

Universiteit Antwerpen
Faculteit Sociale Wetenschappen
Academiejaar 2019 - 2020

MASTERPROEF

**TURKEY'S HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY: EMBRACING LIBERAL HUMANITARIANISM OR
BREAKING THE MOLD?**

Laura Werbrouck

Master of Science – afstudeerrichting Internationale Betrekkingen en Diplomatie

Promotor: Prof. Dr. J. Kustermans

Medebeoordelaar: Prof. Dr. P. Meier

Aantal woorden: 15193



Masterproef voorgelegd met het oog op het behalen van de graad van Master in de
Internationale Betrekkingen en Diplomatie

Abstract

Het humanitaire veld verandert door nieuwe, niet-traditionele actoren die steeds vaker een grotere rol opnemen. *'Liberal humanitarianism'* wordt echter gekleurd door een Westers gedomineerd verleden. Dat creëert een spanningsveld tussen de traditionele donoren en de nieuwe spelers. Eén van die nieuwe actoren is Turkije, een land dat sinds 2013 gebruik maakt van *'Humanitarian Diplomacy'* als onderdeel van zijn buitenlands beleid. Om te begrijpen hoe Turkije zich verhoudt tot het traditionele veld, wordt het discours van het Turkse buitenlands beleid van 2013 tot en met 2020 geanalyseerd, waarvoor officiële publicaties worden aangewend. Uit die analyse blijkt dat Turkije zijn humanitaire hulp voorstelt als superieur alternatief voor het traditionele veld; een veld dat Turkije gepolitiseerd en gebrekkig acht. Doorheen dit verhaal creëert Turkije een bewuste afstand tussen zichzelf en de internationale gemeenschap, oftewel de klassieke, Westerse hulpverleners die een koloniaal verleden met zich meedragen. Dat betekent niet dat Turkije zich afkeert van alles waar *liberal humanitarianism* voor staat, integendeel. Doorheen het hele discours schuift Turkije een beeld naar voor dat sterk gevoed wordt door liberale waarden. Er blijken echter ook enkele significante breekpunten te zijn, waarbij Turkije eigenheden vertoont in een verder liberaal aandoend discours. Bovendien wordt Turkije, net zoals de internationale gemeenschap waar het zoveel kritiek op heeft, evengoed geleid door onderliggende drijfveren. Dat bevestigt dat humanitarian diplomacy onderdeel is van het Turks (gepolitiseerd) buitenlands beleid. Ondanks deze vaststellingen ziet Turkije zichzelf nog steeds als voorbeeld voor hoe het beter kan. Ongeacht of het dat ook is, toont het vooral aan dat Turkije een actieve bijdrage wil leveren aan het veld en daarbij doorgedreven verandering niet schuwt.

Trefwoorden: Turkije, internationale gemeenschap, liberal humanitarianism, humanitarian diplomacy, buitenlands beleid, humanitaire hulp, officiële ontwikkelingshulp, Constructivisme.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I	1
CHAPTER I - International Humanitarianism, a field in motion	2
<i>Evolution or progress?</i>	3
<i>International humanitarianism: a professionalized Western discourse</i>	4
<i>Towards a new paradigm?</i>	4
<i>Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy</i>	5
<i>Research question</i>	6
<i>Relevance</i>	6
CHAPTER II - Turkish Humanitarian Diplomacy: guided by moral conscience or driven by strategic interests?	8
<i>Turkey's political identity and its construction of foreign policy</i>	8
<i>The rise of Turkish humanitarian diplomacy</i>	10
<i>Drivers for Turkish Humanitarian Diplomacy</i>	11
<i>The values and norms underlying Turkish Humanitarian Diplomacy</i>	13
<i>A global reach or Muslim solidarity?</i>	14
<i>Liberal Humanitarianism: apex of freedom or neo-colonial front?</i>	16
PART II	18
CHAPTER III: Methodology	19
<i>Research design</i>	20
<i>Method of data collection</i>	22
<i>Conducting discourse analysis</i>	24
PART III	28
CHAPTER IV: Neo-Ottoman discourse	29
<i>Principled embrace of liberal humanitarianism</i>	29
<i>Liberal humanitarianism: a politicized, flawed system</i>	30
<i>Turkish humanitarianism: a reflection of bounded solidarity and Turkey's economic growth</i>	31
CHAPTER IV: Turkish-Gaullism discourse	35
<i>Turkey in despair</i>	35
<i>Extension of the Turkish humanitarian portfolio</i>	37
<i>Humanitarian diplomacy: a normative model, untainted by a colonial past</i>	38
<i>Solidarity with the Ummah</i>	39
<i>Businesses: a major driver for Turkish foreign policy</i>	40
CHAPTER VI: Analytical lenses	42
CHAPTER VII: Conclusion	43
APPENDIX A	46
APPENDIX B.....	61
APPENDIX C.....	72
APPENDIX D.....	84
APPENDIX E.....	91
APPENDIX F.....	94
APPENDIX G.....	98

<i>APPENDIX H</i>	125
<i>APPENDIX I</i>	133
<i>APPENDIX J</i>	157
<i>APPENDIX K</i>	164
<i>APPENDIX L</i>	171
<i>APPENDIX M</i>	175
<i>APPENDIX N</i>	184
<i>APPENDIX O</i>	187

Acknowledgment

This thesis represents the end of my Master's degree in International Relations and Diplomacy. It's been a chapter in my life that I've enjoyed thoroughly. I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Jorg Kustermans. He is the one who introduced me to Michael Barnett and his work on humanitarianism during one of his classes. I thank him for the guidance and the advice he's given me throughout the process of writing this work. I also want to give thanks to Mr. Rikkert Horemans for the literature he offered me and the additional advice.

Today, I present my final work. It is a research that has been written with a lot of care and dedication. I hope the reader will enjoy it as much as I did.

Laura Werbrouck

PART I

CHAPTER I - International Humanitarianism, a field in motion

International humanitarianism is changing, with non-Western donor states increasingly contributing and delivering aid to those in need (Binder, Meier & Steets, 2010). It leads to questions about how these rising donor states understand and enact humanitarianism and whether the international humanitarian field is influenced by them.

Humanitarianism, or the wish to alleviate the pain of others, can be categorized in different forms and shapes (Barnett, 2011). One way of making the distinction is by differentiating between ‘emergency’ humanitarianism and ‘alchemical’ humanitarianism. The first is focused on offering aid in order to save lives and the latter on going beyond that by tackling the causes of human suffering (Barnett, 2011). At its core, humanitarianism is ‘an act of humanity, not politics’ (Barnett, 2009: 623). This is reflected in the apolitical notions that became the main pillars of emergency humanitarianism in the 1960s, namely *impartiality*, *neutrality* and *independence* (Barnett, 2009: 623; 2011). It is impartial because aid was to be given to those who needed it (regardless of who they are); neutral because favoring one side over another was to be avoided; and independent as there ought to be no connections to parties involved in the conflict (Barnett, 2011: 2). In adopting these principles, a ‘humanitarian space’ was created, free from politics (Barnett, 2005: 724). Nevertheless, this seems to have changed.

According to Barnett (2011), politicization of humanitarian aid has been on the rise in the last three decades. A profound development took place in the post-Cold War period, ushering in the age of *liberal humanitarianism* (Barnett, 2011). It was during this period, and as a consequence of the atrocities in Bosnia and Rwanda, that the international community adopted the idea of having a responsibility to protect those in need. At the center of the current liberal humanitarian stage are the notions of ‘liberal peace’, ‘globalization’ and ‘human rights’. These fueled a shift in mentality that resulted in a significant increase of alchemical aid agencies and their institutionalization, in democracy promotion, human rights advocacy and in looking at conflict as an opportunity to create political change. During these years, states increasingly got involved and had more to say about where humanitarian assistance should go to, as they were the ones funding a lot of the aid agencies (Barnett, 2005; 2011: 3). It was the beginning of a period in which humanitarians argued that states might be a cause of suffering, but that they could also be its solution. This led to aid agencies becoming more eager to cooperate with states, as they believed their interests had started to overlap (Barnett, 2009: 624). On the other hand, it also

meant that humanitarian organizations had to progressively adapt and follow states, if they wanted to safeguard the resources their operations required. This created a situation in which aid agencies became dependent on states to different degrees (2009: 630-631), while knowing that these states do not necessarily follow humanitarianism's apolitical central tenets. Instead, government assistance was increasingly given to aid agencies, as it was in states' interests to do so. For example, humanitarianism would be increasingly used to appease domestic public opinions (Barnett, 2005; 2009) and 'failed states' started to be labeled as dangerous. They were not just a risk for themselves, but for the international community as a whole. As a result, they *needed saving* and the best way of doing that was by creating 'stable, legitimate states organized around human rights, markets and democracy' (Barnett, 2009: 629).

Evolution or progress?

Did these 'developments humanize the world of politics? Or did they politicize the world of humanitarianism?' (Barnett, 2011: 5). Are they tantamount to progress? According to Barnett (2009), there are many, especially liberal, theories in the field of international relations that encapsulate a 'promise of progress' (2009: 621). With humanitarianism as potential 'poster child for such evolutionary progress' (Barnett, 2009: 621-622), some have argued that the post-Cold War evolution in the international humanitarian field is the translation of that notion. Some see it as a 'sign of progress towards human freedom and emancipation' (Belloni, 2007: 453). Barnett (2009) however, questions whether evolution here actually equals progress (2009: 653). On the one hand because evolution refers to a pattern of change that does not make any claim 'whether that pattern is moving in a desirable direction' and on the other hand because any claim of progress depends 'on the ethical metrics that are employed to judge adaptations' (Barnett, 2009: 634). This is largely subjective and usually determined by the ones with power (Barnett, 2011: 12). Still, regardless of whether or not the world will proudly look back on a period of great moral advancements, the debate on evolution and/or progress does lead to another question: in times of an increase in non-Western humanitarian states: how do *they* perceive these changes?

International humanitarianism: a professionalized Western discourse

Nowadays, international humanitarianism is still dominated by Western actors. An interesting point of view has been put forward by Six (2009), who draws on Edward Said's (1978) work on *Orientalism*. He refers to the 'development paradigm', which uses Europe's history as a colonial power to explain how binary terms such as 'developed' and 'not so developed' offered 'the rationale and justification for the practice of some intervening to develop others and thus also shape those who give assistance and those who must be grateful of it' (2009: 1106). Belloni (2007) refers to this as the ideology behind humanitarianism, which serves as a justification of the 'unequal power relationship between the West and the less developed world' (2007: 454). It grew into an 'institutionalized form of a Western hegemonic crisis relief system' (DuBois, 2018 in Peters, 2019: 1183), that in its 'postmodern, liberal form became a pervasive, normalized and 'everyday' activity managed by professional marketing and fundraising companies' (Peters, 2019: 1180). Here as well, we could ask if the institutionalization of the (Western) international humanitarian field, besides its earlier mentioned politicization, comprises progress. Barnett might not agree, and neither might Non-European/Western actors.

Towards a new paradigm?

If humanitarianism is the posterchild for evolutionary progress, then what exactly would lead to progress? Would it come with the increased involvement of new Non-Western states? Could these new players have the potential to change the game? As Barnett argues: 'we can only understand humanitarianism in relationship to the world order that constitutes it' (2005: 733), but what if these rising donors do not agree with the Western liberal humanitarian world order? What if they mostly see a 'Western, postcolonial concept' (Six, 2009: 1103) of which they disapprove? In other words, their rise might very well lead to a crumbling of the binaries upon which the humanitarian discourse has been built. According to Six (2009), they might even alter the justification of development assistance that came with Western ideology, as they would not rely on a 'historicist development rhetoric to legitimize their interventions' (Six, 2009: 1108-1109). He even posits it could result in a global political transformation (2009: 1118).

Whether that political transformation would give rise to new actors who are 'in power' remains to be seen, just as it is unclear if that new non-Western rhetoric would constitute progress. Instead, a more pressing question emerges that deserves attention: how exactly do these rising

actors differ in their approach to humanitarianism? How do they understand, enact and perceive it?

Turkey's Humanitarian Diplomacy

One of the rising players in the humanitarian field is the Republic of Turkey, whose commitment to humanitarianism came to fruition in 2013, when the state adopted 'Humanitarian Diplomacy' as part of its official foreign policy discourse (Altunışık, 2019). Over time, Turkey has progressively taken part in mediation, sent out military contributions to peace-keeping missions, provided assistance in several regions in the world and has taken on efforts in helping the developing world with its economic advancement (Bayer & Keyman, 2012). Other than that, Ankara has been hosting millions of Syrians on its territory since the beginning of the Syrian Civil War in 2011 and became one of the largest humanitarian contributors in absolute numbers and as a percentage of their GNI, in 2018 (Development Initiatives, 2019: 36-38). In doing this, Turkey relies on 'Humanitarian Diplomacy' (HD), a term that emerged in the 2000s. For Turkey, it became an instrument to implement its foreign policy but in theory, it can be used by all sorts of actors ranging from humanitarian organizations and official agencies to different ministries. The definition of the term varies among its users (Régnier, 2011), but overall HD is focused on working towards humanitarian objectives through the development of partnerships and the maximization of support for specific actions (Lamb, 2008 in Régnier, 2011: 1212). According to Régnier (2011), HD is (in the context of humanitarian organizations) mostly apolitical and void of advocacy for a particular type of society. When it is used as an element of a state's foreign policy however, this changes, as strategic interests come into play. This shows how the traditional notions of impartiality, neutrality and independence might be challenging for countries like Turkey as well, as it demonstrates the political value that is inherently part of the concept 'diplomacy' (De Lauri, 2018). Nonetheless, as De Lauri points out: emerging humanitarians might have different interpretations of how humanitarianism should be interpreted and carried out (2018: 2). Question remains whether Turkey could influence liberal humanitarianism or even the international order as we know it.

Research question

As listed above, Turkey's HD is not just focused on offering humanitarian aid. In fact, it is 'a combination of humanitarian aid, development projects, business agreements, peace building and political relations' (Altunışık, 2019: 3), or activities which seem to go beyond traditional humanitarianism's core of 'the desire to help those who suffer' (Barnet, 2011: 11). Even though peace building, setting up political relations and conducting business seem politicized and partial activities, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Former Prime Minister, Ahmet Davutoğlu (2013) states that Turkey's reason for pursuing this particular strategy is not because Turkey wishes to intervene in another country, but because it wishes to 'uphold universal humanitarian values' by 'clearly presenting Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy perspective' (2013: 868). But what does that mean? How does Turkey perceive humanitarianism? Does it differ from the Western-dominated liberal international humanitarian field? These are the main questions that require an answer, resulting in the following research question:

“How does Turkey and its humanitarian diplomacy relate to international humanitarianism?”

Relevance

The significance of this research lies in the vital importance of humanitarian aid to millions of people. Changes in attitudes towards the field could have both positive and negative consequences to those in need, which makes it crucial to keep track of the evolution of international humanitarianism.

Furthermore, it is no longer justifiable to exclude other narratives from this debate. Not merely because of the increase in non-Western actors, but mostly because of their capacity to increase humanitarian access (Binder et al., 2010: 4) and their ability to 'change the current perception that humanitarianism today is a Western dominated enterprise' (Donini et al, 2008: 4 in Binder et al., 2010: 4; Holmes, 2017). Not including them might even limit 'reform efforts and hamper the development of a more legitimate, truly universal and effective system' (Binder et al., 2010: 4).

On top of that, there still are gaps in literature on this topic. Research has been conducted on Turkey's rise as a donor state, its shift in foreign policy, how it has embraced HD as part of its foreign policy and whether or not it is part of a larger plan to extend influence in the region, but no interpretive research seems to have been done which analyzes Turkey's official foreign policy to get a grip on Turkey's perception of and approach towards the liberal humanitarian field.

Finally, this research hopes to inspire further studies on the future of international humanitarianism, how it might be changing and whether these changes would lead to the progress Barnett (2009, 2011) has been referring to.

CHAPTER II - Turkish Humanitarian Diplomacy: guided by moral conscience or driven by strategic interests?

Before attempting to answer the research question, a broader debate on this particular topic ought to be reconstructed, which will serve as a guiding framework for the research. As HD is encapsulated in Turkey's official foreign policy discourse, this overview first deals with the evolution of the state's foreign policy, followed by an overview of what literature says about HD. After that, the underlying drivers are addressed and finally, the guiding norms and values.

Turkey's political identity and its construction of foreign policy

For this research, it is assumed that Turkey's foreign policy is based on an underlying political identity, which according to Taspinar (2011), has changed over time. To capture this change, he created three Turkish 'visions'. In this view, Turkey lived through periods of '*Kemalism*', '*Neo-Ottomanism*' and '*Turkish-Gaullism*' (Taspinar, 2011), since its independence in 1923. This overview is important, not just because HD *is* part of Turkish foreign policy, but more importantly because scrutinizing this might lead to a better understanding of Turkey's overall identity and how it consequently interprets the concept of humanitarianism itself. On top of that, in examining what Turkey considers to be important in its foreign policy, some aspects of its relation to the international humanitarian field might be deduced.

After its independence, Turkey adopted a firm focus on national security and stability. Foreign policy was mostly aligned with the West and the political elite depicted 'Turkey as a 'modern', liberal society, striving towards Europeanisation' (Venkatachalam, 2019: 6). The biggest priorities during these years, also known as the '*Kemalist*' period (Taspinar, 2011) were to protect the fragile autonomy and secularity of the state. This became known as the 'peace at home, peace in the world' doctrine, that came with a non-interventionist foreign policy (Guo, 2020: 13). After the military coup in 1997 however, a nationalist identity was created and pushed forward by the new leaders. It was an identity that embraced Turkey's Ottoman past, and which included a readiness to take on 'a 'moral mission' and a 'civilizational duty' towards others formerly subjected to the Ottoman rule' (Venkatachalam, 2019: 6). In other words, the shared history offered a justification for the Turkish interest in new regions (Venkatachalam, 2019: 6). At the end of the Cold War, the focus on national security was let go off. It was a period in which Turkey underwent a domestic transformation which allowed it to 'consolidate

political and economic stability' (Aras, 2009: 128). Hence, after transitioning from a state-directed to a market economy, the state's main focus shifted to its economy (Taspinar, 2011; Haugom, 2019). This combination of an Ottoman ideology and economic growth became the 'backbone of Turkey's growing influence in regional and global affairs' (Binder, 2014: 5).

In the late 1980's, this newfound focus led to '*Neo-Ottomanism*' (Taspinar, 2011). Under this vision, which truly came to life once AKP came to power in 2002, Turkey's foreign policy was focused on re-establishing relations with neighboring countries (Taspinar, 2011). It was part of constructing a 'new national identity and translating it into foreign policy by using historical, cultural and religious ties to former Ottoman territories' (Yavuz, 2016: 443). It meant a true embrace of 'the Ottoman multicultural legacy' (Taspinar, 2011: 2). Nevertheless, Turkey also established a large number of relations with more distant regions in the world. These ties were mostly created in order to increase trade and support the growing economy (Haugom, 2019). It increased Turkey's self-confidence and gave an incentive for Turkey to look at itself as a 'regional superpower' (Taspinar, 2011: 2).

After President Erdoğan's election, Neo-Ottomanism made way for '*Turkish Gaullism*' (Taspinar, 2011). Turkey's liberalism was increasingly considered unsustainable and the political elite progressively turned against each other. The internal disputes and larger post-Arab Spring context eventually led to the failed coup of 2016. It turned out to be an opportunity for Erdoğan to adjust Turkish foreign policy to his vision (albeit in a rather authoritative manner) (Aras, 2017: 3, 2019: 7) and to transform Turkey from a parliamentary regime to a presidential one. Foreign policy would gradually become 'an extension of domestic policy' (Aras, 2019: 12), and 'nationalist conservatism' would take a hold over the Turkish 'conservative democracy' (Aras, 2019: 10). In other words, a new-found focus on self-protection and security took the main stage (Aras, 2019: 13). On top of that, because of a lack of response to the coup and after failing to rally support for 'cross-border operations in Syria', resentment toward the West increased among the Turkish government (Aras, 2019: 14). It led to Turkey adopting a more defiant, assertive strategy toward its traditional foreign policy interests, both in terms of diplomacy as well as military means (Haugom: 2019). As argued by Önis (2011), this shift 'reflected a desire to act as an independent regional power' (Önis, 2011 in Yardımçı, 2019: 356). It is clear that this defiant, nationalistic rhetoric stands in stark contrast with the Neo-Ottoman embrace of both the West and the Islamic world and the strong focus on economy (Taspinar, 2011; Haugom, 2019).

The rise of Turkish humanitarian diplomacy

During the Neo-Ottoman (Taspınar, 2011) period, Turkey entered the international humanitarian field. With a first major contribution taking place in the 1980s, Ankara sent \$10 million in food aid to the Sahel (Kulaklıkaya & Aybey, 2009: 263 in Altunişik, 2014), a move that had been triggered by the end of the Cold War, as it created a space for Turkey to navigate in (Bayer & Keyman, 2012). Nevertheless, this new unipolar world led to an identity crisis with Turkey's role as military ally to the west starting to lose significance. Consequently, new foreign policy objectives were adopted (Guo, 2020: 13). The result was an ambitious 'Pan-Turkism' plan, designed to show 'the West that Turkey would still act as a precious ally, being a functioning Muslim secular democracy and a role model to the newly established independent Turkic states in Central Asia' (Hale, 2012 in Guo, 2020: 14). In order to achieve this, Turkey had to become 'a generous humanitarian and development aid donor' (Guo, 2020: 14). Hence, in the 1990s, it started to offer assistance to Palestine but the profound increase in aid took place in the 2000s, when Turkey's overall contributions expanded to states in the Middle East, Africa (among which Somalia) and Asia (Altunişik, 2014). Another region of significance at the time, was the former Yugoslavia, where Turkey's interests were mostly based on the common history and identity, as well as on restoring stability (Altunişik, 2014). This link between identity and interests would, according to Altunişik (2014), remain a guiding principle in Turkish humanitarianism (2014: 334). It is only when AKP came to power that the Arab world truly became a priority.

Behind AKP's foreign policy lies mostly Ahmet Davutoğlu's vision. He is 'known as the intellectual architect of Turkish foreign policy' (Aras, 2009: 127). The period during which his vision came to life, which coincides with Neo-Ottomanism, took off in 2002. In these years, AKP rose to power and Davutoğlu was appointed Chief advisor to then Prime Minister Erdoğan (Aras, 2009). The vision however gained actual momentum when he became Minister of Foreign Affairs in 2009 (Aras, 2014). Under Davutoğlu, Turkey adopted the ambition of becoming 'an active actor, capable of influencing history' (Davutoğlu, 2013: 865). By using interventions in international issues, Turkey wanted to transform from 'a central country to a global power' (Davutoğlu, 2008: 83). This led to the creation of a framework focused on deepening Turkey's 'involvement in regional politics, international organizations, and world politics' (Aras, 2009: 127), driven by the belief that Turkey's own wealth and security were linked to stability in its neighboring countries (Altunişik, 2014). Consequently, instead of just

looking after itself, Turkey decided to try and offer security and stability to its neighbors too (Davutoğlu, 2008), the area that could be seen as ‘the backyard of the former Ottoman Empire’ (Aras, 2009: 131). Nevertheless, Kirişçi (2009) notes that Neo-Ottomanism was not necessarily the main driver for Davutoğlu’s vision. Instead, it was driven by the ‘rising importance of economic interdependence’ (Kirişçi, 2009 in Aras, 2009: 131), a goal that required peace and stability in the region. This makes sense, as during this period the ‘zero problem policy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013f) was adopted, which was characterized by economic interdependency and free trade agreements (Davutoğlu, 2008). Consequently, Turkey adopted a policy that matched its aspirations in the region by using its soft power; it started establishing trade relations and increasingly mediated in conflicts in the region (Altunışık, 2014). Progressively, Turkey took part in military contributions to peace-keeping missions, started providing assistance to several regions in the world and took on efforts for economic development in the developing world (Bayer & Keyman, 2012).

These activities are what became known as Turkish humanitarian diplomacy. It was introduced by Davutoğlu in 2013, after being used as the main theme for Turkey’s Fifth Annual Ambassadors Conference, with HD being ‘an expression of Turkey’s position in international politics’ and ‘a vision beyond humanitarian aid, aimed at developing a new language of diplomacy in policy areas, related to the future of the whole of mankind’ (Davutoğlu, 2013: 866). For shaping this policy, Turkey relies on Davutoğlu’s (2013) ‘multifaceted and multi-channeled understanding’ of HD (2013: 867), which means that multiple actors are included in the process. The catalyst remains the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but remarkably, businesses are seen as a ‘major driver of Turkish foreign policy’ (Kirişçi, 2011 in Yardımcı 2019: 365). Their contributions even get included in Turkey’s national development assistance program (Kulaklıkaya and Nurdun 2010 in Yardımcı 2019: 365).

Drivers for Turkish Humanitarian Diplomacy

As stated earlier, it is possible that rising donors disapprove of liberal humanitarianism, which became politicized over the years. Therefore, it is vital to include the potential underlying motives of Turkish humanitarianism, even if such a *why* question is not central to this research. Overall, Turkey claims to be ‘impartial and needs-driven’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.-a in Binder, 2014: 8) in its assistance. This, however, has been refuted by several authors.

According to Bayer and Keyman (2012), Davutoğlu's vision is driven by an ambition to work towards a stable and peaceful world. Altunışık (2014) argues that this can be seen in Ankara's mediation efforts in Lebanon and in Turkey's support to Palestine, Iraq and Lebanon before the Arab Spring, where its contributions consisted of a vast amount of development assistance, besides the traditional humanitarian aid. During the Arab Spring (which coincides with the emergence of Turkish HD), this shifted to bilateral aid, given to Tunisia, Egypt and especially Syria. Offering support to the regimes Turkey wanted to come to power and establishing relations through strategic partnerships (of which aid was a component) became vital (Altunışık, 2014). Altunışık (2014) looks at this as Turkey maintaining its desire for regional stability and security, while protecting its economic and political interests. This emphasis on strategic interests matches with what Baird (2016) and Donelli (2018) put forward too and is visible in Turkey's contributions in the Sahel. There, a significant number of Turkish companies was encouraged to explore the areas where Turkey was offering assistance (Guo, 2020). It led to Turkey's aid being used as 'an instrument to foster trade relations' (Kulaklıkaya & Nurdun, 2010 in Yardımcı, 2019: 354).

Still, according to Akpınar (2013), Altunışık (2014, 2019) and Yardımcı (2019), Turkey's humanitarianism is fueled by prestige, power and ideology. Central to these are a desire to create a larger visibility on the international stage (Oğuzlu & Dal, 2013; Donelli, 2018); to be seen as a moral leader (Altunışık, 2014, 2019) and the fact that Turkey is actively involved in a combat against Islamic extremism (Gilley, 2015) as well as in an ongoing feud with the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) (Hoffman, 2019: 305). Nevertheless, Turkey has maintained that the involvement in Syria has been based on supporting 'the popular uprisings to secure basic democratic rights' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013r). This argument, however, has been contested. According to Altunışık (2014), the support that was given to the Syrian people in the form of HD was merely a way to justify Turkey's involvement in the region. An idea shared by Akpınar (2013), who adds that HD may even be regarded as a tool for legitimizing Turkey's efforts 'to build a new regional and global order' (Akpınar, 2013: 751). This is backed by Bayer and Keyman (2012) who state that in its rise, Turkey has been 'creating new norms of democratic global governance' (2012: 73).

The culmination of some of these drivers can be seen in Turkey's presence in Somalia; an excellent point for the spread of Turkish goods throughout the continent (thus reflecting the

commercial and domestic motivation). According to Donelli (2018), Turkey's presence there is mostly based on its ambition to gain influence and achieve 'political and religious' leadership in the region (2018: 60). Altunışık (2014, 2019) agrees, yet broadens this view by phrasing it as Turkey's ambition to work on its image as rising regional and moral leader. Not only was involvement in the region hence used as the model for Turkey's commitment in Africa (Özkan, 2013), it was also used to show Turkey's material capabilities 'as an emerging economy' (Langan, 2017 in Donelli 2018: 61; Donelli, 2018). This would help Turkey in positioning itself as a force to be reckoned with throughout the continent *and* on the international stage (Donelli, 2018; Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019).

The values and norms underlying Turkish Humanitarian Diplomacy

Having addressed some of the potential reasons *why* Turkey adopted HD, the question remains what the underlying norms and values of this involvement abroad are. Does Turkey share the Western liberal values of human rights, liberal peace and globalization (Barnett, 2011)? Or does it value completely different norms?

In describing Turkish HD, Davutoğlu (2013) explains how Turkey has adopted a 'human-oriented attitude in crisis zones', wherever they may be and how it deems a human-centered diplomacy at the global level necessary (Davutoğlu, 2013: 867-868). This comes after Turkey no longer considers the Westphalian model, nor the idealism upon which the United Nations had been built sufficient in dealing with the struggles of reality (Davutoğlu, 2013: 866). As a consequence, Turkey developed a new approach, which according to Haşimi (2014) has been framed 'as a natural and indispensable part of Turkey's identity, rooted in a long historical tradition, which is viewed as paving the way for the foundation of a new global order by reviving the long-forgotten legacy of Turkish identity' (2014: 139-140).

This does not mean that under Davutoğlu, Turkish humanitarianism was opposed to Western values. The opposite seemed to be true, especially after the Arab Spring, when policy became more focused on democratization, economic interdependence and became 'more normative and humanitarian' (Oğuzlu, 2012 in Aras, 2014: 407). In other words, Turkey during this period seemingly pushed forward liberal values. The same could be stated about Turkey's initial presence in Somalia, which according to Hoffman (2019) became an area in which Turkey tried

out ‘post-conflict development and state-building’ (2019: 304). These were experiments largely based on ‘practices and policies from Western humanitarianism’ (Hoffman, 2019: 304). Interestingly enough, this ‘liberal’ attitude changed in times when Turkey considered ‘the outcome of the humanitarian assistance an issue of a national security concern’ (International Crisis Group, 2013 in Guo: 131). For this, Guo (2020) refers to Turkey’s occasional refusal to coordinate with other international organizations in Syria, driven by Turkey’s concern about The People’s Protection Units (YPG) and the PKK’s influence in the region (Guo, 2020: 131-132). This shows how Turkey’s underlying interests and security considerations are crucial, even in the debate on the values and norms that guide Turkey’s humanitarianism. Nevertheless, Guo (2020) argues that ‘predetermined ‘national interests’ do not apply to humanitarian assistance policy making’ but that official documents do contain a ‘recurring moral emphasis on self-defined humanitarian values’ (Guo, 2020: 135). It is an indication of Turkey’s ‘desire for establishing an image of acting in solidarity with disadvantaged nations’ (Guo, 2020: 136). But who are these disadvantaged nations exactly?

A global reach or Muslim solidarity?

Turkish Humanitarianism is said to work on the global level and to reach all peoples (Davutoğlu, 2013). That statement, however, is contested in literature. First and foremost, by Taspınar (2011), who counters this argument by stating that Neo-Ottomanism revolves around re-establishing relations with regions whom Turkey shares cultural and historical ties with. This is backed by Haugom (2019), Hoffman (2019) and Akpınar, (2013), with the latter referring to Turkey’s strategy of using aid to enhance ties with Turkmen communities in the regions in which it offers support. That idea is shared by Cetinoglu (2019), who argues that the emphasis is put on ‘solidarity with ‘oppressed’ populations, notably Muslims’ (2019: 290). This was in fact confirmed by Erdoğan himself, who stated that Turkey would be ‘the hope of the Ummah¹ and the world’ (Çelik & İşeri, 2016 in Venkatachalam, 2019: 7).

Binder (2014) on the other hand, argues that recipients have been mostly Muslim but that this does not necessarily reflect a partiality towards them (Binder, 2014: 10). Baird (2016) agrees, yet adds that this is done ‘in order to promote a form of political conservatism and state-led development built on AKP’s model of conservative capitalism’ (Baird, 2016: 474; Gilley,

¹ Ummah: the Islamic community

2015). Donelli (2017) concurs, but believes that the religious dimension should not be exaggerated. In his eyes, it mostly seems to be an instrument rather than the reason of Turkish action in the region, or as Eyrice Tepeciklioğlu (2015) puts it: ‘a legitimate basis for Turkey’s involvement’ (Eyrice Tepeciklioğlu, 2015 in Donelli, 2018: 66). Worth mentioning is that so far, Turkish humanitarian assistance has often been given to crises with majority Muslim populations in which Western responses were largely absent. Hence, Turkey’s focus on Islamic values could also be ‘seen as an alternative normative framework to the Western liberal peacebuilding engagement’ (Tank, 2015: 4). This particular approach offers added credibility to the thesis of Islamic solidarity being an instrument, used to legitimize Turkey’s assistance, meant ‘to fill the gap’ that was created by a lack of Western response (Binder & Erten, 2013 in Gilley, 2015: 44).

Still another take on that view has been put forward by Bayer and Keyman (2012). They agree with the notion of Turkey supporting especially Muslim communities, but explain that tendency by relying on Turkey’s ‘ethical foreign policy’ (2012: 85). The underlying value that drives Turkey’s behavior is hence acting in a just, fair and conscious way (TIKA, 2017 in Altunışık 2019) toward fellow Muslims. Focus according to Altunışık (2019), lies on portraying a rising non-Western leader but above all: a moral actor, with Erdoğan as defender of global Muslim rights. While this idea sounds promising, it just does not seem to encompass the whole picture. Still, it is an argument that makes sense, which can be traced back to Davutoğlu’s (2013) guiding principles of Turkish HD. According to him, Turkey’s ambition to achieve leadership in humanitarianism is guided by ‘conscience’ and ‘power’, two notions meant to be in balance. Power is needed not to look weak and conscience is used to determine where Turkish aid should go to. It is what leads to compassion (Davutoğlu’s, 2013: 865-867), a characteristic that is linked to morality. Cetinoglu (2019) however, argues that these guiding principles do not necessarily reflect true humanitarianism. Instead (and as argued above) they rather serve ‘as an enabler of intervention’ (Cetinoglu, 2019: 290). Above all, these contributions again show that underlying drivers remain important and even might trump the values that Turkey upholds in offering its aid.

Liberal Humanitarianism: apex of freedom or neo-colonial front?

Finally, traditional humanitarianism, as argued by Barnett (2011) is mostly driven by Western democracies (and the UN system), and serves as a vehicle to advocate for ‘the principles of democracy, universal human rights, the rule of law, equality, freedom and good governance’, ‘free-market economics’ and ‘to advance the goals of liberal global governance’ (Pugh, Cooper & Turner, 2016 in Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019, 1979; Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019: 1979). Based on the above, Turkey under Davutoğlu seemingly adopted an approach that coincides with these liberal values.

Nevertheless, from a non-Western perspective, a different point of view emerges, as these humanitarian interventions can also be interpreted as politicized and self-centered. In that perspective, they are used under a ‘human security discourse’ umbrella based on ‘a belief in the universality and moral superiority of Western liberal norms’ and meant to counter allegations of pushing a neo-colonialist and imperialist agenda (Paris, 2010 and Davidson, 2012 in Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019: 1980). To an extent, this approach seems to have taken over under Erdoğan, who seems to be condoning the global system and portrays globalization as ‘a new form of Western colonialism and modern slavery’ (Daily Sabah, 2016 in Donelli, 2018: 68). This has been reflected in Turkey’s engagement Somalia too, where it decided to take on more ‘political responsibilities, rather than being merely an economic power or donor country’ (Donelli, 2018: 63; Özkan, 2013). The policy upon which Turkey relied in doing this, has been coined the ‘Ankara Consensus’ by Donelli (2018), a normative model untainted by a colonial past, which represents an alternative to the Washington consensus (based on Western neo-liberalism) and the Beijing consensus (authoritarian capitalism) (Donelli, 2018: 58), meant to create an image as Turkey being a ‘benevolent force in contrast to Western hegemony’ (Langan, 2017 in Donelli 2018: 64). On top of that, Turkish aid workers under Erdoğan seem to be worried about the Western ‘narrow conceptions of democracy-building and human rights promotion’ as well as its ‘fixation upon ‘soft’ issues such as gender rights’, as these draw ‘resources and attention from more ‘important’ issues such as economic and infrastructure development’ (Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019: 1986). The argument though, has been countered by Western officials who argue that Turkey is ‘inattentive to liberal state-building goals’ by continuing to offer funding to governments regardless of what these are doing (Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019: 1987). Regardless of why Turkey operates the way it does, this example shows how Turkey undermines Western efforts of achieving the desired political reforms (Thiessen &

Özerdem, 2019: 1987). In the larger context, this again could be interpreted as a Turkish challenge to the status quo of Western, liberal humanitarian aid.

This also emerges in Turkey's preference of actively using its assistance to 'strengthen bilateral relations with governments of affected states' (Binder, 2014: 10). A government official, interviewed by Binder (2014) stated that merely requiring need is not enough for Turkey to offer its assistance. Instead, it has to benefit Turkey's relationship with the recipient, and it has to be in line with its foreign policy interests (Binder, 2014: 10). In upholding this strategy, Turkey seems to be sidestepping most of the more conventional Western structures (such as activities and projects set up by OECD-DAC members and the United Nations (Schmidt, 2013 in Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019: 1978)) in favor of deepening its bilateral² relationships (Binder, 2014; Ali, 2011 in Thiessen & Özerdem, 2019: 1977). Whereas this approach does not reflect an explicit norm or value, it does suggest Turkey's desire of establishing itself 'as an emerging center of power with an alternative global vision of how to conduct international affairs' (Tank, 2013 in Gilley, 2015: 52) or in this instance, of conducting international humanitarianism.

² In 2018, 98% of all ODA (8,6 USD billion) was used bilaterally. The main recipients of this bilateral aid were the Syrian Arab Republic, followed by Somalia (OECD, 2019).

PART II

CHAPTER III: Methodology

To answer the research question, an analysis is made of how Turkish officials perceive humanitarianism. The research is guided by a Constructivist approach, using a thin constructivist lens. The central premise of this approach posits that there is an outside world (Wendt, 1999) of which a pre-social Turkey is part, and which comes with an inherent identity, ready to be interpreted. It is through that interpretation, that social reality is constructed. This interpretation takes place ‘through a process of interaction between agents (...) and the structures of their broader environment’ (Checkel, 2008: 72). The relationship that permanently exists between these structures and agents, is one of ‘mutual constitution’ (Klotz & Lynch, 2014: 7). It means that the former influences and helps shape the latter, and vice versa. Through the act of giving meaning to one’s context, shared individuals’ assumptions become ‘intersubjective understandings’, or ‘representations’. When these are broadly carried, they can shape identities, goals and interests, and have the potential of becoming ‘practices’. The language used to uphold these practices is known as ‘discourses’ (Klotz & Lynch, 2014: 10).

These discourses are at the center of this research. Building on the Constructivist approach, it is assumed that discourses are ‘structures of significations which construct social realities’ by making use of (in this research linguistic) ‘sign systems’ (Milliken, 1999: 229). In these sign systems, relationships are created which distinguish one object from another (De Saussure, 1974 in Milliken, 1999: 229) and which largely exist ‘in terms of binary oppositions’ (Derrida, 1981 in Milliken, 1999: 229). For this research that means that the prevailing representations of Turkish humanitarianism, as put forward by Turkish officials, are created ‘through a series of juxtapositions, where one element is valued over its opposite’ (Derrida, 1976; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985 in Hansen, 2006). In linking certain elements while juxtaposing others through differentiating (Hansen, 2006: 17), identities are shaped that position ‘subjects (the actors) and objects (those acted upon) in a hierarchical position’ (Klotz & Lynch, 2014: 69). This is what Six (2009) describes in *The Rise of Postcolonial States as Donors* as well. In using the ‘development paradigm’, he explains how Europe’s view of itself (the Self) versus ‘the Other’ justified their intervening in other countries. Its own identity made clear that there were ‘those who were developed’ and ‘those who needed assistance’. It can also be assumed that these binary oppositions and hierarchic relationships are still what largely constitute the Western liberal humanitarian field, with a distinction between for example those states who have already achieved democracy and those who have not.

Still, having discourses, an identity or institutionalized practices in place, does not mean that these cannot change. After all, interpretations can change throughout time, which consequently can lead to changes in identities, practices and discourses. This is of value to this research, as it assumes that this might be the case for Turkey's interpretation of the international humanitarian field as well. It allows for a view of how prevailing representations (visible in discourses) condition Turkey's identity and its consequent foreign policy actions (Klotz & Lynch, 2014: 11), as well as how these might be fluid over time, especially given the assumption of there being something as visions of Neo-Ottomanism and Turkish-Gaullism or for this particular research: a Neo-Ottoman and Turkish-Gaullism *discourse*. To some extent, the causality of this research paper will hence lie in the influence that identity has on Turkey's HD.

To conclude, the research question is answered by attributing meaning to the Turkish Self while comparing it to the traditional, Western humanitarian field (the Other). This is done by analyzing Turkish foreign policy discourse, through the process of linking and juxtapositioning. By examining the texts, Turkey's identity and its current representations of the field should become visible through a reconstruction of its intersubjective understanding of humanitarianism. Doing so is more about obtaining an understanding of Turkey's attitude, rather than about wanting to explain why they behave the way they do.

Research design

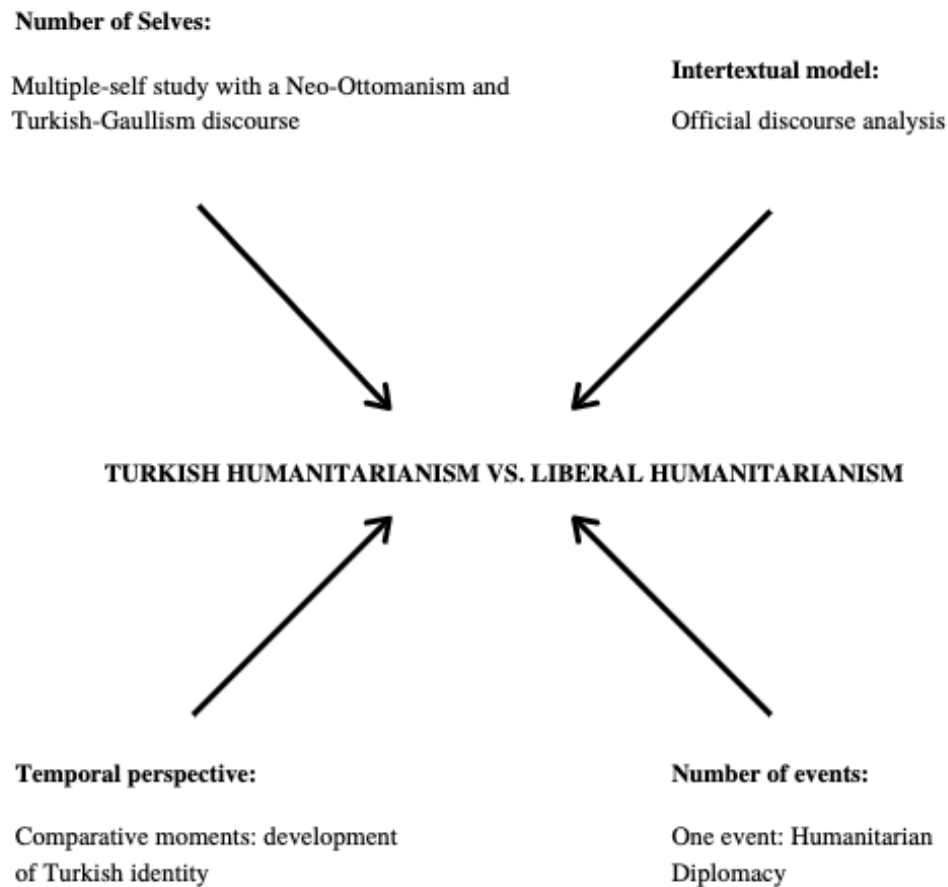
The goal of this research is to investigate a qualitative phenomenon, using an interpretative method. More specifically, a single case study is conducted by means of a discourse analysis. It is '*purely descriptive*' as the idea is not 'to advance or apply theory, but rather to provide a thick description of a particular event or phenomenon in a particular country' (Halperin and Heath, 2012: 206). The actual analysis of that data consists of a *simple time-series analysis*, as potential changes over time are looked at. An issue in this research is the potential lack of *external validity*, as it might be difficult to generalize what is found. This is of a lesser concern though, with the aim not being to generalize but rather to offer an explanation regarding this particular case. In conducting the research, both Hansen's (2006) and Dunn and Neuman's (2016) work are used.

The assumption of the existence of two discourses is important for the design of this research. The Self (Turkey’s foreign policy discourse) is compared to the Other. However, the two discourses make it a multiple-Self study. Of course, the larger picture still revolves around how Turkey relates to international humanitarianism, but the potential changes in identity and hence foreign policy should not be forgotten. Still, the comparison of the Self to the Other is in this instance not a *discursive encounter* (Hansen, 2006). Performing that, would mean that the Other (or in this instance the Western discourse on humanitarianism) would be analyzed as well. Even though that might be the ideal situation, given time constraints, the focus lies on analyzing Turkish discourse and positioning it to the dominant Western view on humanitarianism, as stated in literature. Based on Hansen (2006: 57), the following constitutes the analysis of this research:

	Research design
Analytical focus	Official discourse
Object of analysis	Official speeches, statements, press releases, articles and interviews
Goal of analysis	- The stabilization of official discourse - The changes in the discourse

This research covers a time span from January 2013 until April 2020. Selecting a period is to an extent always arbitrary, but this choice is based on the defining moments this period seems to entail. First, 2013 was the year in which Ahmet Davutoğlu (academic and politician) adopted HD as official instrument of Turkish foreign policy. It is expected that this will be reflected in Davutoğlu’s speeches as well as in Turkey’s official press releases and second, 2014 is the year Erdoğan got elected President and a shift toward Turkish-Gaullism occurred.

Based on Hansen's (2006) work, an overview of the research design is the following:



Method of data collection

The analysis of Turkish foreign policy is based on scrutinizing oral and written documents published by the Turkish government, more specifically by political leaders with the capacity to communicate and convey policy. These include speeches, messages, articles and interviews that are collected from official government sources (Abdullah Gül, n.d.; Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, n.d.; Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.). The data selected comes from Ministers of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoğlu (2013 – 2014), Feridun Hadi Sinirlioğlu (2015) and Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu (2014-2015 and 2015-...) as well as from Presidents Gül (2009 – 2010) and Erdoğan (2014 – 2020). Assumed is that Mr. Davutoğlu and Mr. Gül were in office during the Neo-Ottoman period, whereas President Erdoğan, Mr. Sinirlioğlu and Mr. Çavuşoğlu are assumed to be part of the Turkish-Gaullism era. Furthermore, press releases, joint declarations and 'latest developments' have been collected.

Although the majority of the texts are translations from Turkish into English, this is not necessarily a disadvantage. The research contributes to a larger debate on international humanitarianism, hence the analysis is of added value not just to originally Turkish-speaking people, but to an international audience. Another obstacle is that not every potentially relevant text has been published online, such as Mr. Davutoğlu’s speeches after becoming Prime Minister in August 2014. On top of that, a considerable amount of data is collected, but that does not necessarily mean that all of it is suitable for usage. The primary sources that are scrutinized:

<u>Presidents</u>		2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	TOTAL
R.T. Erdoğan	Speeches		5	12	44	77	84	69	18	309
	Interviews		1							1
	Articles					1	3	5	1	10
	‘Extra content’ on Humanitarian Summit				5					5
	‘Extra content’ on Africa			3						3
A. Gül	Speeches	34	12							35
<u>Foreign Ministers</u>										
A. Davutoğlu	Speeches	19	9							28
	Messages	4	2							6
M. Cavusoglu	Speeches		3	4	6	5	2	2		22
	Messages		1	2	3	2	4	4	1	17
	Articles		3	1	7	8	9	4	3	35
	Interview				9	10	11			30
F. H. Sinirlioğlu	Speeches			7						7
	Articles			1						1
	Interviews			1						1
‘Latest Developments’		368	321	155	202	265	193	159	38	1701
Press Releases		347	409	318	334	402	351	375	95	2631
Joint Statements				7	7	12	24	2	1	53
TOTAL		761	765	512	617	782	681	620	157	<u>4895</u>

After collecting and reading all 4895 sources, a selection is made based on texts referring to humanitarian assistance and Turkey's foreign policy goals. Eventually, 658 are deemed relevant for this research. These texts are assembled in a corpus that is used for the actual discourse analysis. 211 texts belong to the Neo-Ottoman vision and 447 to the Turkish Gaullism vision.

Conducting discourse analysis

Based on Hansen's (2006) work, this analysis entails the examination of the two aforementioned basic discourses. In the reading of these discourses, Hansen argues that three analytical lenses ought to be used: 'spatiality, temporality and ethicality' (2006: 42), as these contribute to the 'articulation of identity' (Hansen, 2006: 11). A spatially constructed identity in her view is to 'reiterate that identity is relationally constituted' (2006: 42). In other words, we assume a Turkish foreign policy as constituted under Neo-Ottomanism and under Turkish-Gaullism, which exists as opposed to an international community of some sort, that puts forward its own interpretation of international liberal humanitarianism. The temporal lens might be of influence on the construction of identity during the two different eras. The focus here is on determining if an observable shift occurred in the discourse on HD between the two visions. Important are 'themes such as development, transformation, continuity, change, repetition' (2006: 43), maintaining the status quo or progress. Nevertheless, from a broader Constructivist approach the question remains: to what extent have Turkey's prevailing representations and thus its identity changed over these two periods? Finally, attention ought to be given to Turkey's ethical identity. Believed is that foreign policy always includes some form of responsibility in legitimizing a foreign policy (Hansen, 2006). In this research, that aspect might very well come to the forefront as the topic *is* humanitarianism, which is inherently driven by an underlying debate of having to take on a responsibility.

Other than these two basic discourses, Hansen (2006) argues that historical material ought to be included in the research as well, as the interpretation of identity is not just a description of what is read in texts. Instead it requires a 'deeper contextualization within the larger structures of meaning of which they are part' (Dunn & Neumann, 2016: 106). This is where the research deviates slightly from this method. Instead of working with Hansen's suggested historical material, the literature review will be used as a larger framework. This too, offers insight in 'when and how (...) Turkish humanitarianism "was formed as well as how it succeeded in

marginalizing other representations” (Foucault, 1984 in Hansen, 2006: 47). Other than that, key texts will be referred to as well, which serve as anchor points or ‘nodes within the intertextual web of debate’ (Hansen, 2006: 74). For these texts, Davutoğlu’s (2013) insights on HD at the time of its creation was selected as was Barnett’s (2011) ‘*Empire of humanity*’. In the process of selecting key texts, Hansen puts forward three criteria that should be upheld. They should contain a ‘clear articulation of identities and policies’, be ‘widely read and attended to’ and have ‘the formal authority to define a political position’ (Hansen, 2006: 76). Here again though, a slightly different approach is opted for. Whereas Davutoğlu as a politician clearly has the authority and ability to put forward Turkish policy, he also is a scholar. Consequently, the text (published in ‘*Nationalities Papers*’) can be used as key text in which anchor points can be established. Barnett (2011) on the hand, is not a politician. However, his work (including the book mentioned) allows for a clear understanding of what liberal humanitarianism entails. For that reason, the choice is made to still use his book (2011) as key text, on which the majority of my understanding of liberal humanitarianism for this research is based. This leads to the following overview (which is based on Hansen’s (2006) work):

	<i>Temporal location</i>	
<i>Material</i>	<i>Time of Study</i>	<i>Historical material</i>
General material	Official foreign policy discourse: speeches, messages, articles, interviews, latest developments, press releases and joint declarations.	Chapter II: Turkish Humanitarian Diplomacy (literature review)
Key texts	Davutoğlu, A. (2013). Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy: objectives, challenges and prospects. <i>Nationalities Papers</i> , 41(6), 865-870.	Barnett, M. (2011). <i>Empire of humanity: A history of humanitarianism</i> . Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 312 p.

The next step is to conduct the actual research. During this examination, three textual mechanisms serve as guiding instruments: *presupposition*, *predication* and *subject positioning* (Dunn & Neumann, 2016). In short, when an interlocutor makes a statement, he or she does so with certain presuppositions in mind. In the process of uttering his or her words, certain predicates are given to the subjects the orator is referring to and underlying relations between the actors and subjects involved are established. These mechanisms are best explained by using an example. When Davutoğlu gives a speech or statement, he does so with background

knowledge in mind. If he were to refer to ‘humanitarian assistance in Syria’, he would automatically reveal that he presupposes that there is something called ‘Syria’ as well as ‘humanitarian assistance’ *and* that there exists a connection between the two (= presupposition). Reading discourses from this perspective hence means to ‘expose which natural facts are being presented’ (Dunn & Neumann, 2016: 111). As already argued above, that is not enough. A next step is predication, or the examination of ‘the verbs, adverbs, and adjectives that are attached to nouns within specific texts’, which exposes ‘how certain meanings or capabilities are established, thus enabling actors to understand and act in certain ways’ (Dunn & Neumann, 2016: 111). In other words, when Davutoğlu argues that ‘the Arab League spearheads the efforts towards reversing the inaction of the international community’ in Syria (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aq), this not only presupposes that action has to be taken in Syria, it also links ‘inaction’ to the ‘international community’ (= predication). It is in this process of predicating that the identity of the Self and the Other is created through what Hansen (2006) referred to as linking and differentiating. This finally leads to the concept of subject positioning, where Neumann and Dunn (2016) argue that ‘what defines a particular subject is the relative relationships that are constructed between it and other subjects’ (Neumann & Dunn, 2016: 112). Or as Milliken writes: ‘a text never constructs only one thing. Instead, in implicit or explicit parallels and contrasts, other things (other subjects) will also be labelled and given meaningful attributes by their predicates’ (Milliken, 1999: 232). In the example above, that could be interpreted as Davutoğlu arguing that the Arab League (of which Turkey is a member) is the actor who takes on the responsibility to take action in Syria (as that is his presupposition of what ought to be done), while the international community is not. It is in making that argument, that he is positioning the ‘Arab League’ in a negative (and maybe even superior) relationship toward the international community. To conclude, it is in using these mechanisms (and let us not forget Hansen’s analytical lenses) that prevailing representations (or nodal points) toward humanitarianism are uncovered.

This process of linking and differentiating requires rigor. Therefore, a software program called Nvivo 12 is used. This tool for qualitative data analysis is employed for the coding of actors, predicates and underlying assumptions, which gradually leads to an inventory of Turkish prevailing representations over time (Dunn & Neumann, 2016: 117). After importing the corpus, the first step of the research takes place, namely the coding, which constitutes the predicate analysis. After this step, the ‘mapping of discourses’ (Dunn & Neumann, 2016) follows. Through the process mentioned above, a general overview (existing of binary

adjectives) emerges of a Self versus the Other. However, as we assumed the existence of a Neo-Ottoman and a Turkish-Gaullism discourse, attention ought to be given to ‘the affinities and differences between representations in order to demonstrate whether they belong to the same discourse’ (Dunn & Neumann, 2016: 119). For this step, Hansen’s temporal lens becomes relevant again.

To improve the readability of the results section, all references to the discourse are included in an appendix. Footnotes are used to guide the reader to the relevant appendix. Furthermore, in-text references stemming from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs are shortened to the abbreviation ‘TMFA’ and those from the ‘Presidency of the Republic of Turkey’ to ‘PRT’.

PART III

This section presents the results of this research. First, the results from the Neo-Ottoman vision are discussed, and second, from Turkish-Gaullism. Finally, a section will treat Hansen's (2006) analytical lenses. Throughout the results, the literature and key texts are included, as they provide the deeper contextualization.

CHAPTER IV: Neo-Ottoman discourse

In the literature, it was argued that Neo-Ottomanism was focused on re-establishing relations with the countries it shared historic ties with (Taspinar, 2011) and on connecting with more distant regions in order to support Turkey's economic growth (Haugom, 2019). These characteristics emerged during the analysis, as did some other particularities.

Principled embrace of liberal humanitarianism

One of the main take-aways was that Turkey, to an extent, embraced liberal humanitarianism. After examining the texts, some of its characteristics emerged, such as the mentioning of impartiality, talks of liberal peace (which promotes peace- and state-building as the necessary tools to achieve the desired democracy) and references to the involvement of multiple actors in these processes.

Besides clearly appearing in the discourse,³ non-discrimination came up in Davutoğlu's (2013) key text too, when he argued that Turkish HD is 'a perspective that embraces the whole of mankind' (2013: 866). It implies that Turkey did not limit itself to its own region when offering aid to those in need. Besides that, Turkey's liberal stance was visible in other aspects of the discourse. It made reference to being apolitical,⁴ adhering to the rule of law,⁵ including civil society⁶ and of advocating for the protection of human rights.⁷ The idea was that, if these 'liberal' objectives were met, peace and stability could be achieved, as 'peace, democracy and development move forward hand in hand' (Gül, 2013e).

³ A.1

⁴ A.2

⁵ A.3

⁶ A.4

⁷ A.5

To achieve stability however, another component of liberal humanitarianism ought to be upheld: liberal peace. It was translated in explicit and multiple references to democracy and the transitional processes that Turkey sometimes deemed necessary.⁸ Not because it wished to intervene ‘in the internal affairs of a country, but for the sake of upholding universal humanitarian values’ (Davutoğlu, 2013: 868). Furthermore, notions of liberal peace were detected in the desire to (re)build societies and institutions⁹ and to contribute to peace and stability itself, including through mediation.¹⁰ Another crucial component was development assistance;¹¹ an aspect of humanitarianism Turkey considered important as it believed that ‘development is the foundation of people and stability’ (TMFA, 2014az). These different items seemed to be part of what Davutoğlu (2013) meant, when he wrote that HD ‘refers to something more than humanitarian aid’ (2013: 865-866). Whereas Altunışık (2019) argued these contributions seemingly went beyond the traditional ‘desire to help those who suffer’ (Barnett, 2011: 11), Barnett (2011) did describe how liberal humanitarianism had increasingly become focused on the root causes of problems as well (and hence became *alchemical*); a resemblance Turkey seemed to bear to the liberal humanitarian field. This was reflected in Davutoğlu’s (2013) key text too, as he put forward ‘working on transition processes, the supporting of conflict resolution and reconstruction of countries in order to guide them towards democracy’ (2013: 869) as a part of Turkish HD.

Liberal humanitarianism: a politicized, flawed system

Even though Turkey pushed forward values that relate to liberal humanitarianism, that did not mean it agreed with everything. In fact, Turkey was quite vocal about how it perceived the international community and more specifically about how it conducted its humanitarian business.

When looking at the level of the actual utterances, it was noticeable how Turkey often used modal words¹² to express its disapproval for the inaction of the international community and the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), in especially Syria and Palestine. Frequent comments were made about how the international community *should* take on a more active

⁸ A.6

⁹ A.7

¹⁰ A.8

¹¹ A.9

¹² Visible throughout the Appendix.

role, as it was *passive, silent, slow, ineffective, not credible, inadequate, irresponsible and lacking conscience*, while they argued that the UNSC was *passive, indecisive, lacking credibility, inefficient, undemocratic, weak, unable to do its job, damaging, incapable, lacking conscience and irresponsible*;¹³ hence it *needed to be reformed*.¹⁴

Turkey looked at itself very differently. It framed itself as *active, clamorous, credible, successful, fast, self-confident and self-aware, constructive, a mediator and a safe haven*. It considered itself alternately a *rising, leading, significant and global donor, big and powerful, a source of inspiration, a leader able to shape the new world order, a rising yet key actor and a responsible member of the international community*. It argued to *uphold its humanitarian duty*, unlike the international community.¹⁵ This gave Turkey the legitimacy of using *could not* to express its disappointment, while using *should* to address the ‘morally just’ thing to do.

Based on the above, Turkey seemingly represented liberal humanitarianism, while explicitly arguing that the international community was not enacting it as required. Turkey, with its distinct identity and approach, on the other hand, was the actor capable of doing what was right. That is, with a distinct identity still based on the notions of an ‘*advanced democracy*’ (TMFA, 2013bv; 2013ca), *impartiality, modern, ‘universal values’* (Gül, 2013g; TMFA, 2013bv), and *human rights*. Still, despite the critique, a desire remained to work together with the international community,¹⁶ the actor they so disapproved of.

Turkish humanitarianism: a reflection of bounded solidarity and Turkey’s economic growth

Nonetheless, particularities in Turkey’s enactment of humanitarianism were detected too, with the biggest source of tension deriving from the notion of ‘impartiality’. The characteristic was upheld throughout the entire discourse (see A.1) and seemed to be a result of the HD being ‘based on humanitarian values’ (TMFA, 2013n) and on Turkey’s compassionate character (Davutoğlu, 2013: 866). This allowed Turkey to adopt a ‘human-centered diplomacy’ (Davutoğlu, 2013: 870), led by a conscience that would ‘dictate where one should go to and to whom one should reach’ (2013: 866-867). Nevertheless, this guiding conscience seemingly

¹³ B.1

¹⁴ B.2

¹⁵ C.1

¹⁶ C.2

navigated Turkey mostly to those whom it shared historical or religious ties with. In other words, a sense of *bounded solidarity* emerged, instead of the general sense of solidarity one expects in liberal humanitarianism.

This became evident when looking at the recipients Turkey mentioned over the years. In the texts, 30¹⁷ recipients of assistance (and three broader categories of countries: the LCD's, Pacific Island States and countries in the Caribbean (CARICOM)) were referred to, of which 58% are predominantly Muslim and 35% predominantly Christian countries. Even though 58% is still a majority, it is not the significant percentage one might have expected, based on the literature (Akpınar, 2013; Cetinoglu, 2019; Haugom, 2019; Hoffman, 2019; Guo, 2020). In terms of quantity though, the majority of texts revolved around Muslim countries (Syria, Palestine, Mali, Somalia and Egypt) whereas Christian countries were significantly less talked about.

Other than explicit references, official data also showed how these Islamic countries were significant beneficiaries in 2013 with Syria being the top beneficiary, followed by Egypt (in 2013), Somalia and Palestine (TIKA, 2014). For Mali, no significant contributions were found, but Mr. Davutoğlu did underline 'the importance of Islamic solidarity' (TMFA, 2013bo) when referring to the country. These religious ties became explicit in another way too, with Turkey using the adjective 'brotherly' to refer to the connection it has with a majority (Central African Republic, Egypt, Guinea, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Palestine, Pakistan, Somalia, Syria, the Muslim population in Myanmar) of these Muslim countries or as to sharing a 'brotherhood'. It hence reflected a bounded solidarity,¹⁸ based on a shared religion.

Next to this, mentions of historical and cultural ties were found,¹⁹ as argued in the literature too (Taspinar, 2011). These ties were often mentioned in the context of the aforementioned Muslim recipients, but have been expressed too when talking about the African continent. Whether this constituted the justification for Turkey's involvement in these regions (as several authors in the literature suggest), is not the essence of this research. However, it does seem (as can be seen in the case of Syria and as mentioned in the literature too) that Turkish assistance often went to

¹⁷ Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, CARICOM, Central African Republic, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Egypt, Georgia, Guinea, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, "Least Developed Countries", Liberia, Libya, Mali, Myanmar, Niger, Pacific Island States, Pakistan, Palestine, Philippines, Senegal, Serbia, Somalia, Syria, (South) Sudan, Tanzania, Yemen.

¹⁸ D.1

¹⁹ D.2

crises in which Western responses were largely absent (Tank, 2015: 4). It might help in explaining why Turkey was so critical of the International Community and why it – although it pushed forward and built upon values from liberal humanitarianism – according to Tank (2015) seemed to be promoting ‘an alternative normative framework to the Western liberal peacebuilding engagement’ (2015: 4).

Not all countries to whom Turkey offered assistance were Muslim. The involvement in the Christian countries seemed to be driven by another pillar of liberal humanitarianism: ‘globalization’ (Barnett, 2011). Delving deeper into this matter, it became evident that this was a second way of distancing itself from liberal humanitarianism. Turkey referred to itself as a *fast developing, emerging and dynamic economy, a leading investment hub and a booming industrial outlet*.²⁰ It clearly attached importance to its economic growth, so wanting to deepen its relationship with actors that could contribute to Turkey’s growth seemed logical. This in fact was reflected in Turkey’s efforts of boosting its ‘ties with emerging actors in Asia, Latin America and Africa’ (TMFA, 2013r). Underlying to this seemed to be the belief that ‘in order to continue to reap the benefits of globalization and to achieve sustainable competition, we all have to assume a common responsibility to solve (...) problems’ (Gül, 2013k).

In taking on this responsibility, Turkey did not position itself as the ‘rescuer’, as is traditionally the case in the liberal humanitarian discourse. As Barnett (2011) argues, humanitarianism always comes with a notion of power, as there are always those in a position to help and those who are not. Turkey however, referred to itself a (strategic) partner²¹ to Africa. This constituted an active move of distancing itself from liberal humanitarianism, as Turkey offered an alternative: a relationship of equals (Gül, 2013b); an approach that breaks with the traditional idea of being the party in power, with the ability to help, improve and develop the recipient. The break even got more explicit through stating that Mali had to be ‘restored without a permanent foreign influence’ (TMFA, 2013m). This, however, did not apply to them, as Turkey was not an ‘outsider to the continent’ (TMFA, 2014bs). Instead it upheld ‘the principle of African solutions for African problems’ (TMFA, 2014at).

²⁰ E.1

²¹ E.2

In talking about especially Africa and the Caribbean region, consistent references were made about deepening bilateral relations, including through efforts to increase trade.²² Underlying motives here emerged through statements such as: ‘a stable, secure and prosperous world is the best way to secure and advance all our interests’ (Gül, 2013b) and ‘the more safety, stability and peace there is in our neighbors or region, the more commercial and economic potential they have’ (Gül, 2013i). These remarks reflect the advantage Turkey obtained, as an emerging economy, out of investing heavily (be it through humanitarian aid, development assistance or through direct investments) in ‘newer’ regions, albeit on the basis of a partnership.

Whether this strategy had been adopted to work around the Western ‘humanitarian intervention’ (Guo, 2020: 130-131) or if it served as a justification for its involvement (Altunişik, 2014; Eyrice Tepeciklioğlu, 2015 in Donelli, 2018) cannot be deduced from this discourse. It does however show that Turkey was more than willing to take on its ‘humanitarian duty’ in these regions, as these contributions too led to increased stability, economic growth and even political influence on the world stage.²³ This was useful given Turkey’s ambition of becoming ‘an active actor, capable of influencing history’ (Davutoğlu, 2013: 865), its desire to contribute to a UNSC reform and as it viewed itself as ‘one of the supporters of (...) a new global and regional order’ (TMFA, 2013dm). It gives teeth to Bayer and Keyman’s (2012), Akpınar’s (2013), Haşimi’s (2014) and Tank’s (2015) belief of Turkey wanting to promote an ‘alternative normative framework’ (Tank, 2015: 4) and above all, it shows how HD, if used as element of a state’s foreign policy becomes entangled with strategic interests (Régner, 2011). It is a remarkable result, given how vocal Turkey was about the international community and its ‘short-term, narrow-minded calculations’ (Gül, 2014b).

²² F.1

²³ F.2

CHAPTER IV: Turkish-Gaullism discourse

In the literature it was stated that during Turkish Gaullism nationalist conservatism and a renewed focus on security (Aras, 2019: 10-13) took the main stage. Nevertheless, during the early Turkish Gaullism period, Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu shared a vision of Turkish HD that was similar to the one created by Mr. Davutoğlu. He explained how it was not limited to Turkey's immediate region, how it responded to all sorts of humanitarian issues, how Turkey had adopted a holistic approach that took on both humanitarian aid and development assistance and how it included several stakeholders (Çavuşoğlu, 2016a). These liberal aspects again emerged in the discourse through references of being apolitical,²⁴ impartial,²⁵ of advocating for human rights,²⁶ of adhering to the rule of law²⁷ and again to the desire of contributing to liberal peace. Just like during the Neo-Ottoman vision, this was translated in a strong promotion of democracy²⁸ and up until 2017 in the explicit call for political transformational processes²⁹ (despite the adherence to the principle of non-interference³⁰), peacebuilding and peacekeeping,³¹ capacity building and post-conflict reconstruction.³²

Turkey in despair

Just like in the previous era, Turkey was vocal about the international community. It again disapproved of the international community's inaction but this time, Turkey considered itself among the victims of that lack of involvement. By 2015, the Syrian Civil War had created a flood of refugees. By 2019, 4 million refugees had been taken in by Turkey. It got Turkey the title of being the host to the 'largest refugee population' (Çavuşoğlu, 2016a) and led to a strengthening of the Turkish humanitarian identity, with the state perceiving itself as a beacon of hope, both to the world as to the oppressed (PRT, 2018j; TMFA, 2019ad). The problem, however, was that Turkey argued it had to largely assume that financial burden on its own (Çavuşoğlu, 2016a). As a consequence, the majority of the Turkish rhetoric about the international community no longer dealt with how they ought to help the traditional recipients.

²⁴ G.1

²⁵ G.2

²⁶ G.3

²⁷ G.4

²⁸ G.5

²⁹ G.6

³⁰ G.7

³¹ G.8

³² G.9

Instead, it became largely focused on Turkey's need for them to share the burden.³³ A trend that continued throughout the rest of the discourse.

Nevertheless, the international community still had to contribute more in terms of humanitarian and development assistance.³⁴ Moreover, they should support peace processes through for example efforts of creating safe zones and contributing to ceasefires.³⁵ In 2015, Turkey even called upon them to apply 'hard pressure to ensure a genuine political transformation in Syria' (TMFA, 2015ax). Throughout the texts, modal verbs remained present, as the international community still was *passive, indifferent, inadequate, irresponsible, lacking results and lacking a human-oriented conscience*.³⁶ Different during Turkish Gaullism, is that the desire to reform the UNSC remained (as it still was considered to be a failing and incompetent organ)³⁷, but that the true culpable during these years was the European Union. Already in 2015 it was labeled *hypocritical, embarrassing, deeply divided, lacking coordinated strategies and lacking a humanitarian attitude*. By 2020, *narrow-minded, passive, not credible, ineffective and irresponsible* were added to the list.³⁸ It led to the point of Turkey stating that 'the international community should either join our efforts or begin admitting refugees' (Erdoğan, 2019c) and in 2020 to Turkey reaching its boiling point when it stated it 'could not absorb any more refugees' (Çavuşoğlu, 2020b). The European Union's attitude became a 'stain on human conscience' (Çavuşoğlu, 2020b). Turkey on the other hand, had remained *active, successful, responsible, an example* and had consistently upheld a *humanitarian and Islamic duty*.³⁹

The shift in rhetoric from the international community's inaction towards Syria during the Neo-Ottoman era, to the international community's lack of burden sharing during the Turkish-Gaullism era, is part of the larger Turkish discourse on humanitarianism. Arguably, Turkey had its hands full with the humanitarian crisis it experienced at home. Whether this was the cause for Turkey significantly reducing its number of aid receiving countries is unclear, but remarkable is how it went from 33 mentioned recipients during 2013-2014 to 18 in 2015-2016, 16 in 2017-2018 (plus an additional 12 who had received a loan from the state owned

³³ H.1

³⁴ H.2

³⁵ H.3

³⁶ I.1

³⁷ I.2

³⁸ I.3

³⁹ I.4

Eximbank, ‘mainly for trade financing and infrastructure projects’ (TMFA, 2018a)) and finally 14 in 2019-2020.

Extension of the Turkish humanitarian portfolio

Whereas Turkey upheld the notion of non-discrimination throughout this discourse too, a similar break with liberal humanitarianism’s impartiality emerged. Regardless of the decrease in number of aid recipients, those who consistently remained the same were Muslim countries: Palestine, Iraq, Libya, Yemen, the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar, Afghanistan, Somalia and above all Syria. The difference, however, lies in the fact that during the Neo-Ottoman era, the need for a democratic and safe Syria took the central stage, while as of 2015 Syrian *refugees* took in that position. The difference with liberal humanitarianism here is that the liberal kind is traditionally looked at as ‘compassion *across borders*’ (Barnett, 2011: 19). Turkey, however, hosts these refugees inside its borders and still considered them as recipients of Turkish HD.⁴⁰ On top of that, besides making less references to Syria itself, the discourse after 2016 also changed. Instead of consistently arguing how a political transition ought to take place, emphasis was put on finding ‘a political solution’⁴¹ of which dealing with terrorism seemed to be part.

The rise of terrorism in 2015 and 2016 cannot be ignored in this research, as it would become one of the reasons for Turkey to offer assistance. In fact, the fight against terror even was framed as a component of its humanitarianism. Granted, Barnett (2011) argues that, with the rise of liberal humanitarianism, a shift was visible from mostly emergency aid to an increase in alchemical aid. Still, providing a state with the necessary infrastructure to better deal with the circumstances in which it exists, is very different to sending out military troops abroad to fight terrorism, aimed at establishing peace. Targets of Turkey’s efforts here were especially DAESH and the PYD/YPG. Not only did these organizations threaten Syrians, they were also a danger to Turkey’s national security⁴² (TMFA, 2019aq). For that reason, involvement was deemed necessary and dealing with the problems causing the instability became vital.⁴³ Essential to Turkish humanitarianism, was the ‘holistic approach’ that covered both ‘humanitarian and development assistance’, while still addressing ‘the root causes and push factors of

⁴⁰ J.1

⁴¹ J.2

⁴² K.1

⁴³ K.2

humanitarian crises' (Çavuşoğlu, 2016a). Above all, these actions were an 'act of self-defense' (Çavuşoğlu, 2018f), while still being able to help others (PRT, 2018a). In other words, Turkey created a link between focusing on its security and offering humanitarian aid.⁴⁴ A similar link was detected when Turkey mentioned the refugees it hosted. As of 2018, more comments were being made about them being able to go home.⁴⁵ In several of these phrases, Turkey focused on what it had done and what it would continue to do in order for these returns to take place. Knowing that Turkey in this period increasingly called upon the international community to share the burden, Turkey's actions here could be interpreted as helping refugees, while still heeding to the underlying desire of no longer having to deal with its albatross.

Related to Turkey's focus on security, were conflict prevention and mediation. Whereas mediation already had been part of Turkish humanitarianism, the focus on prevention⁴⁶ was new. It seemed to be based on the Syrian conflict, through which it became evident that once conflict takes over, the consequences become unpredictable (Çavuşoğlu, 2018a). This new focus even became a central tenet to 'Turkey's Enterprising and Humanitarian Foreign Policy' (Çavuşoğlu, 2017c); a strategy introduced in 2018 which looked at 'peacemaking in a humanitarian-development nexus' (Çavuşoğlu, 2017c). This shift in attitude could be interpreted as a move towards liberal humanitarianism, as with its rise 'a shift in the meaning of international peace and security' (Barnett, 2011: 162) had taken place, which included the idea that it was necessary for the international community to 'think about preventing conflict, instability, and bloodshed' (Barnett, 2011: 163). Having said that, an underlying political driver seemed to be present here too, as can be seen in the following statement: 'Is it possible for a fire that started at our neighbor not to pose harm to our country's stability and peace? Within this framework, we took the initiative and shouldered responsibilities' (TMFA, 2016e).

Humanitarian diplomacy: a normative model, untainted by a colonial past

All of the above bears weight, as it shows how Turkey's humanitarian aid, development assistance and contributions to liberal peace in this context were more political compared to what – in theory - can be expected in the liberal humanitarian field.

⁴⁴ K.3

⁴⁵ K.4

⁴⁶ K.5

Nevertheless, and as already stated, Turkey referred to being apolitical on multiple occasions (see Appendix G.1). Just like Donelli (2018) argued that Turkey under Erdoğan used a normative model untainted by a colonial past, it actively distanced itself from liberal providers of aid, through statements such as ‘Unlike for past colonial powers, history is on our side’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2017b) and ‘Turkey has never approached Africa with a self-serving, colonialist mentality’ (PRT, 2015b). Instead, in framing its involvement in Africa, Turkey continued to build on its previous Neo-Ottoman discourse in which it relied on the notion of a ‘strategic partnership’, based on local needs, ‘equality (...), solidarity, sustainability and mutual respect’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018g) and with ‘African solutions for African problems’ still as one of the central tenets.⁴⁷ Turkey argued that HD ‘is one of the main components of Turkey’s approach towards Africa’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016b). This is a relevant statement, as Turkey considered its HD to be apolitical. Nevertheless, upon examining this deeper, several references were found about how the partnership was built on the idea of obtaining mutual benefits.⁴⁸ This again confirmed the political character underlying Turkey’s presence in Africa and clearly indicated a different enactment of humanitarianism, compared to how the liberal field in theory frames itself. For Turkey however, it was merely a reflection of how ‘embracing Africa has a meaning beyond trade or business. It means strengthening our ties of brotherhood and friendship’ (PRT, 2015a).

Solidarity with the Ummah

The idea of bounded solidarity was scrutinized here too, especially given the consistency of some of the ‘core’ recipients of aid through the two eras. Still, Turkey maintained to be impartial from 2015 until 2018 (see Appendix G.2). This ‘non-discriminatory rhetoric’ however largely stopped in 2019. From then on, this characteristic was mostly detected in references to the refugees Turkey hosted,⁴⁹ while the overall focus of the discourse started to lie on offering assistance that was meant to achieve regional stability (including through the fight against terrorism).⁵⁰

Related to the aid Turkey gave to its ‘core’ recipients, was the ‘humanitarian and Islamic duty’ (see Appendix I.4) which remained central in the humanitarian rhetoric during this period. It

⁴⁷ L.1

⁴⁸ L.2

⁴⁹ M.1

⁵⁰ M.2

offered additional evidence of how bounded solidarity during the Turkish Gaullism remained present and was confirmed because of the continued use of fraternal ties⁵¹ to refer to fellow Muslims and because of the references of the ‘historical and cultural ties’ Turkey had with Africa.⁵² New however, was a reference in 2019 of how helping was ‘the responsibility of humanity but first and foremost the duty of the Ummah’ (TMFA, 2019av). This supported some of the beliefs put forward in the literature of how the moral aspect (and maybe even the desire of becoming a moral leader) in Turkey’s HD remained important (Bayer and Keyman, 2012; Altunişik, 2014; 2019; Guo, 2020).

Solidarity with the Ummah might contribute to an explanation of the significant focus on other Islamic countries. Still, these recipients also largely made up Turkey’s neighbors, and the broader context of Turkey wanting stability in the region should be kept in mind. Nevertheless, recurrent references were made to other Islamic recipients who are not in Turkey’s immediate region. Somalia for example, a country that throughout the discourse remained important. As argued in the literature, the country has a strategic location (Akpınar, 2013; Donelli, 2018: 60) and can, according to Donelli (2018), be seen as the region from which Turkey wishes to enhance its ‘political and religious’ leadership (Donelli, 2018: 60). If this is true, then it would have been in Turkey’s interest to contribute to stability in Somalia too, as anything else might have led to an erosion of the mutual benefits that are telling for the partnership Turkey has with Africa. Besides that, if Turkey’s strategy actually entailed a desire to increase its leadership in this Islamic country, then it would indeed be useful to refer to the importance of the Ummah, while offering humanitarian and development aid. Overall, this gave teeth to the assumption that, above all, Turkey’s humanitarian strategy during this period was geared towards achieving stability in the region. It should be added though, that this seemed to be different for Turkey’s contributions to Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. When mentioning them, a genuine sense of wanting to contribute without expecting anything in return, was noticeable.⁵³

Businesses: a major driver for Turkish foreign policy

Finally, the type of aid given by Turkey in this period was scrutinized as well. As established Turkey enacted a rather liberal type of humanitarianism. Its involvement ranged from

⁵¹ M.3

⁵² M.4

⁵³ N.1

humanitarian aid and development assistance to capacity-building and peacekeeping. Interesting though, was a final characteristic that departed from the liberal kind. Barnett (2011) describes how, with the rise of liberal humanitarianism, ‘a more centralized network of states, international organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and part-time members such as foundations and corporations’ (2011: 168) emerged. This, at first glance, coincides with Çavuşoğlu’s (2016) reference to the several stakeholders that were involved and with Davutoğlu’s (2013) mentioning of the multi-faceted and multi-channeled approach of Turkish HD. Nevertheless, the actors mentioned by Davutoğlu in his key text (Turkish Airlines, TİKA, Kızılay, TOKİ and AFAD) were mostly part of the Turkish governmental structure (2013: 867). This shows how Turkey might have upheld a different interpretation as to who it involved in its humanitarianism, compared to those in the liberal field. This broader interpretation became evident already in the Neo-Ottoman vision, when it was argued how it was necessary for the private sector ‘to be actively involved in development cooperation’ (TMFA, 2014ba), how ‘Turkish businessmen should expand their business geographies and ‘how they are the most important actors’ (TMFA, 2013ak), given that ‘the vision developed by statesmen cannot be sustainable without the support of the businessmen’ (TMFA, 2013l). This coincides with Kirişci (2011) who argued that businesses are a ‘major driver of Turkish foreign policy’ (Kirişci, 2011 in Yardımçı 2019: 365). During the Turkish-Gaullism vision, further evidence emerged of the role Turkey attached to these businesses in its humanitarian and development assistance. Knowing that Turkey throughout the Neo-Ottoman vision and up until 2018 made reference to its growing economy,⁵⁴ it came as no surprise that foreign investments by Turkish businesses and presence abroad were welcomed. What strengthens the break with liberal humanitarianism, is that the contributions of these businesses were often linked to humanitarian and development assistance and that they, as already stated by Kulaklıkaya and Nurden (2010 in Yardımçı, 2019), were included in the official Turkish discourse, making it part of the official foreign policy.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ O.1

⁵⁵ O.2

CHAPTER VI: Analytical lenses

Looking at this from a more theoretical perspective, Turkey, through the enactment of its HD posited a Self that shared several values and characteristics with the Other. In other words, through the process of *linking*, an identity was constructed that carried similarities to liberal humanitarianism. However, in criticizing the international community and the way it enacted said humanitarianism, distance between the Self and the Other was created; which is the process of *differentiating*.

Despite the differences between the two visions and the assumed different discourses, a consistent humanitarian rhetoric was produced. What seemed to change, however, were the underlying drivers that decided where and how Turkey would enact its humanitarianism. Remarkably, over the years, Turkey maintained its distinct identity; a Self that emitted a sense of superiority towards the international community.

Assumed in the methodology was that the legitimizing aspect of the foreign policy would be present throughout the discourse. This was confirmed rather quickly. First, Turkey used modal words to call upon the international community to take action. It had the legitimacy to do so, given its distinct, superior identity. Second, it appeared to be using its fraternal and historical ties to its recipients as well as its African partnership to legitimize its involvement and finally, Turkey consistently referred to the humanitarian and moral duty underlying its decisions to take action.

After the analysis of the texts and combining Turkey's interpretation of the Other and the Self, the following binary oppositions appeared:

Neo-Ottoman Turkey (Self)	International Community (Other)
Active	Passive
Fast	Slow
Credible	Not credible
Successful/effective	Inadequate/ineffective
Responsible member	Irresponsible actor
Upholds a humanitarian duty	Lacks conscience
Example to the international community	Disheartening attitude

Table 1: Self versus the Other

CHAPTER VII: Conclusion

Humanitarianism is changing, and attention should be given to the non-western actors that are increasingly taking on more important roles in this area. One of these actors is Turkey. Given its rise, the main question in this research was how Turkey relates to liberal humanitarianism. After analyzing Turkish official foreign policy discourse from 2013-2020, the following takeaways emerged.

Despite the assumption of working with two different discourses, an identity emerged that remained largely the same over the years. Distinct goals were pursued, but these could be explained by looking at the changing circumstances in which Turkey existed. Nevertheless, Turkey portrayed itself as enacting (and embracing) liberal humanitarianism during both eras. Throughout the years, it pushed forward and built its discourse on values that are related to what liberal humanitarianism in theory comprises. In doing this however, they distanced themselves from other ‘liberal providers’, as Turkey considered these actors passive and by 2020 even a ‘stain on human conscience’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020b). By framing it like this, Turkey adopted a Self that emitted a superior alternative to the traditional enactment of liberal humanitarianism. This was heightened by conveying an image of being apolitical; a value that in theory represented the core of humanitarianism, but which in practice – and to their dismay - has dissolved.

Nevertheless, upon delving deeper, differences were detected between how Turkey portrayed itself and how it actually enacted its HD. The biggest break with liberal humanitarianism was Turkey’s lack of impartiality. Instead of offering aid to anyone who needed it, Turkey seemed to prefer countries with whom it had ties. This resulted in a bounded solidarity in which assistance was mostly given to fellow Muslim countries. Besides the evident affinity with kin, Binder & Erten’s (2013) argument of Turkey trying to ‘fill the gap’ and of using fraternal ties to justify its involvement, could explain this move. This, however, cannot be affirmed based on a discourse analysis alone, but it still added credibility to the idea of Turkey wanting to promote an alternative to the liberal humanitarianism they considered flawed. Still, non-Muslim countries were among the recipients as well. Involvement in these regions seemed to be driven by the liberal pillar of ‘globalization’, which in humanitarianism entails an element of responsibility to help those who are not in the power to do so themselves. Different here though, is how Turkey broke with this power-powerless nexus by pushing forward a relationship of

equality; a very different approach to ‘past colonial powers’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2017b). What should be added, is that it seemingly got involved in the first place to safeguard its economic growth. Even though the ‘why question’ is not of the essence here, this still reflected a break with one of the values Turkey considered to be important for the international community to uphold: being apolitical. It showed how Turkey too, in its enactment of its superior alternative to liberal humanitarianism, seemed to be guided by its own strategic interests.

In fact, the underlying motives were the common thread in this research but they were consistently covered by the expression of liberal values and the over-arching ‘humanitarian duty’ that Turkey took on. As of 2015 this duty even consisted of conflict prevention, hosting refugees and fighting terrorists. The latter might have aided in the protection of Syrians, but it above all seemed to be a tool to help reduce the number of refugees in Turkey and to safeguard its own national security. Overall, these diverse examples of the Turkish humanitarian portfolio show how HD remained part of Turkish foreign policy and how it had a political nature, implying that the notions of impartiality, neutrality and independence would be difficult to uphold anyway. Instead, it mostly seemed to be geared to serving Turkey’s predefined goals, whether this was contributing to (economic) growth or to international peace and security. Still, in the pursuit of these interests, Turkey upheld a superior alternative of assistance, which carried similarities to the liberal humanitarian field, but with enough distance between itself and the traditional providers of aid. This is a striking conclusion, given how Turkey called out the international community for being politicized, while it – based on the discourse – clearly seemed to be so too. So, why did Turkey feel like it is superior? Granted, because it considered itself to be active in providing aid, but more truth might be found in its references to the neo-colonial past of the international community; a past Turkey does not share. It made the idea of Turkey using its HD to justify its involvement in other regions more credible. Having said that, its sincere references to for example Rohingya Muslims clearly showed how there are more layers to this.

Turkey’s humanitarian contributions are an evolution in the humanitarian field, but that does not necessarily mean they constitute progress. Following Barnett’s (2009, 2011) beliefs, it would be misleading to only rely on ethics to try and describe progress. Therefore, more objective criteria might offer the answer. First, the ‘surest indicator of progress’ is ‘the expansion of benevolence’ (Barnett, 2011: 13). In other words: to include those whose pleas for help were neglected before. Second, progress occurs when those who are to receive the

assistance are given a voice ‘to express their own will’ (Barnett, 2011: 239). Based on these two arguments and the Turkish discourse, one could argue that Turkey is changing the field for the better, as it upheld the notion of impartiality and argued to be working through a partnership in which it listened to the needs of its recipients of assistance. This shows how Turkey wishes to portray its contributions as progress, with Turkey being the actor that offers the superior alternative to the flawed and politicized liberal humanitarian field. From the results however, a different story emerged: Turkey enacted a bounded solidarity through an HD that is a politicized part of Turkey’s foreign policy. Although Turkey argued to uphold a needs-driven type of assistance, this could not be deduced from the discourse. Providing an answer to that criterium is in other words not possible and obtaining the complete picture on Turkey’s potential contribution to progress hence requires more research.

Having conveyed these results, it should be added that a discourse analysis remains subjective and that it was conducted on the basis of one type of document. To give flesh to these results (or to refute them), more sources of data ought to be included and other types of research ought to be done. Given constraints, the author of this research has not been able to do this herself. In fact, several items that deserve attention have not been examined because of this. Even though the most important characteristics of Turkish HD have been focused on, future research might want to take a look at the following topics: first, the influence of the broad range of actors which Turkey includes in its HD (such as Islamic NGO’s) on the assistance it gives; second, Turkey’s take on collaboration while offering assistance; third, how it enacts its humanitarianism while being *in the field* (e.g. is it needs-driven?) and finally, how the shift away from the West (as has been argued in the literature) has its effect on Turkey’s HD. Another significant topic is the discussion whether or not Turkey wishes to contribute to a different world order. Some allusions to this have been found in the data but have not been included, as they are part of a subject that deserves its own research: ‘the influence emerging powers might have on the (liberal) world order’. According to Duncombe and Dunne (2018), there is an underlying fear of how changes in ethical standards ‘would mean the end of the liberal world order’ (Duncombe and Dunne, 2018: 26). It leaves the author to wonder if such changes would come with progress. Whereas this is clearly food for thought for a different paper, it above all confirms that it is necessary to further research the non-Western contributions in the humanitarian field. As several authors (Binder et al., 2010, Harmer & Cotterell, 2005; Severino and Ray, 2009 in Yardımcı, 2019) have argued: overlooking them is no longer justifiable. Turkey is proof of that.

APPENDIX A

A.1 – Impartiality	<p>‘Despite our political divergences, as far as human rights and humanitarian issues are concerned, our focus must be on our common values of humanity without discrimination. We should act with a ‘united humanitarian conscience’ under the flag of the United Nations’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ab).</p> <p>‘The fundamental objective of this august body, the Human Rights Council, is to protect and promote human rights and freedoms. In these times of change, such basic values should be upheld indiscriminately and in a non-selective manner’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ab).</p> <p>‘Turkish borders were always kept open to our Syrian brothers and sisters from all religions, sects and ethnic groups without any discrimination or limitation, on the basis of a policy that has treated all Syrians equally’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013al).</p> <p>‘The allegation of a member of parliament from a political party which sent a delegation to Syria and held talks with the regime last week, that Christian refugees are not accepted to the protection centres in Turkey has caused astonishment and regret’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013al).</p> <p>‘Presently, a total of approximately 190.000 Syrian brothers and sisters from all walks of life in Syria who have fled from the oppression of the regime in Syria and taken refuge in Turkey are accommodated in protection centres established by Turkey and all their needs are met without any discrimination’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013al).</p> <p>‘Turkey will continue to embrace equally all Syrians affected by the on-going humanitarian tragedy Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013al).</p> <p>‘Turkey has not made any discrimination based on ethnic, linguistic, religious, sectarian or any other denomination during any humanitarian crisis in the World and has taken part in and contributed to international endeavours with humanitarian and conscientious considerations only’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013al).</p> <p>‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu emphasized that Turkey is equal to all communities in Syria and never discriminates between sectarian, religious, or ethnic groups’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bp).</p>
-------------------------------	---

	<p>‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu underlined that Turkey stands by the ones who are oppressed or subjected to discrimination no matter whoever he/she is and this is an essential and indispensable characteristic of Turkish foreign policy from Syria to Myanmar, from Somalia to Afghanistan’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bq).</p> <p>‘The aim must be to provide assistance to all Syrian civilians without distinction, whether internally displaced or refugees, and to host communities in neighboring countries’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cr).</p> <p>‘Therefore, since the beginning of the conflict, we maintained an "open border" policy for Syrians fleeing from the violence in their country. Turkey strictly complies with the principle of non-rejection at the border and in accordance with international refugee law, provides Syrians with "temporary protection" without any discrimination’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).</p> <p>‘Referring to Somalia, he stressed that Turkish diplomacy based on humanitarian values is not limited to our neighbors and regional countries’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013n).</p> <p>‘I would like to underline this: Turkey is a country which opens its doors for all persons in need of help; it provides food and clothes and shelters people instead of questioning their ethnic origins, beliefs or sects’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014a).</p> <p>‘Turkey is a country which helps all, seeing everybody as a human being, regardless of whether they are Arab, Kurdish, Turkmen, Yezidi, Shi’ite, Sunni, Nusayri, Christian or Jewish, and without any discrimination’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014a).</p> <p>‘We stand against all forms of discrimination not only inside the country, but in the world as well’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014a).</p> <p>‘Turkey has opened its doors without any discrimination to the people of Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014aj).</p>
<p>A.2 – Apolitical</p>	<p>‘Many people questioned, again, why Turkey spent 300 million dollars to Somalia. We don’t have any national interest. Yes, but we have a huge ethical ideal to help them’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ah).</p> <p>‘Turkey is a member of the donors club today and that it has spent over 2 billion dollars for humanity without expecting anything in return, referring</p>

	<p>to the fact that some 200,000 Syrian refugees have found a haven in Turkey’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013n).</p> <p>‘We have never adopted an attitude that focuses on sectarian approaches or on selfish benefits while assessing the incidents that happen in neighboring countries, or in the other countries within the region’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2014a).</p>
<p>A.3 – Rule of law</p>	<p>‘The policies of the State of the Republic of Turkey in the humanitarian field, and in this respect towards refugees are shaped by traditions inherited from its deep-rooted history and are in full compliance with international law’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013al).</p> <p>‘Therefore, since the beginning of the conflict, we maintained an "open border" policy for Syrians fleeing from the violence in their country. Turkey strictly complies with the principle of non-rejection at the border and in accordance with international refugee law, provides Syrians with "temporary protection" without any discrimination’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).</p> <p>‘We believe that the Summit will set the future agenda in fields such as international humanitarian law, humanitarian action and assistance, and improve the norms that would strengthen international law and its implementation in such fields’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bq).</p> <p>‘The sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Syrian State must be preserved. The future Syria must be democratic, pluralistic, and respectful of human rights and of the rule of law in which every citizen must enjoy full equality before the law regardless of their religious or ethnic background’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014x).</p>
<p>A.4 – Civil society</p>	<p>‘Along with the contributions of Turkish NGOs in the areas of health, education and capacity building, Turkey's total humanitarian aid now reaches 2 billion US Dollars annually’ (Gül, 2013g).</p> <p>‘And today, if you go to Somalia, all Turkish NGOs are there, there is only one flight, one access to Mogadishu, it is Turkish Airlines. One flight, international flight from Istanbul to Mogadishu. There is only Turkish Embassy functioning in Mogadishu and there are only Turkish NGOs’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ah).</p> <p>‘Turkey will hold the World Humanitarian Summit in consultation and cooperation with the UN and the governments interested in this subject.</p>

	<p>The Summit will also be organized with the participation of actors playing a role in the humanitarian field, including the media, civil society, academic institutions and the private sector’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cy).</p> <p>‘Furthermore, the Turkish civil society organizations are conducting training and education programmes, building hospitals and schools, extending financial aid, providing health services and donating equipment in many LDCs’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013da).</p> <p>‘Turkey has assumed for itself a central role in regional and international politics, and mediation is a necessary tool for contributing to peace and stability at various levels. Turkey's dynamic civil society is also active in conflict zones through humanitarian assistance, further supporting the dynamism of Turkey's mediation efforts’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q)</p> <p>‘In the period following the Prime Minister’s visit, Turkish public sector and civil society organizations began to be engaged in cooperation to help Somalia stand back on its feet’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ac).</p> <p>‘The Turkish Red Crescent runs the Mogadishu camp acclaimed by the international community in which about 20,000 internally displaced Somali people are given shelter, and also provides daily hot meals for 15,000 Somalis in orphanages and hospitals’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ac).</p> <p>‘Our civil society organizations conduct development projects, notably in the areas of health and education’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ac).</p> <p>‘Turkey helps build schools and hospitals and provides equipment, as well as training courses for personnel through TIKA as well as other institutions and civil society organisations. Accordingly, Turkey is keen to share its development experience with its partners especially in the Non-Aligned Movement’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014av).</p>
<p>A.5 – Human rights</p>	<p>‘Significant political and economic reforms were undertaken in Turkey, particularly in the last ten years. The reforms that aim at reaching the highest standards of democracy, human rights and the rule of law, will continue in the light of the needs and expectations of our people’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bm).</p>

	<p>‘Turkey, a founding member of the UN and one of the first countries to sign the Declaration, approaches the protection and promotion of human rights from a universal viewpoint’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dq).</p> <p>‘From this standpoint, while working with determination on human rights reforms so as to extend the fundamental rights and freedoms of our citizens, strengthening of international cooperation and raising awareness within the international community for the elimination of human rights violations throughout the world constitute our key priorities’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dq).</p> <p>‘Turkey, with its firm policy for the protection and promotion of human rights, will continue international cooperation, primarily with the OHCHR and constructive contribution to the advancement of human rights at the international level’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dq).</p> <p>‘Turkey will maintain her resolute stance for combating human rights violations and the problems that are threats to international peace, security and welfare’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dq).</p> <p>‘While the improvement achieved in human rights in the course of time is a source of pride for the international community, it is regrettable that there are still places in the world where people are persecuted and the right to life, which is among the most fundamental human rights, is not respected welfare’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dq).</p> <p>‘We believe that the Summit will set the future agenda in fields such as international humanitarian law, humanitarian action and assistance, and improve the norms that would strengthen international law and its implementation in such fields’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014br).</p> <p>‘The full achievement of peace and stability in the world is closely related to expanding the practices based on respect for human rights as well as developing the means and capabilities that can effectively address human rights violations and humanitarian crises in various geographies’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014br).</p>
<p>A.6 – Democracy and democratic transition</p>	<p>‘A solution for a sound transition process that will pave the way for the creation of a new and democratic Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ab)</p>

‘Turkey will continue to intensively support the efforts made within the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) of which Mali is also a founding member, in order to ensure reaching a peaceful settlement to the question within the framework of democracy in order to enable Mali to stand on its own feet in the upcoming period’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013au).

‘These protests...are expressions of a fundamental democratic right’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bf).

‘Our bilateral relations have entered a phase of rapid progress with Burkina Faso, one of the prominent countries of West Africa and a model in its region with its stability and democratic practices, since our Embassy in this country became operational at the beginning of 2012’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bj).

‘Turkey will continue to stand by its friend and brother Egypt and to support its political stability, unity and solidarity and economic prosperity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cd; 2013ce).

‘Turkey has wholeheartedly supported the democratic transition in Egypt that began with the Revolution of the 25th of January and has stood by the friendly and brotherly people of Egypt in their march towards democracy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ce).

‘...is only possible with the contribution and participation of democratic institutions and actors, the opposition and civil society’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ce),

‘Turkey’s main concern and desire is that Egypt will overcome this crisis with a new move towards democratization, protect its political stability and preserve its social peace’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ce)

‘Turkey is supporting and will continue to support the people of Egypt and its process of democratization as a whole, not any group or section in Egypt’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cf).

‘Egypt is one of the main actors not only of regional peace but also of global peace. Therefore the January 25th Revolution, which is an outcome of the pursuit of freedom, justice and democracy, has been a source of enthusiasm not only in our region but in the entire world. Thus, everyone should exert efforts towards improving and protecting the democratic process that started with the January 25th Revolution’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cf).

‘Unfortunately, particularly recent developments in Syria and Egypt pose serious obstacles for our region to become a peace, stability and welfare hub’ highlighted Foreign Minister Davutoğlu. Concerning Syria, he emphasized that from the very beginning Turkey advocated a transition process which would reflect the will of the Syrian people to political system in a peaceful manner’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ci).

‘Turkey, as always, stands by the brotherly people of Egypt and is ready to provide any possible support in its democratic transition process’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cl).

‘We reiterate that Turkey, which has been providing every kind of support to the transformation process in Libya since its inception, will stand by Libya in its struggle against terrorism, as in every field’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dd).

‘The situation of persons who have been displaced and forced to live in the camps, humanitarian assistance and the democratization process in Myanmar will be discussed’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dj).

‘Turkey, which has given since the outset every kind of support to Libya for its reconstruction and for the establishment of the security in the country on a solid basis, will continue to stand by the brotherly people of Libya in the future’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dl).

‘We were determined that we would not be passive bystanders, but active agents that impacted this historic transformation of the region. Our government, therefore, made an unequivocal decision from the very first day of the Arab Spring to extend our assistance to the people of the region, so that they could enjoy the same universally acknowledged rights as their peers do elsewhere in the world. We refused to stand idly by as the basic democratic rights enjoyed by the Turkish people were denied to others by violence and oppression’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013r).

‘Turkey will remain firmly committed to extending support to friendly and brotherly Egypt in the process of democratization’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013v).

‘This brutal dictatorship must leave the scene as early as possible to open up the way for democratic transition in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013x).

‘We will continue to prioritize our aim to remove the Syrian regime, to help protect the territorial integrity of Syria, and to encourage a constitutional,

	<p>parliamentary government system which embraces all the citizens in the country’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2014a).</p> <p>‘We adopt a totally humane, consistent attitude towards countries like Egypt, where the democratic demands of citizens are oppressed with methods supported by a military coup’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014a).</p> <p>‘Focus should be given to the reasons rather than the consequences which led to the humanitarian tragedy in Syria and emphasized that as long as the Assad regime stays in power, a real political transformation cannot be achieved’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014e).</p> <p>‘The sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Syrian State must be preserved. The future Syria must be democratic, pluralistic, and respectful of human rights and of the rule of law in which every citizen must enjoy full equality before the law regardless of their religious or ethnic background’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014x).</p>
<p>A.7 – (re)build societies/ capacity building</p>	<p>‘Along with the contributions of Turkish NGOs in the areas of health, education and capacity building, Turkey’s total humanitarian aid now reaches 2 billion US Dollars annually’ (Gül, 2013g).</p> <p>‘Turkey today is a country that the whole world is listening to, whose friendship is really needed and cherished and which is playing an active role in the resolution of international matters’ (Gül, 2013j).</p> <p>‘Afghanistan has to build its own capacity in many respects. Yet, it also needs to cooperate with its neighbours and the international community to do this. That is how Afghanistan can tap into its potential for development. To that end, capacity-building should continue to be a major dimension of our efforts’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bg).</p> <p>‘As Turkey, we would like to underline the importance of political reconciliation, rebuilding of the Somali security forces and economic recovery and infrastructure development as immediate priorities in Somalia’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bk).</p> <p>‘In this framework, it is important for Libya to have public institutions which are reliable, accountable and effective in every field, particularly in the fields of defense and security. Turkey will continue to support brotherly Libya on this issue’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dd).</p> <p>‘We reiterate that Turkey, which has been providing every kind of support to the transformation process in Libya since its inception, will stand by</p>

	<p>Libya in its struggle against terrorism, as in every field’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dd).</p> <p>‘Contributes to the capacity building efforts” and “works to develop effective dispute resolution instruments for various conflicts’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014q)</p> <p>‘Furthermore, Turkey, aware of the fact that the main root causes of piracy do not lie in the seas but on the land, approaches the problem of piracy off the coast of Somalia from a comprehensive perspective, attributes particular importance to the humanitarian and development assistance and contributes to the capacity building efforts as well, in accordance with the resolutions of the UN Security Council’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014r).</p>
<p>A.8 – Contributions to peace and mediation</p>	<p>‘Turkey has been a staunch supporter of the UN and the values it represents. Taking leading roles under the aegis of the UN in the areas such as peacekeeping and peacebuilding, mediation, development, environment and the alliance of civilizations, Turkey has doubled its contribution to the UN budget as of 2013. As a result, Turkey now ranks among the largest contributing countries in the UN’ (Gül, 2013g).</p> <p>‘The main objectives of the Conference are to emphasize Turkey’s role in the peaceful resolution of international disputes, to maintain the momentum achieved through the “Mediation for Peace” initiative co-launched in 2010 by Turkey and Finland and to contribute to the building of a national capacity in Turkey in the field of mediation and conflict resolution’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aw).</p> <p>‘Turkey strongly supports resolution of international disputes by peaceful means and comes to the forefront as an effective mediator’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aw).</p> <p>‘Turkey, in line with the stance it has taken since the independence of South Sudan, will continue to provide every support and to do its part in cooperation with the international community for the country's development and the attainment of security and stability’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ds).</p> <p>‘Effective mediation is needed (...) as any conflict in any part of the world could affect the whole world’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013h). ‘For a just world there is a need for a new values system in international relations. Mediation efforts should be carried out within the framework of these values’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013h).</p>

‘Emphasize Turkey’s role in the peaceful resolution of international disputes, to maintain the momentum achieved through the “Mediation for Peace” initiative co-launched in 2010 by Turkey and Finland and to contribute to the building of a national capacity in Turkey in the field of mediation and conflict resolution’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013o).

‘Within the framework of its mediation efforts which are believed to contribute to the efforts of stability and peace building in the region and beyond, Turkey aims to transform İstanbul Mediation Conferences to a traditional platform where all actors working in the peace building could share their experience and knowledge’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013o).

‘The need for mediation is obvious in this new era. In the last three decades, Turkey's position has been based on the use of diplomacy in an efficient way to help resolve disputes and conflicts’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q).

‘In short, mediation is a one of the main instruments of peace and happiness for humanity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q).

‘Turkey has reoriented its foreign policy by means of an active, multidimensional and visionary framework. Mediation is an integral part of this policy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q).

‘Turkey has assumed for itself a central role in regional and international politics, and mediation is a necessary tool for contributing to peace and stability at various levels’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q).

‘Turkey works to develop effective dispute resolution instruments for various conflicts. It is located right at the center of all the political conflicts of the surrounding regions, and is affected directly or indirectly, historically or culturally, by the myriad crises taking place throughout a wide area’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q).

‘We expanded our efforts to bolster Turkey's ties with emerging actors in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. We also adopted new foreign-policy instruments ranging from mediation to development assistance, which became cornerstones of the new pro-active Turkish diplomacy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013r).

‘Peacekeeping is fundamental but not enough for perpetual peace. Sustainable development is the key factor for long-term stability and that

	<p>conditions of poverty and economic problems sow the seeds of conflict. In other words, we view the provision of humanitarian aid as well as development assistance, as a means to contributing to international peace and stability, thus to achieve long term peace and stability’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014av).</p> <p>‘All this above have levied on Turkey a special responsibility to actively contribute to the preservation of regional and global peace and stability. Consequently Turkey decided to present its candidature for the Security Council for the term 2015-2016’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014av).</p> <p>‘That enabling sustainable, inclusive and just development, increasing welfare and eliminating inequalities are conditions for lasting peace and stability. With this understanding, we attach great importance to international development coordination’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014az).</p> <p>‘Contributes to the capacity building efforts” and “works to develop effective dispute resolution instruments for various conflicts’, (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014q)</p>
<p>A.9 – Development assistance</p>	<p>‘Turkey is now running a comprehensive assistance and direct investment package to the world’s Least Developed Countries’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘Including the contribution of the Turkish NGOs in the fields of health, education, and capacity building Turkey’s total humanitarian assistance reaches 2 billion US dollars per year’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘Along with the contributions of Turkish NGOs in the areas of health, education and capacity building, Turkey's total humanitarian aid now reaches 2 billion US Dollars annually’ (Gül, 2013g).</p> <p>‘H.E. Mr. Bekir Bozdağ and H.E. Mr. Cevdet Yılmaz will attend the groundbreaking ceremonies as well as inaugurations of schools, hospitals, mosques and orphanages constructed by Turkish governmental agencies and non-governmental organizations in Somalia and Sudan and will have bilateral talks with their counterparts’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aa).</p> <p>‘Turkey’s assistance to all parts of Somalia including Somaliland would continue increasingly and Somaliland was of special importance for Turkey due to the historical ties dated back to Ottoman era. Emphasizing Turkey's commitment to the integrity of Somalia, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu</p>

expressed that Turkey would continue to support for the reconciliation, stability, prosperity and development of Somali people’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013am).

‘Afghanistan has to build its own capacity in many respects. Yet, it also needs to cooperate with its neighbours and the international community to do this. That is how Afghanistan can tap into its potential for development. To that end, capacity-building should continue to be a major dimension of our efforts. We believe that our CBMs on education and disaster management will help build capacity in these crucial fields’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bg).

‘As Turkey, we would like to underline the importance of political reconciliation, rebuilding of the Somali security forces and economic recovery and infrastructure development as immediate priorities in Somalia’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bk).

‘I would like to emphasize that Turkey together with the Somali authorities has already prepared the comprehensive plan on the future of the Somali military and police forces’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bk).

‘My country has allocated 10 million US Dollars ready to be used for security structures and military and police training, in addition to our humanitarian and economic development assistance package of 300 million US Dollars’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bk).

‘Turkey continues to swiftly carry out renovation and economic development activities which have started to change the face of the country, and instill a sense of confidence in the future’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bk).

‘Under the new scholarships program initiated for the 2012-2013 education year, Turkey has provided 561 scholarships for students from Sub-Saharan Africa and 142 scholarships for students from North African countries’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013br).

‘Turkey has always been in the forefront in contributing efforts to preserve the historical character and heritage in Al-Quds. The Turkish International Cooperation Agency (TICA) supported renovation and restoration work in cooperation with our Palestinian brothers in the Al-Aqsa complex’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bu).

‘Within the context of the Memorandum of Understanding, a project has been prepared for the information technologies infrastructure of Somali’s

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. (...). Under the project, all kinds of hardware, software and training requirements will be met by Turkish Foreign Ministry' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cx).

'We are providing many scholarships to the students from the LDCs. Turkey stands ready to host Science, Technology and Innovation Center/Technology Bank dedicated to the LDCs. The International Agricultural Center in İzmir is already working with the LDCs, mainly through training programmes' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013da).

'Furthermore, the Turkish civil society organizations are conducting training and education programmes, building hospitals and schools, extending financial aid, providing health services and donating equipment in many LDCs' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013da).

'Turkey, which has given since the outset every kind of support to Libya for its reconstruction and for the establishment of the security in the country on a solid basis, will continue to stand by the brotherly people of Libya in the future' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dl).

'Turkey also supports Palestine in the face of economic difficulties by developing projects which will improve the quality of life of Palestinian people. The amount of in-kind and technical assistance committed by Turkey exceeds 200 million Dollars' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dp).

'Turkey, in line with the stance it has taken since the independence of South Sudan, will continue to provide every support and to do its part in cooperation with the international community for the country's development and the attainment of security and stability' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ds).

'In the period following the Prime Minister's visit, Turkish public sector and civil society organizations began to be engaged in cooperation to help Somalia stand back on its feet. In this context, numerous development projects in various areas such as health, education, humanitarian aid, municipal services and infrastructure, opening of water wells have been completed or are underway across Somalia. The 200-bed Digfer Hospital in Mogadishu, which was rebuilt, fully equipped and whose management has been undertaken for five years has become one of the leading hospitals in Africa. The hospital's official opening is planned for next April. Likewise, the Turkish International Cooperation and Coordination Agency

(TIKA) launched several projects in all regions of Somalia in the areas of education, health, agriculture and water management’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ac).

‘The Turkish Ministry of Health provides free health services and medication to Somalis in Somalia. Our civil society organizations conduct development projects, notably in the areas of health and education. The Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, in cooperation with the Municipality of Mogadishu, continues to engage in services that change the face of the city. The repair, maintenance and paving of Mogadishu’s main arteries progress rapidly’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ac).

‘Within the framework of Tigem Project, we made a decision to develop agricultural projects in wide agricultural lands which are provided with technological and financial assistance by Turkey. We reviewed the current stage in this project’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014am).

‘Turkey helps build schools and hospitals and provides equipment, as well as training courses for personnel through TIKa as well as other institutions and civil society organisations. Accordingly, Turkey is keen to share its development experience with its partners especially in the Non-Aligned Movement’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014av).

‘In the same vein, the Meeting will be a valuable opportunity to carry our bilateral and multilateral cooperation further in issues such as economic relations, development assistance and climate change’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014aw).

‘Stating that Turkey’s assistance to the Small Island Developing States reached 5,24 million dollars in 2012 Foreign Minister Davutoğlu underlined that it is foreseen that total 5 million dollars will be allocated to various development projects in the Pacific Islands in the forthcoming period’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ax).

‘Higher education scholarships have been provided for over 3000 students from African countries since 2000’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014g).

‘Turkey is currently providing personnel and financial contribution to 5 of the existing 6 UN missions in Africa’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014g).

‘On cultural dimension, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu noted that the number of scholarships given to African students increases every year and 1800

	<p>students only from Somalia continue their education in Turkey with scholarships' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014o).</p> <p>'Turkey, within the framework of the position it has adopted since the independence of South Sudan, will continue providing all kind of support to the economic development of the country and the establishment of security and the stability in collaboration with the international community' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014q).</p> <p>'Furthermore, Turkey, aware of the fact that the main root causes of piracy do not lie in the seas but on the land, approaches the problem of piracy off the coast of Somalia from a comprehensive perspective, attributes particular importance to the humanitarian and development assistance and contributes to the capacity building efforts as well, in accordance with the resolutions of the UN Security Council' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014r).</p> <p>'Turkey, which will also keep closely monitoring the developments regarding the protection of all places of worship, including Muslims' religious buildings in the country; is ready to provide every kind of support to the friendly Central African Republic, in the process of initiating the restoration of stability and public order in the country, starting with overcoming the humanitarian crisis' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014w).</p>
--	--

APPENDIX B

B.1 – International community and UNSC	
Passive	<p>‘What could match the Syrian people’s disappointment as they suffered the worst massacre of the twenty-first century as the international community simply looked on?’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘The UN of which I speak should be a body capable of taking action to maintain international peace and security’ (Gül, A, 2013b).</p> <p>‘As a complete disregard of the values we all share, a humanitarian tragedy is still going on in Syria before the eyes of the international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ab).</p> <p>‘We have a serious question here. For how long we, the international community, will allow this humanitarian tragedy to continue? How long we will continue to look the other way while the people of Syria suffer tremendously at the hands of a bloody regime?’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ab).</p> <p>‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu pointed out that with a view to improving the humanitarian conditions, the UN Security Council should take steps to ensure access of humanitarian aid to those in need. He said that continuation of the current situation could also endanger the whole region’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ac).</p> <p>‘Expressing the deep disappointment and the need of assistance of the Syrian people, he emphasized that the international community should adopt a more effective stance in dealing with the situation in Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ac).</p> <p>‘What is the response of the UN to the people of Syria on the ground now who do not have any food, shelter, food, or basic needs of their lives?’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ah).</p> <p>‘The humanitarian situation in Syria was escalating each day and it was high time that international community should take effective steps’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013an).</p> <p>‘It is unacceptable that the international community, UN Security Council in particular, stands idle as the Syrian Regime fired around 150 missiles so</p>

far which resulted in great loss of lives’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aq).

‘We should call upon the international community for breaking its chains of idleness to prevent more death, more destruction and more suffering in Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aq).

‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu asked the international community to consider establishing safe zones in Syria where Syrian people who are currently in the neighboring countries including Turkey can find refuge and opening up of humanitarian corridors in order to transport humanitarian aid to the region’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013b).

‘It is time for the international community to act to stop the inhumane actions of the regime disregarding international law and universal principles’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bh).

‘Accordingly, we once again invite the relevant institutions and organizations, particularly the UN Security Council, to take the necessary measures resolutely and rapidly to put an end to the crimes being committed by the Syrian regime’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bh).

‘At the current stage, the international community should put an end the course of the events’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bt).

‘We will encourage the international community and together, we will exert every effort to uphold these achievements” or “the international community should adopt a more effective stance in dealing with the situation in Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ce).

‘As the previous speakers pointed out, the situation in Syria deteriorates further every day. The humanitarian calamity we face now is beyond our individual capabilities. It requires collective approaches as well as joint actions’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).

‘The international community needs to replace words with deeds by expeditiously scaling up their contributions to the UN plans, namely, RRP and SHARP, and fund them fully’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).

‘We need to put an end to this senseless silence’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).

	<p>‘Immediate steps should be taken concerning the humanitarian situation which deteriorates in parallel to the ongoing violence in Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dn).</p> <p>‘Why is the global community — so many people of peace and compassion — allowing this to happen again? The international doctrine of “responsibility to protect” was crafted in response to the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina. If the responsibility to protect does not apply to Syria, where does it apply?’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cm).</p> <p>‘It is time for all Syrians and the international community to take their places on the right side of history’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cm).</p> <p>‘Turkey urges the international community, the UN and all the related institutions to act immediately and to take steps for the implementation of all sanctions on Syria by concluding the necessary investigation’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013co).</p> <p>‘Because of the consequences of its inaction, I am sure that one day, any other UN Secretary-General will walk on the streets of Homs and apologize from the people of Syria’ said Foreign Minister Davutoğlu’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013z).</p> <p>‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu calling international community to take measures with a view to providing humanitarian aid to Syrians’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013z).</p> <p>‘Criticized the inactiveness of the UN Security Council in view of the death of 70 thousand people in Syria, desperation of the millions of Syrians in hard winter conditions’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013z).</p> <p>‘Emphasized that the UN Security Council should adopt a resolution on humanitarian access’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013z).</p> <p>‘We call on the UN Security Council to take strong, compelling and resolute steps that would alleviate the sufferings emanating from the humanitarian disaster in Syria without delay’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ab).</p>
Silent	<p>‘We need to put an end to this senseless silence’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).</p>

	<p>‘If not, future generations will ask the UN and all its bodies as to how they remained silent to this humanitarian tragedy in Syria for so long’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).</p>
Slow	<p>‘Should the international community allow this conflict to drag on, we will soon be talking about the killing of many thousands more people and the displacement of millions more refugees’ (Gül, 2013c).</p> <p>‘I call on the UNSC to adopt a strong resolution addressing the humanitarian situation as early as possible, without any further delay’ Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).</p> <p>‘If not, future generations will ask the UN and all its bodies as to how they remained silent to this humanitarian tragedy in Syria for so long’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).</p> <p>‘He stressed that solutions in the Middle East and other regions depended on regional initiatives and timely responses of the international community to the crisis’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013f).</p> <p>‘We have reached this stage, because the UN Security Council could not take the right steps at the right time by pointing out the humanitarian and global values’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014e).</p>
Ineffective	<p>‘The UN of which I speak should be a body capable of taking action to maintain international peace and security’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘It should be able to safeguard security, justice, and people’s fundamental rights and freedoms’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘It should never forfeit its prime responsibility for the sake of power politics’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘Only through such a UN can we achieve the truly peaceful world envisioned by this institution’s founders. Yet, as much as this remains a noble goal, it is also an urgent necessity’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘To face this new reality, we need a Security Council which is truly democratic, representative, effective, and accountable’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘It is a disgrace that the United Nations Security Council has failed to uphold its primary responsibility in this case’ (Gül, 2013b).</p>

	<p>Whole humanity is in search of something new. There is a great need of restoration. International order is falling into ruin and has lost the ability of responding crises (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ao).</p> <p>‘How the current situation in Syria has been reached and how the crisis has deepened by the inability of the international community to give a strong support to the Syrian people in a timely manner’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bt).</p> <p>‘Still it is not possible to reach a consensus in the UN’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013co).</p> <p>‘It failed to bring a political solution that would address the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people. It also failed to provide effective humanitarian response’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).</p> <p>‘Despite the continuing developments in Syria in the past two years, the UN Security Council could not reach agreement’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013f).</p> <p>‘Maintained that the international community does not react as required to the regime’s clear violation of international law’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014an).</p> <p>‘In a period of increased regional conflicts during which many civilian and innocent lives are lost, UN is not able to fulfill its functions’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bm).</p> <p>‘In a period of increased regional conflicts during which many civilian and innocent lives are lost, UN is not able to fulfill its functions’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bn).</p> <p>‘President Erdoğan said “The fact that 5 permanent members of the UN Security Council is rendering it ineffective is not an acceptable situation for the global conscience’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bn).</p> <p>‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu stated that lack of visionary leaders; insufficient international financial aid and UN Security Council’s inability of adopting required resolutions have played an important role in the problems of the region remaining unresolved’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014z).</p>
Not credible	<p>‘Decisive action is the only way that the UN system will remain relevant and credible’ (Gül,2013b).</p>

	<p>‘We all need a strong, efficient, and credible UN’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘International community has lost its deterrence in Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013co).</p> <p>‘UN Security Council has lost its credibility’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013z).</p>
<p>Inadequate</p>	<p>‘The enforcement of such a strategy requires a fully determined, committed, and robust international engagement: exactly what has been missing since the beginning of the conflict’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘The attitude of the international community in the face of the calamities I have summarized here is also disheartening’ (Gül, 2013d).</p> <p>‘The importance of the contributions by the international community to the developments in the region was also emphasized’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013a).</p> <p>‘It means there is a crisis here. We have to respond. This is the political challenge of global system. The UN today does not respond these challenges properly. I can give you many other examples on environment, climate change etc. etc... where a national interest prevails the common destiny of humanity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ah).</p> <p>‘While Turkey appreciated the work of the UN agencies, a more active position concerning the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Syria should be adopted’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013an).</p> <p>‘The international community’s support to the neighboring countries has remained at minimum’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cq).</p> <p>‘It is inarguable that the response of the international community has fallen far short of the required levels’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).</p> <p>‘International community must also come forward to raise their bilateral contributions to the neighboring countries to alleviate the tremendous burden they are shouldering’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).</p> <p>‘We all remember vividly that an inadequate response by the international community to the question of the Palestinian refugees has consequently turned it into a chronic crisis’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).</p>

	<p>‘Our doors will remain open for our Syrian brothers and sisters. However, contribution of the international community still stands far below the expectations’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013x).</p> <p>‘Noting that the international community do not pay enough attention to Syria, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu underlined that while Turkey has provided an assistance of 3 billion dollars to the Syrian refugees, the total assistance of the international community is about only 115 million dollars’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014an).</p> <p>‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu underlined that while Turkey has provided an assistance of 3 billion dollars to the Syrians refugees, the total assistance of the international community is about only 115 million dollars’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014an).</p> <p>‘How long can international community continue to look the other way while such carnage goes on in full view? How long will the international community hold back while so many Syrians lose their lives each day at the hands of the regime in Damascus?’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014x).</p>
Irresponsible	<p>‘For how long can we afford to evade our moral responsibility to the people being killed even as we speak?’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘Inconsistent messages of the international community have paved the way for the massacre of hundreds in Egypt’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013co).</p> <p>‘It is a disgrace that the United Nations Security Council has failed to uphold its primary responsibility in this case’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘The burden of ending Syria’s plight now rests on the shoulders of the international community’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>Continued inaction on the part of the international community in the face of this situation that defies human dignity and conscience is unacceptable (Gül, 2013d).</p> <p>‘International community should establish the proper environment for access to humanitarian assistance for all in Syria. The P5 may have different political views, but it is imperative for them to unite over the common</p>

humanitarian values. It is incomprehensible to hinder humanitarian access’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ab).

‘The situation in Syria remains to be a litmus test for the international community; whether it will fulfill its responsibility to protect human lives against a tyranny or not’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aq).

‘The international community is responsible to protect the Syrian people from this regime the hands of which stained with blood’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cc).

‘The conscientious and responsible members of the international community should take all necessary measures rapidly and in solidarity against this atrocity taking place before the eyes of the entire world’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cc).

‘By attacking the people with chemical weapons, the regime has committed a serious crime against humanity. Such a crime must not go unpunished; those who committed it must be held accountable. It is the international community’s primary duty and responsibility to ensure this’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cu).

‘I have shared with you the present picture from Turkey’s perspective. Meanwhile, we need to set a road map for the future with a view to coping with one of the worst humanitarian disasters in history, and also getting the international community to honour its obligations in terms of burden and responsibility sharing under international humanitarian law’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).

‘(...) has the political responsibility in the face of the death of 70 thousand Syrians’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013z).

‘The fact that the decision regarding reaching out to regions where humanity has long been in the throes of death is made by only the 5 influential members of the UN Security Council is seriously damaging to global justice’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014a).

‘Maintained that the international community does not react as required to the regime’s clear violation of international law’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ao).

‘Minister Davutoğlu underlined that on a humanitarian issue, nobody can put forward the excuse that “Syria is in confusion, we don’t want to get involved”’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014y).

	<p>‘For how long can we afford to evade our moral responsibility to the people being killed even as we speak?’ (Gül, 2013b).</p>
<p>Lacking conscience</p>	<p>‘The survival of the Syrian people should not be sacrificed to balance-of-power politics, Cold War style proxy wars and narrow interests’ (Gül, 2013d).</p> <p>‘We have a serious question here. For how long we, the international community, will allow this humanitarian tragedy to continue? How long we will continue to look the other way while the people of Syria suffer tremendously at the hands of a bloody regime?’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ab).</p> <p>‘Despite our political divergences, as far as human rights and humanitarian issues are concerned, our focus must be on our common values of humanity without discrimination. We should act with a ‘united humanitarian conscience’ under the flag of the United Nations’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ab).</p> <p>‘As a complete disregard of the values we all share, a humanitarian tragedy is still going on in Syria before the eyes of the international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ab).</p> <p>‘But that common rationale or human conscience was not reflected to the UN Security Council’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ah).</p> <p>‘It means there is a crisis here. We have to respond. This is the political challenge of global system. The UN today does not respond these challenges properly. I can give you many other examples on environment, climate change etc. etc... where a national interest prevails the common destiny of humanity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ah).</p> <p>‘Why is the global community — so many people of peace and compassion — allowing this to happen again? The international doctrine of “responsibility to protect” was crafted in response to the tragedy of Bosnia and Herzegovina. If the responsibility to protect does not apply to Syria, where does it apply?’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cm).</p> <p>‘How long will the U.N. Security Council continue to look the other way while such carnage goes on in full view? How long will the international community hold back while an estimated 5,000 Syrians lose their lives every month at the hands of the regime in Damascus?’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cm).</p>

	<p>‘Pointing out the third aspect of humanitarian diplomacy as “the humanitarian ownership in the UN system”, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu mentioned that there are figures showing that UN system is lacking conscience’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013t).</p> <p>‘I once again invite the related states and international organizations to relieve themselves from short-term, narrow-minded calculations, and to mobilize the necessary political mechanisms, dialogue and diplomacy for the peace and security of all, without any further delay’ (Gül, 2014b).</p> <p>‘Turkey also calls on the international community not to remain indifferent to this UNHCR project’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ai).</p> <p>‘Noting that the international community do not pay enough attention to Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014am).</p> <p>‘I once again invite the related states and international organizations to relieve themselves from short-term, narrow-minded calculations, and to mobilize the necessary political mechanisms, dialogue and diplomacy for the peace and security of all, without any further delay’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014b).</p> <p>‘How long can international community continue to look the other way while such carnage goes on in full view? How long will the international community hold back while so many Syrians lose their lives each day at the hands of the regime in Damascus?’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014x).</p> <p>‘Minister Davutoğlu underlined that on a humanitarian issue, nobody can put forward the excuse that “Syria is in confusion, we don’t want to get involved”’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2014x).</p>
<p>B.2 – UNSC Reform</p>	<p>‘We all need a strong, efficient, and credible UN’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘We need a UN fit for purpose in the face of current global realities’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘To face this new reality, we need a Security Council which is truly democratic, representative, effective, and accountable’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘Turkey will continue to be a leading country supporting the UN reform process’ (Gül, 2013b).</p>

‘He proposed to hold a meeting in Istanbul in early 2014 where all dimensions of the UNSC reform will be discussed with a view to accelerating the efforts for the reform and to creating a new result-oriented dynamism. The Ministers confirmed the consensus on the need for a useful and effective reform of the UNSC’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013c).

‘The need to make reforms to the UN Security Council cannot be delayed’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014a).

APPENDIX C

C.1 – Turkish Neo-Ottoman identity	
Active	<p>‘It is our human duty to do so with the greatest resolve, commitment, and engagement’ (Gül, 2013c).</p> <p>‘Turkey today is a country that the whole world is listening to, whose friendship is really needed and cherished and which is playing an active role in the resolution of international matters’ (Gül, 2013j).</p> <p>‘Turkey had emerged into prominence as an active, constructive and dynamic actor with its developing democracy, rising economy and active foreign policy on a global scale particularly in the Mediterranean basin and that Turkey has placed itself amongst the countries which are able to influence developments in their regions and beyond and shape the new world order’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013a).</p> <p>‘Hereafter, we will continue our active policy to represent our country in Mogadishu and in Hargeisa as well as to provide humanitarian assistance to these places’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ay).</p> <p>‘Turkey has reoriented its foreign policy by means of an active, multidimensional and visionary framework’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q).</p> <p>‘In times of crisis — as in Tunisia, in Egypt or in Libya last year — Turkey is always among the countries that try to make a significant contribution to its resolution. This is a challenge for Turkey’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q).</p> <p>‘We were determined that we would not be passive bystanders, but active agents that impacted this historic transformation of the region. Our government, therefore, made an unequivocal decision from the very first day of the Arab Spring to extend our assistance to the people of the region, so that they could enjoy the same universally acknowledged rights as their peers do elsewhere in the world. We refused to stand idly by as the basic democratic rights enjoyed by the Turkish people were denied to others by violence and oppression’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013r).</p> <p>‘Turkey has drawn attention to the problems of the least-developed countries, led a campaign to mobilize the international community to assist famine victims in Somalia, sustained its engagement in the reconstruction</p>

of Afghanistan, and reenergized its bid for European Union membership. More remarkably, these initiatives have been carried out while Turkey was working to address the humanitarian tragedy unfolding on its border with Syria partner' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013r).

'we expanded our efforts to bolster Turkey's ties with emerging actors in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. We also adopted new foreign-policy instruments ranging from mediation to development assistance, which became cornerstones of the new pro-active Turkish diplomacy partner' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013r).

'Turkey cannot be indifferent to the developments taking place in the southern and northern basins of the Mediterranean, with which it enjoys special ties stemming from history. On the contrary, it is stressed that Turkey, having had a central position in this geography, should continue its active efforts with a view to steering the developments in the right direction' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013s).

'In the period following the Prime Minister's visit, Turkish public sector and civil society organizations began to be engaged in cooperation to help Somalia stand back on its feet. In this context, numerous development projects in various areas such as health, education, humanitarian aid, municipal services and infrastructure, opening of water wells have been completed or are underway across Somalia' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ac).

'Noting that the international community do not pay enough attention to Syria, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu underlined that while Turkey has provided an assistance of 3 billion dollars to the Syrian refugees, the total assistance of the international community is about only 115 million dollars' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014am).

'All this above have levied on Turkey a special responsibility to actively contribute to the preservation of regional and global peace and stability. Consequently Turkey decided to present its candidature for the Security Council for the term 2015-2016' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014av).

'As a result of its active policy in humanitarian field, Turkey will be hosting the first ever World Humanitarian Summit in 2016 in Istanbul' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014av).

'Turkey is ready to be involved in any international monitoring and verification mechanism that will ensure the lifting of restrictions on the

	<p>flow of goods and people as well as sustainable economic development in Gaza’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bk).</p> <p>‘Turkey, in cooperation with the international community, will continue resolutely to put comprehensive efforts for Somalia and for the people of Somalia in the field of humanitarian, security and development assistance and maintain its contributions in the fight against piracy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014r).</p> <p>‘Turkey, which has been making every effort towards the prosperity and stability of the people of friendly and brotherly Somalia in cooperation with the international community, will be continuing to host and help the negotiations between Somali and Somaliland’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014v).</p> <p>‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu emphasized that Turkey, in the center of Afro-Eurasia where the history flows, is actively present with its strong democracy, dynamic economy and effective diplomacy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014t).</p>
<p>Clamorous</p>	<p>‘We should call upon the international community for breaking its chains of idleness to prevent more death, more destruction and more suffering in Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aq).</p> <p>‘We call on these parties to abandon such attitude and on the international community to adopt a clear and explicit stance towards the crimes against humanity committed in front of our eyes’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bh).</p> <p>‘Turkey considers the Somalia Conference as a highly useful occasion in further galvanizing international support to the peace building and state building process in Somalia’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bk).</p> <p>‘I call on the UNSC to adopt a strong resolution addressing the humanitarian situation as early as possible, without any further delay’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).</p> <p>‘Staying silent and not reacting against the developments in Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, Somalia, Myanmar, Afghanistan, Ukraine, Yemen, Iraq and Syria would be a denial of history and our ancestors, as well as of our own existence’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2014a).</p>

	<p>‘Our message to Syrian brothers and sisters; we will not remain silent about your pain, whatever they do, no matter how long they remain silent. We will continue to stand by you with all our possible capacities’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014r).</p>
Credible	<p>‘Turkey today is a country that the whole world is listening to, whose friendship is really needed and cherished and which is playing an active role in the resolution of international matters’ (Gül, A., 2013j).</p> <p>‘The approval of Istanbul’s bid to host the World Humanitarian Summit is a new example demonstrating Turkey’s rising stature in the international area’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cy).</p> <p>‘Turkey had emerged into prominence as an active, constructive and dynamic actor with its developing democracy, rising economy and active foreign policy on a global scale particularly in the Mediterranean basin and that Turkey has placed itself amongst the countries which are able to influence developments in their regions and beyond and shape the new world order’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013s).</p>
Successful	<p>‘Turkey strongly supports resolution of international disputes by peaceful means and comes to the forefront as an effective mediator’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aw).</p> <p>‘We believe that the Economic and Technical Cooperation Package of Turkey towards the LDCs will have a substantial impact on the ground, in line with our proven successful record in providing demand-driven and need-based assistance’(Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013da).</p> <p>‘Stressing that Turkey will continue to support the Rakhine, “Our brothers who embrace us here are pleased with our second visit and being remembered. We told that we will continue to visit and to stand by our brothers in the Rakhine“ said Foreign Minister Davutoğlu’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013k).</p> <p>‘The second aspect of humanitarian diplomacy is the attitude towards the crisis areas said Foreign Minister Davutoğlu giving the example of Somalia. He said that Turkey is the first country that opened an embassy in Somalia and the staff of the Embassy work with great sacrifices. He also added that today the impact of Turkey is felt in every street in Somalia’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013t).</p> <p>‘Turkey is a country which successfully evacuates its citizens from crisis regions, meets aid demands of other countries and evacuates the citizens of</p>

	<p>those countries; it helps to locate the citizens and journalists of other countries and deliver them to their countries safe and sound' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2014a).</p> <p>'As an emerging economy and a global donor country, in 2012 Turkey's official development aid doubled to amount to 2.5 billion Dollars. The same year, Turkey provided 1 billion Dollars of humanitarian aid and became the fourth largest global contributor in that category' (% 0,13 of its GDP)" (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bc).</p>
Fast	<p>'The humanitarian assistance delivered to the Philippines in a speedy manner thanks to the efficient coordination between the Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Turkish Red Crescent comprised 500 units of family tents, 5125 units of blankets and 550 units of family kitchen sets weighing approximately 65 tons' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dk).</p> <p>'Our government, therefore, made an unequivocal decision from the very first day of the Arab Spring to extend our assistance to the people of the region, so that they could enjoy the same universally acknowledged rights as their peers do elsewhere in the world' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013r).</p>
Self-confident and self-aware	<p>'In other words, we should be sensitive to what is happening around us and we must assume responsibility in solving the problems concerning us all' (Gül, 2013k).</p> <p>'As Turks, we are well aware and we are self-confident partner' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ah).</p> <p>'Turkish people are confident, they are not scared of being divided or they are not scared of being invaded, they are not scared of any other nation partner' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ah).</p> <p>'Talking about Turkey's achievements in economy and foreign policy in the last 10 years Foreign Minister Davutoğlu stated that the self-confidence lies behind all these achievements partner' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bx).</p>
Constructive	<p>'Turkey had emerged into prominence as an active, constructive and dynamic actor with its developing democracy, rising economy and active foreign policy on a global scale particularly in the Mediterranean basin and that Turkey has placed itself amongst the countries which are able to</p>

	<p>influence developments in their regions and beyond and shape the new world order’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013a).</p> <p>‘Turkey, with its firm policy for the protection and promotion of human rights, will continue international cooperation, primarily with the OHCHR and constructive contribution to the advancement of human rights at the international level’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dq).</p>
Mediator	<p>‘Turkey strongly supports resolution of international disputes by peaceful means and comes to the forefront as an effective mediator’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aw).</p> <p>‘Stressing that Turkey has become a considerable international mediator as a result of its proactive foreign policy, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu underlined that Turkey has put its signature on mediation initiatives between numerous countries such as Serbia-Bosnia, Sudan-South Sudan and Pakistan-Afghanistan’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013di).</p> <p>‘The need for mediation is obvious in this new era. In the last three decades, Turkey's position has been based on the use of diplomacy in an efficient way to help resolve disputes and conflicts’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q).</p> <p>‘In short, mediation is a one of the main instruments of peace and happiness for humanity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q).</p> <p>‘Turkey has reoriented its foreign policy by means of an active, multidimensional and visionary framework. Mediation is an integral part of this policy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q).</p> <p>‘Turkey has assumed for itself a central role in regional and international politics, and mediation is a necessary tool for contributing to peace and stability at various levels’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q).</p> <p>‘We expanded our efforts to bolster Turkey's ties with emerging actors in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. We also adopted new foreign-policy instruments ranging from mediation to development assistance, which became cornerstones of the new pro-active Turkish diplomacy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013r).</p> <p>‘We also stand ready to play our role through diplomacy to contribute to the peaceful settlement of conflicts and disputes. In short, we do not consider ourselves as outsiders to the continent, rather a strategic partner’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bs).</p>

<p>Safe haven</p>	<p>‘When there was a crisis in Nagorno-Karabakh, we felt its bitter consequences before anyone else — and a substantial number of refugees escaping from Syria turn to Turkey as a humanitarian safe haven’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q).</p> <p>‘Today, Turkey stands a safe haven in a troublesome geography. It is a country that reflects modern values and ideals in this part of the world’ (Gül, 2014a).</p> <p>‘Today, Turkey still continues to be a place where all of its citizens, regardless of their religion, faith, ethnic origin or sect live in peace, serenity and security, confident of their future amid regional conflicts and instabilities’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2014c).</p> <p>‘Turkey has traditionally been a safe harbor to people from all religions, races and languages’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014q).</p>
<p>Rising, leading, significant and global donor</p>	<p>‘Turkey became the fourth-largest donor last year’ (Gül, 2013b).</p> <p>‘Last year, Turkey became the fourth largest official donor’ (Gül, 2013g).</p> <p>‘Turkey has become an important cooperation partner within the UN system as a rising economy and donor country. Thus, government development assistance to least developed and developing countries, which continues to increase even in times of global economic crisis, has become an inseparable part of Turkey’s multidimensional foreign policy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cz).</p> <p>‘As a member of the G-20 and an emerging donor country, Turkey is committed to implementation of the Istanbul Programme of Action and supports the development endeavors of LDCs in the context of South-South Cooperation’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013da).</p> <p>‘The total value of the aid channeled to Syria at the zero point of the border is in the range of 200 million US Dollars in addition to 2 billion Dollars we have already spent for Syrians in Turkey. In terms of hosting the Syrians as well as providing humanitarian assistance through the border zero point operation, evidently Turkey has proven to be the leading donor’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).</p> <p>‘Turkey is a rising donor country in recent years’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013p).</p>

	<p>‘Turkey now ranks 4th on the list of world’s largest humanitarian donors’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013p).</p> <p>‘Maintaining that Turkey is among the rising donor countries in the world, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu recalled that last year Turkey contributed 2 million US Dollars to the Caribbean Development Fund (CDF) and said “I am honored to announce here today that we have decided to make an additional contribution of 2 million dollars to the CDF for 2014. This brings our overall contribution to 8 million US Dollars” (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ap).</p> <p>‘As the world’s 4th largest humanitarian donor, Turkey is a strong advocate of international solidarity and cooperation’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bc).</p> <p>‘Dear friends, Turkey has become a leading country in humanitarian activities all over the continent. TIKA currently operates 11 program coordination offices in Africa. Turkey became the fourth largest donor in 2013 after the US, UK and the EU in the world. Turkey’s total humanitarian assistance reach 2 billion US dollars per year’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bs).</p> <p>‘As an emerging economy and a global donor country, in 2012 Turkey’s official development aid doubled to amount to 2.5 billion Dollars. The same year, Turkey provided 1 billion Dollars of humanitarian aid and became the fourth largest global contributor in that category’ (% 0,13 of its GDP) (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014l).</p> <p>‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu said that on humanitarian dimension Turkey which is called as an “emerging donor country” in the last years allocates the significant part of its 2 billion dollars of humanitarian assistance to African countries’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014o).</p>
Big and powerful country	<p>‘Turkey once again demonstrated to the entire world that it’s a big and powerful country’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bm).</p>
Source of inspiration	<p>‘Turkey’s modernization process, its rising standards of democracy, its pluralist parliamentary system, its growing economy, its political stability and the level it has reached as a soft power are all being followed with great care and interest. I am here talking about a Turkey, whose area of influence is wide, which is regarded as a source of inspiration and taken as a role model with its elements of soft power, its achievements and what its democratic regime offers. With its democratic regime that is based on modern values, Turkey is a shining star in its region’ (Gül, 2013h).</p>

<p>Leader, able to shape the new world order</p>	<p>‘Turkey has been a staunch supporter of the UN and the values it represents. Taking leading roles under the aegis of the UN in the areas such as peacekeeping and peacebuilding, mediation, development, environment and the alliance of civilizations, Turkey has doubled its contribution to the UN budget as of 2013. As a result, Turkey now ranks among the largest contributing countries in the UN’ (Gül, 2013g).</p> <p>‘As Turkey - I said in one of our latest 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’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ah).</p> <p>‘Foreign Minister also said “We aim to building historical partnerships in our region, developing a new political mindset based on this partnership and undertaking a leading role in the great restoration of the humanity. That is why we make every effort in the UN, that is why we seek a new regional order. On what this regional order will be based? Common security, multicultural structure, cultural interaction, mutual economic dependence and understanding of common fate... We will develop an understanding of common fate not only for Turkey but also for our region. We will establish a new political mindset based on the historical values and the understanding of common fate’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ao).</p> <p>‘To strengthen the cooperation between the two Ministries and to consolidate the position of Turkey in terms of being a leader country in supporting Somalia’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cx).</p> <p>‘Turkey has always played and will continue to play a leading role both in counter-terrorism and in regional security and stability efforts’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bm).</p> <p>‘Dear friends, Turkey has become a leading country in humanitarian activities all over the continent’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bs).</p> <p>‘The total value of the aid channeled to Syria at the zero point of the border is in the range of 200 million US Dollars in addition to 2 billion Dollars we have already spent for Syrians in Turkey. In terms of hosting the Syrians as well as providing humanitarian assistance through the border zero point operation, evidently Turkey has proven to be the leading donor’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).</p>
<p>Rising yet key actor</p>	<p>‘The resolution, in which Turkey’s regional role and Turkey’s importance as a key country for the EU are also emphasized, praises the support Turkey</p>

extends to democratic powers in Syria and the humanitarian aid accorded to Syrians under temporary protection in Turkey' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bc).

'The approval of Istanbul's bid to host the World Humanitarian Summit is a new example demonstrating Turkey's rising stature in the international area' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cy).

'Turkey has become an important cooperation partner within the UN system as a rising economy and donor country. Thus, government development assistance to least developed and developing countries, which continues to increase even in times of global economic crisis, has become an inseparable part of Turkey's multidimensional foreign policy' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cz).

'The UNDP decided to transfer its Regional Service Centre for Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States (UNDP-RSC) to Istanbul taking into consideration Istanbul's central location within the region, its own strategic partnership with Turkey, as well as Turkey's increasing role in the international arena' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cz).

'Turkey has assumed for itself a central role in regional and international politics, and mediation is a necessary tool for contributing to peace and stability at various levels' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013q).

'Particular attention has been called to the rising multi-dimensional profile of our country in the African continent and possible additional steps have been assessed which may be taken in the run up to the Second Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit to be held in 2013' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013s).

'Stressing that Turkey is a key actor in the Mediterranean basin and so remain Undersecretary Sinirlioğlu also added that Turkish diplomacy has always acted and will act with this understanding' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013t).

'The role of Turkey will increase at the international platforms even more understanding' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013t).

'Maintaining that Turkey is among the rising donor countries in the world, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu recalled that last year Turkey contributed 2 million US Dollars to the Caribbean Development Fund (CDF) and said "I am honored to announce here today that we have decided to make an additional contribution of 2 million dollars to the CDF for 2014. This brings

	<p>our overall contribution to 8 million US Dollars’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ap).</p> <p>‘Turkey in the midst of all these developments outshines with its stability, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu said that some may feel disturbed by the level Turkey has reached, but the rise of Turkey is a historic matter of fact’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014t).</p>
Responsible member	<p>‘I am not here to praise Turkish efforts but we have responsibility to all humanity. National interest and human responsibility to respective regions and global issues should be balanced’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ah).</p> <p>‘Furthermore, the number of Syrians living in various cities in Turkey now exceeds 100.000. The approach of Turkey to this issue is praised by the international community, starting with the UN’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013al).</p> <p>‘The situation in Syria remains to be a litmus test for the international community; whether it will fulfill its responsibility to protect human lives against a tyranny or not. We are delighted to see that the Arab League once again passed this test’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aq).</p> <p>‘Turkey has risen to a position in which it is a play maker, takes initiatives, struggles for peace and solidarity; Turkey is aware of its responsibilities and knows fully well that it has to take its goals further up’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2014a).</p>
Humanitarian duty	<p>‘Embracing the people who have fled from conflict and attacks in Syria to take refuge in our country in their time of need is a humanitarian duty proudly undertaken by the Turkish people’ (Gül, 2013d).</p> <p>‘We, the Governments of different countries, represent common conscience of humanity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ab).</p> <p>‘We have responsibility to all humanity. National interest and human responsibility to respective regions and global issues should be balanced’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ah).</p> <p>‘Turkey has not made any discrimination based on ethnic, linguistic, religious, sectarian or any other denomination during any humanitarian crisis in the World and has taken part in and contributed to international endeavors with humanitarian and conscientious considerations only’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013al).</p>

	<p>‘We don’t have any national interest. Yes, but we have a huge ethical ideal to help them’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ah).</p> <p>‘Pointing out the third aspect of humanitarian diplomacy as “the humanitarian ownership in the UN system”, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu mentioned that there are figures showing that UN system is lacking conscience’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013t).</p> <p>‘Turkey is expected to take full responsibility. We take the humanitarian responsibility’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013z).</p> <p>‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu, on humanitarian aid, said that it is Turkey’s responsibility to meet the humanitarian needs of Iraqi Turkmens and all Iraqi people and Turkey has always fulfilled this responsibility’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ba).</p> <p>‘Turkey, which will host the first-ever World Humanitarian Summit in 2016, considers providing assistance to those in need due to natural disasters, war, poverty and social conflicts as a humanitarian duty and an element of key importance for the stability of the international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bk).</p>
<p>C.2 – Desire to collaborate with the international community</p>	<p>‘Afghanistan has to build its own capacity in many respects. Yet, it also needs to cooperate with its neighbours and the international community to do this. That is how Afghanistan can tap into its potential for development. To that end, capacity-building should continue to be a major dimension of our efforts’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bg).</p> <p>‘Turkey, in line with the stance it has taken since the independence of South Sudan, will continue to provide every support and to do its part in cooperation with the international community for the country's development and the attainment of security and stability’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ds).</p>

APPENDIX D

<p>D.1 – Bounded solidarity</p>	<p>‘Turkey will continue to attribute special importance to the development of bilateral relations with brotherly Somalia and Sudan which are two important countries of the Africa Continent and with which Turkey has deep historical and cultural bonds’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aa).</p> <p>‘But no matter how difficult the challenge is, we will continue our open door policy and stand by our Syrian brothers and sisters’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ab).</p> <p>‘Relations between Somalia, Somaliland and Turkey are beyond any borders. We are like a family in moral and historical terms. With this understanding, for the last two years Turkey has advocated that our brothers should discuss their common future together in its policy towards Somalia and Somaliland. We have attached a special importance to building solid bridges between Somalia and Somaliland through our humanitarian assistance. Hereafter, we will continue our active policy to represent our country in Mogadishu and in Hargeisa as well as to provide humanitarian assistance to these places’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ay).</p> <p>‘Presently, a total of approximately 190.000- Syrian brothers and sisters from all walks of life in Syria who have fled from the oppression of the regime in Syria and taken refuge in Turkey are accommodated in protection centres established by Turkey and all their needs are met without any discrimination’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013al).</p> <p>‘Turkish borders were always kept open to our Syrian brothers and sisters from all religions, sects and ethnic groups without any discrimination or limitation, on the basis of a policy that has treated all Syrians equally’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013al).</p> <p>‘Friendly and brotherly Mali with which we have historical relations has been faced with serious challenges in conjunction with the developments unfolding since January 2012’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bn).</p> <p>‘Moreover, Turkey has extended its support to friendly and brotherly Mali in high-level bilateral visits and an Action Plan was drafted in order</p>
--	--

to develop our relations in every field' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bn).

'Since the beginning of the crisis Turkey's policy was to assist our brothers and sisters in Mali on different levels' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bo).

'We believe that it is not only moral, but political responsibility of the OIC and all of us to demonstrate utmost solidarity with their Malian brothers and sisters' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bo).

'Turkey has always been in the forefront in contributing efforts to preserve the historical character and heritage in Al-Quds. The Turkish International Cooperation Agency (TICA) supported renovation and restoration work in cooperation with our Palestinian brothers in the Al-Aqsa complex' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bu).

'Turkey will continue to provide strong support in the political and economic fields to the brotherly and friendly people and administration of Mali within the framework of our developing bilateral cooperation' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013by).

'Turkey will continue to stand by its friend and brother Egypt and to support its political stability, unity and solidarity and economic prosperity' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cd).

'The High Level Strategic Cooperation Council that we have founded, the agreements and memoranda that we have signed, the sharing of our experience, our economic contributions were all required by the eternal brotherhood that we proudly share with Egypt' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ce).

'Turkey has wholeheartedly supported the democratic transition in Egypt that began with the Revolution of the 25th of January and has stood by the friendly and brotherly people of Egypt in their march towards democracy' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ce).

'Our support is a clear manifestation of our belief in the deep culture, historical accumulation, knowledge and wide experience of the friendly and brotherly people of Egypt' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ce).

‘Turkey, as always, stands by the brotherly people of Egypt and is ready to provide any possible support in its democratic transition process’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cl).

‘Turkey, which has been carefully observing the developments in Mali since the beginning, will continue to give all kinds of support to the friendly and brotherly State of Mali in bilateral and international fields during this process, in coordination with the international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cn).

‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu referring to the special historical ties between Turkey and Syria said that Turkey cannot turn a blind eye to the sufferings of the brotherly Syrian people’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cv).

‘I can assure you, Mr. High Commissioner, that we will never forget Syrian brothers and sisters. As Turkey, we will continue our open door policy, and keep our homes open, but more importantly our hearts will continue to be open to them forever. We share common destiny. We will never forget them’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013db).

‘As it has been the case so far, Turkey will continue to support, in coordination with the international community, the efforts for the stability, prosperity and development of friendly and brotherly Guinea with which embassies have been reciprocally established in the beginning of 2013 and close bilateral relations are being maintained’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dc).

‘In this framework, it is important for Libya to have public institutions which are reliable, accountable and effective in every field, particularly in the fields of defense and security. Turkey will continue to support brotherly Libya on this issue’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dd).

‘Turkey is determined to continue to support in every field the friendly and brotherly Palestinian people living under occupation and restrictions’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013df).

‘Turkey, which has given since the outset every kind of support to Libya for its reconstruction and for the establishment of the security in the country on a solid basis, will continue to stand by the brotherly people of Libya in the future’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013dl).

‘Turkey has been in Somalia for humanitarian purposes and has made efforts which strengthened the historical friendship between the two countries. “Turkey has achieved a legendary success in Somalia in the past two years. Today, if life has got back to normal in Mogadishu, in Somalia; if political process has started to function, if the life of brotherly Somali people who consider Turkey with respect has begun to return to normal, Turkey’s contributions have played an important role in this process” said Foreign Minister Davutoğlu’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013i).

‘Turkey and Iraq are always brothers and this brotherhood will bring peace and stability to the region’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013j).

‘Stressing that Turkey will continue to support the Rakhine, “Our brothers who embrace us here are pleased with our second visit and being remembered. We told that we will continue to visit and to stand by our brothers in the Rakhine“ said Foreign Minister Davutoğlu’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013k).

‘As it has always been the case, Turkey will continue to support the brotherly people and administration of Mali. In this regard, we will continue our strong support to this country in political and economical fields following the re-establishment of peace and stability’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013u).

‘Turkey will remain firmly committed to extending support to friendly and brotherly Egypt in the process of democratization’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013v).

‘As a strategic partner of Africa, Turkey will continue to support the efforts carried out with the support of the international community under the leadership of the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States in order to bring to an end as soon as possible the sufferings endured by the brotherly people of Mali’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013w).

‘The plight of our Muslim brothers and sisters in particular has worsened markedly after Séléka units have been disbanded and left the capital. As we assemble here today, tens of thousands of Muslims are moving to the north of the country and take refuge in neighboring countries to save their lives’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ad).

‘The opportunities for developing political, economic and commercial cooperation on the basis of the friendly and fraternal relations rooted in

	<p>the common history between Turkey and Sudan were discussed’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014am).</p> <p>‘We are continuing to conduct humanitarian aid activities for our Turkmen brethren and other Iraqi brothers who are affected by the conflicts. One truckload of medicine and medical equipment and ten wheelchairs have been sent to the region to be conveyed to the displaced people in Tal Afar on July 22nd, in coordination with the Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Agency (AFAD)’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014be).</p> <p>‘Our Palestinian brothers are struggling to sustain their lives in constraint conditions’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bh).</p> <p>‘As we speak, our “air bridge” has been made operational to ensure delivery of humanitarian aid into Gaza. Our doctors are now on the ground in Gaza, and our ambulance aircrafts are now evacuating the critically injured Palestinian brothers to hospitals in Turkey’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bk).</p> <p>‘Our message to Syrian brothers and sisters; we will not remain silent about your pain, whatever they do, no matter how long they remain silent. We will continue to stand by you with all our possible capacities’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014s).</p> <p>‘Turkey, which has been making every effort towards the prosperity and stability of the people of friendly and brotherly Somalia in cooperation with the international community, will be continuing to host and help the negotiations between Somali and Somaliland’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014v).</p>
<p>D.2 – Historical and cultural ties</p>	<p>‘Turkey will continue to attribute special importance to the development of bilateral relations with brotherly Somalia and Sudan which are two important countries of the Africa Continent and with which Turkey has deep historical and cultural bonds’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aa).</p> <p>‘Turkey’s assistance to all parts of Somalia including Somaliland would continue increasingly and Somaliland was of special importance for Turkey due to the historical ties dated back to Ottoman era. Emphasizing Turkey's commitment to the integrity of Somalia, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu expressed that Turkey would continue to support for the reconciliation, stability, prosperity and development of Somali people’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013am).</p>

‘Turkey's policy of opening up to new geographies is followed with appreciation’ said Foreign Minister Davutoğlu referring to the historical ties between Turkey and Africa as well as the wide opportunities of Africa in terms of trade and economy stated that with the intensified mutual visits there is an ongoing activity in relations between Turkey and Africa’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013av).

‘Relations between Somalia, Somaliland and Turkey are beyond any borders. We are like a family in moral and historical terms. With this understanding, for the last two years Turkey has advocated that our brothers should discuss their common future together in its policy towards Somalia and Somaliland’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ay).

‘Friendly and brotherly Mali with which we have historical relations has been faced with serious challenges in conjunction with the developments unfolding since January 2012’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bn).

‘Turkey’s historical and cultural ties with the African Continent go back to the centuries’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013br).

‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu referring to the special historical ties between Turkey and Syria said that Turkey cannot turn a blind eye to the sufferings of the brotherly Syrian people’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cv).

‘Turkey has been in Somalia for humanitarian purposes and has made efforts which strengthened the historical friendship between the two countries. “Turkey has achieved a legendary success in Somalia in the past two years. Today, if life has got back to normal in Mogadishu, in Somalia; if political process has started to function, if the life of brotherly Somali people who consider Turkey with respect has begun to return to normal, Turkey’s contributions have played an important role in this process” said Foreign Minister Davutoğlu’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013i).

‘The opportunities for developing political, economic and commercial cooperation on the basis of the friendly and fraternal relations rooted in the common history between Turkey and Sudan were discussed’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014am).

‘Turkey’s Africa policy is not just a reflection of temporary political and economic considerations. On the contrary, it is the process with strong historical and cultural aspects. As part of Turkey’s partnership policy, we pursue a multi-layered approach in Africa’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bs).

‘Turkey-Africa relations will continue to develop. This is a long term strategic relationship for Turkey. The rise of Africa will support the rise of Turkey and vice versa. We will strengthen our historical special ties in every field and the 21st century will be the century of Africa and Turkey’ said Foreign Minister Davutoğlu’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014o).

APPENDIX E

<p>E.1 – Turkish economy</p>	<p>‘Turkey on the other hand is a fast developing economy and a booming industrial outlet’ (Gül, 2013a).</p> <p>‘Today, Turkey is transforming into one of the world’s leading investment hubs’ (Gül, 2013a).</p> <p>‘Turkey’s modernization process, its rising standards of democracy, its pluralist parliamentary system, its growing economy, its political stability and the level it has reached as a soft power are all being followed with great care and interest’ (Gül, 2013h).</p> <p>‘Turkey had emerged into prominence as an active, constructive and dynamic actor with its developing democracy, rising economy and active foreign policy on a global scale particularly in the Mediterranean basin and that Turkey has placed itself amongst the countries which are able to influence developments in their regions and beyond and shape the new world order’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013a).</p> <p>‘Talking about Turkey’s achievements in economy and foreign policy in the last 10 years Foreign Minister Davutoğlu stated that the self-confidence lies behind all these achievements’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bx).</p> <p>‘Turkey has become an important cooperation partner within the UN system as a rising economy and donor country’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cz).</p> <p>‘As an emerging economy and a global donor country, in 2012 Turkey’s official development aid doubled to amount to 2.5 billion Dollars. The same year, Turkey provided 1 billion Dollars of humanitarian aid and became the fourth largest global contributor in that category (% 0,13 of its GDP)’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bd).</p> <p>‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu emphasized that Turkey, in the center of Afro-Eurasia where the history flows, is actively present with its strong democracy, dynamic economy and effective diplomacy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014t).</p>
<p>E.2 – Strategic partner</p>	<p>‘Our approach to Africa is one of equal partnership, and is best captured in the African proverb which says: ‘If you want to go fast, go alone.-- But if you</p>

want to go far, go together .’For Turkey, relations with Africa remain a key priority’ (Gül, 2013b)

‘Turkey will continue to support its partners in the Continent of Africa and also the efforts of the international community for ensuring peace and stability in the DRC and in the Great Lakes Region’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013ae).

‘The visit will constitute a concrete result of Turkey’s ever enhancing relations with the countries of the continent as a strategic partner of the African Union and a new step toward further progress of our bilateral cooperation in all areas with Guinea’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013at).

‘In this regard, the visit will constitute a concrete result of the developing relations and increasing bilateral contacts of Turkey, a strategic partner of the African Union, with the countries of the African continent in recent years and of her attentiveness to regional issues as well as a new step for further developing bilateral relations between Turkey and Burkina Faso in every field’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bj).

‘Turkey, as the strategic partner of the African Union will continue to support the African countries and to act as the voice of Africa in regional and international platforms (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013br).

As a strategic partner of Africa, Turkey will continue to support the efforts carried out with the support of the international community under the leadership of the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States in order to bring to an end as soon as possible the sufferings endured by the brotherly people of Mali’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013w).

‘Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu said that the relations between Turkey and Africa have been developing rapidly in recent years and Turkey defines Africa as a strategic partner since 2008’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bq).

‘We also stand ready to play our role through diplomacy to contribute to the peaceful settlement of conflicts and disputes. In short, we do not consider ourselves as outsiders to the continent, rather a strategic partner’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bs).

‘Turkey’s Africa policy is not just a reflection of temporary political and economic considerations. On the contrary, it is the process with strong historical and cultural aspects. As part of Turkey’s partnership policy, we

	<p>pursue a multi-layered approach in Africa’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bs).</p> <p>‘The Turkey-Africa Partnership Summit will facilitate political, economic and social interaction to a great degree’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014d).</p> <p>‘Foreign Minister expressed that the objective of the Africa-Turkey Partnership Summit is to further develop present cooperation mechanisms and to aim for a brighter future for Turkey and Africa together’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014d).</p>
--	---

APPENDIX F

F.1 – deepening bilateral relations	
Africa Strategy	<p>‘The Turkish foreign policy towards Africa is not only based on economic and trade objectives but also incorporates a comprehensive approach which includes development of Africa through technical and project regular flow of humanitarian aid’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013br)</p> <p>‘Noting that Africa from now on has been re-emerging with promising developments, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu pointed out that in the last 10 years the continent has achieved an average annual growth of more than 5 percent and this trend is expected to continue in forthcoming years. “I am pleased with my country’s modest contribution to this development trend through trade, investment and humanitarian assistance” said Foreign Minister Davutoğlu’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014af).</p> <p>‘Turkey’s Africa opening is a demonstrative case in point. In line with the priorities set by our Africa Strategy, we have undertaken a comprehensive policy in this continent, fostering close political relations and boosting bilateral trade. As a Strategic Partner of the African Union, the Turkish Foreign Ministry is leading the effort by establishing diplomatic presence across the continent’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014au).</p> <p>‘Drawing attention to the fact that Turkey has increased its trade with sub-Saharan countries six-fold in the last decade with respect to the issue of economic cooperation, Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu stated that the trade volume, which is currently 23 billion USD, is aimed to be augmented to 50 billion USD until 2018’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014).</p> <p>‘While Turkey’s trade volume with African continent was 9 billion dollars in 2005, it reached 23 billion dollars in 2012’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014f).</p>
Burkina Faso	<p>‘Our bilateral relations have entered a phase of rapid progress with Burkina Faso, one of the prominent countries of West Africa and a model in its region with its stability and democratic practices, since our Embassy in this country became operational at the beginning of 2012’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bj).</p>

	<p>‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu states that it was agreed to conclude bilateral agreements on the issues such as avoiding double taxation and promotion of investments which would pave the way for Turkish businessmen to access to Burkina Faso. Trade volume between the two countries has increased from 10 million dollars to 235 million dollars in the last three years’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bl).</p>
Somalia	<p>‘Turkey will continue to attribute special importance to the development of bilateral relations with brotherly Somalia and Sudan which are two important countries of the Africa Continent and with which Turkey has deep historical and cultural bonds’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013aa).</p>
Tanzania	<p>‘Stating that Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA) is doing a great job in Tanzania, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu said that the necessary steps to increase the mutual trade volume with Tanzania will be taken’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014h).</p> <p>‘We discussed holding more consultations at political level, concluding bilateral commercial agreements in the shortest time, cooperation in agriculture, humanitarian activities of the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency in the region and regional problems in the African continent’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2014i).</p>
Mali	<p>‘Turkey will continue to provide strong support in the political and economic fields to the brotherly and friendly people and administration of Mali within the framework of our developing bilateral cooperation’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013u).</p>
Guinea	<p>‘Turkey will maintain her strong support in the political and economic fields to Guinea, with which our bilateral relations have entered a process of rapid progress as both sides’ Embassies have become operational at the beginning of 2013’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bi).</p>
Côte d’Ivoire	<p>‘At the meetings held during the first Foreign Ministerial visit from Côte d’Ivoire to Turkey, steps that may be taken in order to develop bilateral relations in every possible field were extensively reviewed and potential areas of cooperation were discussed’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014j).</p>
Senegal	<p>‘Within the framework of the Memorandum of Understanding, it is expected to hold regular consultations on bilateral and regional issues as well as issues that concern both countries, to strengthen the contacts</p>

	through diplomatic missions and to organize mutual training programs for the staff with a view to developing the relations between the two Foreign Ministries' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014aj).
Afghanistan	'Challenges faced by Afghanistan require a comprehensive approach. Efforts in different fields will reinforce each other. A functioning economy is the cornerstone of long-term stability. Bringing prosperity to the Afghan people is essential. Our CBMs on regional infrastructure and on trade, commerce and investment opportunities will be instrumental in this regard' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bg).
Iraq	'Emphasizing that there is a mutual strong will for furthering the bilateral relations Foreign Minister Davutoğlu said that he and his Iraqi counterpart discussed the new steps to be taken in the coming period, in this context, it was agreed to give a new momentum to the relations particularly, in the field of transportation, energy, economy, trade, agriculture and health' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013j).
Palestine	'I am pleased to inform you that TIKA has already programmed to spend around 30 million dollars this year in support of Palestine on our bilateral projects; including Quds al Sharif. If there is a need to contribute more, we are ready to do more' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bu).
Caribbean Strategy	<p>'Foreign Minister Davutoğlu said that he is always interested in rich and historical Caribbean culture and emphasized that Turkey is determined to develop its bilateral and trade relations with the region' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014ao).</p> <p>With Latin America and the Caribbean, we have developed intensive relationships through trade and enhanced relations with regional institutions and organizations; We have opened new diplomatic missions in Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic and Panama. Our trade volume with the region has reached 8 billion Dollars' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014au).</p> <p>'Our contributions to the Caribbean Development Fund reached 8 million dollars and the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) has carried out numerous bilateral development projects with member countries' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014bc).</p>

<p>F.2 – Increased political influence</p>	<p>‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu said that bilateral relations between Turkey and Guinea are now in a process of rapid progress with the opening of embassies in Conakry and Ankara this year. Underlining the goal to further develop bilateral cooperation in every field, Foreign Minister Davutoğlu mentioned that the two countries focus on the completion of the legal basis of the bilateral relation and in this context, it is foreseen to finalize the negotiations of the various agreements such as avoidance of double taxation, promotion of investments, cultural cooperation, and civil aviation by the end of this year. Foreign Minister Davutoğlu thanked Guinea for its support to Turkey’s candidacies in the international organizations’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013av).</p> <p>‘Foreign Minister Davutoğlu also thanked Liberia for its support to Turkey’s 2015-2016 UN Security Council Non-Permanent Membership candidacy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014aq).</p> <p>‘Moreover Foreign Minister Davutoğlu thanked Tanzania for its support to Turkey’s candidature to the UN Security Council for the term 2015-2016’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014j).</p>
---	--

APPENDIX G

<p>G.1 - Apolitical</p>	<p>‘Turkey was in Africa only for humanitarian purposes’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015a).</p> <p>‘First Lady Erdoğan underscored that all these investments have been carried out with humanitarian purposes’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015b).</p> <p>‘Turkey has never looked at its neighbors and regional countries solely from the window of interests’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015f).</p> <p>‘Turkey is not a country that sees exploitable underground resources when it looks at Africa. Therefore, our contributions to the development of the continent have gained us a privileged place in the hearts of the African people’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015f).</p> <p>‘Turkey extended an helping hand to refugees it acted upon humanitarian values only and did not expect anything in return. Foreign Minister Sinirlioğlu also underlined that Turkey, whether it won acclaim or not, would maintain its support to Syrian refugees’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ao)</p> <p>‘I reiterate it once again that Turkey doesn’t have its eyes on any state’s soil, sovereignty or rights. Our sole objective is to provide security, peace and a safe future for our own people as well as for our brothers and sisters living in the region’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018).</p>
<p>G.2 – Impartiality</p>	<p>‘We stand up for all oppressed people and victims without paying attention to their roots, sects, or beliefs, let them be Arabs, Kurds, Turkmens, Yazidis, Shi’ite, Sunni, Nusayri, Christian or Jew’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015f).</p> <p>‘Turkey, one of the leading countries of the world in the field of humanitarian aid, cognizant of its humanitarian duties and responsibilities, continues to be mobilized with all of its organizations and institutions in order to deliver humanitarian aid to the people in need wherever they are in the world in the fastest and most effective way’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ab).</p>

‘Human dimension is yet another distinctive part of our work. Our agenda in this dimension should not be approached selectively’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ba).

‘Fundamental rights and freedoms on the one hand, and tolerance and non-discrimination on the other, constitute two sides of the same coin and one cannot go without the other’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ba).

‘Turkey on the one hand aimed at alleviating the suffering of the Syrian people to some extent and showed once again that it does not discriminate between any ethnic or religious group in Syria on the other’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015be).

‘As the world’s largest humanitarian donor with respect to national income and fully cognizant of its humanitarian duties and responsibilities, Turkey will continue to mobilize all efforts to deliver humanitarian aid to the people in need in a most rapid and effective manner, wherever they are in the world’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015z).

‘But our humanitarian diplomacy is not limited to our immediate region. Having received vulnerable persons, irrespective of race, religion or ethnicity as far back as in the late 15th century, Turkey today is responding to all manner of humanitarian crises from Haiti to Nepal, Guinea to Somalia and the Sahel to Indonesia’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016a).

‘Turkey took the initiative in drafting the 18 March Agreement, which owes its success to our tremendous efforts in the Aegean Sea, not only through saving human lives and eliminating smuggling activities, but also in welcoming new migrants from the Aegean islands without any discrimination’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

‘Considering solidarity with all countries affected by humanitarian crisis as a humanitarian duty, Turkey continues to exert efforts together with all organizations and institutions with a view to delivering humanitarian aid in the fastest and most efficient way to the countries and people affected by crisis wherever they are in the world’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ac).

‘Turkey indiscriminately keeps its doors open for the people, who escape from oppression and persecution, in line with its historical

traditions, and enables them to live freely, far from fear and anxiety’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ar).

‘Turkey reiterates that it stands by the people in need escaping from the persecution over the world, and it will continue to provide any kind of support and solidarity to them in order to ensure that they get a decent life in the countries they live’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ar).

‘Furthermore, we pursue our well-known “open door” policy. We take back all the irregular migrants from Aegean islands, regardless of their origin. The result is spectacular’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bq).

‘While our compass travels and covers the world with one leg embracing the whole of humanity, it holds its other leg steady on our values’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016e).

‘Throughout history, these lands have opened their hearts and doors to everyone who is in trouble or distress. Today we also feel at peace since we do what is necessary to live up to this heritage that we received from our ancestors’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016e).

‘We have opened our doors to everyone who fled the brutality in Syria without making any religious and ethnic discrimination and have mobilized every possible means at hand’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016e).

‘We do not only help the kindred communities or neighbouring countries, but we also try to reach everywhere we can and to provide help from Africa to Afghanistan, from the Caribbean to Asia-Pacific’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016e).

‘We also continued our humanitarian diplomacy efforts in 2015 without any discrimination based on religion, language or race’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016e).

‘We did not discriminate between Aleppo and Antep; Hama and Urfa. We have treated a brother from Tartous with the same feelings as we treat one of our citizens from Tarsus’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016e).

‘I would like to underline with pride that we will continue our open-door policy for all human beings, whether Syrian or Iraqi, who flee barrel bombs and other threats in their own countries’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016g).

‘Turkey, cognizant of its humanitarian duties and responsibilities, continues to mobilize all its relevant organizations and institutions in order to deliver humanitarian aid to the people in need wherever they are in the world in a most rapid and effective manner’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016l).

‘We are determined to continue our development-oriented humanitarian assistance to those countries in need, irrespective of their language, religion or region’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017b).

‘Turkey has unhesitatingly opened its doors to those in need and mobilized all its means and capabilities to help them live in a dignified way’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017c).

‘Turkey has passed a great test of humanity and taken care of over 3 million refugees without any discrimination’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017c).

‘Turkey, which has become the symbol of the ‘open door’ policy, will continue to provide assistance for those fleeing conflict in their countries, without discrimination as to religion, language or ethnicity’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017c).

‘Since centuries, Turkey has been extending a helping hand to people in need and keeps its doors open for those, who escaped from war, violence and persecution in their homelands, regardless of religion, language, culture and ethnicity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017aa).

‘Turkish International Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA), Disaster and Emergency Management Centre (AFAD) and Red Crescent provide humanitarian and development assistance to every corner of the world’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

‘While the international community is watching the tragedy in Syria, we have not stayed silent against this oppression. We opened our

doors to those fleeing persecution’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

‘We extend our helpful hand to those who get into difficulty and trouble, no matter wherever they are in the world’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

‘Turkey will continue to work hand in hand with the Syrian people in their struggle for a constitutional democracy that safeguards all Syrians’ fundamental rights and freedoms on the basis of equality and regardless of their ethnic, religious or sectarian backgrounds’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018b).

‘Throughout the history, we have always been a nation that shared the sufferings, never discriminating between peoples or pitting them against each other’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018b).

‘Besides our people living on our own lands, we have extended assistance to all those in need of help from Andalusia to Africa, from Southern Asia to Europe’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018b).

‘When doing that, we have never taken into consideration their belief, language, religion, ethnic or cultural identity’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018b).

‘Turkey without any discrimination has embraced the oppressed that escaped from cruelty, oppression and violence’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018d).

‘Turkey will continue to be in solidarity with the oppressed and the victimized people without any discrimination, as it had done before’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018d).

‘Today, our country provides protection to more than 4 million people from different nationalities, including over 3.5 million Syrians and supports the provision of wide range of services to refugees from education to health and from social projects to access to labor market, without any discrimination’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ab).

‘Turkey is determined to continue its humanitarian policies to the benefit of all humanity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ac).

	<p>‘The power of Turkey’s humanitarian diplomacy, implemented without discrimination, is once again confirmed globally’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ac).</p> <p>‘As a country still hosting 3.5 million Syrians, Turkey has never left behind anyone who sought refuge throughout history’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ah).</p> <p>‘The number of Syrians in Turkey currently exceeds 3.4 million. Since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, we have acted in line with humanitarian considerations and accepted millions of Syrians into our country, without any discrimination based on their religion, culture, or ethnicity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018i).</p>
<p>G.3 – Human rights</p>	<p>‘Recalling that the ombudsman institutions are mechanisms of great importance with regards to protection of human rights, Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu expressed that the establishment of the Ombudsman Institution in Turkey is an important development vis-à-vis Turkey’s international responsibilities’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015a).</p> <p>‘Turkey took all the steps in line with international law and that necessary measures were taken to protect refugees from human traffickers’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ak).</p> <p>‘Turkey is determined to spare no effort to protect human lives through the strengthening of cooperation, and reinforcing the partnerships that enable human mobility for sustainable development’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015au).</p> <p>‘Turkey, with its humanitarian diplomacy based upon human dignity and conscience, is a major actor in efforts to enhance the role of fundamental human rights and freedoms in the humanitarian field’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015bc).</p> <p>‘Protecting and promoting human rights is among the main policy goals of the Republic of Turkey’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015bc).</p> <p>‘Respect for human-being and her/his human rights is not only a legal responsibility for Turkey, but also a legacy stemming from its state tradition, culture and its centuries old understanding of tolerance’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016cn).</p>

‘As a respectable member of the international community, we will continue to protect and promote human rights, which are among our key foreign policy principles; to work resolutely for the improvement of democracy and rule of law both in our country and the world, and to stand up against violations of rights wherever they happen’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016cn).

‘Turkey is a state that always aims at protecting and improving the universal human rights and is committed itself to the international conventions in the field of child rights and their additional protocols both verbally and spiritually, as an esteemed member of the international community. Turkey is aware of its responsibilities and duties in this field’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016be).

‘We, as the adherents of an ancient tradition that is based on respect for thoughts, beliefs and basic human rights, regard the presence in our geography of different religions and cultures as a valuable asset today as well’ (Presidency of the Republic, of Turkey, 2017j).

‘Our honorable nation not only protected their state but also consolidated their devotion to democracy and human rights’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017az).

‘Protection and promotion of human rights and freedoms and attaining the highest international standards are among the main targets of our country’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017k).

‘Our efforts to further strengthen fundamental rights and freedoms will continue unabated, while our fight against terrorism, which in itself is a violation of human rights, is carried out in determination’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017k).

‘Our foreign policy is also universal because Turkey advocates “universal values” enshrined in the UN Charter and the European human rights system – of which Turkey is a founder. Our foreign policy thus makes significant contributions for all humanity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

‘Respect for human life and the protection of human rights is the legacy of our state tradition and our culture of tolerance which manifests itself in our inclusive society. As a founding member of the United Nations, the Republic of Turkey cherishes this great heritage and continues to set an example to the international community by the initiatives it takes on against human rights violations all around

the world through its enterprising and humanitarian foreign policy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018au).

‘Our country has fought against all threats it has faced since the night of the 15 July terrorist coup attempt, during which our nation had demonstrated its commitment to democracy and human rights, in line with its international obligations and respect for human rights’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018au).

‘Turkey has mobilized its resources in the past year, just as it had done so before, to prevent human rights violations and to respond to humanitarian crisis in all corners of the world while acting in cooperation with international organizations’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018au).

‘Accordingly, all states, international organizations, NGOs, and other international actors should act in collaboration and employ their means to prevent human rights violations and to respond to those that have taken place in a timely and efficient manner’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018au).

‘Turkey maintains its determination to protect human rights, to promote current standards to the most advanced levels and to cooperate with international organizations including the UN in these matters’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018n).

‘Turkey resolutely maintains its commitment to the principles of democracy, human rights and the rule of law while intensively struggling against diverse and severe terrorist threats’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018q).

‘We resolutely continue to fight against terrorism which is a human rights violation per se, we will continue to abide by our international obligations and we will work uninterruptedly for further strengthening the fundamental rights and freedoms’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018q).

‘Through the humanitarian aid it provides to millions of people in need and through its concurrent fight against multiple terrorist organisations, Turkey assumes the responsibility for manifesting justice in the world during such a period when human rights are being disregarded’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019g).

‘Besides our endeavours on a global scale, we continue to strive for the highest level of protection of human rights in Turkey and for guaranteeing the fundamental rights and freedoms set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights for everyone living in Turkey’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019g).

‘Turkey adopts and implements appropriate regulations and measures to combat trafficking in human beings. At the same time, Turkey does her utmost to prevent irregular migration while respecting basic principles of human rights. These efforts are disregarded to a great extent in the said report’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ao).

‘We have always adhered to the principle of the rule of law, democratic values and international obligations and maintained our constructive cooperation with international organizations while pursuing our fight against multiple terrorist organizations that cold-bloodedly violate one of the most fundamental human rights, the right to life’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019be).

‘The reforms we have implemented in the fields of human rights and the judiciary have enabled our nation to benefit from fundamental rights and freedoms in the most effective way. Respect for human rights is embedded in our deep-rooted state tradition, our understanding of tolerance for centuries and our foreign policy built upon the philosophy of “Peace at home, peace in the world’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019be).

‘We will continue our fight against terrorism, as before, with the first and foremost aim of protecting our citizens’ human rights; and we will maintain our continuous efforts to preserve and strengthen, in accordance with democracy and the rule of law, the fundamental rights and freedoms’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019f).

‘Protection and promotion of human rights are among our country’s indispensable priorities. Our efforts to safeguard the fundamental freedoms of both our citizens and millions of people in all corners of the world, and to prevent the human rights violations they face, is the greatest proof to this’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019f).

‘Aiming for further promotion and protection of human rights both at national and international level, Turkey attaches importance to constructive cooperation with international organizations and with

	<p>this understanding, makes its contributions to the UPR process’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020d).</p> <p>‘Turkey will resolutely continue to pursue its reform agenda based on human rights, democracy and the rule of law’ (Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020l).</p>
<p>G.4 – Adherence to international law</p>	<p>‘Non-refoulement is a fundamental principle of international law’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ae).</p> <p>‘Turkey hopes that common sense, democracy and law prevail in Egypt and it will always stand by the brotherly Egyptian people’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015e).</p> <p>‘Turkey, as one of the strategic partners of the continent, is working with its African partners to make further advances in humanitarian and economic development, as well as democracy, good governance and prosperity’ (Sinirlioğlu, 2015).</p> <p>‘Turkey took all the steps in line with international law and that necessary measures were taken to protect refugees from human traffickers’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ak).</p> <p>‘Terrorism could be countered with universal values such as democracy, rule of law, tolerance and respect for human rights’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015al).</p> <p>‘Turkey opened its doors to Syrians and started granting them entry in April 2011. Since then, Turkey continues to allow Syrians to enter the country by strictly adhering to international law, particularly to the principle of non-refoulement’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).</p> <p>‘We renew our firm support to Libya’s sovereignty, territorial integrity, and unity. We share the Libyan people’s aspiration to transform Libya into a secure and democratic state, achieve unity and reconciliation, and restore the rule of law and state authority’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ah).</p> <p>‘We need to promote respect for international humanitarian law’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bq).</p> <p>‘We share the Libyan people’s desire to transform Libya to become a secure, democratic, prosperous, and unified state, where state</p>

authority and the rule of law prevail’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016br).

‘These actions are not only war crimes, but they also constitute a grave crime against humanity and a serious violation of international humanitarian law’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bt).

‘We wish God’s mercy upon those who lost their lives and a speedy recovery to those wounded as a result of this attack which constitutes yet another violation of international humanitarian law’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ce).

‘As a respectable member of the international community, we will continue to protect and promote human rights, which are among our key foreign policy principles; to work resolutely for the improvement of democracy and rule of law both in our country and the world, and to stand up against violations of rights wherever they happen’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016cn).

‘All these actions constitute gross violations of international humanitarian law and the responsibility of the regime and its supporters is clear’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016cp).

‘Turkey, for over five years, has been implementing the "open door policy" to the Syrians who fled from the war environment in their country and within the frame of its international obligations, abide by the principle of “non-refoulement" meticulously. There is not any change in this attitude’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016s).

‘Turkey is bound by its obligations under international law and is determined to continue providing protection to the Syrians who have fled from violence and instability in their country’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016s).

‘The Meeting called upon the Government of Myanmar to accept the UN Human Rights Council’s fact finding mission to conduct a thorough and independent investigation into all alleged violations of international human rights law and to bring the perpetrators to justice’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

‘Turkey, in every corner of which there are ongoing huge investments, attracts the whole world’s attention with its increasingly strengthening democratic culture and its identity as a state of law as

well as with its experience that keeps growing’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018).

‘Operation Olive Branch, which Turkey has launched, and maintains determinedly, within the framework of international law in order to ensure its own security as well as to help the people of Afrin; the ongoing fight against the PKK, PYD/YPG, DAESH and other terrorist organizations; and the political transition process in Syria were discussed in the phone call’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018a).

‘In today’s world where global uncertainties are on the rise, both the future of the Union and universal values such as human rights, rule of law, democracy, equality and justice, on which the EU claims to be built upon, are facing with serious challenges’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018c).

‘We will continue to strengthen and enhance the fundamental tenets of our democratic, secular and social republic governed by the rule of law’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018a).

‘Emphasized their strong and continued commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity, territorial integrity and non-sectarian character of Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018c).

‘Emphasized their strong and continued commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Syrian Arab Republic as well as to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018e).

‘Turkey resolutely maintains its commitment to the principles of democracy, human rights and the rule of law while intensively struggling against diverse and severe terrorist threats’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018q).

‘Agreed to undertake concrete measures, based on the previous agreements, to ensure the protection of the civilian population in accordance with the international humanitarian law as well as the safety and security of the military personnel of the guarantors present within and outside the Idlib de-escalation area’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).

‘In order to support the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Syria and the progress in the process of the political settlement, called upon the international community, the United Nations and its humanitarian agencies, to enhance the assistance to Syria, inter alia by developing early recovery projects, including the restoration of basic infrastructure assets - water and power supply facilities, schools and hospitals as well as the humanitarian mine action in accordance with the international humanitarian law’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).

‘The fundamental principles of our state and the will of our nation are evident. We are in the league of democracies. Democracy, rule of law, free market economy, individual rights and freedoms, pluralism, secularism and welfare state constitute the foundation of our Republic’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).

‘Our operation is conducted on the basis of international law, in accordance with our right of self-defense under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter and resolutions of the UN Security Council on fight against terrorism’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019as).

‘We have always adhered to the principle of the rule of law, democratic values and international obligations and maintained our constructive cooperation with international organizations while pursuing our fight against multiple terrorist organizations that cold-bloodedly violate one of the most fundamental human rights, the right to life’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019be).

‘We will continue our fight against terrorism, as before, with the first and foremost aim of protecting our citizens’ human rights; and we will maintain our continuous efforts to preserve and strengthen, in accordance with democracy and the rule of law, the fundamental rights and freedoms’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019f).

‘We adhere to the principle of non-refoulement. There is no change in our refugee policy. On the other hand, we have no obligation to stop the asylum-seekers wishing to move on to safe countries. We will not stop asylum-seekers who prefer to leave our country and go to safe countries by their own free will. Actually, we do not have the right to do so either. However, according to international law and the EU law, the countries they are going to must accept them. Just as we have done so’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).

	<p>‘Turkey will resolutely continue to pursue its reform agenda based on human rights, democracy and the rule of law’ (Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020l).</p>
<p>G.5 – Democracy</p>	<p>‘Terrorism could be countered with universal values such as democracy, rule of law, tolerance and respect for human rights’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015al).</p> <p>‘In Libya and Yemen, we must have representative and inclusive Governments in place. Only then can state authority be fully exercised. We are determined to continue our work towards these ends’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015am).</p> <p>‘So too in Iraq, we have to help devise a modus vivendi that allows for functioning federalism based on fair power sharing. Only then can each community feel ownership’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015am).</p> <p>‘It is our firm belief that the Transition Government’s return to power and the elections to be held in the country in the upcoming period will strengthen the democratic transformation of Burkina Faso by way of meeting the justified expectations of its people’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ap).</p> <p>‘On this occasion, we reiterate once again our readiness to contribute to all efforts for the democratic transformation of our friend the Central African Republic and the re-establishment of peace and stability in the country’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015as).</p> <p>‘New elections can then be held which will finally give Libya a fully representative, inclusive and democratic parliament whose legitimacy is acknowledged across the country and the world’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015av).</p> <p>‘We as a neighbor with 911 kilometers border wish a stable, prosperous, democratic Syria. This is what we want. This is also what the Syrian people want’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015aw).</p> <p>‘What we want to see in Syria is a non-sectarian, united, secular, democratic Syria that will keep its multiculturalism and the unity and territorial integrity of the country’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015aw).</p>

‘We wish that the new Government to be formed will take steps to overcome these drawbacks, and ensure the strengthening of democratic institutions and democratic principles and practices, including unimpeded representation’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015az).

‘Attaining peace and stability in Syria will only be possible by establishing a transitional government with full executive powers on the way to free and fair elections in which the people will be able to express their own will and by Assad and the other regime elements with blood on their hands leaving the scene. In this vein, Turkey will continue to contribute to the envisaged political process’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015bd).

‘Attaining peace and stability in Syria will only be possible by establishing a transitional government with full executive powers on the way to free and fair elections in which the people will be able to express their own will and by Assad and the other regime elements with blood on their hands leaving the scene. In this vein, Turkey will continue to contribute to the envisaged political process’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015bd).

‘The political vacuum in Syria has to be filled with a representative government based on the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015s).

‘We encourage all parties to advocate the establishment of an inclusive political system’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015s).

‘Our sincere calls towards addressing the Egyptian people’s legitimate demands for a genuine democracy and the rule of law are still valid’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015t).

‘The political parties in the Parliament do the same in defending together our democratic values and our constitutional order, consolidating the democratic cohabitation against the waves of polarization in political circles. This gives us further hope and confidence in our fight against the enemies of our democracy’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016c).

‘Bearing in mind that investing in the education of refugee children is of critical importance, Turkey is making every effort to ensure that Syrian children attend school. We believe that they are the future of

Syria and that they will rebuild a stable, democratic, and prosperous Syria' (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

'Turkey, with its growing economy, strong democracy, its commitment to fundamental human values and principled and visionary foreign policy, continues to be an inspiration to its region and to the World also today' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016q).

'We renew our firm support to Libya's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and unity. We share the Libyan people's aspiration to transform Libya into a secure and democratic state, achieve unity and reconciliation, and restore the rule of law and state authority' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ah).

'All segments of society from all Libya's regions must find their rightful place in the political process and contribute to charting the path towards stability' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ah).

'We share the Libyan people's desire to transform Libya to become a secure, democratic, prosperous, and unified state, where state authority and the rule of law prevail. This can only be achieved peacefully through inclusive political dialogue and national reconciliation' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016br).

'Turkey is directly impacted by every dynamic of this conflict. So, our major objective is to stop the bloodshed, ensure unhindered humanitarian access and pave the way for a credible political process for a stable, united, democratic and prosperous Syria' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016cd).

'As a respectable member of the international community, we will continue to protect and promote human rights, which are among our key foreign policy principles; to work resolutely for the improvement of democracy and rule of law both in our country and the world, and to stand up against violations of rights wherever they happen' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016cn).

'Achieving peace and stability in Syria is possible only through free and fair elections by which the people can directly reflect their will' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016e).

‘They underscore the necessity to take urgent and active international steps in order to assist the Syrians in restoring unity of the country, and achieving a political solution of the crisis in accordance with the provisions of UNSC resolution 2254 (2015) through an inclusive, free, fair and transparent Syrian-led and Syrian-owned process leading to a constitution enjoying the support of the Syrian people and free and fair elections with the participation of all eligible Syrians under appropriate UN supervision’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017c).

‘We hope that these elections which constitute a great milestone for the future of the Gambian democracy will bring forth beneficent outcomes for the friendly and brotherly people of The Gambia’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017o).

‘Turkey will continue to work hand in hand with the Syrian people in their struggle for a constitutional democracy that safeguards all Syrians’ fundamental rights and freedoms on the basis of equality and regardless of their ethnic, religious or sectarian backgrounds. This formula commands near universal consensus’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018b).

‘Turkey has a genuine desire to see a stable, prosperous and democratic Syria in the nearest possible future’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018b).

‘In today’s world where global uncertainties are on the rise, both the future of the Union and universal values such as human rights, rule of law, democracy, equality and justice, on which the EU claims to be built upon, are facing with serious challenges’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018c).

‘Therefore we say, “Prosperity at Home, Prosperity in the World.” This requires us to work towards a democratic international order. The world order must be fair, open to the participation of the international community. Its institutions must be structured and decisions should be taken this way. Because the world is larger than five, but humanity is one’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

‘It is natural that Turkey, with its functioning democracy under the Presidential system of government, also works towards establishing a functioning democratic world order’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

‘Reiterated their commitment to follow up on the results of the Congress, reflecting the will of representatives of all segments of the Syrian society, in particular the agreement to form a Constitutional Committee, supported by the UN Secretary-General and the international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018c).

‘During the last seven years of conflict, which started with peaceful protests and then flamed into a civil war, the people of Syria have made their choice clear. They aspire for democracy, freedom, equality, and rule of law’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018i).

‘Turkey resolutely maintains its commitment to the principles of democracy, human rights and the rule of law while intensively struggling against diverse and severe terrorist threats’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018q).

‘Syria is home to several ethnicities and viable and representative local councils need to be established until a political solution is found to the Syrian conflict’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2019b).

‘We hope that the elections will bring an administration that embraces all segments of Afghan people and will provide a new momentum for efforts towards a lasting and just peace’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019an).

‘Turkey will continue to provide every support for the establishment of a lasting democracy and stability in friendly and brotherly Afghanistan, as it has done so thus far’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019an).

‘We attach importance to the protection of constitutional order in Ecuador and hope that the differences of opinion will be resolved by common sense and dialogue on the basis of respect for democracy and the constitution’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ap).

‘Turkey attaches importance to the principle for governments to come to power through democratic processes’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019aw).

‘We hope for the reduction of tension in the country, a return to normal life and the restoration of peace, serenity and stability through the renewal of elections, by functioning the democracy in line with

	<p>the preferences of the Bolivian people’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019aw).</p> <p>‘We welcome also the constructive attitude of the Uzbek authorities to conduct the elections in an open and transparent manner in line with the local legislation and international standards in close cooperation with international observers, including the observers from Turkey’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019bf).</p> <p>‘We hope that this transition process will be conducted peacefully, with a view to meeting the expectations of the Sudanese people and within the framework of constitutional democracy and national consensus’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019n).</p> <p>‘We believe that the efforts of the Azerbaijani authorities from the beginning and the maturity of the Azerbaijani people displayed during the election process to ensure that the elections were held in accordance with the democratic principles and transparency standards are worthy of praise’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020f).</p>
<p>G.6 – Political/democratic transformation</p>	<p>‘We must also ensure a genuine political transition in Syria; to introduce a free and fair political system, where everybody will be treated equally’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015am).</p> <p>‘We have to find a political settlement that will transit Assad out. Why Assad out? Because he is the source of all the problem’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015aw).</p> <p>‘What we want to see in Syria is a non-sectarian, united, secular, democratic Syria that will keep its multiculturalism and the unity and territorial integrity of the country’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015aw).</p> <p>‘Destination countries have to actively support peace processes in conflict-affected areas and increase humanitarian and development assistance in the countries of origin and transit. This includes acting in solidarity, giving full support and applying hard pressure to ensure a genuine political transformation in Syria, based on the Geneva Communiqué’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ax).</p> <p>‘Attaining peace and stability in Syria will only be possible by establishing a transitional government with full executive powers on</p>

	<p>the way to free and fair elections in which the people will be able to express their own will and by Assad and the other regime elements with blood on their hands leaving the scene. In this vein, Turkey will continue to contribute to the envisaged political process’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015bd).</p> <p>‘We gladly note that the parameters for finding a solution to the crisis through peaceful means on the basis of Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity have become the fundamental principles on which today’s reconciliation is built as we have emphasized since the outbreak of the crisis’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015o).</p> <p>‘Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu underlined our support to the political transition in Syria and the efforts of the opposition’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bn).</p> <p>‘Turkey is directly impacted by every dynamic of this conflict. So, our major objective is to stop the bloodshed, ensure unhindered humanitarian access and pave the way for a credible political process for a stable, united, democratic and prosperous Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016cd).</p> <p>‘From the outset, Turkey has been actively involved in the efforts to find a political solution to the conflict in Syria. To end the conflict, there must be a genuine political transition process leading to a new constitution and free and fair elections whereby the people of Syria can fully express themselves. This cannot happen with Assad. He has been systematically killing and starving civilians, destroying entire cities to cling to power’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016cd).</p> <p>‘To this end, a fully authorized transitional government should take office and Bashar Assad should leave the scene as has recently been emphasized by the opposition in Riyadh’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016e).</p>
<p>G.7 – non-interference</p>	<p>‘We renew our firm support to Libya’s sovereignty, territorial integrity, and unity. We share the Libyan people’s aspiration to transform Libya into a secure and democratic state, achieve unity and reconciliation, and restore the rule of law and state authority’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ah).</p>

‘We support the preservation of sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity, and national cohesion of the Libyan people. Libyans should decide their own future without foreign interference’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016br).

‘We reaffirm the basic principles of the United Nations and the Organization of Islamic Cooperation on sanctity of national borders of states, on respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs of other states, and on resolution of disputes and conflicts in interstate relations through peaceful negotiations’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016x).

‘Reaffirming their strong and continued commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Syrian Arab Republic’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017c).

‘Turkey is doing utmost to relieve humanitarian suffering, hosting the greatest number of refugees worldwide, spending more than the biggest economy in the world as the world’s top humanitarian spender. Turkey is also brokering agreements that save tens if not hundreds of thousands of lives and promoting a political solution based on the territorial integrity of the neighboring Syria’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018a).

‘Emphasized their strong and continued commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Syrian Arab Republic as well as to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018e).

‘Attaching great importance to the preservation of political unity and territorial integrity of Iraq, Turkey believes that the formation of a government that would embrace all segments of the Iraqi people will be essential to successfully overcoming the formidable challenges ahead, such as fight against terrorism, re-construction and social reconciliation. It will also have positive implications on the security and stability of our region’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018t).

‘Reaffirmed their strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Syrian Arab Republic as well as to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and highlighted that these principles should be universally respected and complied with’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).

	<p>‘Turkey attaches importance to the principle for governments to come to power through democratic processes’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019aw).</p> <p>‘Turkey is against foreign intervention aiming to change legitimate governments, undemocratic methods and unilateral sanctions Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019j).</p>
<p>G.8 – Peacebuilding and peacekeeping</p>	<p>‘In order to help ensure peace and stability in Africa, Turkey contributes to the United Nations missions deployed in the continent. As of August 2015, Turkey is taking part in seven of the nine existing UN missions in Africa with its police and military officers. In addition, by the end of 2014, military training was provided in Turkey for 2,200 military personnel from African countries. For the period of 2015-2016 we expect to receive more than 1,200 African military personnel for training’ (Sinirlioğlu, 2015).</p> <p>‘In collaboration with the international community, Turkey will continue providing support to the efforts carried out for the development of South Sudan and for the establishment of peace and stability in the country’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ai).</p> <p>‘We will continue our contributions for a peaceful and prosperous Afghanistan’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015bb).</p> <p>‘We will continue supporting our brotherly country Afghanistan through different means. We will increase the number of our military personnel in Afghanistan. Right now we have, around 700 military forces, and next year, we will increase it up to 1,100’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015k).</p> <p>‘We will continue to focus on eliminating the motives that cause conflicts. In this regard, we pledge to contribute an additional amount of \$1 million to the UN Peacebuilding Fund by 2020’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016f).</p> <p>‘Turkey contributes to the peace process through the Organization of American States (OAS) and participates in the Mission to Support the Peace Process in Colombia (MAPP) with a diplomat. Moreover, pursuant to the cooperation between Turkey and Colombia, we welcome the initiation by the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) of the construction of a primary school in Orejon, a</p>

	<p>region of Colombia considerably damaged by the conflict, as a timely development’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016aw).</p> <p>‘Turkey makes concrete contribution to the peace process through a diplomat assigned by the Organization of American States (OAS) to the Mission to Support the Peace Process in Colombia (MAPP). Turkey will continue its financial support in 2016 as well. Construction work of a primary school undertaken by the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) in Colombia’s Orejon region, which was considerably damaged by the conflict, is underway’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bh).</p> <p>‘Turkey will continue its support to the lasting peace by realizing various cooperation projects as it has always been the case in the past’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bh).</p> <p>‘Turkey has been undertaking intensive efforts to end the violence and begin the flow of humanitarian aid in Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016cu).</p> <p>‘Turkey has made great contributions to the work carried out under the umbrella of the United Nations, especially the Alliance of Civilizations and the prevention and resolution of conflicts, mediation, anti-terrorism, peacekeeping activities, development and humanitarian aid’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017e).</p> <p>‘Turkey is sending personnel to different UN peacekeeping missions in the Continent. In this regard, as of 31 December 2017, Turkey is contributing to three (UNAMID, UNMISS, UNSOM) of the current UN Missions in Africa with 25 police officers and 1 expert’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018a).</p> <p>‘Our efforts for peace, stability and welfare of brotherly Afghanistan would continue in the future’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019bd).</p>
<p>G.9 – Capacity building and post-conflict reconstruction</p>	<p>‘We will encourage our businessmen, they can develop joint ventures in Ethiopia or they can invest in other countries together. Our construction companies can significantly contribute to the infrastructural and superstructural projects of Ethiopia. We can take joint steps in defense industry and military cooperation’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015b).</p>

‘Proceeding to Somalia, the last stop of his Africa tour, from Djibouti, President Erdoğan inaugurated the New Terminal Building of the Aden Adde International Airport, which was built by a Turkish company. Also inaugurating the Somalia-Turkey Training and Research Hospital, President Erdoğan held a joint press conference with President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud of Somalia and said: “We have served our Somali brothers as required by our brotherhood; Our solidarity will continue’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015c).

‘A protocol stipulating that the hospital would be operated jointly was signed between Turkey and Somalia during the opening ceremony of the 200-bed Somalia-Turkey Training and Research Hospital, built in Mogadishu by TIKA’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015c).

‘President Erdoğan said that this new terminal building, which has been rapidly completed, will provide jobs for 300 people. Expressing that the airport can serve 5 thousand passengers a day now, President Erdoğan stated that Turkish Airlines will fly to Mogadishu every day from now on. The Albayrak Group, who took over Mogadishu Port, continues the modernization project for the port, said President Erdoğan noting that the Mogadishu Port, which is an important revenue source for Somalia, has a strategic location’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015c).

‘In this regard, and in line with the needs of the African people themselves, health, education, capacity building, as well as contribution to peace and stability in Africa by participating in UN missions and organizing training programs in the field of security have been designated as priority areas for Turkey’ (Sinirlioğlu, 2015)

‘In order to help ensure peace and stability in Africa, Turkey contributes to the United Nations missions deployed in the continent. As of August 2015, Turkey is taking part in seven of the nine existing UN missions in Africa with its police and military officers. In addition, by the end of 2014, military training was provided in Turkey for 2,200 military personnel from African countries. For the period of 2015-2016 we expect to receive more than 1,200 African military personnel for training’ (Sinirlioğlu, 2015)

‘Turkey built two large state-of-the art hospitals in Nyala and Mogadishu, cities plagued with conflict for decades’ (Sinirlioğlu, 2015)

‘We will continue supporting our brotherly country Afghanistan through different means. We will increase the number of our military personnel in Afghanistan. Right now we have, around 700 military forces, and next year, we will increase it up to 1,100. We will continue training and equipping security forces, both in Afghanistan and here in Turkey and we have started running the Kabul International Airport as well. We will be spending maybe another 50 million Euros to run this airport and we will continue supporting the development projects in Afghanistan in every field; infrastructure, agriculture and other kind of development projects, schools and hospital and so on. So, we will be supporting Afghanistan in the future as well’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015k).

‘In formulating and implementing development projects, the wellbeing of societies is always a priority of Turkey’s official development effort. In this regard, Turkey establishes infrastructure and takes necessary measures for the sustainability of these undertakings to the benefit of local societies and put emphasis on capacity building at every step of the way’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016b).

‘Take the example of two hospitals Turkey opened in conflict ridden regions: Darfur and Mogadishu. These training and research hospitals were officially inaugurated in 2014 and 2015 respectively. Turkish government could have taken the easy way by handing over the keys of the hospitals to the Sudanese and Somali authorities after completing the construction and refurbishment. Instead, Turkey, together with the local authorities, has established joint management teams for the hospitals for the next five-year-period. By doing so, we are ensuring both the high quality health services, provided by over 100 Turkish doctors and health professionals, and training the future local managers and staff of the hospitals’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016b).

‘We reiterate our determination to assist Libyan institutions as they work to reestablish prosperity and urgently deliver basic services’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ah).

‘Opportunity to reaffirm Turkey’s support to Afghanistan in the areas of security, development and capacity building’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ap).

‘Reaffirm the support of Turkey to Afghanistan in the fields of security, development and capacity building’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016aq).

‘Turkey continues its support to the Least Developed Countries, 20% of Turkey’s official development assistance is delivered to LDCs and UN Technology Bank established in Gebze will contribute to the capacity building of LDCs’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bv).

‘Turkey will continue to support Afghanistan in the fields of capacity building, development and security’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bx).

‘I’m sure Turkish companies will take part. They will undertake many projects, and we will also financially support Iraq to rebuild the country, with other actors from the international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017aq).

‘While enjoying close historical bonds of brotherhood and friendship with Libya, Turkey embraces all segments of the Libyan people. The reopening of the Embassy will allow Turkey to make stronger contributions to efforts to build peace and stability, as well as reconstruction in Libya’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017g).

‘Turkey maintains close cooperation with Africa in the field of training of diplomats with a view to contributing to capacity building efforts of Ministries of Foreign Affairs of African countries. So far, 794 African diplomats received training offered by the Turkish Diplomacy Academy, where 213 of them participated in the International Young Diplomats Program organized every year, and 581 of them took part in bilateral training programs’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018a).

‘Besides humanitarian assistance, we support African countries with capacity building and social development projects in the spirit of partnership’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

‘Turkey offered the highest amount of funds at the International Conference for Reconstruction of Iraq held in Kuwait. We pledged 5 billion dollars. We hope the Turkish companies will take place in and benefit from the reconstruction of Iraq’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

‘Turkey’s efforts towards reconstruction of Iraq, and its pledge of USD 5 billion were discussed’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018s).

‘The UN Technology Bank aims to strengthen the science, technology and innovation capacity of the Least Developed Countries and facilitate their transfer of technology’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018y).

‘In order to support the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Syria and the progress in the process of the political settlement, called upon the international community, the United Nations and its humanitarian agencies, to enhance the assistance to Syria, inter alia by developing early recovery projects, including the restoration of basic infrastructure assets - water and power supply facilities, schools and hospitals as well as the humanitarian mine action in accordance with the international humanitarian law’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).

‘The reconstruction of Iraq is a milestone project of the 21st century that will establish regional order. This is not just a statement; we are also taking action. The most generous reconstruction contributions come from Turkey, who regards Iraq as a friendly and brotherly country’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).

‘We would continue to contribute to the stability and reconstruction of Iraq and that we would improve our cooperation in the fields of economy, water, security and consular affairs’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020c).

APPENDIX H

<p>H.1 - sharing the burden</p>	<p>‘European states have started facing this serious issue that has been ignored for 4 years and laid as a burden on a few countries’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015f).</p> <p>‘Turkey opened its doors to the refugees fleeing from Syria but this brings a significant financial burden and this burden should be shared by the international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015aa).</p> <p>‘“Burden-sharing” has become an empty catchphrase’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015au).</p> <p>‘What we have been asking is burden sharing. Because we are now hosting 2.2 million Syrians and 300 thousand Iraqis in our country’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015aw).</p> <p>‘Syrians have to be helped, wherever they are, not turned away or treated like cattle. We must either actually share the burden, or stop giving lip service to the catch phrase of burden-sharing’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ax).</p> <p>‘As a country that has suffered immensely from terrorism for so many years and one that hosts more than 2 million refugees, no other country understands the undue burden that 1,7 million IDPs and refugees, as well as the war effort against DEASH creates on the KRG’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ay).</p> <p>‘We need a strategy that includes burden-sharing, conflict resolution and more effective development and humanitarian assistance programs’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ba).</p> <p>‘Turkey also hosts the largest refugee population – more than 3 million – in the world. This is largely due to the war in Syria. Providing shelter and vital services such as free health care, schooling and vocational training for these refugees is a major financial burden that Turkey has had to assume largely on its own’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016a).</p> <p>‘The countries bordering Syria, primarily Turkey, have so far assumed an unfair share of the humanitarian burden of the Syrian conflict. They should not be left alone in coping with this humanitarian crisis, which requires a genuine partnership among all members of the international</p>
--	--

community. Concerted global action is urgently needed' (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

'Geographical proximity should not be used as an excuse for making the countries neighboring the regions of conflict solely responsible. The international community needs to share the responsibility and the burden equitably. Tangible and continued financial aid should be provided for refugee hosting countries struggling with huge numbers' (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

'As the country which has assumed the greatest burden with the largest refugee population in the world, we are also proud to find and show ways to alleviate responsibility through coordinated action' (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

'In this process, we had the opportunity to see all aspects of the global humanitarian aid system and experienced its deficiencies and shortcomings. The current system remains insufficient in responding to urgent problems of the humanity. Only certain countries are shouldering the burden of the system which fails to bring solution to problems. Everybody should assume responsibility to share this burden' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016g).

'The current system remains insufficient in the face of urgent problems of the humanity. Only certain countries are shouldering the burden of the system which fails to bring solution to problems. Everybody should assume responsibility to share this burden' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016g).

'President Erdoğan further noted that countries should share the burden in the fight-against terror and Syrian crisis fairly' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016h).

'As clearly shown by the Syrian humanitarian crisis, refugee and migration issues require responsibility and burden sharing. In this context, Turkey does its best in terms of protection and humanitarian assistance and calls the entire international community to act in this direction' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ar).

'Turkey is hosting 3.5 million Syrian refugees and has undertaken the heaviest humanitarian burden' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bv).

‘Turkey calls the international community to act in line with the understanding of global burden and responsibility sharing’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017aa)

‘Turkey hosts the largest refugee population, and did not leave innocent people to the hands of a brutal regime or terrorist organizations such as DEASH, PKK/PYD/YPG, but the humanitarian crisis in Syria has been left to Turkey’s shoulders, and that the international community needs to strengthen responsibility sharing’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ak).

‘Irregular migration is a global problem and has global repercussions. The solutions are beyond the means of a single country, requiring international burden sharing. Therefore, we believe that all countries should exert joint efforts in order to prevent and overcome the problems brought by irregular migration’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018aj).

‘However, the international community in general so far failed the test of burden sharing. Only a limited number of countries including Kuwait creates an exception in providing financial assistance’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018b).

Unfortunately, I have to express that the majority of countries have so far failed the test of responsibility sharing’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018i).

‘Turkey is volunteering to shoulder this heavy burden at a critical time in history. We are counting on the international community to stand with us’ (Erdoğan, 2019a).

‘Helping Syrians is a shared responsibility and the only way to bring peace, stability and security in Syria is through a UN-mediated political process in line with UNSCR 2254’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019bi).

‘The European Union, too, must fulfill all its commitments. The burden sharing mechanism must be implemented until Syrians return home’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).

‘As the world’s largest refugee hosting country, Minister Çavuşoğlu drew attention to more equitable burden and responsibility sharing with regard to Syrians who fled their country’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ak).

	<p>‘Turkey hosts more refugees than any other country in the world and continues to carry a substantial burden mainly through her own national resources. While doing so, Turkey expects more equitable burden- and responsibility- sharing and solidarity from the international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 20219ao)</p> <p>‘There should be more equitable burden and responsibility sharing’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019bb).</p> <p>‘It is our expectation that the international community fairly share the burden and responsibility for refugees and fulfill their commitments made to our country, particularly concerning Syrian refugees’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019d).</p> <p>‘I call on all stakeholders to take responsibility for refugees within the context of the understanding of fair burden and responsibility by participating at the highest level in the Global Refugee Forum to be held in December under Turkey’s co-chairmanship’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019d).</p> <p>‘During the Conference, Turkey will share detailed information on her contributions to Syrians under temporary protection and raise her expectations from the international community in line with burden- and responsibility-sharing’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019e).</p> <p>‘There are those who think they have the right to constantly criticise Turkey, although it is an actor that bears the burden alone’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).</p> <p>‘This agreement left the burden of the asylum-seekers mainly to Turkey yet again’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).</p> <p>‘We can no longer shoulder this burden alone’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).</p> <p>‘I want to underline this once again: our country can no longer shoulder this heavy burden that it has assumed alone’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).</p> <p>‘Turkey could no longer shoulder this heavy burden alone and it was already time for the EU to take responsibility’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020i).</p>
<p>H.2 – Need to contribute</p>	<p>‘Destination countries have to actively support peace processes in conflict-affected areas and increase humanitarian and development assistance in the countries of origin and transit. This includes acting in</p>

solidarity, giving full support and applying hard pressure to ensure a genuine political transformation in Syria, based on the Geneva Communique' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ax)

'The international community should act responsibly and take immediate steps to assist Turkey more actively in this matter' (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

'We call upon the international community to reflect on and contribute in the following ways to address the ongoing crisis' (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

'Without further ado, these civilians must be provided protection as well as uninterrupted and unconditional access to humanitarian aid under the supervision of the UN. It should be borne in mind that these unprecedentedly cruel practices add to the long list of crimes against humanity committed by the regime and its supporters' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016az).

'Everybody looked their eyes to that meeting, and there was no outcome of that meeting. Therefore we should continue actually to spend more effort to enhance the cessation of the hostilities and delivery of humanitarian assistance but this time it must be implemented' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bs).

'Turkey has again acted swiftly and launched an aid campaign this March. The Turkish Red Crescent is mobilizing to deliver significant food assistance before the approaching month of Ramadan. The drought impacts not only Somalia and the international community must act rapidly to provide similar assistance to all of Eastern Africa which is afflicted by the drought' (Çavuşoğlu, 2017a).

'The Meeting called upon OIC Member States and the international community to continue their efforts in conjunction with those of the United Nations to ensure the return of all Myanmar refugees displaced from their homes in Rakhine (Arakan). States should intensify their efforts in international fora with a view to realizing restoration of the nationality and citizenship rights of Rohingya of Myanmar' (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

'Urged all States to continue to extend all possible forms of humanitarian aid and assistance to Muslims in Myanmar, and particularly to IDPs and the refugees living outside their homeland. This includes raising funds for humanitarian relief' (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

‘Emphasized the need to continue all efforts to help all Syrians restore normal and peaceful life as well as alleviate their sufferings. In this regard, they called upon the international community, particularly the United Nations and its humanitarian agencies, to increase their assistance to Syria by providing additional humanitarian aid, restoring humanitarian infrastructure assets, including water and power supply facilities, schools and hospitals’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017c).

‘Central to this vision must be a peaceful, stable, prosperous Iraq thriving under its current constitutional order. In February, the international community made a start at a donors’ conference in Kuwait, pledging \$30 billion to Iraq, one-sixth of which was provided by Turkey alone. But Iraq needs much more in aid; I call on all my counterparts, in recognition of the benefits of a healthy and friendly Iraq, to help fund a major reconstruction effort. It would be no less instrumental in building peace than the Marshall Plan was for Europe’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018f).

‘International community must increase humanitarian aid and that Rohingya Muslims’ voluntary, dignified and safe return from Bangladesh to Myanmar must be ensured’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ak).

‘Called upon the international community, particularly the UN and its humanitarian agencies, to increase its assistance to Syria by sending additional humanitarian aid, facilitating humanitarian mine action, restoring basic infrastructure assets, including social and economic facilities, and preserving historical heritage’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018c).

‘In this regard, they called upon the international community, particularly the United Nations and its humanitarian agencies, to increase their assistance to Syria by providing additional humanitarian aid, facilitating humanitarian mine action, restoring basic infrastructure assets, including social and economic facilities, and preserving historical heritage’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018e).

‘Emphasized the need to continue all efforts to help all Syrians restore normal and peaceful life as well as alleviate their sufferings. In this regard, they called upon the international community, particularly the United Nations and its humanitarian agencies, to increase their assistance to Syria by providing additional humanitarian aid, restoring humanitarian infrastructure assets, including water and power supply

facilities, schools and hospitals’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018e).

‘Once a lasting and credible political solution to the conflict is reached, the international community should prepare for yet another formidable challenge: help rebuilding the infrastructure of war-torn Syria, facilitating the return of refugees and IDPs, and providing economic aid. In brief, the international community should contribute to saving the future generations of Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018i).

‘Emphasized the need to increase humanitarian assistance to all Syrians throughout the country without discrimination, politicization and preconditions’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).

‘In order to support the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Syria and the progress in the process of the political settlement, called upon the international community, the United Nations and its humanitarian agencies, to enhance the assistance to Syria, inter alia by developing early recovery projects, including the restoration of basic infrastructure assets - water and power supply facilities, schools and hospitals as well as the humanitarian mine action in accordance with the international humanitarian law’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).

‘Called upon the international community to provide appropriate contributions and reaffirmed their readiness to continue interaction with all relevant parties, including the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other specialized international agencies’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).

‘International community should support UNRWA politically and financially’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ak).

‘The relevant international institutions should assume an effective role in financial and medical equipment assistance. Protection of fragile communities, irregular migrants and refugees, and support to host countries are even more important now. Global supply networks and cargo transfers must run unhindered. Sanctions as a blunt policy tool must be evaluated from the humanitarian point of view. Many sanctions, including those against Iran hurt only the Iranian people but also their neighbours. At a time of a pandemic this risk is even higher. Developing and least developed countries, notably in Africa must not be left behind’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020c).

<p>H.3 - Contribution to peace</p>	<p>‘Stressing that creating a safe zone would keep Syrian refugees in Syria, Foreign Minister Sinirlioğlu said that everyone including the international community and the EU should make the effort to realise the creation of such a zone’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ao)</p> <p>‘The international community should ensure the reinstatement of cessation of hostilities in Aleppo and across Syria, also by grasping the occasion of the upcoming Holly Feast of Sacrifice. Turkey will continue its efforts with this objective’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bo).</p> <p>‘Everybody locked their eyes to that meeting, and there was no outcome of that meeting. Therefore we should continue actually to spend more effort to enhance the cessation of the hostilities and delivery of humanitarian assistance but this time it must be implemented’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bs).</p> <p>‘The readiness and willingness of the international community to build capacity in peaceful resolution of conflicts including mediation must be a priority. As we prepare to welcome participants of the Fourth Istanbul Mediation Conference, I call on the international community to take action in mediation’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2017c).</p> <p>‘The whole international community, not just some countries, should make common efforts to end human rights violations and to establish peace and stability. It is an undeniable fact that the international community should mobilize every means available for the common peace and well-being of the people as soon as possible. All means and capacities should be utilized collectively for an effective fight against human rights violations and humanitarian crises taking place in various parts of the world’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017az).</p> <p>‘The international community must find the resolve to unite its efforts to restore peace and stability in Syria (Çavuşoğlu, 2018b).</p> <p>helping Syrians is a shared responsibility and the only way to bring peace, stability and security in Syria is through a UN-mediated political process in line with UNSCR 2254’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).</p> <p>‘Stressed that we needed to work together for the peace and stability of the Mediterranean region’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019z).</p>
---	--

APPENDIX I

I.1 – The international community	
Passive	<p>‘All the support and activity we have seen has been half-hearted, at best’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ax).</p> <p>‘The countries bordering Syria, primarily Turkey, have so far assumed an unfair share of the humanitarian burden of the Syrian conflict. They should not be left alone in coping with this humanitarian crisis, which requires a genuine partnership among all members of the international community. Concerted global action is urgently needed’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).</p> <p>‘The international community should act responsibly and take immediate steps to assist Turkey more actively in this matter’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).</p> <p>‘While individual efforts like these of Turkey are crucial, the international humanitarian system is being deprived of available funds and the clock is ticking for those affected by the many crises we are witnessing globally. There are simply too many lives at stake, and inaction is not an option’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016a).</p> <p>‘As clearly shown by the Syrian humanitarian crisis, refugee and migration issues require responsibility and burden sharing. In this context, Turkey does its best in terms of protection and humanitarian assistance and calls the entire international community to act in this direction’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ar).</p> <p>‘The international community, first and foremost the UN, should act immediately and take the necessary steps to put a stop to these practices which are an affront to humanity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016az).</p> <p>‘The international community should ensure the reinstatement of cessation of hostilities in Aleppo and across Syria, also by grasping the occasion of the upcoming Holly Feast of Sacrifice. Turkey will continue its efforts with this objective’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bo).</p> <p>‘Underlined the urgent need to deliver humanitarian aid to the Rohingya by the international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ch).</p>

‘Humanity stands idly by as more than 65 million people escape from inhumane treatment and oppression today’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016i).

‘Turkey has again acted swiftly and launched an aid campaign this March. The Turkish Red Crescent is mobilizing to deliver significant food assistance before the approaching month of Ramadan. The drought impacts not only Somalia and the international community must act rapidly to provide similar assistance to all of Eastern Africa which is afflicted by the drought’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2017a).

‘Just as remaining silent about the atrocities taking place in Syria, Iraq and violations in Palestine, the international community unfortunately did not display a unified stance against the massacres and tragedies taking place in Myanmar’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017az).

‘While the international community is watching the tragedy in Syria, we have not stayed silent against this oppression. We opened our doors to those fleeing persecution’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

‘People from all around the world have an obligation to come together and take necessary steps to promote peace, stability, and security for all mankind. The U.N. General Assembly must be more than a venue for world leaders to make speeches and share complaints’ (Erdoğan, 2018b).

‘On the security front, the Syrian regime’s brutality and the void created by the gap between the rhetoric and action of the international community have given rise to the most severe terrorist threat that has affected the entire international community’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018b).

‘We fought actively against the terrorist organizations in Syria, with troops on the ground and having martyrs. From the beginning, we have supported the rightful cause of the Syrian people. While all other countries turned their backs on the Syrian people, we have never stopped supporting them. We worked hard to stop the bloodshed in Syria, and to find a lasting, accepted political solution to the conflict’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

‘Since the Syrian civil war began in 2011, no country has felt the pain of the ensuing humanitarian crisis more severely than Turkey. We took in 3.6 million Syrian refugees—more than any other country—and spent \$40 billion to offer them education, health care and housing. Our culture of hospitality compelled us to shoulder the burden of hosting millions of war

	<p>victims with very little help from the international community’ (Erdoğan, 2019c).</p> <p>‘The world has not done enough to support pro-diplomacy and pro-dialogue actors in Libya’ (Erdoğan, 2020)</p> <p>‘My administration concluded that the international community wasn’t going to act, so we developed a plan for northern Syria’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020b).</p> <p>‘What followed is a disgrace to the EU and a stain on human conscience. The EU and its parliamentarians did little more than watch on as Greek forces sprayed tear gas and fired on people at their border. Greece also illegally suspended refugee applications. The UN was critical; the EU not. People died, scores were wounded and European prestige was damaged globally’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020b).</p>
<p>Indifferent</p>	<p>‘Finding out a solution to that problem was everyone’s responsibility’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015aj).</p> <p>‘Syrians have to be helped, wherever they are, not turned away or treated like cattle. We must either actually share the burden, or stop giving lip service to the catch phrase of burden-sharing’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ax).</p> <p>‘It is true that we are faced with major humanitarian crises, unlike anything since the last World War. But, there can be no excuse for the global indifference on display’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016a).</p> <p>‘It is an important responsibility for the international community not to remain indifferent to human rights violations and humanitarian crises in different regions’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016cn).</p> <p>‘Geographical proximity should not be used as an excuse for making the countries neighboring the regions of conflict solely responsible. The international community needs to share the responsibility and the burden equitably. Tangible and continued financial aid should be provided for refugee hosting countries struggling with huge numbers’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).</p> <p>‘Unfortunately, the international community heeded our calls on the migration crisis very late. Many countries realized the seriousness of the matter only after the little body of baby Aylan washed ashore and</p>

	<p>immigrants knocked on their doors in waves’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016e).</p> <p>‘Turkey experienced how indifferent the world could become vis-à-vis protection of the rights of others during and after the July 15 terrorist coup attempt’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017az).</p> <p>‘Measures to counter migration, such as reinforcing border checks and building border barriers and walls, are useless. These measures do not match the realities of our globalized system, especially since the Syrian humanitarian crisis is a global phenomenon and concerns all humanity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018i).</p> <p>‘The international community that remains indifferent to the suffering of millions of people in our neighbor Syria for nine years, has delivered the biggest blow against the values enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019g).</p> <p>‘Apathy’ (Erdoğan, 2020).</p> <p>‘Yet at a certain point, Turkey reached its limit. My administration repeatedly warned that we would be unable to stop refugees from flooding into the West without international financial support. Those warnings fell on deaf ears as governments, eager to avoid responsibility, portrayed as a threat what was intended as a mere statement of fact’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).</p>
Inadequate	<p>‘Turkey opened its doors to the refugees fleeing from Syria but this brings a significant financial burden and this burden should be shared by the international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015aa).</p> <p>‘Stressing that creating a safe zone would keep Syrian refugees in Syria, Foreign Minister Sinirlioğlu said that everyone including the international community and the EU should make the effort to realise the creation of such a zone’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ao).</p> <p>‘Turkey hosts the largest number of refugees according to the figures of UNHCR and also drew attention to the contrast between the aid offered by Turkey to Syrian refugees, which is 8 billion US Dollars, and the total amount of aid extended by the international community, which remains at 417 million US Dollars’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ar).</p> <p>‘What we have been asking is burden sharing. Because we are now hosting 2.2 million Syrians and 300 thousand Iraqis in our country’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015aw).</p>

‘The global response to this humanitarian catastrophe has not been quick enough or comprehensive enough to help alleviate the suffering. The EU countries are deeply divided on the refugee crisis and lack a concerted and coordinated approach to their migration and asylum policies. As a response to the crisis, several countries introduced more restrictive immigration policies and enacted harsh measures against migrants. Entry denials and turning away refugees at the borders of some European countries are nothing less than embarrassing’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

‘Everybody locked their eyes to that meeting, and there was no outcome of that meeting. Therefore we should continue actually to spend more effort to enhance the cessation of the hostilities and delivery of humanitarian assistance but this time it must be implemented’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bs).

‘We call on the international community to intensify its efforts to that end, demonstrate that those responsible for such acts cannot evade responsibility and take the necessary steps to stop these systematic attacks on civilians’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ce).

‘Turkey is hosting more than 2,5 million Syrians and approximately 200 thousand Iraqis, thus became the country sheltering the highest number of refugees in the world, the cost of which exceeded 8 billion US Dollars, while the amount of the aid delivered to Turkey for the refugees remained only at 455 million US Dollars’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016d).

‘Turkey has spent around 30 billion USD for the Syrians, whereas total contributions from the international community amounted to only 526 million USD’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2017d).

‘Turkey has been pursuing an open door policy for Syrians who had to flee their country in the past seven years due to the ongoing violence. More than 3.2 million Syrians are now in Turkey. We have spent almost 30 billion US Dollars, whereas the total contribution we received from the international community is far from meeting expectations. Simultaneously, Turkey continues to be the biggest refugee hosting country according to the UN Refugee Agency figures’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2017e).

‘The whole international community, not just some countries, should make common efforts to end human rights violations and to establish peace and stability. It is an undeniable fact that the international community should mobilize every means available for the common peace and well-being of the people as soon as possible. All means and capacities should be utilized

collectively for an effective fight against human rights violations and humanitarian crises taking place in various parts of the world’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017az).

‘The Meeting called upon OIC Member States and the international community to continue their efforts in conjunction with those of the United Nations to ensure the return of all Myanmar refugees displaced from their homes in Rakhine (Arakan). States should intensify their efforts in international fora with a view to realizing restoration of the nationality and citizenship rights of Rohingya of Myanmar’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

‘Called upon the international community to continue working with the Government of Myanmar to protect Muslim minorities in its territories’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

‘Urged all States to continue to extend all possible forms of humanitarian aid and assistance to Muslims in Myanmar, and particularly to IDPs and the refugees living outside their homeland. This includes raising funds for humanitarian relief’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

‘Central to this vision must be a peaceful, stable, prosperous Iraq thriving under its current constitutional order. In February, the international community made a start at a donors’ conference in Kuwait, pledging \$30 billion to Iraq, one-sixth of which was provided by Turkey alone. But Iraq needs much more in aid; I call on all my counterparts, in recognition of the benefits of a healthy and friendly Iraq, to help fund a major reconstruction effort. It would be no less instrumental in building peace than the Marshall Plan was for Europe’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018f).

‘International community must increase humanitarian aid and that Rohingya Muslims’ voluntary, dignified and safe return from Bangladesh to Myanmar must be ensured’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ak).

‘Turkey hosts the largest refugee population, and did not leave innocent people to the hands of a brutal regime or terrorist organizations such as DEASH, PKK/PYD/YPG, but the humanitarian crisis in Syria has been left to Turkey’s shoulders, and that the international community needs to strengthen responsibility sharing’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ak).

‘Called upon the international community, particularly the UN and its humanitarian agencies, to increase its assistance to Syria by sending

additional humanitarian aid, facilitating humanitarian mine action, restoring basic infrastructure assets, including social and economic facilities, and preserving historical heritage' (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018c).

'Emphasized the need to support all efforts to help all Syrians restore their normal and peaceful life and to alleviate their sufferings. In this regard, they called upon the international community, particularly the United Nations and its humanitarian agencies, to increase their assistance to Syria by providing additional humanitarian aid, facilitating humanitarian mine action, restoring basic infrastructure assets, including social and economic facilities, and preserving historical heritage' (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018e).

'While other coalition members have not gone beyond a very symbolic presence on the field, only Turkey has fought with her land forces against DAESH alongside with the Free Syrian Army since 2016' (Çavuşoğlu, 2018e).

'Emphasized the need to continue all efforts to help all Syrians restore normal and peaceful life as well as alleviate their sufferings. In this regard, they called upon the international community, particularly the United Nations and its humanitarian agencies, to increase their assistance to Syria by providing additional humanitarian aid, restoring humanitarian infrastructure assets, including water and power supply facilities, schools and hospitals' (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018f).

'In order to support the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Syria and the progress in the process of the political settlement, called upon the international community, the United Nations and its humanitarian agencies, to enhance the assistance to Syria, inter alia by developing early recovery projects, including the restoration of basic infrastructure assets - water and power supply facilities, schools and hospitals as well as the humanitarian mine action in accordance with the international humanitarian law' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).

'Called upon the international community to provide appropriate contributions and reaffirmed their readiness to continue interaction with all relevant parties, including the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other specialized international agencies' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).

'International community should support UNRWA politically and financially' (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019am).

	<p>‘The relevant international institutions should assume an effective role in financial and medical equipment assistance. Protection of fragile communities, irregular migrants and refugees, and support to host countries are even more important now. Global supply networks and cargo transfers must run unhindered. Sanctions as a blunt policy tool must be evaluated from the humanitarian point of view. Many sanctions, including those against Iran hurt only the Iranian people but also their neighbours’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020c).</p> <p>‘A cross cutting theme in the much needed global response is ending the conflicts that exact very heavy toll on the humans, ecosystem, economy and our conscience’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020c).</p> <p>‘The world has not done enough to support pro-diplomacy and pro-dialogue actors in Libya’ (Erdoğan, 2020).</p>
<p>Irresponsible</p>	<p>‘Prime Minister Davutoğlu asserted that it was unfair and impossible to expect that Turkey and the other neighbouring countries would take on the pressure, risks and threats posed by the refugee crisis’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015a).</p> <p>‘We call upon the international community to live up to its responsibilities without further delay in the face of these grave crimes against humanity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ab).</p> <p>‘President Erdoğan stated that the international community should share responsibilities and act swiftly’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ae).</p> <p>‘The international community should act responsibly and take immediate steps to assist Turkey more actively in this matter’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).</p> <p>‘The international community has a tendency to evade responsibility in the financing of aids, President Erdoğan said: “It is Turkey that knows this deficiency best and experiences it in a very harsh way. As our expenses on refugees have exceeded 10 billion dollars, the support from the international community stalls at 455 million dollars’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016g).</p> <p>‘As Turkey, we attach importance to maintaining the momentum generated by the İstanbul Summit and call upon all UN countries and international organizations as well as stakeholders of the humanitarian assistance system</p>

to uphold their commitments’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017b).

‘However, the international community in general so far failed the test of burden sharing. Only a limited number of countries including Kuwait creates an exception in providing financial assistance’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018b).

‘Unfortunately, I have to express that the majority of countries have so far failed the test of responsibility sharing’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018i).

‘There should be more equitable burden and responsibility sharing’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019bb).

‘I call on all stakeholders to take responsibility for refugees within the context of the understanding of fair burden and responsibility by participating at the highest level in the Global Refugee Forum to be held in December under Turkey’s co-chairmanship’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019d).

‘In addition, the EU should not generate irresponsibility, but responsibility. It also should cooperate, above all, with Turkey’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).

‘Saying that no asylum-seekers should come to their country and Turkey should look after them is irresponsible, and we will not accept this any longer. However, in any case, Turkey is once again the driving force behind all efforts to find solutions on the field and at the negotiating table. Criticising, instead of cooperating and displaying solidarity, will not solve the problem’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).

‘Libya has been grappling with a bloody civil war for almost a decade. And yet, so far, the international community has failed to live up to its responsibility to end the violence and restore peace and stability’ (Erdoğan, 2020).

‘The international community should respond, without further delay, to this person, who undoubtedly exposed his intention to establish a junta regime in Libya. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that those who support him, including some countries acting as the apostles of democracy, will share responsibility for his actions in the eyes of Libyans’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020q).

<p>Lacking results</p>	<p>‘On the political front, there is hope if the international community would finally walk the talk. A lasting solution can be found through a Syrian-owned process, in line with the UN Security Council Resolution 2254’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018b).</p> <p>‘The international community missed its opportunity to prevent the Syrian crisis from pulling an entire region into a maelstrom of instability. Many countries have had to deal with the conflict’s negative side effects, including irregular migration and an uptick in terrorist attacks’ (Erdoğan, 2019c).</p> <p>‘Libya has been grappling with a bloody civil war for almost a decade. And yet, so far, the international community has failed to live up to its responsibility to end the violence and restore peace and stability’ (Erdoğan, 2020).</p>
<p>Lacking a human-oriented conscience</p>	<p>‘We should never dismiss from our minds our responsibilities toward those people who have riveted their eyes and hearts on the messages and commitments this Summit is expected to deliver’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016g).</p> <p>‘Governments whose policies aggravate humanitarian crises around the globe remain reluctant to lend their victims a helping hand. The international community has a political and moral obligation to restore the human dignity of refugees’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016i).</p> <p>‘People from all around the world have an obligation to come together and take necessary steps to promote peace, stability, and security for all mankind. The U.N. General Assembly must be more than a venue for world leaders to make speeches and share complaints’ (Erdoğan, 2018b).</p> <p>‘The global response to this humanitarian catastrophe has not been quick enough or comprehensive enough to help alleviate the suffering. The EU countries are deeply divided on the refugee crisis and lack a concerted and coordinated approach to their migration and asylum policies. As a response to the crisis, several countries introduced more restrictive immigration policies and enacted harsh measures against migrants. Entry denials and turning away refugees at the borders of some European countries are nothing less than embarrassing’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).</p> <p>‘Many developed countries, claiming to be the defendants of fundamental rights and humanitarian values, unfortunately have failed in duly responding to this humanitarian tragedy and turned their back on the oppressed at their gates’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017c).</p>

	<p>‘The bitter experiences of recent years have clearly shown that humanitarian crises cannot be overcome by security-focused, interventionist and marginalizing policies’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017b).</p> <p>‘However, in recent years we have unfortunately observed that the EU has been moving away from the ideals and basic values of which it has been a strong defender, in a way that would be contrary to the wishes of its founders’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017a).</p> <p>‘Turkey has done everything in its power to stop the bloodshed next door. To ensure that we succeed, the rest of the world must set aside narrow self-interest and throw its weight behind a political solution’ (Erdoğan, 2018a).</p> <p>‘This shameful image in the name of humanity, shows us that the international community still has a long way to go in upholding the principles and sensitivities set by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018l).</p> <p>‘The mentality that puts self-interest above human life, that makes distinctions between terrorist organizations, that alters its attitude depending on the identity of the oppressed or the oppressor, renders the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the eyes of hundreds of millions of people meaningless’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018l).</p> <p>‘As the international community, we have to act with a sense of common responsibility for the peace and prosperity of humanity’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019be).</p> <p>‘What followed is a disgrace to the EU and a stain on human conscience. The EU and its parliamentarians did little more than watch on as Greek forces sprayed tear gas and fired on people at their border. Greece also illegally suspended refugee applications. The UN was critical; the EU not. People died, scores were wounded and European prestige was damaged globally’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020b).</p>
<p>I.2 – UNSC</p>	<p>‘It is of utmost importance that the Security Council is reformed in line with today’s realities so that it can become more representative, more democratic, more effective, more transparent and more accountable. With this understanding, Turkey will continue to be vocal on this issue, as one of the leading countries supporting the UN reform process’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015g).</p>

‘Unfortunately, this initiative, like others trying to open the way to peace, failed at the UN Security Council’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015s).

‘The main body responsible for protecting international peace and security once again proved incapable of performing its task’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015s).

‘We will continue at every platform our support for a comprehensive reform of the UN that will ensure a fairer representation as well as a more democratic, transparent, effective and accountable functioning of the UN Security Council’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016o).

‘The deadlock regarding the solution of such crises as the Syrian and Iraqi ones, which have claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of people over the recent years, is a clear indication of the reform need’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016o).

‘The existing structure of the UN Security Council cannot be the common voice of global conscience’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016e).

‘We see the organization experienced its biggest failure on this matter and the UN Security Council bears the greatest responsibility here’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016f).

‘Occasional irresponsible use of the power of veto unfortunately hinders effective intervention in crises and conflicts. And the entire world, especially children, women and civilians pay the price for that. Everyone should put their hands on their hearts and take the necessary steps’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016f).

‘We need a Security Council that works resolutely, swiftly, transparently and in line with the principle of accountability. We point to this problem on all occasions and say ‘the World is bigger than 5.’ It is neither rational nor conscientious or fair to confine the fate of all humanity to the political interests of 5 countries’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016f).

‘Turkey will continue to work for a reform in the Security Council and to help introduce an architecture that will reflect regional and cultural distribution’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016f).

‘During the current period of time which brings radical changes in terms of threats, trials and needs, it is unthinkable that the UN which has undertaken a wide range of responsibilities would remain the same. At the moment,

the UN reform is an irrecusable, indispensable, unignorable need' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017e).

'Unless the current injustice in the Security Council, symbolized by the slogan "World is bigger than 5" is resolved, neither global peace nor the UN reform will be achieved fully' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017e).

'Within this framework, Turkey shall maintain its support for the UN reform which will make the UN Security Council more equitable, more democratic, transparent, efficient and accountable' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017e).

'Despite the hard work of U.N. staff across many different agencies, the body is suffering from an unprecedented crisis of credibility' (Erdoğan, 2018b).

'The main reason for the U.N.'s current troubles is the Security Council's failure to keep its promise of promoting peace and security around the world. From Bosnia and Rwanda to Syria, Yemen, and Palestine, the U.N.'s top decision-making body has neither prevented atrocities nor brought to justice those responsible for heinous crimes' (Erdoğan, 2018b).

'The need for the reform of the UN, established seventy three years ago, and especially the Security Council, the UN organ responsible for ensuring global peace and security, stands at a point which cannot be postponed any more' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018i).

'The Security Council has failed to fulfil its responsibilities' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018i).

'At the heart of our struggle under the slogan "the world is bigger than five" lies our wish for a more inclusive, fair, democratic and transparent structure of the Security Council' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018i).

'The incompetence of international mechanisms responsible for ensuring security, peace, and stability throughout the world, such as the United Nations Security Council, is one of the most important factors making human rights violations so common' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018i).

'Therefore we say, "Prosperity at Home, Prosperity in the World." This requires us to work towards a democratic international order. The world order must be fair, open to the participation of the international community.

	<p>Its institutions must be structured and decisions should be taken this way. Because the world is larger than five, but humanity is one’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).</p> <p>‘The inefficiency of the UN Security Council in ensuring the accountability and deterrence in terms of the violence against the Palestinians has displayed that the reform of the UN is an irrecusable necessity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018x).</p> <p>‘There is a need to fix and fortify the international system. We are working to make the international organizations more effective. We are saying that “the world is bigger than five” so that the UN Security Council can become more in tune with global realities’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).</p> <p>‘Turkey for one had been making the case that we needed to reform the system. We called it “the world is larger than five” agenda, referring to the outdated composition of the UN Security Council but not stopping there’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020c).</p>
<p>I.3 – European Union</p>	<p>‘We cannot leave these people to death in the Mediterranean, and to suffering at the borders or train stations, as some other European countries do’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015f).</p> <p>‘European states have started facing this serious issue that has been ignored for 4 years and laid as a burden on a few countries’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015f).</p> <p>‘A solution cannot be found to issues fed by the civil war in Syria, instability in Libya and hardships in Africa and Asia by raising walls, fencing borders and stepping up security measures’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015f).</p> <p>‘The EU, founded on the principle of respect for human rights, is expected to adopt a humanitarian attitude in face of the crises taking place in its neighboring countries’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015v).</p> <p>‘The global response to this humanitarian catastrophe has not been quick enough or comprehensive enough to help alleviate the suffering. The EU countries are deeply divided on the refugee crisis and lack a concerted and coordinated approach to their migration and asylum policies. As a response to the crisis, several countries introduced more restrictive immigration policies and enacted harsh measures against migrants. Entry denials and</p>

turning away refugees at the borders of some European countries are nothing less than embarrassing' (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

'While Turkey uses every available means for the Syrians, we regret that some countries which have closed their borders with barbed wire fences in order not to allow migrants, intensively release such news to their public' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016s).

'It is of utmost importance that countries with better financial means, particularly European nations, also fulfil their responsibilities with a view to finding solutions to the challenges that affect 125 million people around the World' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017b).

'If the international community, including Europe and the U.S., fail to take action now, not only innocent Syrians but the entire world stands to pay the price' (Erdoğan, 2018a).

'Unfortunately, the European politics is captivated by far right movements and a hate language more potentiated each day' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019b).

'Nevertheless, we see that discrimination against refugees, xenophobia and racism increase, and refugees are marginalized and shown as hostile people by media and populist politicians, especially in Western countries' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019d).

'Allowing this racist mentality, which undermines social peace, tolerance and the culture of coexistence, poses a great threat to our future' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019d).

'Those most accountable for this phenomenon that threatens global peace and stability are politicians who use Islamophobia for gaining votes, media that normalizes hate speech under the pretense of freedom of speech, and international organizations which are incapable of solving current problems with their existing structures' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019g).

'New walls were built between compassion and humanity' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019g).

'Turkey is proud to be the most generous country for humanitarian assistance, Minister Çavuşoğlu stressed that Turkey expects more support from the EU' (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019a).

‘The European Union, too, must fulfill all its commitments. The burden sharing mechanism must be implemented until Syrians return home’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).

‘Instead of showing solidarity with Turkey who is fighting against PKK/PYD/YPG and DEASH arising from Syria, and struggling with illegal migration, the EP has preferred to serve the agenda of a terrorist organization and to rely on its ungrounded accusations’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019as).

‘On the other hand, the mechanism called the European Union, in its narrow-minded logic, is generating supporting explanations for these policies’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).

‘The EU, on the other hand, has still not kept its promise’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).

‘For these desperate people to be able to return to Syria, Europe should wake up from its long sleep’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).

‘We have called for a revamped international system to manage the huge displacement of people fleeing conflicts such as Syria’s. We have painstakingly tried to convince the EU to help us resolve such conflicts and address the fragilities that surround Europe. If we cannot prevent these calamities at source, everyone will suffer. Yet the latest episode in this saga, which began with the outbreak of Syria’s war, shows the EU has not advanced an inch towards a mature understanding of the problem or in producing solutions’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020b).

‘Building fortresses does not stop people running for their lives’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020b).

‘The EU was meant to be a world power that stood as a beacon for human rights and respect for the international rules-based order. But unless something is done about Greece’s treatment of refugees, and the frenzied support it still receives from the EU, that claim will collapse’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020b).

‘Our European friends and allies need to understand that they cannot change the world simply by complaining and expressing concern. International law, democracy and human rights cannot be defended without assuming some responsibility’ (Erdoğan, 2020).

	<p>‘History teaches us that rewarding those who turn their backs on diplomacy and make a mockery of the international community only leads to more serious problems down the road. And yet the most recent developments in Libya suggest that some European leaders haven’t learned these lessons’ (Erdoğan, 2020).</p> <p>‘To regain power, European Union should adopt its core values such as democracy, free market and multiculturalism’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020a).</p> <p>‘European Union was today divided, inward looking and drifting away from values and that it should abandon discriminatory, populist and protectionist policies’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020a).</p> <p>‘Turkey could no longer shoulder this heavy burden alone and it was already time for the EU to take responsibility’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020i).</p>
<p>I.4 – Turkish Gaullism identity</p>	
<p>Active</p>	<p>‘The Summit will be yet another indication of Turkey’s determination in pursuing a leading role in humanitarian field’ (Sinirlioğlu, 2015).</p> <p>‘Turkey is determined to spare no effort to protect human lives through the strengthening of cooperation, and reinforcing the partnerships that enable human mobility for sustainable development’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ar).</p> <p>‘Hence, in addition to the approximately 3 million refugees for whom we provide shelter, we spare no effort when it comes to creating adequate living conditions for these newcomers’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).</p> <p>‘Turkey took the initiative in drafting the 18 March Agreement, which owes its success to our tremendous efforts in the Aegean Sea, not only through saving human lives and eliminating smuggling activities, but also in welcoming new migrants from the Aegean islands without any discrimination’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).</p> <p>‘Hosting more than three million refugees and making extraordinary sacrifices to provide them a life worth living, Turkey remains the world’s most generous country’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016i).</p> <p>‘Turkey that has come to the fore with its active role and become one of the major donor countries of the world in the field of humanitarian assistance, constituted a milestone in terms of revealing the principles of a full scale</p>

	<p>struggle against humanitarian crises’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bf).</p> <p>‘From the outset, Turkey has been actively involved in the efforts to find a political solution to the conflict in Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016cd).</p> <p>‘Turkey is a leading humanitarian donor, an active security provider, and an enterprising and humanitarian actor’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017u).</p> <p>‘We will be the voice of innocents all around the world, - We will maintain our global leading role in the field of mediation, - We will strengthen our soft-power, - We will raise our representation level at global and regional institutions’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).</p> <p>‘Turkey is leading and contributing to the international efforts to end the conflict in Syria. We are working to establish stability on the ground while maintaining our cooperation with Russia and Iran in Astana and Sochi. We have seen the concrete results of this cooperation in the Idlib Memorandum’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).</p> <p>‘The reconstruction of Iraq is a milestone project of the 21st century that will establish regional order. This is not just a statement; we are also taking action. The most generous reconstruction contributions come from Turkey, who regards Iraq as a friendly and brotherly country’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).</p> <p>‘Turkey is once again the driving force behind all efforts to find solutions on the field and at the negotiating table’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).</p> <p>‘The only country, Turkey, that takes substantive action’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020b).</p>
<p>Successful</p>	<p>‘It has combined official aid with the active involvement of the business sector and civil society, and has managed to dramatically improve countless lives’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016a).</p> <p>‘Our humanitarian engagements in the Continent, as well as other parts of the world, are aimed at introducing permanent solutions rather than makeshift remedies for structural problems. This humanitarian policy, comprising social responsibility projects, is conducted with the active involvement of Turkish civil society and business sector, and has achieved improving countless lives on the ground’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016b).</p>

‘Turkey took the initiative in drafting the 18 March Agreement, which owes its success to our tremendous efforts in the Aegean Sea, not only through saving human lives and eliminating smuggling activities, but also in welcoming new migrants from the Aegean islands without any discrimination’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

‘As a result, we have transformed the Aegean Sea into an area of stability and solidarity. We owe this accomplishment to our human-oriented approach which seeks a better future and destiny for those we host’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

‘Furthermore, we pursue our well-known “open door” policy. We take back all the irregular migrants from Aegean islands, regardless of their origin. The result is spectacular. In 2015, irregular migration claimed the lives of about 1.000 people in the Aegean Sea. The result is spectacular’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bq).

‘Turkey exerts outstanding efforts so far to accommodate the more than two and a half million Syrians currently in Turkey’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016i).

‘Turkey has again acted swiftly and launched an aid campaign this March’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2017a).

‘Turkey puts forward constructive, result-oriented and permanent proposals in order to resolve each problem of humanity today’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

‘Turkey has constructive, result-oriented and permanent solutions to problems faced by humanity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017c).

‘Turkey is positively contributing to the solution of many challenges in her region’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017u).

‘We were successful in delivery of aid to Myanmar and the Bangladesh Government for the displaced Rakhine refugees’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018d).

‘This operation will provide a safe zone on Turkey-Syria border, enable the return of the area to its rightful owners and facilitate the voluntary return of displaced Syrians to their lands’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019aq).

	<p>‘As a result, we had cleared DAESH and PKK/YPG terrorists from an area of 4 thousand square kilometers and had enabled the return home of 370 thousand Syrian refugees’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019i).</p>
Responsible	<p>‘Turkey saved the honor of all of humanity by performing neighborly responsibilities and hosting more than 2 million Syrian and Iraqi brothers for 4 years’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015f).</p> <p>‘Turkey is a state that always aims at protecting and improving the universal human rights and is committed itself to the international conventions in the field of child rights and their additional protocols both verbally and spiritually, as an esteemed member of the international community. Turkey is aware of its responsibilities and duties in this field’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016be).</p> <p>‘The only country that has properly fulfilled its humanitarian responsibilities and has opened its heart and doors to refugees, to whom everyone has closed their hearts and doors, has been Turkey’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018j).</p> <p>‘Through the humanitarian aid it provides to millions of people in need and through its concurrent fight against multiple terrorist organisations, Turkey assumes the responsibility for manifesting justice in the world during such a period when human rights are being disregarded’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019g).</p> <p>‘Turkey, with a sense of responsibility due to its deep-rooted historical bonds with the region, will definitely continue to stand by the brotherly Libyan people in defending the Government of National Accord and all other legitimate institutions of Libya established with the Libyan Political Agreement and to support the efforts for a political solution’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020q).</p>
Example to others	<p>‘Exemplary role in the humanitarian diplomacy’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015g).</p> <p>‘The Summit will be yet another indication of Turkey’s determination in pursuing a leading role in humanitarian field’ (Sinirlioğlu, 2015).</p> <p>‘Turkey’s exemplary efforts for the Syrian and Iraqi refugees’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ar).</p>

	<p>‘Something has to be done and Turkey is leading the way, not only in terms of setting an example, but also in working to galvanise the international community towards action discrimination’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016a).</p> <p>‘In this context, the 18 March Agreement can serve as an example to other parts of the world coping with irregular migration’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).</p> <p>‘Exemplary practices in the field of humanitarian policy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016af).</p> <p>‘In a nutshell, by crushing migrant smuggling networks, we transformed the Aegean Sea to an area of stability again. This model could be exemplary for other parts of the world. We are ready to share our experience’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bq).</p> <p>‘With a human-centered understanding which is cited as exemplary by the world, has been hosting people forced to leave their country in massive migratory waves to survive’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016cn).</p> <p>‘We are continuing our humanitarian activities beyond our borders. Since our party came to power in 2002, Turkey has become one of the most important actors in the global humanitarian system’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016e).</p> <p>‘With her improved practices, Turkey has become a model country in terms of how to treat refugees and attracted attention and appreciation of the international community with this feature’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ab).</p> <p>‘Turkey will once again draw the whole world’s attention to her exemplary good practices for Syrians, who are under temporary protection’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019h).</p>
<p>Humanitarian and Islamic duty</p>	<p>‘We regard standing by the oppressed as a humanitarian, conscientious and Islamic duty. We perform our duty and will continue to do so’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015a).</p> <p>‘He who sleeps on a full stomach while his brother is hungry is not one of us. We are brothers, united like the fingers of one hand. This sensitivity and our historical legacy are a decisive factor in our international relations as well as our personal relations. We cannot say ‘none of my concern’ to Jerusalem or Gaza or Palestine. We cannot just sit and watch the poverty in Somalia, the sorrows of our brothers in Myanmar and the tragedy of the</p>

children, who froze or starved to death in Syria. We cannot remain silent and unresponsive while innocent people, women, children are being killed in Damascus, Baghdad and Kabul. We will continue to preserve our sensitivities as strongly as possible' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015a).

'Turkey has been a representative of the international conscience by opening its doors to 2,5 million refugees and sheltering them' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015g).

'With great self-sacrifice, our nation gave a humanitarian lesson to the international community' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015f).

'Turkey saved the honor of all of humanity by performing neighborly responsibilities and hosting more than 2 million Syrian and Iraqi brothers for 4 years' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015f).

'Turkey, one of the leading countries of the world in the field of humanitarian aid, cognizant of its humanitarian duties and responsibilities, continues to be mobilized with all of its organizations and institutions in order to deliver humanitarian aid to the people in need wherever they are in the world in the fastest and most effective way' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ab).

'Turkey, with its humanitarian diplomacy based upon human dignity and conscience, is a major actor in efforts to enhance the role of fundamental human rights and freedoms in the humanitarian field' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015bc).

'As the world's largest humanitarian donor with respect to national income and fully cognizant of its humanitarian duties and responsibilities, Turkey will continue to mobilize all efforts to deliver humanitarian aid to the people in need in a most rapid and effective manner, wherever they are in the world' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015z).

'On behalf of the international community, Turkey has undertaken responsibility in the face of these challenges and fulfilled its humanitarian duties since the very beginning' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016e).

'Considering solidarity with all countries affected by humanitarian crisis as a humanitarian duty, Turkey continues to exert efforts together with all organizations and institutions with a view to delivering humanitarian aid in the fastest and most efficient way to the countries and people affected by

crisis wherever they are in the world’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ac).

‘It is a moral obligation to seek solutions to the problems of the LDCs, and that Turkey is committed to fulfill its responsibilities’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ad).

‘Turkey continues to fulfil its duties to protect asylum-seekers leaving their countries due to various reasons and to realize its highly humanitarian ideal such as resolving refugee and migration issues throughout the world’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ar).

‘Turkey considers helping those people in need in times of such crises as a humanitarian responsibility as well as an element of key importance for the stability of international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bf).

‘Turkey, cognizant of its humanitarian duties and responsibilities, continues to mobilize all its relevant organizations and institutions in order to deliver humanitarian aid to the people in need wherever they are in the world in a most rapid and effective manner’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016l).

‘We have considered as our human duty to extend a helping hand to the innocent people in Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016w).

‘Our humanitarian and Islamic obligations’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016w).

‘We never forget our historical and humanitarian responsibilities’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b)

‘Today, it is the common duty of all people with common sense and conscience, from all religions, all nationalities and all beliefs to stand by the people of Palestine and Al Quds in their rightful cause’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017h).

‘The conscientious attitude shown by Turkey in the face of crises in Syria and Iraq has demonstrated once more to the world the generosity and benevolence of Turkish people as well as its dedication to the humanitarian values’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018d).

‘In accordance with our historical, conscientious, humanitarian customs and our international obligations, we maintain our principled stance today’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018d).

‘The only country that has properly fulfilled its humanitarian responsibilities and has opened its heart and doors to refugees, to whom everyone has closed their hearts and doors, has been Turkey’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018j).

‘Every success of Turkey feeds, invigorates and energizes the hopes in the shared conscience of humanity as well as in the hearts of all the oppressed and the wronged in our region and across the world’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018j).

‘Our deep-rooted state tradition and national conscience have always been our strengths’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

‘We will be the voice of innocents all around the world, - We will maintain our global leading role in the field of mediation, - We will strengthen our soft-power, - We will raise our representation level at global and regional institutions’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

‘It is a requirement of human dignity and conscience to extend a helping hand to these people who, most often risking their lives, flee hunger, conflicts, civil wars and poverty’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019d).

‘Our country, inspired by its human-centred state tradition, will continue to pursue its will for reform in the field of democracy and fundamental freedoms in the period ahead’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019g).

‘In a period where anti-immigrant sentiments are on the rise, we host more than 4 million displaced people, 3.6 million of whom are from Syria, with the awareness of our humanitarian responsibility’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).

‘We expect support from our partners in fulfilling this humanitarian responsibility’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).

‘Terrorism is a crime against humanity, and to fight against it is a common duty of all humanity. Turkey’s fight against terrorism is a contribution to all humanity’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).

APPENDIX J

<p>J.1 – Humanitarian Diplomacy inside Turkey’s borders</p>	<p>‘We are sheltering 200 thousand people from Kobane in Turkey. We are providing them food, water, healthcare. It is us who take care of all their needs, not that party. Their municipalities are not powerful enough for this. The Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) is taking care of this. It has mobilized all its capabilities but they are not giving AFAD credit for this’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015d).</p> <p>‘Turkey hosted 2.2 million refugees and spent 7.6 billion US Dollars for Syrians living in the temporary protection centers’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ak).</p> <p>‘Prime Minister Davutoğlu underscored that Anatolia, located at the crossroad of Africa, Europe and Asia, embraced people persecuted for their religion and ethnicity for centuries and said that this heritage formed the basis of Turkey’s humanitarian diplomacy and its approach to those fleeing conflicts, getting affected by the natural disasters and fighting against epidemics’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015al).</p> <p>‘We are now hosting 2.2 million Syrians and 300 thousand Iraqis in our country. And 260 thousand of them are in the camps. 900 thousand of them are children. And we have approximately 600 thousand school-age children. And only 250 thousand of them can go to school. We have provided health services to them, 480 thousand of them were hospitalized’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015aw).</p> <p>‘We are hosting upwards of 2.2 million Syrians, building and running temporary protection centers, giving them all free health care, and some of them education, to the best of our abilities’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ax).</p> <p>‘Turkey also hosts the largest refugee population – more than 3 million – in the world. This is largely due to the war in Syria. Providing shelter and vital services such as free health care, schooling and vocational training for these refugees is a major financial burden that Turkey has had to assume largely on its own’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016a).</p> <p>‘Hence, in addition to the approximately 3 million refugees for whom we provide shelter, we spare no effort when it comes to creating adequate living conditions for these newcomers’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).</p> <p>‘Today, there are 24 temporary protection centers administrated by the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) in 10 different</p>
--	--

cities (Hatay, Kilis, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Mardin, Adana, Adıyaman, Malatya, Kahramanmaraş, and Osmaniye). Close to 260,000 Syrians and 6,000 Iraqis reside in these centers. They are provided with food and non-food items, health care, and education services as well as psychological and social assistance and vocational training' (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

'We have also taken the necessary steps to make the best medical care available to the Syrian community. All Syrians under protection can benefit from the Turkish health care system free of charge. To date, Turkish doctors have treated more than 20 million patients and carried out 780,000 surgical operations' (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

'Turkey's aim is not only to save lives and provide a safe harbor for the Syrians, but also to improve their living conditions and ensure their self-reliance. Their safety and dignity remain our priority. Consequently, we are creating favorable conditions for Syrians to actively participate in social and economic life' (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

'Bearing in mind that investing in the education of refugee children is of critical importance, Turkey is making every effort to ensure that Syrian children attend school. We believe that they are the future of Syria and that they will rebuild a stable, democratic, and prosperous Syria. Out of the 835,000 school-age Syrian children in Turkey, 463,000 attend public schools and Temporary Education Centers (TEC). The school enrollment ratio in early primary education is extremely high, around 99 percent. Girls constitute 50.4 percent of the Syrian students' (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).

'This regime provides basic services such as health and education. It also enables Syrians to obtain work permits. Eventually we will be giving citizenship as well' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bq).

'Turkey exerts outstanding efforts so far to accommodate the more than two and a half million Syrians currently in Turkey' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016i).

'Turkey continues to fulfil its duties to protect asylum-seekers leaving their countries due to various reasons and to realize its highly humanitarian ideal such as resolving refugee and migration issues throughout the world' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016l).

'Our country hosts more than 2.7 million Syrians today. 270 thousand Syrians, hosted by Turkey in 26 temporary protection centres in 10 provinces, are being provided with food, medical and educational services and being offered the opportunities of psychological support, vocational

training and social activities. Also, the Syrians living outside the protection centres are in temporary protective status and benefit from free health care and education services' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016s).

'Turkey is doing utmost to relieve humanitarian suffering, hosting the greatest number of refugees worldwide, spending more than the biggest economy in the world as the world's top humanitarian spender. Turkey is also brokering agreements that save tens if not hundreds of thousands of lives and promoting a political solution based on the territorial integrity of the neighboring Syria' (Çavuşoğlu, 2018a).

'Turkey spent \$30 billion to meet the needs of 3.4 million Syrians seeking refuge in their northern neighbor. Free access to medical care, education, as well as the right to join the labor force have been extended to our Syrian guests to help them better integrate into their host society' (Çavuşoğlu, 2018b).

'We have already intensified our humanitarian efforts substantially, setting up camps to help the civilians fleeing Afrin. We are already hosting over three million Syrians, and Turkish humanitarian agencies are helping those who need our support' (Çavuşoğlu, 2018c).

'It is leading efforts to alleviate the humanitarian suffering. The number of Syrian refugees exceeds 5.5 million (or five Birmingham) and most have taken shelter in Turkey. We have become the number one per capita spender on humanitarian assistance in the entire world' (Çavuşoğlu, 2018d).

'Turkey has gone to extraordinary lengths to alleviate suffering of the Syrian people, hosting some 3.5 million refugees—more than any other country in the world. At the same time we have become the target of terrorist organizations operating next door: the so-called Islamic State and the PKK. Neither the heavy cost of humanitarian efforts nor security concerns have weakened our resolve' (Erdoğan, 2018a).

'The only country that has properly fulfilled its humanitarian responsibilities and has opened its heart and doors to refugees, to whom everyone has closed their hearts and doors, has been Turkey' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018j).

'Today, our country provides protection to more than 4 million people from different nationalities, including over 3.5 million Syrians and supports the provision of wide range of services to refugees from education to health

and from social projects to access to labor market, without any discrimination’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ab).

‘The number of Syrians in Turkey exceeded 3.3 million. For wide-ranging services provided for Syrians such as education, language courses, vocational training, access to labor market as well as support to social and health requirements, we have spent USD30 billion’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018b).

‘The number of Syrians in Turkey currently exceeds 3.4 million. Since the beginning of the Syrian crisis, we have acted in line with humanitarian considerations and accepted millions of Syrians into our country, without any discrimination based on their religion, culture, or ethnicity’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018i).

‘Our expenditures for Syrians in a wide range of services, such as food aid, accommodation, education, health, access to the local labor market, and psychosocial support, have reached to 30 billion US dollars since the start of the crisis’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018i).

‘Turkey has been following an “open door policy” for Syrians fleeing from violence. We have been strictly implementing the principle of non-refoulement. We continue to provide temporary protection to Syrians without discrimination. The total number of Syrians in Turkey exceeded 3.5 million in 2017. Our government is taking care of the needs of more than 250,000 Syrians living in 23 temporary protection centres – and other Syrians outside these centres. Turkey has also been facilitating the crossborder humanitarian aid deliveries of UN aid agencies into Syria’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018r).

‘We have taken all steps to minimize risk to civilians and prevent a humanitarian crisis. Over the past several years, Turkey has provided shelter to large numbers of refugees from northeastern Syria, including Arabs, Kurds and Turkmens’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2019b).

‘Turkey is the biggest humanitarian spender in the world and host to most refugees worldwide’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2019b).

‘Since the Syrian civil war began in 2011, no country has felt the pain of the ensuing humanitarian crisis more severely than Turkey. We took in 3.6 million Syrian refugees—more than any other country—and spent \$40 billion to offer them education, health care and housing. Our culture of hospitality compelled us to shoulder the burden of hosting millions of war

	<p>victims with very little help from the international community’ (Erdoğan, 2019c).</p> <p>‘Turkey and UNHCR will continue to work closely in all refugee matters, including durable humanitarian solutions for Syrians’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ba).</p>
<p>J.2 – Political solution</p>	<p>‘We attempted to spread the ceasefire throughout the country and help resume the process of political solution’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).</p> <p>‘They underscore the necessity to take urgent and active international steps in order to assist the Syrians in restoring unity of the country, and achieving a political solution of the crisis in accordance with the provisions of UNSC resolution 2254 (2015) through an inclusive, free, fair and transparent Syrian-led and Syrian-owned process leading to a constitution enjoying the support of the Syrian people and free and fair elections with the participation of all eligible Syrians under appropriate UN supervision’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017c).</p> <p>‘As a country hosting three million Syrians, Turkey will continue its cooperation with the international community to prevent the regime’s continued practices of terror and mass punishment directed at its own people and to pave the way for the advancement of a political solution in Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017p).</p> <p>‘Turkey is doing utmost to relieve humanitarian suffering, hosting the greatest number of refugees worldwide, spending more than the biggest economy in the world as the world’s top humanitarian spender. Turkey is also brokering agreements that save tens if not hundreds of thousands of lives and promoting a political solution based on the territorial integrity of the neighboring Syria’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018a).</p> <p>‘Take the situation in Syria. Turkey’s enterprising and humanitarian approach cleared a total of 4000 square kilometers from two terrorist organizations, DEASH and PKK/PYD/YPG. Had we not intervened, our people would have been under continued assault from these terrorists and a political solution to the Syrian tragedy would have been unreachable’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018a).</p> <p>‘A political solution can be reached through an inclusive, free, fair and transparent Syrian-led and Syrian-owned process, leading to a constitution that enjoys the support of the Syrian people and free and fair elections with</p>

the participation of all eligible Syrians under UN supervision' (Çavuşoğlu, 2018b).

'As Turkey faced those challenges, it made diplomatic efforts to find a political solution. We have brought the Syrian opposition to the negotiating table in Geneva and launched the Astana process alongside Russia and Iran. Consequently, Turkey was able to broker cease-fires, create de-escalation zones, and evacuate civilians from areas under regime attack' (Erdoğan, 2018a).

'We fought actively against the terrorist organizations in Syria, with troops on the ground and having martyrs. From the beginning, we have supported the rightful cause of the Syrian people. While all other countries turned their backs on the Syrian people, we have never stopped supporting them. We worked hard to stop the bloodshed in Syria, and to find a lasting, accepted political solution to the conflict' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

'We, on the other hand, have put efforts to reach a solution through Geneva and Astana and we will continue to do so. With Operations Euphrates Shield and Olive Branch, we ensured the security of our borders, all the while spearheading efforts to find political solution to the Syrian conflict' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

'Syria is home to several ethnicities and viable and representative local councils need to be established until a political solution is found to the Syrian conflict' (Çavuşoğlu, 2019b).

'In order to support the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Syria and the progress in the process of the political settlement, called upon the international community, the United Nations and its humanitarian agencies, to enhance the assistance to Syria, inter alia by developing early recovery projects, including the restoration of basic infrastructure assets - water and power supply facilities, schools and hospitals as well as the humanitarian mine action in accordance with the international humanitarian law' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).

'The conference will aim at supporting the countries hosting Syrians, including Turkey, as well as the efforts for finding a UN-facilitated political solution to the Syrian conflict. The Conference is the main platform for financial pledges for Syria and the countries in the region, where the donor countries will also declare their financial contributions for the period ahead' (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019e).

‘The main problem of our age is displaced persons. The most sensible thing to do is to solve this problem at its source. As regards Syria, our solution is as follows: together, we must prevent Assad's military solution and revive the political process’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).

‘Turkey, with a sense of responsibility due to its deep-rooted historical bonds with the region, will definitely continue to stand by the brotherly Libyan people in defending the Government of National Accord and all other legitimate institutions of Libya established with the Libyan Political Agreement and to support the efforts for a political solution (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020q).

APPENDIX K

K.1 – Threats to national security	<p>‘Turkey stands together with Iraq and the KRG in the fight against DEASH. We are determined to continue our military and humanitarian assistance that has started from the very beginning of the crisis. As a country that has suffered immensely from terrorism for so many years and one that hosts more than 2 million refugees, no other country understands the undue burden that 1,7 million IDPs and refugees, as well as the war effort against DEASH creates on the KRG’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ay).</p> <p>‘Take the situation in Syria. Turkey’s enterprising and humanitarian approach cleared a total of 4000 square kilometers from two terrorist organizations, DEASH and PKK/PYD/YPG. Had we not intervened, our people would have been under continued assault from these terrorists and a political solution to the Syrian tragedy would have been unreachable’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018a).</p> <p>‘Sharing a 566-mile-long border, Turkey has undertaken a gargantuan and tangible effort to alleviate humanitarian disaster and counter the terrorist threat. The scale of our positive contributions in both areas have been unmatched’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018b).</p> <p>‘The Free Syrian Army, supported by the Turkish military, cleared a 2,015-square-kilometer-large Syrian territory from ISIS and eliminated 2.647 terrorists. The operation helped seal Turkey-Syria border against the infiltration of the FTFs’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018b).</p> <p>‘On the security front, the Syrian regime’s brutality and the void created by the gap between the rhetoric and action of the international community have given rise to the most severe terrorist threat that has affected the entire international community’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018b).</p> <p>‘Turkey’s Operation Olive Branch, which has involved a military incursion into Syria, is above all an act of self-defense against a build-up of terrorists who have already proved aggressive against our population centers’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018f).</p> <p>‘Turkey has suffered more casualties from terrorism in the past several years than any other Ally and hosts 3.5 million Syrian refugees’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018h).</p> <p>‘Turkey has gone to extraordinary lengths to alleviate suffering of the Syrian people, hosting some 3.5 million refugees—more than any other</p>
---	---

country in the world. At the same time we have become the target of terrorist organizations operating next door: the so-called Islamic State and the PKK. Neither the heavy cost of humanitarian efforts nor security concerns have weakened our resolve' (Erdoğan, 2018a)

'The fact that it is not possible for Turkey to secure its own future without resolving the issues in the region led us to pursue more active politics in diplomacy and on the ground. Turkey, always standing with the oppressed, has displayed a humanitarian and ethical stance in the Syrian crisis since its very beginning' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018).

'Operation Olive Branch, which Turkey has launched, and maintains determinedly, within the framework of international law in order to ensure its own security as well as to help the people of Afrin; the ongoing fight against the PKK, PYD/YPG, DAESH and other terrorist organizations; and the political transition process in Syria were discussed in the phone call' (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018a).

'Turkey resolutely maintains its commitment to the principles of democracy, human rights and the rule of law while intensively struggling against diverse and severe terrorist threats' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018q).

'Attaching great importance to the preservation of political unity and territorial integrity of Iraq, Turkey believes that the formation of a government that would embrace all segments of the Iraqi people will be essential to successfully overcoming the formidable challenges ahead, such as fight against terrorism, re-construction and social re-conciliation. It will also have positive implications on the security and stability of our region' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018t).

'Turkey is a leading contributor to the political process led by the United Nations within the framework of the Security Council Resolution No. 2254. We are also leading efforts to resolve humanitarian crisis caused by this conflict. These efforts are imperative for our national security and good neighborliness with our Syrian brothers and sisters' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).

'Turkey, hosting the largest refugee population in the world, is determined to continue its fight against all terrorist organizations, DEASH and PYD/YPG in particular, that threaten its national security and the Syrian people in the future' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019aq).

	<p>‘We consider these baseless allegations as part of an ongoing smear campaign against our efforts in countering the terror threat stemming from Syria and aiming at Turkey’s national security’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ar).</p> <p>‘This resolution will give the following messages to the international community: each and every kind of discrimination and terrorism is a global threat’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019k).</p>
<p>K.2 – Root causes</p>	<p>‘The international community and the UNSC need to address the root cause of the problem in Syria, through resolute action’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015aq).</p> <p>‘Last but not least, in order to find a durable solution to the migration crisis we have to address the “root causes” of massive waves of forced displacement and support peace processes and promote peaceful settlement of disputes in conflict-ridden area’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016d).</p> <p>‘We will continue to focus on eliminating the motives that cause conflicts. In this regard, we pledge to contribute an additional amount of \$1 million to the UN Peacebuilding Fund by 2020’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016f).</p> <p>‘Humanitarian crises are triggered by other problems like terrorism, clashes, poverty and insufficient infrastructure, President Erdoğan said, underscoring: We should focus not only on crises, which are the symptoms of the disease, but also on the disease itself and pursue policies that will eliminate the disease’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016f).</p> <p>‘While on the one hand we effectively eliminate the threats targeting us, on the other we reinforce our friendships by benefiting from the regional and global opportunities’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).</p> <p>‘The international community must contain such violence to stop terrorism from taking root’ (Erdoğan, 2018a).</p> <p>‘We need to find comprehensive political solutions that address the root causes of social instability and unemployment, which are the drivers of mass migration’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018r).</p> <p>‘Turkey last week launched Operation Peace Spring to end the humanitarian crisis and address the violence and instability that are the root causes of irregular migration in our region’ (Erdoğan, 2019c).</p>

	<p>‘The main problem of our age is displaced persons. The most sensible thing to do is to solve this problem at its source’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).</p> <p>‘If we cannot prevent these calamities at source, everyone will suffer’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020b).</p>
<p>K.3 – link security and humanitarian aid</p>	<p>‘Humanitarian crises are triggered by other problems like terrorism, clashes, poverty and insufficient infrastructure, President Erdoğan said, underscoring: We should focus not only on crises, which are the symptoms of the disease, but also on the disease itself and pursue policies that will eliminate the disease’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016f).</p> <p>‘Turkey considers helping those people in need in times of such crises as a humanitarian responsibility as well as an element of key importance for the stability of international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bf).</p> <p>‘Through the humanitarian aid it provides to millions of people in need and through its concurrent fight against multiple terrorist organisations, Turkey assumes the responsibility for manifesting justice in the world during such a period when human rights are being disregarded’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019g).</p> <p>‘Turkey stands together with Iraq and the KRG in the fight against DEASH. We are determined to continue our military and humanitarian assistance that has started from the very beginning of the crisis. As a country that has suffered immensely from terrorism for so many years and one that hosts more than 2 million refugees, no other country understands the undue burden that 1,7 million IDPs and refugees, as well as the war effort against DEASH creates on the KRG’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ay).</p> <p>‘Turkey is steadfast in its support for Iraq and the KRG in the fight against terrorism. We will continue our assistance to ease the suffering of so many IDPs and refugees, who have become victims of a vicious terrorist organization’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ay).</p> <p>‘Our efforts to further strengthen fundamental rights and freedoms will continue unabated, while our fight against terrorism, which in itself is a violation of human rights, is carried out in determination’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017k).</p> <p>‘We resolutely continue to fight against terrorism which is a human rights violation per se, we will continue to abide by our international obligations</p>

	<p>and we will work uninterruptedly for further strengthening the fundamental rights and freedoms’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018q).</p> <p>‘We are also leading efforts to resolve humanitarian crisis caused by this conflict. These efforts are imperative for our national security and good neighborliness with our Syrian brothers and sisters’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).</p> <p>‘We have always adhered to the principle of the rule of law, democratic values and international obligations and maintained our constructive cooperation with international organizations while pursuing our fight against multiple terrorist organizations that cold-bloodedly violate one of the most fundamental human rights, the right to life’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019be).</p> <p>‘We will continue our fight against terrorism, as before, with the first and foremost aim of protecting our citizens’ human rights; and we will maintain our continuous efforts to preserve and strengthen, in accordance with democracy and the rule of law, the fundamental rights and freedoms’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019f).</p>
<p>K.4 – Refugees going home</p>	<p>‘Thanks to its success, almost 70.000 Syrians have returned from Turkey to the liberated areas’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018b).</p> <p>‘Highlighted the need to create conditions for the safe and voluntary return of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) to their original places of residence in Syria. To this end, they emphasized the necessity of coordination among all relevant parties, including the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other specialized international agencies. They agreed to consider the idea of convening an international conference on Syrian refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs)’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018e).</p> <p>‘Once a lasting and credible political solution to the conflict is reached, the international community should prepare for yet another formidable challenge: help rebuilding the infrastructure of war-torn Syria, facilitating the return of refugees and IDPs, and providing economic aid. In brief, the international community should contribute to saving the future generations of Syria’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018i).</p> <p>‘In the aftermath of those operations the communities that suffered under the terrorists started living in peace and benefiting from orderly governance. Some 365,000 refugees returned to their home in northwestern Syria’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2019b).</p>

	<p>‘We in Turkey are convinced that we are paving the way for the Syrian refugees to return home and ensuring that Daesh and other terrorist groups will not re-emerge’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2019b).</p> <p>‘The Syrians want to go home now. They have suffered more than enough. We are taking the initiative to help create the peaceful conditions that are necessary for the homecoming of millions of refugees. Contrary to the prevailing misapprehensions, our operation will help address the humanitarian dimension of the problem, contribute to the preservation of the unity of the country and add to the political process’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2019b).</p> <p>‘As a result, we had cleared DAESH and PKK/YPG terrorists from an area of 4 thousand square kilometers and had enabled the return home of 370 thousand Syrian refugees’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019i).</p> <p>‘Both sides agreed on the importance and urgency of enhancing joint efforts in a result oriented manner with a view to ensuring safe and voluntary returns of Syrians’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ba).</p> <p>‘Minister Çavuşoğlu emphasized that the most durable solution to Syrian refugee crisis is safe, voluntary and dignified returns of Syrians’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019bb).</p> <p>‘This operation will provide a safe zone on Turkey-Syria border, enable the return of the area to its rightful owners and facilitate the voluntary return of displaced Syrians to their lands’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019aq).</p> <p>‘For these desperate people to be able to return to Syria, Europe should wake up from its long sleep’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).</p> <p>‘Turkey would continue the necessary work on the return of Syrian refugees displaced due to the conflict. Turkey’s readiness to work with its Astana partners on this issue was also highlighted’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020n).</p>
<p>K.5 – Conflict prevention</p>	<p>‘Prevention and peaceful resolution of conflicts is a central feature of Turkey’s enterprising and humanitarian foreign policy. Turkey undertakes various efforts in a wide geography from Africa to the Middle East, the Balkans and the Caucasus. She sees peacemaking in a humanitarian-development nexus’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2017c)</p>

‘Turkey has made great contributions to the work carried out under the umbrella of the United Nations, especially the Alliance of Civilizations and the prevention and resolution of conflicts, mediation, anti-terrorism, peacekeeping activities, development and humanitarian aid’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2017e).

‘Turkey is playing an active role in prevention of conflicts in line with its enterprising and humanitarian foreign policy and Idlib is the most recent example’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ao).

‘We reaffirm our support to strengthening the UN’s architecture for the maintenance of international peace and security, including peacekeeping, peacebuilding and conflict prevention, and the enhancement of the participation of women in these processes; the promotion of multilateral measures to counter-terrorism in a comprehensive manner, and all ongoing efforts to reform the UN system’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018d).

‘Turkey puts mediation and conflict prevention in the center of our Enterprising and Humanitarian Foreign Policy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019au).

‘It was also necessary to revitalise and save the UN process, protect the lives of thousands of people and prevent them from becoming refugees. With the formula of "Astana Mechanism", ways to protect people against the mass destruction strategy of the Assad regime were developed. And finally, such a mechanism was established in Idlib’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2020a).

APPENDIX L

<p>L.1 – Strategic partnership</p>	<p>‘Turkey, as one of the strategic partners of the continent, is working with its African partners to make further advances in humanitarian and economic development, as well as democracy, good governance and prosperity’ (Sinirlioğlu, 2015).</p> <p>‘In this regard, and in line with the needs of the African people themselves, health, education, capacity building, as well as contribution to peace and stability in Africa by participating in UN missions and organizing training programs in the field of security have been designated as priority areas for Turkey’ (Sinirlioğlu, 2015).</p> <p>‘Turkey will remain committed to supporting African nations and institutions in achieving their goals, based on “their” priority areas, which will further consolidate the application of ‘African solutions to African matters’ (Sinirlioğlu, 2015).</p> <p>‘We have reciprocally completed our opening policy successfully and transformed our relations into an understanding of deepening partnership policy. We now continue this process with the understanding of African Partnership instead of African Union. For Turkey, embracing Africa has a meaning beyond trade or business. It means strengthening our ties of brotherhood and friendship’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015a).</p> <p>‘We initiated an opening to Africa policy 10 years ago in order to rapidly compensate for the a-century-long interval in our relations. We have successfully completed this opening policy. We would like to strengthen our relations with Africa in an understanding of an increasingly deepening partnership policy from now on’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015b).</p> <p>‘Emphasizing that Turkey’s opening up to Africa policy has evolved into partnership which leads to developing bilateral relations with all African countries, Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu pointed out that development projects as well as humanitarian aid continue to increase’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015p).</p> <p>‘Turkey will continue to share its development experience with the Continent within the framework of the principle of “African solutions to African problems” and enhance its relations on the basis of mutual benefit’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016aj).</p>
---	---

‘The message of the Turkish government’s enterprising and humanitarian foreign policy is that Turkey is a partner that sees beyond the current headlines and looks forward to a future when Africa, including most definitely Somalia, will attract international attention as a continent of peace, prosperity and opportunity’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2017a).

‘Strongly determined to maintain the close cooperation not only with African countries but also with the African Union on the basis of our strategic partnership, Turkey will also continue to share its historical, social, political and cultural experiences and its capabilities and resources with the Continent within the framework of the principle of “African solutions to African problems” and on the basis of mutual benefit’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017w).

‘Our approach to Africa is based on transparent, long-term and strategic partnership. We are confident that this partnership promises a bright future to Turkey and to our partners in Africa’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018g).

‘Turkey is actively contributing to peace and security on the continent. We are also assisting efforts to combat terrorism in the Sahel. At the recent Brussels Conference, Turkey pledged \$5 million to support the regional G5 Sahel security force. Humanitarian and development partnerships have been strong elements of Turkey’s overall outreach to the continent. Many ministries, agencies and nongovernmental organizations in Turkey take part in this combined effort (Çavuşoğlu, 2018g).

‘Our benchmark for success is responding to meeting local needs in a speedy manner’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018g).

‘I underline Turkey’s commitment to our partnership with Africa based on the principles of equality, partnership, solidarity, sustainability and mutual respect’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018g).

‘Besides humanitarian assistance, we support African countries with capacity building and social development projects in the spirit of partnership’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

‘At the Third Turkey-Africa Partnership Summit in Turkey in 2020, we will together determine a roadmap for the years ahead. Our objective is to further contribute to sustainable development, peace and prosperity on the continent’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).

	<p>‘As one of the strategic partners of Africa, Turkey maintains her multi-dimensional cooperation with the African countries and attributes great importance to the security and stability of the Continent’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019l).</p> <p>‘We will continue to develop our cooperation and to extend our solidarity in all areas with the African countries and the African Union, in line with our Africa Partnership Policy and within the period leading to the 3rd Turkey-Africa Summit’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019u).</p>
<p>L.2 – Mutual benefits</p>	<p>‘We believe that a relation, in which only one side gains, is unethical, unhealthy and temporary. As Turkey, we act on the principle of mutual benefit in every country we operate. That’s why we would like to base our economic relations not only on trade but also on investments. Investment means technology transfer, employment and export. I am pleased to see that Ethiopia is among the African countries that attract the most investment from Turkish business world’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015b).</p> <p>‘Turkey will continue to share its development experience with the Continent within the framework of the principle of “African solutions to African problems” and enhance its relations on the basis of mutual benefit’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016aj).</p> <p>‘We are seeking to develop mutually beneficial partnerships that will assist in building a solid foundation for relations that are long lasting and productive. Unlike for past colonial powers, history is on our side’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2017b).</p> <p>‘Strongly determined to maintain the close cooperation not only with African countries but also with the African Union on the basis of our strategic partnership, Turkey will also continue to share its historical, social, political and cultural experiences and its capabilities and resources with the Continent within the framework of the principle of “African solutions to African problems” and on the basis of mutual benefit’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017w).</p> <p>‘Turkey’s outreach toward Africa has been built on visible, tangible and mutually beneficial foundations’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018g).</p> <p>‘The momentum we achieved in our relations with Africa, the second largest continent of the world, is continuing with growing pace. We established the institutional basis of our relations with Africa over the</p>

	<p>last decade. We have increased our trade volume to 23 billion US Dollars. Our companies are operating airports and seaports in Africa. We attach importance to developing our trade in a balanced manner and our economic relations based on a win-win approach' (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).</p>
--	--

APPENDIX M

<p>M.1 – Impartiality towards refugees</p>	<p>‘Turkey that hosts over 4 million refugees, 3.6 million of whom are Syrians, today as well, embrace all the oppressed and the wronged, regardless of their ethnic origin, religion, root or language’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2019d).</p> <p>‘Emphasized the need to increase humanitarian assistance to all Syrians throughout the country without discrimination, politicization and preconditions’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019).</p> <p>‘Turkey, as a country that opened her borders to those in need throughout her history, hosts 4 million people in the best manner, who sought shelter in her territories. Today, services we provide them in several fields, in particular health, education and access to labor market, are a guide for the international community’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019aa).</p> <p>‘Today, we host the highest number of refugees in the world. Regardless of their religion, language, culture and origin, we always keep our doors open to those who flee from war and violence in their countries. We mobilize all our resources to ensure that people we are hosting benefit from the best living conditions’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019be).</p>
<p>M.2 – Achieving regional stability</p>	<p>‘One point is clear: unless we take initiative and be enterprising and humanitarian, the bad will prevail. Wait-and-see attitude is no longer tenable. Policy options differ from mediation to actual use of force against terrorists’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018a).</p> <p>‘The fact that it is not possible for Turkey to secure its own future without resolving the issues in the region led us to pursue more active politics in diplomacy and on the ground. Turkey, always standing with the oppressed, has displayed a humanitarian and ethical stance in the Syrian crisis since its very beginning’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018).</p> <p>‘I reiterate it once again that Turkey doesn’t have its eyes on any state’s soil, sovereignty or rights. Our sole objective is to provide security, peace and a safe future for our own people as well as for our brothers and sisters living in the region’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018).</p> <p>‘Operation Olive Branch, which Turkey has launched, and maintains determinedly, within the framework of international law in order to ensure its own security as well as to help the people of Afrin; the ongoing fight</p>

	<p>against the PKK, PYD/YPG, DAESH and other terrorist organizations; and the political transition process in Syria were discussed in the phone call’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018a).</p> <p>‘The MENA¹ region is facing various challenges. Since many of the countries in the MENA region have been our partners for centuries, we feel responsible for assisting them in solving their problems. Stability in this region is vital for all of us’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018r).</p> <p>‘Attaching great importance to the preservation of political unity and territorial integrity of Iraq, Turkey believes that the formation of a government that would embrace all segments of the Iraqi people will be essential to successfully overcoming the formidable challenges ahead, such as fight against terrorism, re-construction and social re-conciliation. It will also have positive implications on the security and stability of our region’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018t).</p> <p>‘Turkey last week launched Operation Peace Spring to end the humanitarian crisis and address the violence and instability that are the root causes of irregular migration in our region. Absent an alternative plan to deal with the refugee crisis, the international community should either join our efforts or begin admitting refugees’ (Erdoğan, 2019c).</p> <p>‘Turkey is leading and contributing to the international efforts to end the conflict in Syria. We are working to establish stability on the ground’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).</p> <p>‘Turkey, hosting the largest refugee population in the world, is determined to continue its fight against all terrorist organizations, DEASH and PYD/YPG in particular, that threaten its national security and the Syrian people in the future’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019aq).</p>
<p>M.3 – Fraternal ties</p>	<p>‘President Erdoğan, who defined his visit as the "long-awaited meeting of brothers", emphasized that the 400-years-old shared history between Turkey and Djibouti is the most solid foundation of their brotherhood and friendship’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015a).</p> <p>‘There has been significant leaps in our relations with African countries in the last 10 years, underscored President Erdoğan and further stated: We have reciprocally completed our opening policy successfully and transformed our relations into an understanding of deepening partnership policy. We now continue this process with the understanding of African Partnership instead of African Union. For Turkey, embracing Africa has a meaning beyond trade or business. It means strengthening our ties of</p>

brotherhood and friendship’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015a).

‘We will continue to be a strong and reliable partner of Africa by utilizing our means, knowledge and experience. We will encourage the higher visibility of Africa in Turkey in accordance with our historical and geographical solidarity’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015a).

‘Pointing out that the brotherhood between the two countries had been strengthened by history and historical events, President Erdoğan said: ‘We regard Djibouti, which houses the second mosque with two-qiblas after Medina, as one of the symbolic geographies of our common civilization. Our ancestors lived peacefully together in the lands of Djibouti for centuries. We will continue to preserve and further strengthen this eternal brotherhood and stand together in solidarity in both good and bad days’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015a).

‘We try to support our African brothers particularly in the field of education and help them develop by providing qualified labor force. There are approximately 3500 African students studying in Turkey. We can increase this to 100 Djiboutian students. 100 students can study in our top universities free of charge just like the 65 students who presently study in Turkey’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015a).

‘Voicing his pleasure to be in Djibouti, one of the most distinguished countries in East Africa, which has a significant cultural and historical depth for Turkey’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015a).

‘He who sleeps on a full stomach while his brother is hungry is not one of us. We are brothers, united like the fingers of one hand. This sensitivity and our historical legacy are a decisive factor in our international relations as well as our personal relations. We cannot say ‘none of my concern’ to Jerusalem or Gaza or Palestine. We cannot just sit and watch the poverty in Somalia, the sorrows of our brothers in Myanmar and the tragedy of the children, who froze or starved to death in Syria. We cannot remain silent and unresponsive while innocent people, women, children are being killed in Damascus, Baghdad and Kabul. We will continue to preserve our sensitivities as strongly as possible’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015a).

‘We have served our Somali brothers as required by our brotherhood; Our solidarity will continue’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015c).

‘Turkey hopes that common sense, democracy and law prevail in Egypt and it will always stand by the brotherly Egyptian people’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015e).

‘Turkey saved the honor of all of humanity by performing neighborly responsibilities and hosting more than 2 million Syrian and Iraqi brothers for 4 years’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015f).

‘Turkey has carried out the necessary work in coordination with the legitimate Yemeni authorities and the relevant United Nations institutions in order to ameliorate the unfavorable humanitarian conditions caused by the forces holding the de facto power by resorting to violence and coercion, and to contribute to the basic needs of our suffering Yemeni brothers and sisters’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ab).

‘Turkey now hosts about 200.000 Iraqis, who are our brothers and guests, and we provide them as much support as we can’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015ag).

‘With this understanding, we believe that our Libyan brothers will act with the understanding that the establishment of a constitutional democracy requires patience, perseverance, tolerance and determination and that all invited representatives will contribute to the process’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015i).

‘We will continue supporting our brotherly country Afghanistan through different means’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015k).

‘Turkey will continue to give all kinds of support decisively to the friendly and brotherly people of Somalia to attain peace and stability’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016am).

‘Turkey gladly observes international community’s ongoing support towards Afghanistan and will continue with its contributions to the security and development of brotherly Afghanistan both bilaterally and on multilateral platforms’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016an).

‘Turkey, as it has always been, will continue to be a leading country in helping brotherly and friendly people of Afghanistan’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016bw).

‘Turkey will maintain its efforts for the establishment of peace and prosperity in Somalia and continue to stand by the friendly and brotherly people of Somalia’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016co).

‘We did not discriminate between Aleppo and Antep; Hama and Urfa. We have treated a brother from Tartous with the same feelings as we treat one of our citizens from Tarsus’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016e).

‘Turkey has been working in in coordination with the legitimate Yemeni authorities in order to ameliorate the unfavourable humanitarian conditions caused by the forces holding the de facto power by resorting to violence and coercion, and to meet the basic needs of our suffering Yemeni brothers and sisters’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016l).

‘This time, 38 of our Iraqi Turkmen brothers were brought to Turkey last night (10 August) together with their 13 companions and taken to Polatli State Hospital (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016z).

Aiming at establishing peace and stability in Yemen and putting an end to the suffering of the Yemeni people, Turkey will continue to support efforts in finding a political solution to the crisis and make every effort to meet the urgent humanitarian needs of our Yemeni brothers and sisters’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017ad).

‘At this difficult time, we reiterate our strong solidarity with the friendly and brotherly people of Sierra Leone. Turkey is ready to provide support with all possible means to Sierra Leone’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017af).

‘Turkey is ready to extend assistance to the friendly and brotherly people of Iran via the Turkish Red Crescent and Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) if needed’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017ax).

‘As of December 23, we provided safe evacuation of civilians and the opposition in eastern Aleppo. Thus, about 45 thousand brotherly and sisterly Syrians were evacuated from Aleppo’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

‘While enjoying close historical bonds of brotherhood and friendship with Libya, Turkey embraces all segments of the Libyan people. The reopening of the Embassy will allow Turkey to make stronger contributions to efforts to build peace and stability, as well as reconstruction in Libya’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017g).

‘Turkey, in cooperation with the international partners, will continue to stand together with the Somali Government and the brotherly people of Somalia, during this new period that is significant for Somalia to rise back

on its feet again and to take its rightfully deserved place in the international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017i).

‘We hope that these elections which constitute a great milestone for the future of the Gambian democracy will bring forth beneficent outcomes for the friendly and brotherly people of The Gambia’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017o).

‘Turkey ranks first among countries paying the highest price in terms of its cross-border implications. We have so far spent 32 billion dollars to accommodate 3.5 million of our Syrian brothers and sisters’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

‘Furthermore, we also attach utmost importance to the security, peace and prosperity of our Turkmen brothers and sisters, and look out for their rights. It is a fact that the reconstruction of Iraq will create such an important gain on the way to regional stability’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

‘The Balkans, Caucasia, Central Asia and Middle East are geographies with whom we share a fraternal and emotional bond. In these geographies, we must be a constructive partner in all aspects of our enterprising and humanitarian foreign policy, free of preconceptions and careful not to leave anyone out’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018af).

‘Turkey is in full solidarity with the Government and the brotherly people of Indonesia and ready to provide any assistance that may be needed’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018an).

‘Turkey will continue its contributions in order to support a dignified and humane life for our Palestinian brothers and sisters, in the period ahead. We will also stand for the Palestinian Cause in all platforms’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018w).

‘Turkey would always stand by friendly and brotherly Sudan’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ac).

‘The reconstruction of Iraq is a milestone project of the 21st century that will establish regional order. This is not just a statement; we are also taking action. The most generous reconstruction contributions come from Turkey, who regards Iraq as a friendly and brotherly country’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).

‘Turkey is a leading contributor to the political process led by the United Nations within the framework of the Security Council Resolution No. 2254. We are also leading efforts to resolve humanitarian crisis caused by this conflict. These efforts are imperative for our national security and good neighborliness with our Syrian brothers and sisters’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ad).

‘We would not remain silent against the suffering of Kashmiri people and that we would continue to be in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Kashmir during these tough times’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019al).

‘Turkey would continue to support our Palestinian brothers and sisters going through tough times and also contribute to UNRWA that supports Palestine refugees’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019am).

‘Turkey will continue to provide every support for the establishment of a lasting democracy and stability in friendly and brotherly Afghanistan, as it has done so thus far’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019an).

‘Minister Çavuşoğlu emphasized that easing sufferings of brotherly Somalia was the responsibility of humanity but first and foremost the duty of Ummah’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019av).

‘Turkey is in full solidarity with the Government and the brotherly people of Albania and ready to provide any assistance that may be needed’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ay).

‘We would always support our Somali brothers and sisters’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019az).

‘Our efforts for peace, stability and welfare of brotherly Afghanistan would continue in the future’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019bd).

‘Turkey, which emphasizes the importance of international cooperation in the fight against terrorism on every platform and having lost two citizens in this attack, will keep on providing support with determination to Somalia to establish peace, security and an environment for development and continue to be on the side of the brotherly people and Government of Somalia’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019bh).

‘Minister Çavuşoğlu emphasized that our Turkmen brothers and sisters, the second largest ethnic group of the KRG and the third of Iraq, should be

	<p>duly represented both in Iraq and the KRG’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019i).</p> <p>‘Turkey will continue to stand by and support the brotherly people of Sudan to ensure Sudan’s stability, welfare and security’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019n).</p> <p>‘With the realization of this pledge, we aim to alleviate the difficult economic conditions endured by the brotherly people of Palestine during the month of Ramadan, in solidarity with the State of Palestine’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019t).</p> <p>‘Turkey is in full solidarity with the brotherly Government and people of Indonesia and ready to provide any assistance that may be needed’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020b).</p> <p>‘Minister Çavuşoğlu stated that Turkey was one of the first countries to rush to help our Albanian brothers and sisters on the following day of the earthquake’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020e).</p> <p>‘Our assistance to and solidarity with friendly and brotherly Albania will continue’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020g).</p> <p>‘Turkey, with a sense of responsibility due to its deep-rooted historical bonds with the region, will definitely continue to stand by the brotherly Libyan people in defending the Government of National Accord and all other legitimate institutions of Libya established with the Libyan Political Agreement and to support the efforts for a political solution’ (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2020q).</p>
<p>M.4 – Ties to Africa</p>	<p>‘President Erdoğan expressed that Turkey would like to improve its relations with Ethiopia, to which it have deep-rooted historical and cultural ties, in all areas. Pointing out that as Turkey, they especially value their relations with Africa and African people, President Erdoğan said: We initiated an opening to Africa policy 10 years ago in order to rapidly compensate for the a-century-long interval in our relations. We have successfully completed this opening policy. We would like to strengthen our relations with Africa in an understanding of an increasingly deepening partnership policy from now on’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015b).</p> <p>‘We regard our historical and cultural ties to Ethiopia as a privilege’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015b).</p>

‘Turkey stands with its African sisters and brothers in their quest for further development and prosperity’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016b).

‘We are seeking to develop mutually beneficial partnerships that will assist in building a solid foundation for relations that are long lasting and productive. Unlike for past colonial powers, history is on our side. On the one hand, there is the human element. Turkey has deep-rooted historical and cultural ties with the continent dating back to the Ottoman Empire’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2017b).

‘Relations between Turkey and African countries while deriving their strength through historical bonds are also linked by a common vision for the future’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018v).

APPENDIX N

<p>N.1 – aid to Rohingya Muslims</p>	<p>‘In this context, we have pledged 1 million US dollars to the International Organization for Migration and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to be used for humanitarian assistance to the Rohingyas and Bengalis’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015z).</p> <p>‘Turkey is also exploring the possibilities of conducting a humanitarian aid operation to ensure the direct delivery of humanitarian assistance to the Rohingyas and Bengalis stranded at sea’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015z).</p> <p>‘All of our relevant institutions and organizations, particularly AFAD and the Turkish Red Crescent, have already mobilized their efforts to deliver humanitarian aid to Indonesia and Malaysia Bengalis’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015z).</p> <p>‘Turkey will continue to provide humanitarian assistance to the Rohingya’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016ch).</p> <p>‘We are ready to provide any support for efforts to bring about normalization in the region, including allowing independent observers to investigate alleged human rights abuses and in particular elimination of impediments to humanitarian assistance’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016cj).</p> <p>‘First Lady Erdoğan, Ministers and accompanying delegation observed on-site conditions in the Kutupalong Refugee Camp near Cox’s Bazar city, came together with refugees and distributed relief materials supplied by TİKA, Kızılay and AFAD’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017ak).</p> <p>‘Called upon the international community to continue working with the Government of Myanmar to protect Muslim minorities in its territories’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).</p> <p>‘Meeting agreed to continue efforts to coordinate and dispatch humanitarian life-saving aid especially medical and nutrition supply to the affected areas in Myanmar’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).</p> <p>‘Urged all States to continue to extend all possible forms of humanitarian aid and assistance to Muslims in Myanmar, and particularly to IDPs and</p>
---	--

the refugees living outside their homeland. This includes raising funds for humanitarian relief’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

‘The Meeting called upon OIC Member States and the international community to continue their efforts in conjunction with those of the United Nations to ensure the return of all Myanmar refugees displaced from their homes in Rakhine (Arakan). States should intensify their efforts in international fora with a view to realizing restoration of the nationality and citizenship rights of Rohingya of Myanmar relief’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).

‘The amount of the humanitarian assistance that Turkey has been providing to Myanmar through Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), Turkish Red Crescent and Disaster and Emergency Management Agency (AFAD) has reached to 13 million Dollars since November 2012 issue’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017f).

‘Turkey has spared no effort to ensure that the international community pay necessary attention to this issue since the onset of this crisis. In this context, the International Rohingya Consultation Meeting was organized on July 6th, 2018, in Ankara in order to exchange views among like-minded countries and international organizations active in the region to discuss the ways and means to prevent further deterioration of humanitarian conditions of Rohingya’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ai).

‘Turkey will persevere to support all efforts geared to keep this issue on the agenda of the international community and to find an enduring solution to the crisis in dialogue with both Myanmar and Bangladesh’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ai).

‘International community must increase humanitarian aid and that Rohingya Muslims’ voluntary, dignified and safe return from Bangladesh to Myanmar must be ensured’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018ak).

‘We were successful in delivery of aid to Myanmar and the Bangladesh Government for the displaced Rakhine refugees’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018d).

‘Rohingya’s situation in Myanmar should be improved, and to this end Turkey will contribute 1 million USD Dollars to International Maritime Organization and the UNHCR and she will support the steps taken by the

	<p>countries of the region in order to solve the issue' (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018d).</p> <p>'Minister Çavuşoğlu stated that we would keep contributing to international efforts for a lasting solution to the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar and also continue to provide humanitarian aid' (Turkish ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2019ak).</p>
--	---

APPENDIX O

<p>O.1 – Growing economy</p>	<p>‘Turkey on the other hand is a fast developing economy and a booming industrial outlet’ (Gül, 2013a).</p> <p>‘Today, Turkey is transforming into one of the world’s leading investment hubs’ (Gül, 2013a).</p> <p>‘Turkey’s modernization process, its rising standards of democracy, its pluralist parliamentary system, its growing economy, its political stability and the level it has reached as a soft power are all being followed with great care and interest’ (Gül, 2013h).</p> <p>‘We attach special importance to the rising of democracy and economy hand in hand’ (Gül, 2013h).</p> <p>‘Turkey had emerged into prominence as an active, constructive and dynamic actor with its developing democracy, rising economy and active foreign policy on a global scale particularly in the Mediterranean basin and that Turkey has placed itself amongst the countries which are able to influence developments in their regions and beyond and shape the new world order’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013a).</p> <p>‘Talking about Turkey’s achievements in economy and foreign policy in the last 10 years Foreign Minister Davutoğlu stated that the self-confidence lies behind all these achievements’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013bx).</p> <p>‘Turkey has become an important cooperation partner within the UN system as a rising economy and donor country. Thus, government development assistance to least developed and developing countries, which continues to increase even in times of global economic crisis, has become an inseparable part of Turkey’s multidimensional foreign policy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013cz).</p> <p>‘As an emerging economy and a global donor country, in 2012 Turkey’s official development aid doubled to amount to 2.5 billion Dollars. The same year, Turkey provided 1 billion Dollars of humanitarian aid and became the fourth largest global contributor in that category (% 0,13 of its GDP)’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014l).</p> <p>‘History, make no mistake about it, will continue to witness Turkey’s unstoppable growth and strengthening’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015f).</p>
---	--

	<p>‘Turkey, with its growing economy, strong democracy, its commitment to fundamental human values and principled and visionary foreign policy, continues to be an inspiration to its region and to the World’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2016q).</p> <p>‘We are moving forward with certain steps towards becoming a global economic power’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017b).</p> <p>‘Turkey is an asset, thanks to an economy that is growing at levels that any European country would love to emulate’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2018d).</p> <p>‘That is why our country, which is world’s 17th biggest economy, ranks first in humanitarian aid in terms of national income’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018j).</p>
<p>O.2 – Inclusion of businesses, in official discourse</p>	<p>‘We are present almost in all sub-regions of Africa with Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, Turkish Red Crescent, Turkish Airlines, 39 Turkish Embassies all over the continent, other organizations of ours, our businesspeople and humanitarian assistance. We have a strong cooperation and we want to further develop this’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014g).</p> <p>‘We will encourage our businessmen, they can develop joint ventures in Ethiopia or they can invest in other countries together. Our construction companies can significantly contribute to the infrastructural and superstructural projects of Ethiopia. We can take joint steps in defense industry and military cooperation’ (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2015b).</p> <p>‘This approach is demand-driven and can best be seen in the countries of the Sahel or in Somalia, where Turkey has pursued an integrated policy conducted with a multi-stake holder approach. It has combined official aid with the active involvement of the business sector and civil society, and has managed to dramatically improve countless lives’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016a).</p> <p>‘Our humanitarian engagements in the Continent, as well as other parts of the world, are aimed at introducing permanent solutions rather than makeshift remedies for structural problems. This humanitarian policy, comprising social responsibility projects, is conducted with the active involvement of Turkish civil society and business sector, and has achieved improving countless lives on the ground’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016b).</p>

‘Under the coordination of TIKA and Turkish Embassy in Addis Ababa, and participation of the Alumni Association of Ethiopian Students who studied in Turkey, Turkish businessmen in Ethiopia donated over 350.000 US Dollars. The funds were used for provision of food for 3.000 families and animal feed for 5.000 households in Afar region, where the people were hit hardest by the drought’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2016b).

‘Turkish Airlines’ flying to Africa’s most remote points, the efforts of TIKA, the Turkish Red Crescent and AFAD, the interest of our businessmen and the aid delivered in many areas, have won the admiration of the African peoples’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016e).

‘We are also seeking to contribute to the implementation of the African Union’s Agenda 2063 blueprint for economic development by organizing thematic ministerial meetings in areas such as business and agriculture in conjunction with forums that bring together Turkish and African businessmen’ (Çavuşoğlu, 2017b).

‘I’m sure Turkish companies will take part. They will undertake many projects, and we will also financially support Iraq to rebuild the country, with other actors from the international community’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2017aq).

‘The second priority is to resolve the structural problems of their economies. Turkey works in part with these countries in a long-term perspective, displaying support and solidarity. Turkey provides wide-ranging credit and/or development assistance as well. Activities of Turkish companies in the region promote investment, trade and their integration into the world economy’ (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018r).