgia	2	2	2

Table 2: TIKA's mosque, Ottoman, and Turkology related activities from 2005 to 2013[11]

Here, I define what the table means. The first column illustrates Turkey's attention to mosques; it shows the prominence of mosque-related activities (renovations, restorations and constructions) to Turkey's ODA orientations. The numbers in this column correspond to every time a mosque-related project that has taken place across different counties in different regions. The number of the activities yet varies from a region to another. Within each region, the number varies from a country. For instance, most of the mosque-related activities have taken place in the Balkan and East Europe region in comparison with other regions. Within this region, Kosovo, Bosnia and Albania are the top three benefiters from the type of activity.

The second column illustrates the Ottoman-related activities. The numbers in this column correspond to every time an Ottoman-related project that has taken place across different counties in different regions. Similarly, the number varies from a place to another. For instance, the least Ottoman-related activities have taken place in Central Asia, South Asia and Caucasus, whereas most have taken place in the Balkan region and the Middle East and Africa come the second.

The third column illustrates the Turkology-related projects. Unlike the other two columns, the numbers here play differently. As I fully explained the details in the above 14th footnote, the numbers in this column do not completely correspond to the number of the Turkology-related activities that have been carried out in each country. The numbers only represent every time I came across the name of each country where Turkology-related activities

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[11] The source of data was taken from TIKA's official website.http://www.tika.gov.tr/en/publication/list/tika_annual_reports-22

have taken place. The reason for that refers to the fact that Turkology-related activities are discussed differently across the annual activity reports (Appendix, TIKA's Annual Activities). There was occasions where it only the number of the Turkology-related activities was given without description how much of these taken place in which country. For instance, the fact the table shows the Balkan region as the top recipient of in the column does not necessarily mean most of the Turkology-related activities have taken place in this region. The table in the appendix shows the fact that the number Turkology-related activities are far larger than what is shown in the table here, but it was not possible to divide the number on the countries as the information was not given every time.

Turkey's Rising ODA

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, Turkey's dramatic aid contributions in 2012 and 2013 marked the country as the fourth largest donor among the international donor community. This change corresponds to both Turkey's new role but also growing activism as a regional power toward or within the external environment.

In this regard, the other two themes, *active player* and *regional power* appeared as relevant ones to the annual report publications, which present figures about Turkish growing ODA contributions across years and regions. In other words, these themes helped me sort the level of Turkey's activeness in ODA across the era of AKP rule. They further helped me realize the degree to which Turkey's activeness as a donor changes across these years, 2002 to 2013. As shown in the introduction and the literature review chapters, the rise of Turkey's foreign aid profile represent one of the examples of Turkey's new role in the international and regional spheres. '*Active player* and *regional power'* themes empirically helped me explore how Turkish ODA has been influenced by Davutoglu's perceptions. The following chart presents Turkey's growing ODA contributions from 2002 to 2013.
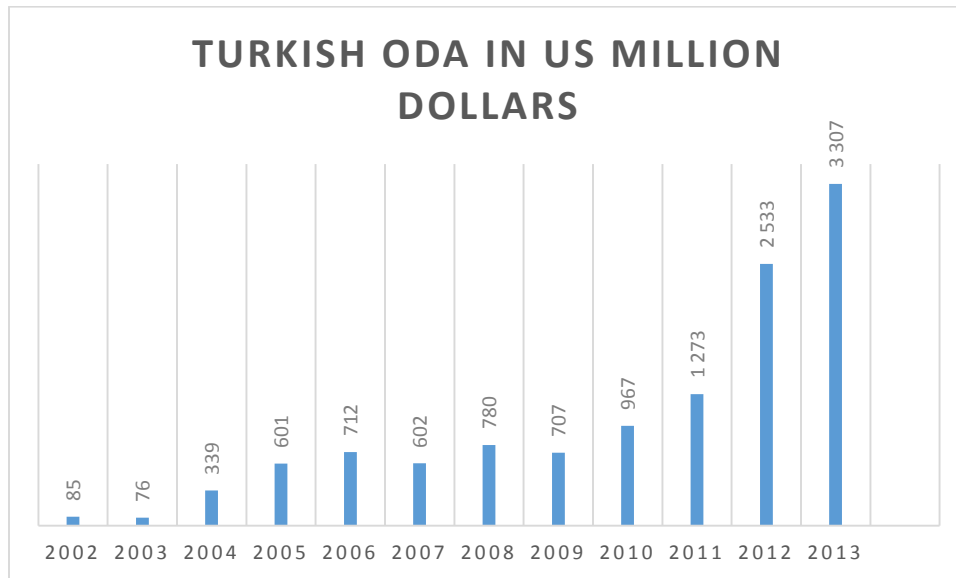
TURKISH ODA IN US MILLION DOLLARS

Year	Value
2002	85
2003	76
2004	339
2005	601
2006	712
2007	602
2008	780
2009	707
2010	967
2011	1 273
2012	2 533
2013	3 307

Figure 2: The Evolution of Turkish ODA since 2002 [12]

This chart not only represents an example of Turkey's diplomatic activism, but also corresponds the *active player* theme, because the larger ODA contribution, the more active Turkey is among the international and regional donor community. As the chart shows, there has not been constant increase in Turkish ODA prior to 2009. From 2009 onward, there is obviously a constant increase of Turkish ODA. This observation is significant because it explains Davutoglu's role since he was assigned as Turkish Foreign Minister in 2009. The relationship between Davutoglu's perceptions and the rise of Turkish ODA will be further discussed in the analysis chapter.

Furthermore, I constructed 10 pie charts about the regional distributions of Turkish ODA, while looking into TIKA's published annual reports – using *regional power* as the other relevant theme in this respect. Since TIKA's publication of the annual reports starts from 2004, this thesis could look at the regional distributions from 2004 to 2013. Due to space constrains, however, this thesis will present the pie-charts in the appendix. The regional distributions basically correspond to the increase of Turkish ODA. The annual increase in annual aid outflow

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[12]The source taken from TIKA's annual report of 2013.
http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/publication/TIKA%20ANNUAL%20REPORT%202013.pdf

corresponds to an increase in ODA to the regions of Central Asia, Caucasus, Balkans, Middle East and Africa. The pie-charts in the appendix underline that these regions are Turkey's ODA priorities. As this thesis will discuss in the following chapter, Turkey's rising ODA contributions correspond to its foreign policy orientation to appear as an active and regionalist power.

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Analysis

In this chapter, I will discuss my findings in relation to *national role conceptions* theoretical framework to explore how Turkey's 'new role' has developed and its contributing factors under the ruling AKP government.   Developing a new role has gone through the role creation process. This thesis uses *national role conception*s as an analytical tool in an attempt to understand the role creation process. The theory provides the conceptual framework of *national role conception,* which argues that decision-makers' self-defined conceptions and perceptions not only drive the states' national role performance but also shape the state's identity in the international system. This chapter is therefore divided into three sub-sections to discuss my findings in relation to this theoretical framework. Firstly, I will discuss my findings of the excerpted speeches as representative of Davtugolu's conceptions and perceptions. Secondly, I will discuss my findings of the TIKA's ODA activities as well as its growing contributions, as representative of Turkey's international performance in relations with the Davutoglu's perceptions and conceptions. Finally, I will present a summary about the interacting connection between Davutoglu's conception/perception and ODA performance in the makings of Turkey's 'new role' creation process.

Conceptions and Perceptions

Since the purpose of the thesis is to understand the development of Turkey's new role creation process, the role theory's conceptual framework of *national role conception* helps in understanding this process. According to this theoretical framework, a state's role is the outcome of a causal relationship process between decision-makers' *self-defined* conceptions/perceptions (beliefs, images and goals) and the state's performance (decisions and actions) toward or within international system – the former causing the latter. In order to understand Turkey's new role, this thesis uses the *national role conception* theoretical framework to look at Davutoglu's conceptions and perceptions as representative of half of the ingredients to the role creation process. While analyzing his excerpted speeches, I came up with five themes which are: past/historical significance, religious/ethno-cultural prominence, regional

power, active player and responsibility to region. These themes, I define, as representatives of Davutoglu's conception and perceptions.

In 2001, one year before AKP's inauguration to power, Davutoglu published his *Strategic Depth,* in which he strived to draw a new vision for his country. The new vision he articulated envisages Turkey as an active, central and regional power.   But where did the vision come from, where could be the root, and how did it become the dynamic principle of Turkey's foreign policy orientations? In other words, what could be the root or foundations of Davutoglu's perceptions and conceptions? The theoretical framework of *national role conceptions* helps me answer these questions. In addition to saying the decision-makers' self-defined perceptions and conceptions shape their state's behavior, it also guides me through the potential sources that shape the decision-makers' self-defined beliefs, images and goals. As Holsti explained through his theoretical diagram, the potential sources shaping the decision-makers' conceptions and perceptions revolve around location, traditional roles, personality, ideology, national values and public opinion. As the following paragraphs will show, Davutoglu's personality as an academic intellectual from political science and history backgrounds, ideology and interpretations to Turkey's location, traditional roles and national values make the sources of his perception of Turkey's new role.

His *Strategic Depth* is a piece of scholarly work in which he methodologically designs Turkey's path toward a new role in the global politics. The message he tries to deliver revolved around the idea that Turkey can be an active and regional power, which corresponds to two of my themes, *active player* and *regional power.* However, he believes Turkey's new role as an active and regionalist power is achievable only if its history and geography are being re-interpreted, which is the whole purpose of his book. In one of his speeches about his book, he stated "all I am trying in this book is to re-interpret history and geography which are the two parameters human beings cannot change; they can only be re-interpreted" (Appendix speech 1). In other words, he argues the re-interpretation of history and geography are prerequisite for Turkey's new role in the international context, which is what three of my produced themes: *religious/ethno-cultural prominence, past/historical significance* and *responsibility to region.*

As mentioned in the findings section, the themes produced from the speech analysis appear to resemble the elements of neo-Ottomanism, which is political ideology that has been used to describe Turkey foreign policy ambition. As the following paragraphs will show, there is similarity between Davutoglu's perceptions and this ideology. In its common and general framework, neo-Ottomanism enables Turkey to adopt an active regionalist role considering its Ottoman past religious and ethno-cultural kinship criteria (Tüysüzogˇlu 2014, 93). Before I embark on why and how there appears to be a resemblance between my produced themes from the speeches and neo-Ottoman ideology, I will examine the felid of literature regarding this ideology.

Neo-Ottomanism as a political ideology traces back to early 1990s when a number of liberal-minded and intellectuals first introduced the notionwith the collaboration of Turgut Ozal (Fisher 2009, 11), in an attempt to establish a multi-cultural state at home but also a hyper-active state abroad (especially toward the emerging Turkic republic in the former Soviet territories after the end of Cold War), considering Turkey's Ottoman history and ethno-cultural background (Danforth 2008, 92; Kilic 2011, 45). Due to the country's lack of resources, domestic turmoil and Ozal's untimely death at the time, the ideology could neither be translated into real actions nor did it attract worldwide attention (Fisher 2009, 15).

The rise of AKP to power in 2002 gave yet another momentum to neo-Ottomanism, especially in the domain of foreign affairs. Neo-Ottomanism has recently been a subject of controversy between two camps. The camps discussing this ideology are political analysts and academic scholars. On one hand, some scholars believe that the ideology merely enables Turkey to reconcile with its history and geography but also pursue an active regionalist role through the means of soft power. This camp also denies all the criticisms that describe the concept as AKP's imperialist or expansionist agenda (Aras 2009, 9; Sozen 2011, 108; Taspinar 2011, 2; Demirko 2014, 23). In contrary, the other camp of scholars argue that neo-Ottomanism implies ideological undertone of "imperialism" as it allows Turkey to maximize its power and become the leader of both Muslim and Turkic worlds by capitalizing on the Ottoman history (Murinson 2006, 945; Ruma 2010, 138; Warning and Kardas 2011, 148). This thesis however examines

Davutoglu's perceptions in relation to the common definition of the ideology– enabling Turkey to adopt an active regionalist role and power considering its past religious and ethno-cultural kinship criteria.

Back to the resemblance between the produced themes and neo-Ottomanism. *Active player* is one of the produced themes from my findings, which came up in all of the excerpted speeches except the first one. On several occasions, Davutoglu puts deliberate emphasis regarding Turkey's pursuit of diplomatic activism in the regional and international contexts. For instance, he has been criticizing Turkey's neutral role being a bridge between West and East: "I don't like the term bridge. Bridge is a passive entity between two sides. There are two sides and you are bridge. No, we are part of both of the sides. We are part of all the events" (Appendix speech 2). Here, he urges Turkey to have an active rather than a passive role in the international setting. Furthermore, his emphases on Turkey's growing "global diplomacy", ODA contributions and involvement in areas of conflict (Appendix speech 4) exemplify his desire to have Turkey as an *active player*, which corresponds to the very first element of neo-Ottomanism perspective –active role and power. As defined, neo-Ottomanism urges Turkey to adopt an active role in the foreign policy and international orientations. That said, *active player* represents one the underling perceptions Davutoglu has emphasized, which appears to match neo-Ottomonist ideology.

Being an *active player* yet becomes more specific as he emphasizes on regions and geographies significant to Turkey. Two of the themes produced from the speeches analysis are *regional power* and *responsibly to region*, and at least one them have appeared in all of the excerpted speeches. In order to claim Turkey's capacity as a regional power, he sought to *re-interpret* Turkey's geographical location (geopolitical significance), which is one of the prerequisites to Turkey's new role in the global political environment. First and foremost, he has been rejecting the concept of "bridge," since he believes the "size of Turkey's geography is huge" and therefore can be the "part of all the events" (Appendix speech 2 and 1). This re-interpretation of Turkey's geography, in fact, has set the stage to declaring Turkey as a regionalist power. According to Davutoglu's re-interpreted geography Turkey is "an European

and a Eastern country; a Mediterranean and a Black Sea country; an African, a Balkan, a Caucasian, a Central Asian, a Mesopotamian and a Middle Eastern country" (Appendix speech 7). As he argues, however, the re-interpreting Turkey's geography is only possible by understanding "the flow of history". It was during the Ottoman rule when Turkey's geography was as huge as Davutoglu nowadays articulates. This is where another similarity shows up between his visions and neo-Ottomanism, since this ideology enables Turkey to assume an *active* and *regionalist* power considering its Ottoman history.

Meanwhile, the dynamic of these particular visions (*regional power* and *responsibility to region*) has further appeared in several occasions across the excerpted speeches. While re-interpreting Turkey's geography, Davutoglu brings about the notion of Turkey's responsibility toward the aforementioned regional geographies. He declares that Turkey no longer follows the defense border diplomacy, instead it has a "global diplomacy" that has the power to "tie Sarajevo to Levant, Benghazi to Erzurum and Batumi" without insulting anyone's border (Appendix speech 4). Additionally, he emphasizes it is Turkey's responsibly to back the Libyan people during the uprising; it is Turkey's responsibility to liberate *Masjid Al-Aqsa* in Jerusalem; it is Turkey's responsibility to run in the flow of history and the destiny of "Baghdad, Jerusalem, Samarkand, Bishkek and Sarajevo" is Turkey's destiny (Appendix speech 4). These examples altogether signify not only the resemblance to neo-Ottomanism perspective, but also his perceptions and conceptions of Turkey's 'new role' – assuming *active player* and *regional power* and *responsible* country toward, or within regional political environment. According Davutoglu's visions, Turkey's power is thus rooted in its geography and history. This will lead to the following discussion about the last two themes – *past/historical significance* and *religious/ethno-cultural prominence.*

As discussed above, Turkey's pursuit of an *active regionalist* power becomes realistic only if its geography and history are being re-interpreted. In the excerpted speeches, Davutoglu puts deliberate emphasis on the notion of *history.* The very interlocutory sentence of his *Strategic Depth* starts off with: "History is flowing like a river and we are in that river."

(Appendix speech 2). His conceptions and perceptions about history are three-fold. First, Turkey should not forget its past just because it is a complex history. Second, Turkey should run and lead in front of its history. Finally, in order for Turkey to have a role in the global and regional politics, it is necessary to understand the flow of its history (Appendix speech 2). This perceptive is parallel to *past/historical significance* theme, which matches another element of neo-Ottomanism – enabling Turkey to adopt an active regionalist power considering its *past* religious and ethno-cultural kinship. Turkey's history is basically its Ottoman past within which religion and ethno-culture elements are two key characteristics. This will lead to next discussion of the final theme, *religious/ethno-cultural prominence.*

As mentioned above, Davutoglu's re-interpretation of geography describes Turkey as a country in an extremely wide geographical zone starting from Central Asia and all the way to Africa. The questions one might ask are where this geographical vision comes from, what can be the basis of this mapping and why it is significant? The answers to these questions lie in the fact that he, by relying on history, demonstrates that Turkey shares *religious* and *ethno-cultural* identity with the mentioned cities and regions. The fact that he mentions the countries such as Sarajevo, Skopje, Batumi, Bishkek, Samarqand, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Benghazi and Levant, explains his perception about Turkey's common religious and ethno-cultural identity with these places. The scope of these countries start from Central Asia and Caucuses to Balkans, Middle East and Africa with which Turkey shares either religious or ethno-cultural identity. For instance, Bishkek and Samarqand are the capital cities of Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan with which Turkey shares its Turkic origin ethnicity. All the aforementioned regions, except Central Asia, were former Ottoman territories. Although the Ottomans never rule Central Asia, but this is where Turks' origin comes from (Laciner 2003, 172). Therefore, Davutoglu's claim that the destiny of Baghdad, Jerusalem, Samarkand, Bishkek and Sarajevo is Turkey's destiny, explains his visions regarding Turkey's *religious/ethno-cultural prominence.*

Another incidence exemplifying this theme is his reference to Jerusalem. He talks about how people in Jerusalem still run their religious places according to the Ottoman rituals and how it is Turks' responsibility to liberate Masjid al-Aqsa just as the way they liberated the tomb of

Osman Ghazi – the founding father of the Ottoman Empire (Appendix speech 6). This is yet another resemblance between his perceptions and neo-Ottomanism because, as the ideology stresses, Turkey's new active and regionalist role is achievable by considering its past *religious* and ethno-cultural identity.

All in all, Davutoglu's conceptions and perception regarding Turkey's 'new role' reflects an understanding of Turkey as an active regionalist power through the re-interpretation of its geography and history, which has been influenced by neo-Ottomanism perspective that envisages Turkey as an active regionalist power considering its past religious and ethno-cultural criteria. According to *national role conceptions* theoretical framework, these conceptions and perceptions of the decision-makers shape state's international behavior (performance), this thesis looked at Turkish ODA to see if and how Davutolgu's conceptions and perceptions have been reflected the coordination and channeling of Turkish ODA.

Turkish ODA – Performance

As explained in earlier chapters, with the help of my theoretical framework, I looked at Turkish ODA activities, as forms of Turkey's international actions, to see if they are influenced by the perceptions and conceptions of Davutoglu's perceptions. In this regard, I found the three overarching focuses of ODA, mosque, Ottoman and Turkology related activities, connected to my produced themes from the excerpted speeches: past/historical significance, religious/ethno-cultural prominence and responsibility to regions. As shown in my findings, Turkey, through ODA activities, has paid deliberate attention to elements and countries with which the country shares a) history, b) religion and c) ethno-cultural criteria.

To begin with mosque-related activities, the very beginning of the thesis starts with Davutoglu's tour to Kosovo, Bosnia and Romania, where he performed Eid prayers, met presidents and high officials and exchanged diplomatic conversations in several mosques. In fact, Sultan Fatih, Gazi Husrev Bey and Hunrak mosques, in which he performed the prayers and are all Ottoman constructed mosques, which they both have *past/historical significance* and *religious/ethno-cultural prominence* to Turkey. As shown in the findings, the mosque-related

activities have taken place in different countries across the world stretching from Ukraine to Afghanistan and all the way to Senegal and Sudan. Since Turkey shares religious commonality with these regions due to its Ottoman past, it claims to have a sense of responsibility to protect these mosques while also promoting its religious identity produced in these regions during the Ottoman rule. For instance, there is a deliberate emphasis of mosque-related activities in the Balkans countries such as Bosnia, Kosovo, Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro, because the majority of the Ottoman constructed mosques are located in region. So, there is a relationship between Turkey's attention to mosques and Davtutoglu's perception about Turkey's *responsibility to regions.* This perception however appears to have been underpinned by neo-Ottomanism, because according to the ideology, Turkey can adopt an active regionalist role considering its past religious identity shared with the neighboring regions.

In this particular context, mosques do not only hold *religious* connotation, but also *Ottoman history* connotation because the majority of these mosques are Ottoman-structured and constructed mosques but also the newly constructed once are also designed based on Ottoman structures (Appendix). On the one hand, Turkey embraces its history by directing aid to preserve its Ottoman constructed mosques, especially in the Balkan region. This reflects Davutoglu's argument when he says, "we cannot forget our history… we must run in the flow of history" (Appendix). On the other hand, almost all of these mosque-related activities have taken place in the former Ottoman geographies including the Balkans, East Europe, Middle East and North Africa, which also resembles neo-Ottomanism because Turkey shares a sense of religion identity these regions.

As for the Ottoman-related activities, the findings (table 2) illustrated that Turkey has paid considerable attention to the revitalization of Ottoman spirit through its ODA activities throughout a wide geographical zone from Montenegro to Afghanistan and all the way to Libya and Ethiopia. In addition to the Ottoman-constructed mosques renovations, TIKA has carried activities such as holding Ottoman exhibition; printing Ottoman archive books, records and scripts and restoring Ottoman-constructed bridges, Sultan palaces, schools, embassies, cemeteries, mevlevihane, baths, fountains and Islamic and cultural centers. These activities have

generally taken place in the Balkans, Middle East, Africa and Central and Southern Asia regions. Here, too, the Balkans region is the top recipient for Ottoman-related activities. In this context, channeling ODA toward these particular activities not only reflects Davutoglu's perceptions of *past/historical significance* but also Turkey's responsibility to regions where Ottoman heritage still has existence, which reflects his other perception of Turkey's *responsibility to region.*

As ODA coordination pays attentions to Turkey's legacies from the past, Turkey's chance to involve in the aforementioned regions increases. This particularly lines with neo-Ottoman perspective, because the ideology empowers Turkey to play an active and regionalist role while considering its Ottoman past. For instance, the fact that TIKA has held a memorial ceremony in Montenegro to honor 5000 Montenegrin soldiers who once fought to defend the Ottoman Empire and has restored five pieces of Ottoman fountains in Ethiopia (Appendix, TIKA Annual Activities), reflects Davutoglu's perceptions of Turkey's *past/historical significance* and *responsibility to region.* Turkey, via these perceptions and aid performance, has thus found a way to play e an active role in the regional sphere, which represents the dynamic of neo-Ottomanist ideology.

In regards to Turkoloy-related activities, language, ethnicity and culture are important elements of this particular project—Turkology. As mentioned earlier, Turkology is a scientific department that deals with the studies of Turkic and Turkish language, literature and culture, which was first founded by the Ottoman Turks in Europe. TIKA, as an integral part of Turkish foreign policy, has been playing a significant role in performing this task since 2002. Turkology-related activities revolve around offering Turkish language courses; opening Turkology departments and sending assistance to the existing Turkolgoy departments across the world (Appendix, TIKA's Annual Activities). As shown in both findings and appendix chapters, these activities have taken place in a wide geographical zone from Mongolia to India and all the way to Egypt and Sudan. For instance, the fact that Turkey carries Turkology-related activities in the Central Asian countries comes from the idea that it shares *ethno-cultural* identity with the Turkic speaking countries in the region. This particular aspect reflects Davutoglu's perceptions of Turkey's *ethno-cultural* prominence as the country aims to promote and spread knowledge

about its ethnicity, language and culture across different regions in the world. Through Turkology-related activities Turkey has been diplomatically involved in many countries across several region, which is what Davutoglu's long term goal stands for – assuming an active role. This indeed represents another dimension of neo-Ottomanism through which Turkey considers its past ethno-cultural identity as means to enhance its involvement in the regional and global context.

Furthermore, as discussed in the findings (figure 2) chapter, there has been a constant increase in Turkey's ODA from 2009 onwards. Turkish ODA constantly increased from 707 US$ million in 2009 to 3, 307 US$ billion in 2013. This, in fact, corresponds to Turkish foreign policy ambitions to assume a more active role through aid contributions, which is derived from Davutoglu's perceptions of Turkey's 'new role' as both *active player* and *regional power.* In 2009 when he assumed power as Turkish Foreign Minister, his perceptions founded real grounds in Turkey's decision-makings and became more and more visible. Because of this, Turkey's growing ODA contributions correspond to the country's foreign policy orientations. The more Turkish ODA contributed, the more active Turkey has appeared in the international donor community and additionally, the more it has appeared as a regional power (though there is a lack of solid attention on Turkey's visibility as a rising donor country). The pie-charts in the appendix demonstrate Turkey as a regional power in the direction of its aid (Appendix, TIKA's Annual ODA Regional Distributions).

Discussion and Summary

As discussed throughout the 'introduction' and the 'literature review' chapters, Turkey's 'new role' has been interpreted by various identities, although all the opinions agree with the fact that Turkey has recently adopted a new active role and identity at the international political context. Some of the authors have described Turkey's 'new role' as to be 'mediator,' 'peace contributor,' or 'global actor.' Whereas, some others have identified the 'new role' with ideological tones arguing Turkey seeks to become an 'order setter' and the 'leader of the Muslim world.' Nevertheless, the purpose of this thesis was not to identify which one these roles Turkey has recently adopted. This thesis did not attempt to prove whether Turkey has become an 'order

setter' or a 'peace contributor.' Instead, investigating the conceptual process of Turkey's 'new role' creation was the central focus of this.

As briefly mentioned in the theoretical chapter, Holsti's *national role conceptions* has identified several types of state roles such as 'revolutionist/imperialist, bloc, buffer, balancer, mediator, non-aligned and isolate.' This thesis, however, mainly concentrated on the role creating process rather than role identifications. In the case of Turkey, this thesis could not easily come up with one of the suggested roles from the theoretical framework to identify Turkey's 'new role' with. While doing the discourse analysis of the speeches, however, two of the themes indicated Turkey's identity of its 'new role' –*active player and regional power*—which are Davutoglu's perceptions of Turkey. In addition, this thesis found a pattern of connection between these two particular themes and Turkey's rising regional ODA contributions and activities, which are representatives of Turkish international action in the international arena – i.e. Turkey's national role performance. According to what this thesis has found out throughout the data collection and data analysis processes and having the theoretical framework as analytical tool, I conclude that Turkey's 'new role' and identity in the international and regional system could be characterized by being both *active player* and *regional power* under the ruling AKP government. And, this 'new role' and identity seem to have been underpinned or influenced by the criteria of neo-Ottomanism.

This thesis further found a connection between Davutoglu's conceptions/perceptions and Turkey's role performance in the international sphere through ODA contributions and activities. The analysis of the findings demonstrated the produced themes from the excerpted speeches are translated into Turkey's international action through ODA activities. More specifically, the patterns of connection between Davutoglu's perceptions of *past/historical significance*, *religious/ethno-cultural prominence* and *responsibility to region* and Turkey's ODA in relations to mosque, Ottoman and Turkology related activities became apparent throughout the analysis process. This thesis found out that these particular activities of TIKA, as means with which Turkey performs in the international arena, are oriented toward these certain perceptions of Davutoglu. Another pattern of connection became apparent between the rising of Turkey's ODA

contributions and regional distributions —especially from 2009 onwards—and Davutoglu's perceptions of Turkey as *active player* and a *regional power* in the international arena.

In addition, *national role conceptions* theoretical framework (figure 1, box E) also helped me look for the foundations of Davutoglu's conceptions and perceptions. From there, this thesis concluded that his beliefs and goals show resemblance to the elements of neo-Ottomanism and that this ideology appears to be a very important source influencing his overall perceptions of Turkey's new role.

Conclusion

Upon the rise of AKP to power in 20012, the tradition of Turkey's political landscape underwent significant changes and challenges. The dawn of the AKP rule paved the way for new ambitions and goals the country strived to achieve at both domestic and foreign policy fronts. On the foreign policy front, however, the AKP's ambitious rhetoric to break away from Turkey's traditional foreign policy attracted worldwide attention. Since its inauguration to power, the ruling AKP government had been working to create a 'new role' for Turkey at the international system through.

As discussed throughout the study, Turkey's 'new role' is commonly identified as an *active role*. Over the course of the past decade, Turkey has increased the level of its involvement at the regional and international environment. The 'literature review' chapter has presented the pool of literature and academic contributions to this role building ambition of AKP's Turkey. Although all of the scholarly contributions agreed that Turkey has recently assumed a new active role at the foreign affairs, there have been different interpretations regarding Turkey's new active role. Some identified Turkey's role as mediator, peace contributor, global actor, rising donor, while some others described the role in ideological tone believing that Turkey aims to be an 'order setter' and 'a leader of the Muslim world.'

The purpose of this thesis, however, was not to prove which one of these roles Turkey has adopted or created. This thesis did not seek to prove whether AKP's Turkey has become a 'peace contributor' or a 'leader of the Muslim world.' Instead, this thesis aimed to explore how Turkey's 'new role' has developed or produced and was interested in exploring the process of the new role creation. With the help of *national role conceptions* theoretical framework, this thesis looked at the process of Turkey's new role creation. According to this framework, a state's role is produced within a process of decision-makers' *self-definition* perceptions and conceptions about general decisions and functions proper to their state which shape the overall performance of the state toward or within international system.

To understand the process of Turkey's new role creation, this thesis thus looked at Davutoglu's speeches as representative of 'decision-maker's *self-defined* perceptions and conceptions but also Turkey's ODA profile and activities as example of 'international performance'. With the methodological strategies and techniques, five themes were produced from my discourse analysis of the speeches: past/historical significance, religious/ethno-cultural prominence, responsibility to region, active player and regional power. While looking for the potential foundation of Davutoglu's perceptions, this thesis found a similarity between the produced themes and the elements of neo-Ottomanism. Neo-Ottomans as a political ideology enables Turkey to adopt an active and regionalist power considering its past religious and ethno-cultural kinship. This thesis concluded that neo-Ottomanism appears to be the ideology that has influence Davutoglu's perceptions and conception.

From there, I took these themes, which came up from my discourse analysis to the speeches, and used them to guide me look for insights of Davutoglu's perceptions but also narrow down the scope of my investigation while doing the document analysis of Turkish ODA reports. This thesis therefore found a connection between Davutoglu's perceptions of Turkey and the orientations of Turkish ODA toward the regional and international environments. The focuthemes produced from TIKA's annual activity reports—mosque-related activities, Ottoman-related activities and Turkology related activities—appeared to resemble the first there themes produced the discourse analysis of the speeches – past/historical significance, religious/ethno-cultural prominence, responsibility to region. In other words, the fact that TIKA coordinates mosque, Ottoman and Turkish language related activities appeared to be influenced by Davutoglu's perceptions about historical and geographical significance of Turkey. Whereas, the fact that Turkey has increased its ODA profile toward the priority regions—Middle East, Africa, Balkans, Central Asia and Caucasus—reflects Davutoglu's vision of Turkey's 'new role' as an *active player* and a *regional power.*

Overall, this thesis, with the help of *national role conceptions* theoretical framework, could understand the process of Turkey's 'new role' creation and its contributing factors. This study not only illustrated the process of how Turkey's 'new role' as *an active* and *regional*

power developed, but also the contributing factors shaping Davutoglu's perceptions of the 'new role', which I conclude that his perceptions resemble the ideology of neo-Ottomanism. That said, this thesis concludes that Turkey by capitalizing on the ideology of neo-Ottomanism has managed to adopt a new, active and regionalist role under the AKP leadership, especially through its ODA activities. This study also concludes that Turkey's foreign aids to mosque, Ottoman and Turkology related activities, being underpinned by neo-Ottomanist ideology, have provided Turkey with new means and doors through which the country has increased its involvements and activism in the international arena.

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Appendix

1) In 2001, I wrote a book called *Strategic Depth.* I wrote five principles of foreign policy for Turkey to follow. The principles are balance between freedom and security, zero problems with neighbors, multi-dimensional and multi-track policies, a new diplomatic discourse based on firm flexibility and rhythmic diplomacy.   All I am trying in the book is to re-interpret history and geography. History and geography are the two parameters that human beings cannot change. Geography and history are given to you, you can neither choose nor change. We did not choose Turkey to be in the middle of many crisis. And we cannot say Turkey's peninsula is very risky, take Turkey to somewhere close Ireland- it is safe there. You are here and you should accept that. We cannot do it. Or historical flow, we cannot change. We cannot say Turkey's history is very complex and let us forget our history. No, this is your history. You cannot change these, you can only re-interpret them. For example, in Cold War era Turkey's geography was very important and Turkey was called the "wing country of NATO". The size of Turkey's geography was huge and at that time it was praised because it was barrier preventing the Soviets.

2) As Turkey - I said in one of our lastest ambassador's conferences to our ambassadors - you will not run after history. You will run in the history and you will lead in front of the history. You may do wrong. We are not perfect. We may sometimes do mistakes. But even doing a mistake could be corrected. But if you don't have any position, there is even nothing to be corrected. For many decades that was my main critique towards Turkish policy when I wrote my book. Turkey was neutral, was a bridge. I don't like the term bridge. Bridge is a passive entity between two sides. There are two sides and you are bridge. No, we are part of both of the sides. We are part of all the events

I said; I strongly believe that history will flow faster and we - intellectuals and statesmen - are like drops of waters in a very fast flowing river. "History is flowing like a river and we are in that river", that was my introductory part of Strategic Depth. We have to understand how this

river is flowing. If we want to have a role in this flow, then we have to understand the flow of history.

3) When it comes to development assistance, Turkey has been supportive of LDCs in all fora including the United Nations. LDCs should be supported according to the "priority areas" defined under Istanbul Program of Action. Turkey's total development assistance almost reached 3.5 billion US Dollars in 2012, with approximately 2.5 billion US Dollars through public entities as official development assistance. Turkish Development Agency, TİKA, with its 35 coordination offices in 32 countries, including 9 in Africa, plays a major role in technical cooperation and coordination of Turkey's ODA. In short, with a holistic approach, we deem it our responsibility to disseminate the development we achieved by sharing our experiences with others.

4) Without fighting against anyone, without declaring anyone as our enemy, without being disrespectful to others' borders, I promise you that we will tie Sarajevo to Levant, Benghazi to Erzurum and Batumi. That is our source of power. There is not such diplomacy to defend our borders anymore; we now have a global diplomacy. I was in Bosnia in a big stadium, and I said that even if the entire human made cities are destroyed, if Sarajevo exists, that would be enough to create the whole civilization once again…. The destiny of Baghdad, Jerusalem, Samarkand, Bishkek and Sarajevo is our destiny.

5)-We don't have the fear to lose the support of any country, they should have the fear to lose us and lose the *flow of history*. If you lose us, you should afraid of losing such an important allay in such a huge geography—they will choose. During the Libyan uprising, after talking to their leader, and when we could not convince him and solve the problem. So we doubtlessly took side with the Libyan people. And that is why when PM Erdogan went to Libya, the people welcomed him with thousands of Turkish flag. And you know how they welcome other leader that is our difference, which is our reference from the history. When *they (westerns)* see these differences,

they will realize the difference between colonizers and not colonizers in the heart of Middle East and Africa.

6) Even now the governor managing of the religious places in Eastern Jerusalem is being done according to the rituals and norms of the Ottomans. They did not add any new practices; they are still using the religious practices of the Ottoman time. All Muslims have Jerusalem in their hearts and minds, and it is our first compass and it is our responsibly toward our history. Just as the tomb of Osman Ghazi[13] was liberated, one day Masjid al-Aqsa will be liberated.

7) This geography must be multi-dimensional. We are a European and an Eastern country; a Mediterranean and a Black Sea country; an African, a Balkan, a Caucasian, a Central Asian, a Mesopotamian and a Middle Eastern country. And losing contact with any of these regions will result a lack in our civilization. 100 years ago, Yemen, Skopje was part of the same country. Or Erzurum and Benghazi. When we say that they call us Neo- Ottomans. But those who united the whole Europe are not called neo-Romans.

TIKA's Annual Activities

The following table presents the detailed descriptions of TIKA's annual activities about mosque, Ottoman and Turkology related projects. The data were taken from TIKA's official website. http://www.tika.gov.tr/en/publication/list/tika_annual_reports-22.

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[13] The founding father of the Ottoman Empire.

Annual Activity Reports	Countries	Activities
2005	Bosnia	↓ Renovation of historical Konji Bridge ↓ Renovations of Mehmet Pasha in Kosgi and Keregozbey mosque in Mostar once constructed by the Ottomans ↓ Cooperation to Handan Aga mosque ↓ Remarkabe support for The University of Zenica, Bosnia
	Ukraine	↓ Assitance to Centeral Mosque in Cremia ↓ Asssitance to Turkology deparment in Odessa Mechinkov National University
	Albania	↓ Assitance to the sound and line system of Ethem Bey Mosque
	Germany	↓ Assitance to Turkology department in Hamburg University
	US	↓ Assistance including Turkish textbooks to Georgia State University
	Albania,Belarus, Bosnia-Herzegovin, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine,Uzbekistan, Kyrgystan, Mongolia Republic of Tatarstan and Kosovo	↓ Turkology projects held in these 12 countries and in collaboration with 20 universities, Turkish Cultural Centers were opened at 16 universities. Some activity examples are: ↓ Cooperatio to Mirza Ulugbek National University in Uzbekistan ↓ Assistance and cooperation to Turkmanistan in regards Turkology and other material support such as books purchases and offering Turkish language courses ↓ Assistance and construction of school by Turkish Education Institute in Kosovo for training teachers and offering Turkish language cources ↓ National University of Mongolia, support for training and books in the Turkology dep. ↓ 1 Librarian and 2 assistants for Prsitina and Pizern universities in Kosovo.

2007	Albania	✚ Restoration of Ethem Bey mosque in Tirana
		✚ Restoration of İşkodra Parruce mosque
	Kosovo	✚ Restoration of Sinan Paşa mosque in Prizren and Fatih mosque in Priştine
		✚ Construction of Ottoman Cemetry
		✚ Opening Turkish Teaching Classroom
	Mecedonia	✚ Restoration of Ottoman Castle in Skjope
		✚ Restoation of Mustefa Pasha mosque
		✚ Enhancements of the National Historical Institute Chair, Ottoman History Research
	Bosnia	✚ Restoration of Stari Most bridge once constructed during the Ottoman period in 16th century
		✚ Historic Konjic bridge restoration
	Afghanistan	✚ Renovation and equipment for Wardag Maydan mosque
		✚ Establishment of Cultural Centre Mevlana Jalaluddin Rumi's House
	Jerusulm	✚ Restoration of Ottoman complex in an old city
	Senigal	✚ Restoration of Ilahyiet mosque in Dakar
	Indonisia, Bengladish, Madagaskar, Sudan and Somalia	✚ Construction of 8 Mosques in these countries
	Afghanistan, Albania , Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina , Estonia, Palestine , India, Iran , Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan ,	✚ Total of 121 Turkology programs were carried in cooperation with 32 universities in the world
		✚ A total of 11 Turkish Language and Literture Dep and 21 Turkish Language and Turkish Ledership and Cultual Center were opened

	Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia , Mongolia, Moldova , Uzbekistan, Slovakia , Syria, Ukraine Autonomous Republic of Tatarstan in Russian Federation	
2008	Georgia	✚ Restoration of Lebjbedinli mosque
	Afganistan	✚ Renovation of Khormi mosque in Kabul
	Albania	✚ Decorating the then Ottoman constructed mosque with Ottoman design and motifs in Parruce
	Bosnia	✚ Contributions to four mosques including brick supply, equipments, assitances and renovations
	Kosovo	✚ Restorations and Streangthining the walls and dome of Sinan Pasha and Fatih mosques
	Mecedonia	✚ Restoration of Mustafa Pasha mosque continues with the cooperation of Religious Affiars(*Diyanet*) , Cultrue and Turism ministeries
	Georgia, Uzbekistan, Turkmanistan, Kirgizistan, Kazakhista, Mongolia, India, Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo, Mecedonia, Romania, Moldova, Uukrain, Slovakia, Russian Federation,	✚ Turkology project, a total of 112 Turkology programs Summer internship and training for 19 countires

	Belarus, Estonia, Lativia, Lethuania, Montenegro, Palastine, Afganistan and Syria.	
2009	Bosnia	♣ Restoration of, Maglaj/Kurşumlija Mosque, Hundanlia Mosque, Fazlagic Kula Mosque, Ferhadiye Mosque ♣ Restoration of Konjic Bridge, an Ottoman inspired bridge ♣ Restoration of Drina Bridge/Mehmet Pasha bridge, once constructed by one of the greatest archeteict of Ottoman Empire ♣ Printing book entitle "Bosnia and Herzegovina in an Ottoman Salih Aydin Safvet Basic" ♣ Assistance to Tuzla University Turcology Department ♣ Assistance to Turkology Department in University of Zenica
	Bulgaria	♣ Restoration of Fatih Mosque ♣ Restoration of Iibrahim Pasha Mosque
	Serbia	♣ Restoration of Tomb of Sheikh Mustafa
	Mecedonia	♣ Restoration of Ishakye Mosque ♣ Translation of Ottoman Turkish Cultrual Themes
	Albania	♣ Restoration of Fatih Mosque ♣ Renewal of Water Transmission Line Project in Kovaj, which was established by Ottomans ♣ Renewal of two Mortages whihc was in Ottoman list of heritage in Berat, Albania. ♣ 1000 copies of the book, "The History and Civilization of Ottoman" Empire has been published in Albanian ♣ Assistance to Turkology Material Procurement, and offering Turkish language course
	Kosovo	♣ 70 academics and experts opened an exhibition to show Ottoman archive document ♣ Restoration of Sinan Pasha mosque

		✛ Constructing Tomb of Sultan Murat in Pristin
	Montinegro	✛ Carring out an "Old Ottoman" exhibiton
	Sudan	✛ Restoration of a historical building in Suakin on the west coast of Red Sea, Ottoman port, which used to be the residecny of Sultan Selim I by Ottoman occupation of the place in1517 ✛ two mosques constructed ✛ Building Ottoman mosque fountine
	Palastine	✛ Restoration of Ottoman Barracks school (the current Rashdiye School) in Al-Hansa
	Lebenan	✛ Establishing Mevlevihane in Tripoli.
	Etheopia	✛ Restoration of five peices of Ottoman fountains restortaiton
	Syria	✛ Restoration of Ottoman Suleymania Complex
	Uzbekistan, Turkmanistan, Kirgizistan, Kazakhista, Mongolia, India, Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo, Mecedonia, Romania, , Uukrain, Slovakia, , Belarus, Estonia, Lativia, Lethuania, Montenegro, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Afganistan, Syria, Yemen, Palastine, Sudan, Cuba and Tatarstan in	✛ Turkology Projects/ a total of 179 Turkology regioanl projects and Summer interenships were carried out

	Russian Federation	
2010	Mecedonia	- Restoration of Mustafa Pasha mosque continued - Restoration of The Clock Mosque in Gostivar "Ottoman Administration of Macedonia" Promoting Exhibition - Restoration projects of Radany Mahmut Pasha mosque and Ishak Pasha mosque Chalabi Scientific - Offering Turkish cources and signing a protocol in regards with academic coordination with ministry of Higer Eduaction
	Albania	- Restoration of five mosques - Offering Turkish cources and signing a protocol in regards with academic coordination with ministry of Higer Eduaction
	Bosnia	- Continuning restoration of Mehmet Pasha bridge (Drina bridge) - Constuction on Banya-Luka Farhadiye mosque once constructed by Ottomans, Ferhad pasha - Continuing restoration of Mehmet Pasha mosque - Continuing restoration of Maglay Kurşunlu mosque
	Montenegro	- Restoration of Tuzi, Ottoman cemetery - Restoration of Nazim mosque - Construction of Sultan Fatih mosque - Renovation of an Ottoman period embassy in Cetinje
	Bulgaria	- Continuing restoration of Makbul İbrahim Paşa mosque - Restoration of Banyobaşı mosque once constructed by Ibrahim Pasha in 1616
	Kosovo	- Restoration of Fatih mosque contintues, Pristina - Ongoing construction of Tomb of Sultan Murat in Pristina - Publishing a book entitled "*Kosovo and Ottoman Empire Archive Documents*"

	Afghanistan	♣ Construction of Mevlana House project including mosque and libraty ♣ Construction of Dovum Şirpu mosque on Tiamur Street, Kabul ♣ Constructions and projects in the dep. of Turkology, Kabul University
	Syria	♣ Ongoing restoration of Ottoman Suleymania Complex
	Lebenon	♣ Restoration of Judiciary Mosque of Alepo ♣ Continuing Mevlevihane establishment in Tripoli
	Sudan	♣ Continuing the restoration of historical building in Suakin on the west coast of Red Sea, Ottoman port, whihc used to be the residecny of Sultan Selim I upon the Ottoman occupation of the place in 1517
	Afghanistan, Albania, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Estonia, Palestine,India, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Mongolia, Uzbekistan,Slovakia, Syria, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Ukraine Crimea, Russian FederationAutonomous Republic of Tatarstan and Yemen	♣ Turkology project expanded its geographical zone into 22 countries and in colaboration with 32 universities total of 12 Turkish Department of Language and Literture as well as 18 Turkish Language Center were opened

2011	Pakistan	♦ Construction of six mosue
	Kazakhistan	Turkology project assistance to: ♦ Kızılorda Korkut State University and Turkish Language and Literature Department ♦ The Turkish World Kızılorda Korkut Ata High School ♦ The Turkish World Kentav Ataturk High School
	Azerbaijan	♦ The Turkish World Baku Ataturk High School
	Albania	♦ Oranments for Beshktashi Center. Beshkatshi is a Sufi-oriented religious sect.
	Bosnia	♦ Support for drinking water line on the Drina river where the famous Ottoman bridge is located, Mehmet Pasha bridge. ♦ Continuing restoration of Mehmet Pasha bridge ♦ Delivering Turkish courses and support for Turkology programs.
	Kosovo	♦ Continuing support for mosques and the cultural heratiges in Prezerin
	Montenegro	♦ Teaching Turkish to high school students at a high school in Roja
	Mecedonia	♦ Carring out exhibition of the Ottoman archive documents
2012	Georgia	♦ Support for student dormetory which operates as a part of Kazim Beg mosque once constructed by Ottomans in 1908 ♦ Assiatnace to Tbılısı State Medical Unıversıty offering Turkısh Language Course
	Serbia	♦ Printing the Ottoman records in Novi Pazar, which is a cultural centre for Bosniaks in Serbia. Novi Pazar was made by Isa Beg in 1461 under the Ottoman rule
	Motenegro	♦ Support for renovating Bıochı Mosque ♦ Restoratıon Of Maglaj Kurşunlu Mosque ♦ Interior Decoration of Skanjevıca Mosque

		♣ Restoratıon Of Osmanagıc Mosque ♣ Assisting Mehmet Fatih Medreseh ♣ Helding a Symposium on the 100th anniversary of the Balkans Wars discussing the Ottoman withdrawal from the Balkans ♣ Supportıng Turkısh Courses
	Kosovo	♣ Restoratıon of the Tomb of Gazi Mestan and Landscapıng ♣ Restoratıon of Yanova Yusuf Pasha Mosque ♣ estoratıon of Yasar Pasha Mosqu ♣ Restoratıon of Vıcıtırn Gazı Bey Bath ♣ Landscapıng and securıty system for Prıstına Fatıh Mosque ♣ Landscapıng andsecurıty system for Sınan Pasha Mosque ♣ Assisting a school trip for 500 students learning about Ottoman history and culture ♣ Organizing commemoration event on the Tomb of Sultan Murat ♣ Assisting Kosovo Researchers Association in the publication of *"Examples of Ottoman Architecture in Kosovo"* book. Published 100 copies of the book from eath 3 voluem ♣ Establıshment of a Turkısh Language Laboratory
	Bosnia	♣ Holding an International academic congress discussing the Ottoman Empire and World War I in Sarajevo. ♣ Exihibition for Ottoman legacy in Herzegovina Assisting a school trip held by for students at the Dragas College to introduce them with Ottoman structures in Albania and Mecedonia ♣ Assıstance to Tuzla Unıversıty Turkısh Language and Lıterature Department
	Mecedonia	♣ Restoratıon Of Cullu Baba Lodge Mosque ♣ Restoratıon of Tomb Of Sınanuddin Yusuf Celebı ♣ Restoratıon of Zeynel Abıdın Pasha Halvetı Lodge Fountaın and Landscapıng ♣ Restoratıon and landscaping of Voska Bath ♣ Delivering Turkısh Courses for Macedonıans
	Ukraine	♣ Assistance to KIPU Turkology Research Centre

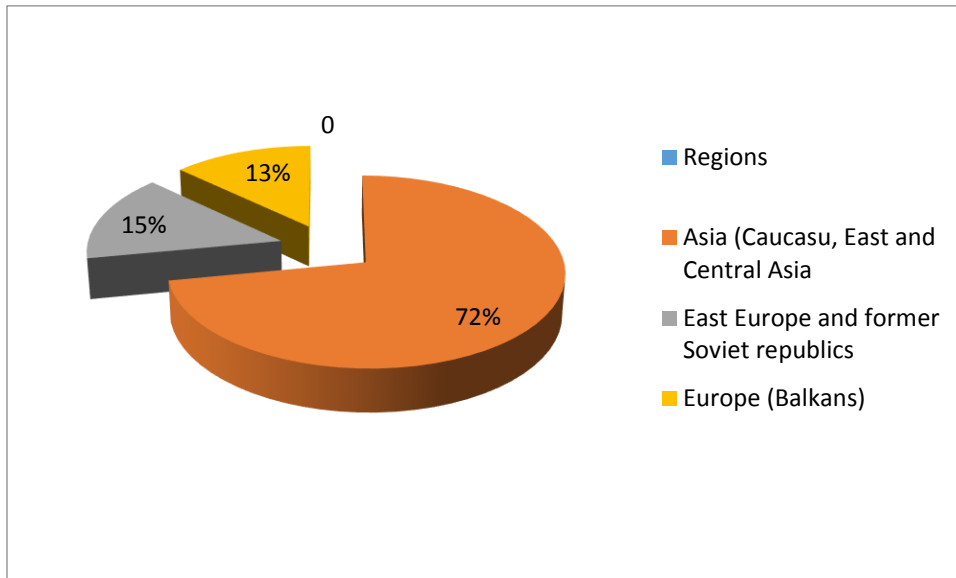|		
Kyrgyzstan		⬥ Providing 470 m3 of pre-mixed concrete for constructions of a school and a mosqu of the Faculty of Theology ⬥ Refurbishment of Turkish Language Department, Cusup Balasagun Kırghiz Natıonal Unıversıty
Kazakhistan		⬥ Offering assistance to Turkology Actıvıtıes, Al-Farabi Kazakhstan State Turkology Department
Plastine		⬥ Restoration of Clock Tower in Nablus, which was gifted to Sultan Abdulhamid II upon his 25th asseccion to the throne in 1901 ⬥ Renewal of Islam Research and Heritage Centre,which hostes 307,000 Ottoman court and foundation records and title deeds ⬥ Tiles of the Dome of Chain was renewed ⬥ Improvement of Gaza Munıcıpalıty Culture Center, teaching Turkish at the Center
Lebenon, Tripoli		⬥ Establishing an FM redio in Tajuro, which used to be Ottoman main military base and there are 9 Turkish neighborhoods in the district known as " descendants of Ottomans" ⬥ Restoration of the fountains in the Beirut Sanayeh Park,dating back to Abdulhamid II ⬥ Restoratıon Of Resıt Pasha Mosque ⬥ Restoratıon of Trıpolı Mevlevi Lodge
Egypt		⬥ Renovatıon Turkology Classroom at Egypt Alexandrıa Unıversity ⬥ Protectıng the Shared Cultural Herıtage ın Egypt such as relief drawing on site-measurements of the following places: ⬥ Mosque of Imam al-Shafer's ⬥ Sultan Mahmud Madrasa ⬥ Mosque of Muhammad Ali ⬥ al-Aznar Mosque ⬥ Ibrahim Galena" Monastery ⬥ Tombs of the Prophet's companions in Mina
Senegal		⬥ Landscaping for Dakar mosque
Somalia		⬥ Launch of a Turkısh Culture Centre In Mogadishu

	Sudan	⬩ Support to Somalıan Students who study in Turkey ⬩ Offering Turkish Language classes for the Sudanese
	Afghanistan	⬩ Restoration of Muhamad Mustafa mosque and constructed 330 meters of an enclosure wall around the mosque together with 3 entrance gates, 1 garden gate and a window wall with galvanized sheets ⬩ Assıstance to Kabul Unıversıty Turkısh Language And Culture Department
	Mongolia	⬩ Support for construction of student dorm and a worship place, mosque
	Libya	⬩ Restoratıon f oTurgut Reıs Mosque and Tomb Of Turgut Reıs In Tripoli
	Etheopia	⬩ Rehabiliating Saadedin Shcool in Zeyla, a Ottoman city ⬩ former Restoratıon of The residence of the last Ottoman Counsellor and Landscaping
	Yemen	⬩ Assisting Turkısh Language Department at Sana'a Unıversity Faculty of Languages
2013	Albania	⬩ Restoration of 5 mosques once constructed by the Ottoamns ⬩ In cooperation with UNESCO in South Europe, Workshop on restoration of Ottoman was carried. ⬩ Support for degitalization of documents in the National Library in Tirana where it exists many archive works belong to the Ottoman period
	Bosnia	⬩ Support for Karagozbey *medrese* (Ottoman religion-based school at the time) ⬩ Restoration of Maglay Kursunlu mosque, once made during Yusuf Pasha time ⬩ Restoration of a *mevleveihane* in Sarajova
	Montenegro	⬩ Support for Islamic Education Center in Rasovo ⬩ Support for Mehmed Fatih Medrese in Padgoris ⬩ Building Islamic Cultural Center including a mosque in Bar, town in southern Montenegor

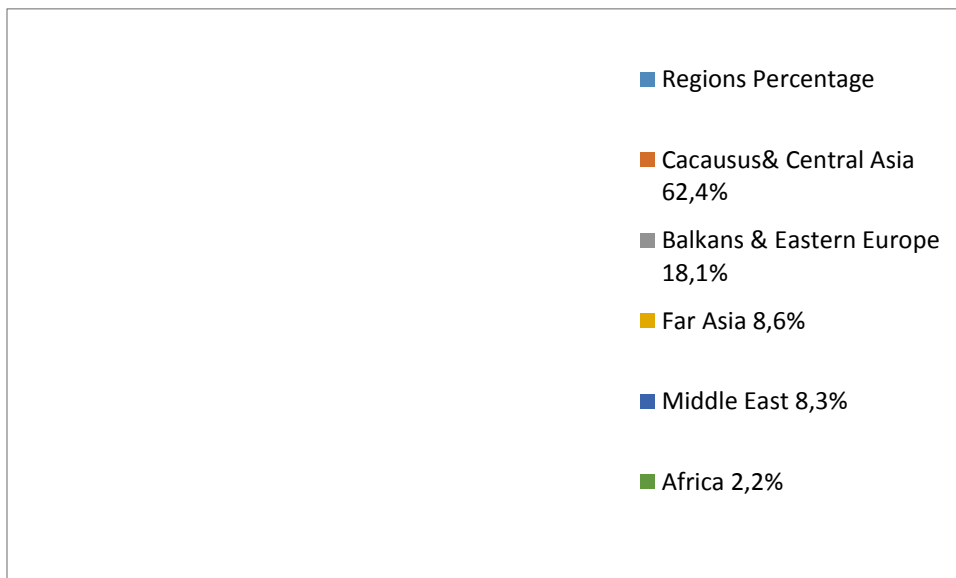|		
		✦ Offering *iftar* for the Muslim Romans (gypsies) people
		✦ Arranging a memorial ceremony to honour the death of 5000 Montenegro soldiers in Plavi, who fought for and defended the Ottoman Empire
		✦ Renovation and Documentery filming for Nizam mosque constructed during Sultan Fatih
		✦ Restoration for Klezna mosque once constructed during the Ottoman time
		✦ Building domes for Koy mosque
	Kosovo	✦ Building of Islamic Union Center
		✦ Restoration of Yasar Pasha mosque in Pristina
		✦ Restoration of Gazi Ali Bey *hamam (*bath*)* once constructed during Fatih Sulatan Mehmed in Vicitrin
		✦ Renovation of Sinan Pasha mosque
		✦ Support for building Koyu mosque
		✦ Restoration and landscaping of Yanovo Murat Bey mosque
		✦ Instalation of security cameras given to 700 mosques Kosovo
		✦ Support for Mitrovica Isa Bey mosque construction
	Mecedonia	✦ Restoration of Mustafa Kebir mosque once constructed during the Ottoman time
		✦ Modification of Hamidye medrese in Skopje
	Serbia	✦ Support for the lightening system of Ram Fortress which was used and revised by Sultan Bayazid II *for fighting firearms* (wiki)
		✦ Restoration of tomb of Sheikh Mustafa
		✦ Landscaping and support for Presevo medrese
	Ukraine	✦ Support for Turkish Information and Research Center, which was opened in 2003, at Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv
	Turkmanistan	✦ Support for Sultan Alparsalan's grave and tomb
	Etheopia	✦ Restoration of Necasi Tomb
		✦ Restoration and landscaping of the then Ottoman Consulate

	Sudan	✚ Restorations and renovations of historical monuments and mosques
	Palastine	✚ Lightening system for a sport staduim in the Mount of Olive in Jerusalem
	Georgia	✚ Restoration of Tblisi Friday mosque ✚ Landscaping for Kosal medrese
	Afghanistan	✚ Mosque and outbuilding counstructions in Jawzjan province ✚ Support for department of Turkology at Kabul University ✚ Completing the Islamic and Culture Center in Safakat ✚ Restoration of Hoca Bahaüddin Veled medrese in Balkh Province
	Senegal	✚ Support for Dakar Grand mosque construction

2004 Report:

Legend:
- Regions
- Asia (Caucasu, East and Central Asia
- East Europe and former Soviet republics
- Europe (Balkans)

- 0
- 13%
- 15%
- 72%

2005 Report:

Legend:
- Regions Percentage
- Cacausus& Central Asia 62,4%
- Balkans & Eastern Europe 18,1%
- Far Asia 8,6%
- Middle East 8,3%
- Africa 2,2%

2006 Report:

2007 Report:

2008 Report:

Regions
Cacausus & Central Aisa
Middle East
Balkans & East Europe
Africa
Others
Far East

2009 Report:

Regions
Cacausus & Central Asia
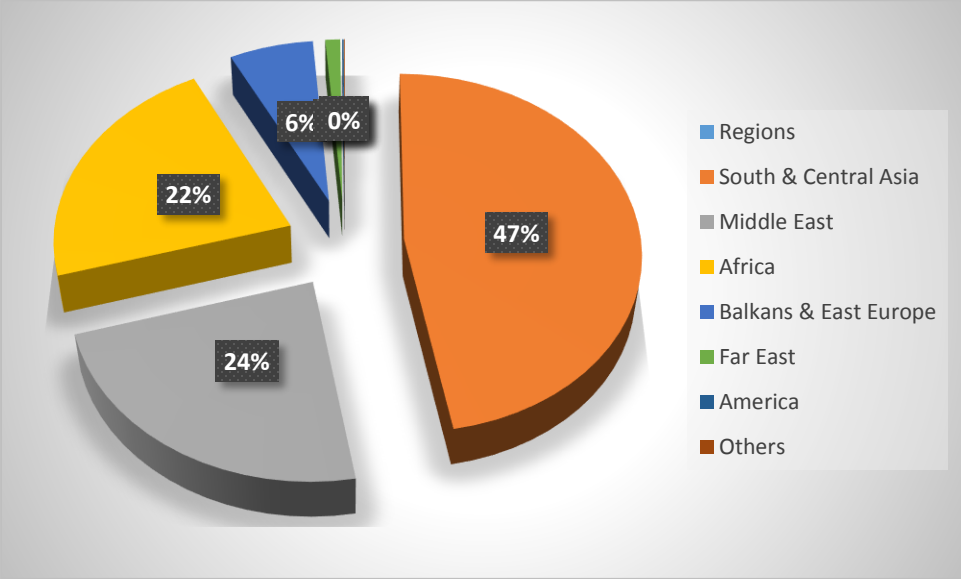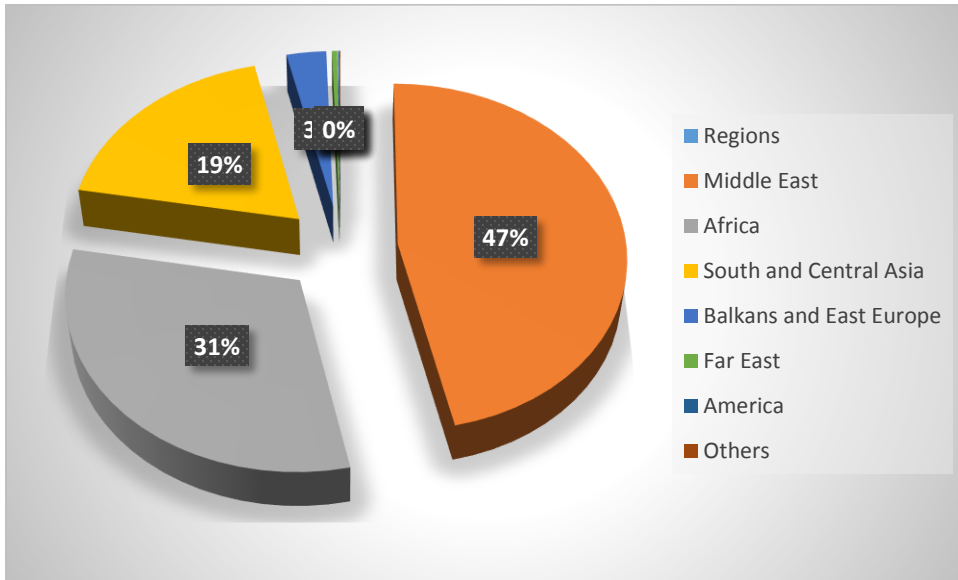Middle East
Balkans & East Europe
Africa
Far East
Others
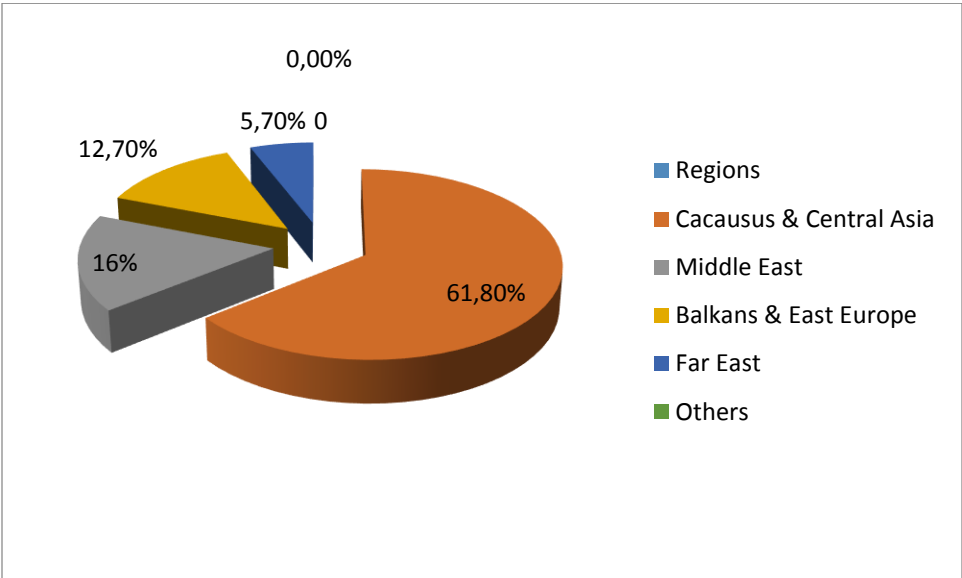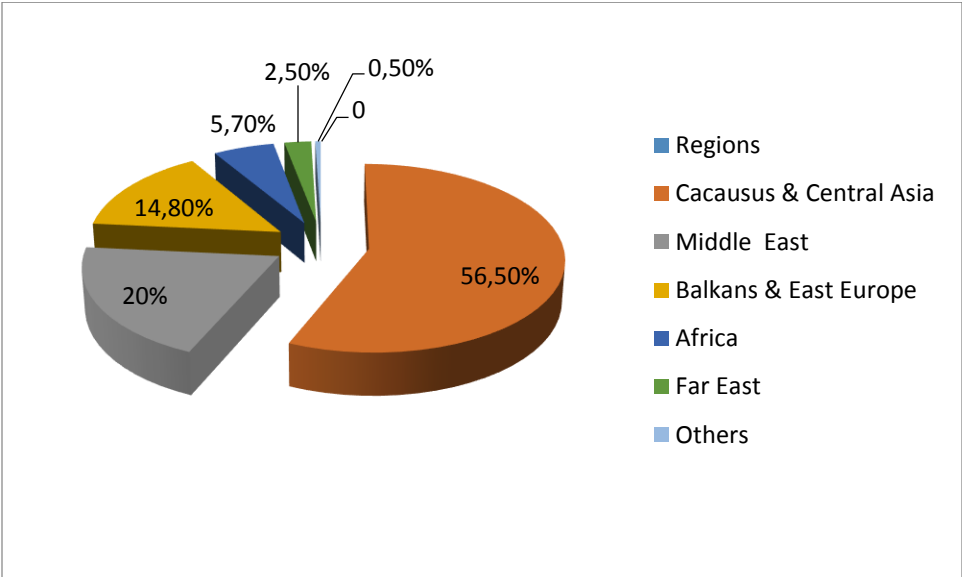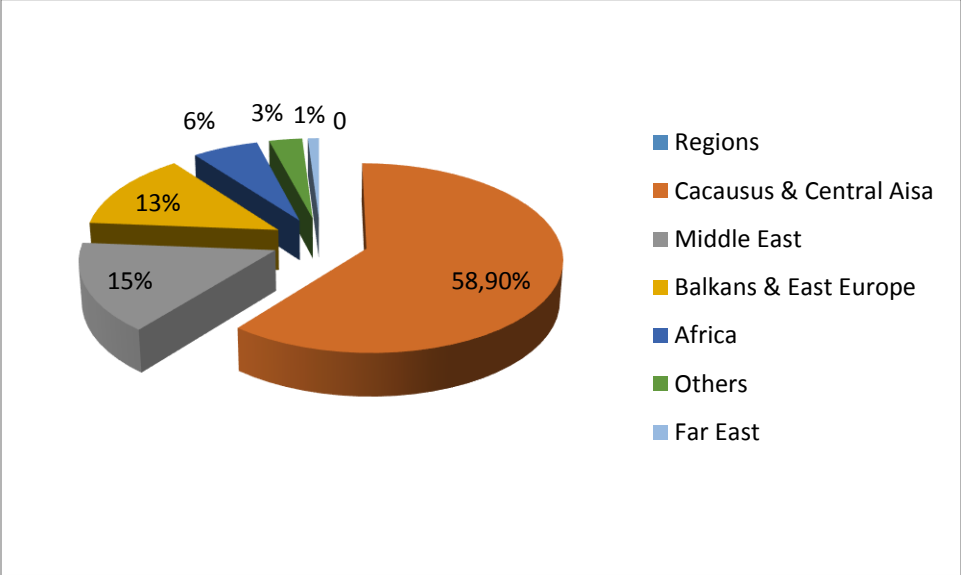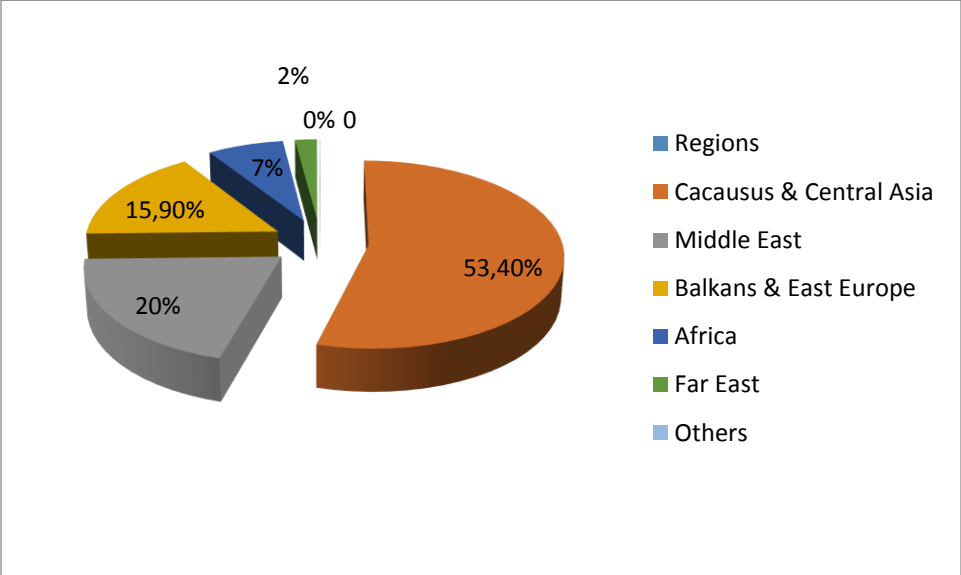
2010 Report:
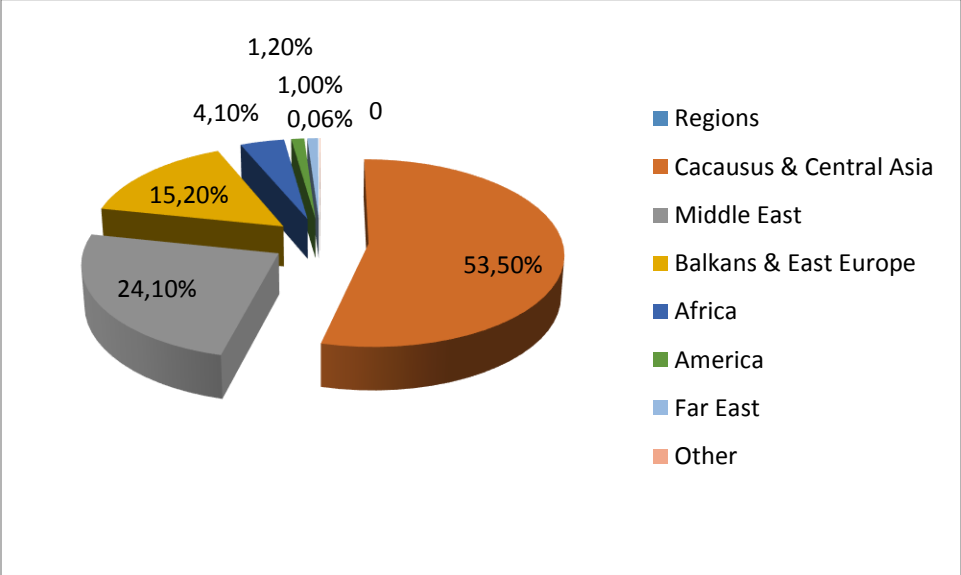
2011 Report:

2012 Report:

2013 Report: