

How Can Turkey Effectively Use Tourism, A Soft Power, to Deal with Diplomatic Issues: The Case of Turkey-Greek Problem

* Muhammed Burak DAĞKILIÇ 

^a Bursa Uludag University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Bursa/Türkiye

Article History

Received: 24.01.2023

Accepted: 21.03.2023

Keywords

Soft power

Diplomacy

International relations

Tourism

Turkey

Abstract

The term "soft power", which entered the international relations literature in the 1990s, has now become an indispensable element of power for almost all developed countries. Turkey, which started to use its soft power at the beginning of the 2000s, still seems to have not reached the desired level, although it has made efforts in this area. However, it is still possible for it to use this power with a tourism tool. Tourism is a vital source of income for Turkey as it is for the whole world. Tourism-oriented cooperation with all countries, especially with Greece, has the potential to solve all diplomatic problems of this country. The aim of this study is to investigate whether it is possible for Turkey to use tourism, which is a soft power element, in diplomacy. This article, which was created by interpreting different articles and statistics, is important in that it has the capacity to shed light on policy makers.

Article Type

Research Article

* Corresponding Author

E-mail: brkdgkcl@gmail.com (M. B. Dağkılıç)

DOI: 10.21325/jotags.2023.1201

INTRODUCTION

This study was written to seek an answer to the question "Can Turkey's diplomatic problems be solved through tourism, a soft power weapon?" And this study is extraordinary and worth reading in terms of guiding policy makers and suggesting alternative solutions.

Reading Darwin's famous theory of natural selection, every human being more or less revolts and probably says: If only the strong survive in nature, then this life for the weak is not fair at all! Based on these rebellious words, people search for alternative power. Similarly, do the states that are the strongest in international relations always win? Is there no other power that can stand upright against the military power of the states? Yes, there is, and it is called as "soft power".

Since the era of conquests is over, the concept of "soft power", which has become the most important power in terms of international relations, needs to be explained. It is a matter of curiosity how this term, which has been used frequently in diplomacy in recent years, has shaped international relations and how states and especially Turkey have used this power until today. This article will include this information.

In addition, soft power is a general term and states use different instruments of soft power. Tourism is one of these instruments, and even the most effective one. The problems between the States of Turkey and Greece, which have been going on with each other since their establishment, can be solved through tourism, and this article is valuable in that it offers a roadmap on how to do this.

Literature Review

The word of "power" is a relatively old concept and it was defined by Weber (1947) as "probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which the probability exists". The term "soft power", which is relatively new, was first used in 1990 by the American political scientist Joseph Nye, a professor at Harvard University. The American scholar benefited from his own rich and practical experience when using the term "soft power". He was someone who managed to become one of the best experts in the field of international relations during his time in the US law enforcement and during his academic activities thereafter. With the assistance of his experience and knowledge, he defined the concept of "power" in a different way. For him, power was the ability of a person to change the behavior of others so that he could get what he wanted. And there are several ways someone can get what he wants: the use of force (military power), payment (economic power), and attractiveness (soft power) (Nye, 1990). In short, soft power can be summarized as the capacity of a country to indirectly influence the behavior and policies of other countries (Dowding, 2012).

In the 21st century, it can be argued that soft power has replaced hard power (the use of military and economic means to influence the behavior or interests of other political bodies) due to international organizations, legal regulations and increasing public opinion in international politics. And again, it has been observed that asymmetrical methods make traditional military methods ineffective (Akbaş & Tuna, 2012). States that use brute force in their relations with other countries may be perceived as intrusive or threatening by other countries. However, states that have soft power and use them duly appear sympathetic in the international arena. A state that can manipulate rival or enemy states without using brute force does not need other tools anyway (Akbaş & Tuna, 2016).

Is it possible to compare power types with each other? It seems that some academics who focused on the answer to this question classified them according to their basic characteristics and compared them with each other in terms of effectiveness.

Table.1. The characteristics of power types and comparing them according to their level of effectiveness

OPTIMA ZONE	#	TYPE OF POWER	CHARACTERISTIC	EFFECTIVENESS
GOLDZONE	7	SOFT POWER	Visionary, aspirational	Most effective
BLUEZONE	6	SOFT POWER	Passion, creativity, influence	Most effective
GREENZONE	5	SOFT POWER	Persuade, encourage, empower	Most effective
YELLOWZONE	4	HARD POWER	Authoritarianism, threat of force, autocracy, coercion, punishment & reward	Last resort. To be used only when all else fails
ORANGEZONE	3	POWERLESS	When people are afraid, they seek authoritarian leaders who wield hard power	Least effective
REDZONE	2	POWERLESS	Threats to security or from social change make people fearful	Least effective
BROWNZONE	1	POWERLESS	These people are in denial and are apathetic to change and threats	Least effective

Source: Harrison, 2016

As it can be understood from Table 1, the strongest power types are the ones that are called as “soft power”. The rulers of the states with the most soft power are usually visionary and aspirational, the leaders of the states with this power at a middle level are passionate, creative and influencing, and the rulers of the states with relatively little power are persuasive, encouraging and they share their authority with the people they govern. The leaders of the states that have the power called hard power are usually authoritarian, they tend to get results by scaring the citizens of other countries and even the people they rule, and they often resort to the method of reward and punishment. Their effectiveness is moderate and this method should be resorted to when there is no other option. Powerlessness, which is the least effective type of power, is the least effective way of using power, and it appears at three different levels. At the first level of powerlessness, when people are afraid of someone or any kind of enemy invasion, they desire to come under the shield of authoritarian leaders and find peace there. Citizens of moderately powerless states are frightened by the prospect of social change or by external threats. Citizens of countries governed by the lowest level of powerlessness become denial and indifferent to all changes and threats.

The Use of Soft Power in the World

The United States is one of the countries that use soft power best. In 2019, the United States was the country with the second largest diplomatic network in the world, with the country hosting the largest number of foreign journalists and international students. American movies, shows, music, advertisements, fashion, food, economic models, political culture and literature have all contributed to making other cultures look like them (Wikipedia, 2023).

Although the Soviet Union is not the first country that comes to mind when it comes to Soft Power, it is a fact that this country discovered the existence of this power early and played the game according to its rules. Every revolution wants to expand more in order to survive. The Communist Revolution, the Khomeini Revolution, and the Cultural Revolution in China both used propaganda to influence the wider masses. However, the Soviet Union, which was one of the states that liberated a large part of Europe from Hitler and the National Socialism led by him, tried to

turn this sympathy it gained after the Second World War into soft power. For example, the Soviet Union sponsored nuclear protests, peace movements, and youth organizations to both spread their own culture and criticize the capitalist West, thus using public diplomacy as a soft power (Babiracki, 2015).

Non-democratic countries invest more in arms, however, they cannot give up on soft power. For example, the former leader of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser, trained teachers and assigned them to different countries in order to spread the ideas of anti-colonialism and anti-Zionism all over the world (Tsourapas, 2018). Nowadays, China is trying to spread its own culture and attract sympathy through the teachers it has appointed at the Confucius Institutes it has opened all over the world (Torres, 2017). Fidel Castro also sent many doctors abroad and in this way laid the foundations of cultural diplomacy (Kirk & Erisman, 2009).

The Use of Soft Power by Turkey so far

The Republic of Turkey, as a continuation of the Ottoman Empire, had to fight for independence and became a new state in 1923 by winning this war. In its early years, this new state adopted a foreign policy based on securing and then maintaining its independence and sovereignty. As a requirement of this policy, it has implemented a realistic and hard power and security-oriented foreign policy strategy. And in the light of these practices, Turkish foreign policy has been built on the basis of hard power and hard security (Ekşi, 2018). Of course there were some exceptions to this. For example, the liberal visa system implemented by Turkey during the Cold War was evaluated as a use of soft power, as it was an attempt to ensure the free movement of people between countries that were once considered spatially distant from each other (Kirişçi, 2005). With a few exceptions, it can be argued that since the establishment of the Republic, Turkey's foreign policy has been predominantly based on hard power and this policy continued until the early 2000s. However, the vision of Turkish foreign policy after 2000 was determined as soft power. The main components of this soft power policy are zero problem policy with neighbors, being a model country and strategic depth approaches (Ekşi, 2018).

In the early 2000s, Turkey's economic, political and cultural changes made it an attractive country, especially in the Middle East. For example, Turkey's defense of Arab theses in foreign policy and its support of these countries made it a popular country in the region. In 2003, the United States' failure to support its decision to intervene in Iraq, and moreover, its rejection of its offer to be a logistics base in the region led to a sudden turn of attention to Turkey. In 2008-2009, Israel's condemnation of the attacks on Gaza and its meetings with Palestinian leaders led to the popularity of this country by the Arabs even more. As a matter of fact, public opinion surveys conducted in the Arab World in 2010 confirmed this thesis. According to the results of a survey conducted by TESEV, 78% of Arabs have wanted Turkey to be a mediator in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The sympathy of the people in the region gave him the chance to become a soft power for this country, at least in the Middle East. The fact that Turkey is both a Muslim and a secular country has made it a model country for the domestic opponents and even the people of Muslim countries, often ruled by dictators or oligarchic rulers (Altunışık, 2011).

The fact that Arabs see Turkey as the most economically powerful country after Saudi Arabia helped this country to be perceived as a soft power. Turkey's efforts to become a member of the European Union was another issue that was followed with admiration by the Arabs (Altunışık, 2011). And it became a state followed with admiration especially by Arabs in the late 2000s, but it is debatable whether this admiration is used as a soft power. Desiring to at least become a regional superpower, Turkey was aware that it has to turn this sympathy of the Arabs into a soft

power. However, this was not as easy as it seems. It faced serious difficulties in its politics in Iraq, its mediation activities in Lebanon, its meetings with Hamas administrators and his dialogues with Iran, and drew the reaction of his Western allies. Especially in the internal turmoil triggered by the Arab Spring (post-2011 period), its support of opposition groups in both Syria and Libya caused the peoples of those countries to feel apathy towards Turkey (Altunışık, 2011).

Turkey is still one of the four countries hosting the largest number of forcibly displaced people in the world. As a matter of fact, this information is supported by the data published by international organizations. As of 2021, 5.1 million people in need of shelter (including refugees, internally displaced persons and asylum seekers) are hosted in Turkey and they and their families live in this country. Although this state has given relatively low amount of humanitarian aid, it is the country that provides the highest amount of humanitarian aid with 0.86% when the percentage of GNI is taken into account. In the meantime, it is worth noting that Turkey's contributions are not directly comparable to those of other donors, as the aid provided largely includes expenditures for the accommodation of Syrian refugees in this country (Development Initiatives, 2022). But could Turkey use soft power sufficiently? Can it be considered successful in this regard? It is possible to answer this question both with the evaluations of impartial international organizations and in the light of some concrete data. According to a report prepared by an international strategic communications consultancy since 2015, Turkey is the 29th country with soft power. The following evaluations were made regarding Turkey in the report, which was written by considering factors such as digital, enterprise, education, culture, engagement, government and polling: Turkey entered the recovery process after the economic troubles in 2018. International criticism of Turkey's Syria policies is increasing, and greater centralization of power at the expense of individual freedoms is a handicap for this country. However, these negative developments did not affect the tourists and students coming to this country much. The increase in the number of tourists, especially from Europe, helped Turkey to re-enter the top 30 in the Culture sub-index. Improved economic conditions, with inflation under control and the stabilization of the national currency, increased Turkey's attractiveness to foreign investors. Turkey's large and diverse cultural capital could be used more effectively (Portland Communications, 2023).

Another indicator of soft power is the scores obtained as a result of evaluating the basic data of countries on a global scale. A think tank that evaluates countries in 7 different and most basic categories (science & technology, culture, international peace & security, world order, planet & climate, prosperity & equality, health & well-being) every year shares the analysis results with the public. Accordingly, Turkey ranks 53rd among 169 countries evaluated, and this score is not good at all (Good Country, 2022).

International organizations evaluating Turkey in terms of soft power stated that the advantages of this country in this regard are as follows: Turkish associations and consulates around the world are very active and their continued expansion of their diplomatic networks in the digital world will further enhance the country's soft power. Turkey's greatest strength stems from its digital diplomatic network, and if it expands this network further, its soft power will increase even more. The reasons for Turkey's relatively low grades in this area are as follows: Turkey, which has seen a serious decline in the field of Government and Education, is one of the states that is gradually losing its soft power. The loss of the country's governing party in the mayoral election race in the big cities is an indication of the distrust of its citizens towards its administration. The government, which has performed very poorly in international opinion

polls conducted in many different fields, will have difficulty in recovering the soft power of the state (Portland Communications, 2023).

In the assessment made by the Good Country Index, the worst part of Turkey has been its contribution to international peace and security. Turkey ranks 124th out of 169 countries in this category and according to this result, this country makes a negative contribution to the world in terms of international peace and security. The most important reasons for this negative result are probably: attributed number of casualties of international organized violence, exports of weapons and ammunition, and global cybersecurity incidents. According to the same evaluation, the contribution of this country to international culture is relatively small. Ranking 81st out of 169 countries in terms of its contribution to world culture, Turkey got this relatively low score for two reasons: number of countries and territories that citizens can enter without a visa and freedom of press. Turkish citizens can travel to 74 countries without a visa, 50 countries require visas from Turks at the border gates, and 74 countries require Turkish citizens to obtain a visa in order to enter their country. Turkey ranks 37th in the list of countries with the strongest passports with 124 points, and this ranking is not encouraging for a country that wants to become a major superpower. Considering that the average is 46th and some of the countries get the same score as the others, it is obvious how unfavorable this rank is (Passport Index, 2023). The fact that the passports of small island communities such as Tuvalu, Solomon Islands, Saint Lucia, and states with a population of less than 100,000 such as San Marino, Andorra and Monaco are more valuable than Turkish passports, refutes Turkey's claims of being a soft power. Turkey's contribution to the planet and climate is also a subject of criticism (74th out of 169 countries). The main reasons for this situation are: not compliance to multilateral environmental agreements on hazardous waste and other chemicals, hazardous pesticides exports, and consumption of ozone-depleting substances (Good Country, 2022).

Turkey has the 11th best army in the world, according to an assessment made by an international organization, taking into account more than 60 factors in different categories, from the amount and financial situation of a particular country's military units to their logistics capabilities and geography (Global Fire Power, 2023). On the other hand, it is the 19th largest economy in the world with a nominal GDP of \$815.27 billion (Silver, 2022). Therefore, in the light of the above data, it cannot be said that this country is successful in using soft power.

How Can Turkey Use Soft Power More Effectively?

If the system is failing, change is inevitable. If the soft power strategies that Turkey has implemented so far have not worked, it should try different strategies. What are the national and international strategies that can be used? What needs to be done in this regard needs to be explained through Turkey's most diplomatically problematic country: Greece? If Turkey-Greece relations can improve thanks to tourism, which is one of the most effective tools of soft power, or if a noticeable progress is made even if the relations do not improve completely, Turkey may adopt similar strategies with other diplomatically problematic countries.

When the Turks conquered a part of Anatolia in the 11th century, they involuntarily started diplomatic activities with their new neighbors, the Greeks. After this date, there have been constant problems between these two societies until today (Hatipoğlu, 1985). Some of these problems are: NATO membership, minorities, Cyprus, the continental shelf, the disarmament of the islands and others. Of course, so many and deep-rooted problems cannot be solved in a very short time, but the following can be done on the basis of tourism, one of the most important tools of soft power:

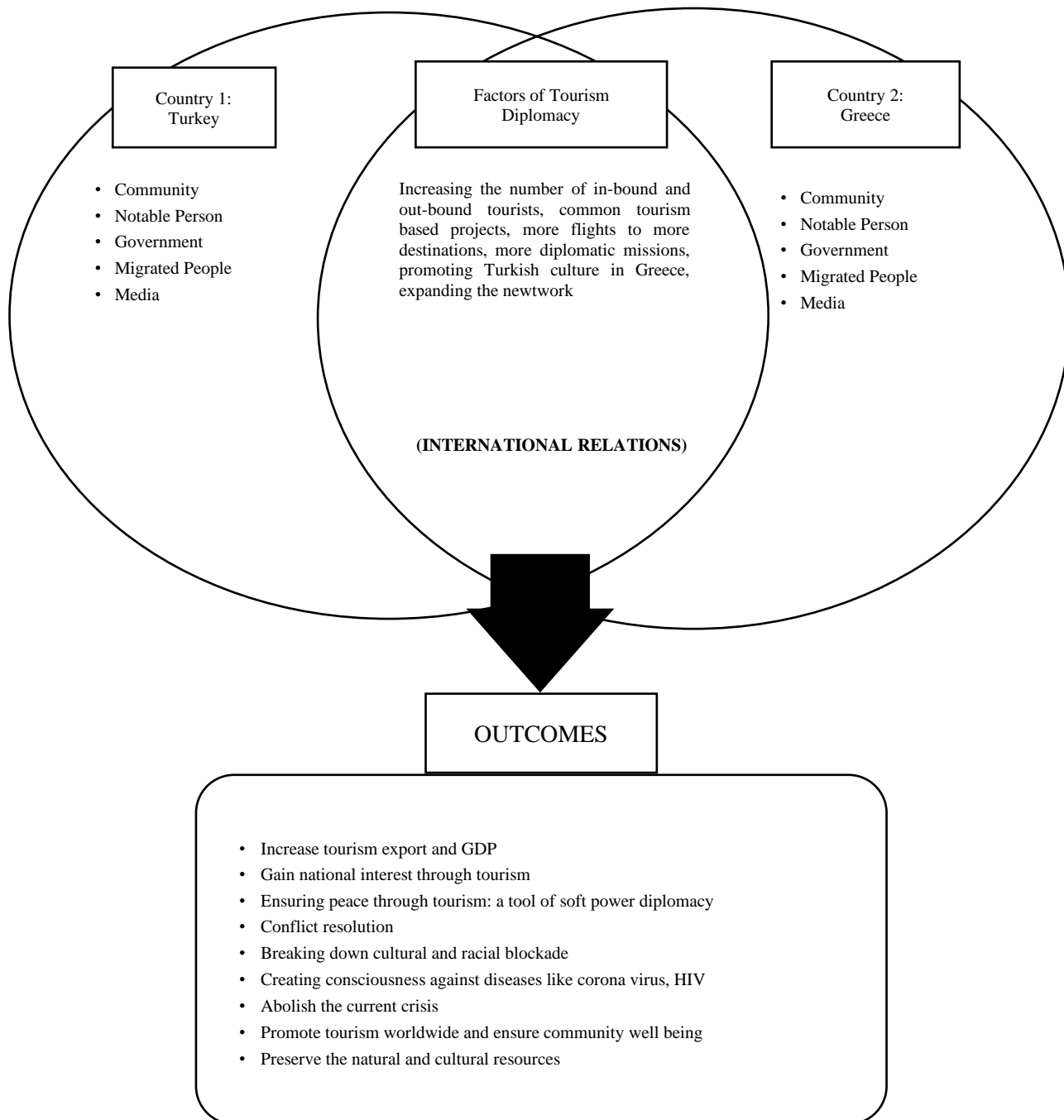


Figure 1. The use of tourism, which is one of the tools of soft power in improving Turkish-Greek relations

Source: The figure is adapted from Kuri, Islam & Ananya (2020).

Figure 1 shows two circles. One of the circles belongs to Turkey and the other to Greece. In order to settle the problems between the two countries, what Turkey should do, what Greece should do and what the two countries should do jointly are clearly stated in this way. If both parties do their homework in good faith, the end result will be gains, and they will use their energies to better serve their own citizens, not to outdo each other.

In this part of the study, it will be focused on what these two countries can do to solve their problems peacefully through tourism-oriented and other ways. Before doing this, it is necessary to elaborate why tourism is so important for the world and Turkey.

The Importance of Tourism

Tourism is a sector that activates and develops all sectors of the economy, from agriculture to industry, from construction to advertising. However, it is not correct to see only its economic side (Turkish-Asian Center for Strategic Studies, 2020). The development of the tourism industry allows not only to increase the tourist flow and investment attraction to the host country, and therefore to the national income, but also to create a positive image of that country in the eyes of foreign tourists (Bunakov et al., 2017). In fact, tourism is a sector that has an influence that cannot be ignored in the functioning of a country's foreign policy, especially in taking an active role in the international reputation and prestige of a country. As a matter of fact, tourism diplomacy, which is seen as a sub-branch of diplomacy, is a term that has come to the fore recently. Tourists visiting different countries not only visit historical places, but also try to learn the culture of that country and even participate in some activities. And this increases the importance of tourism diplomacy. For example, China directs its own citizens to the homeland of tourists visiting China and directs them to visit those countries. On the contrary, it penalizes the countries of which tourists are citizens who visit places such as Taiwan and Macao, which it considers as its own territory, in its own way (it advises its citizens not to go to those countries). It is known that Russia and Iran have made similar practices. Such practices explain the importance of tourism diplomacy, which is a soft power (Turkish-Asian Center for Strategic Studies, 2020).

On the other hand, the tourism sector has grown rapidly especially after the Second World War and contributed greatly to the world economy. The number of tourists traveling around the world, which was around 25 million in the 1950s, increased to 1 billion 260 million in 2015. And again, tourism revenues, which were around 2 billion dollars in the 1950s, increased to 1 trillion 260 billion dollars as of 2015 and constituted 7% of all world export revenues (UNWTO, 2016). It is also important for Turkey. In order to understand how vital tourism is for Turkey, the data in the table below should be analyzed.

Table 2. Turkey in-bound Tourism, 2021

Basic data and indicators	UNITS
From Africa	555,000
From Americas	571,000
From East Asia and the Pasific	203,000
From Europe	19,116,000
From Middle East	2,748,000
From South Asia	1,367
Other not classified	5,366,000
Of which National's residing abroad	5,302,000
Total Arrivals to Turkey	29,925,000
Total Tourism Income (2021 only)	\$28,499,000,000

Source: World Tourism Organization (2022)

As shown in Table 2, approximately 30 million tourists came to Turkey in 2021 alone and these tourists left approximately 28.5 billion dollars of foreign currency to this country. Apart from the economic benefits of tourism, the fact that 30 million foreign citizens visit Turkey every year means an increase in the soft power of this country as well as in terms of promotion. Apart from establishing a bond between the tourists visiting the country and the local people, a bond is formed between the tourists themselves and the basic element of this bond is the love of Turkey.

Solving Diplomatic Problems of Turkey with Traditional Methods

The basic conditions for the Turkish-Greek friendship can be achieved by the people of these two countries being closer to each other. However, it seems that both peoples are not very friendly towards each other. According to the results of a survey, 73% of Turks do not trust Greeks and 81% of Greeks do not trust Turks. In the same survey, the trust of the people of these two countries to the peoples of other neighboring countries was quite high. According to the results of another survey, 90% of Turks perceive Greeks and 91% of Greeks perceive Turks as a threat (Millas, 2009). There is a lot of work to be done, especially rewriting the history books, in order to reduce the distrust of the people of both countries towards each other, but these are beyond the scope of this article. Therefore, this issue will only be briefly discussed in this study.

Leveraging the reputation of famous people is a well-known method for resolving conflicts that arise in the business world. Famous people (such as actors, actresses, athletes, politicians or opinion leaders) have the power to influence those around them, so long-standing problems can be solved in a short time (Indeed, 2022). Some eminent Greek or Turkish vowels can mediate some of the Turkish-Greek problems. In order to learn the opinions of the governments of these two countries about each other, it is necessary to know the perceptions of the elites of those countries (ie the stakeholders of the state's government) about each other. 47% of Greek elites and 41.9% of Turkish elites consider Turkey-Greece relations as neither good nor bad. 47% of Greek elites and 53.5% of Turkish elites do not consider a Turkish-Greek crisis likely in the next five years (Triantaphyllou, 2017). In order for governments and civil servants to come closer to each other, both countries need to cooperate jointly on many issues (border protection, asylum issue, and others).

In 1923, the "Convention on the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations" was signed between Greece and Turkey, and hundreds of thousands of Turkish and Greek citizens were forced to immigrate to their newly established countries. According to the convention, "Greek residents of Istanbul" and "Muslim residents of Western Thrace" would not be included in the exchange. With the implementation of the Convention, a large Muslim minority remained in Greece, and again a large number of Orthodox Christian minorities in Turkey. And the population exchange between Turkey and Greece caused great traumas years later (Dayioglu & Aslim, 2015). When the "migration problem", which has been a problem between the two countries for more than a century, is resolved, it is inevitable that the relations will be better.

One of the reasons why Turkish-Greek relations are cold and even hostile is the national press of the two countries (a certain part of the press). The Greek media does not get tired of reminding the Greek people of the alleged atrocities committed by the Turks during the expulsion of the Greek people from Izmir and the conquest of the northern part of Cyprus by the Turkish army in 1974. Similarly, Turks keep alive the memory of the Greek army's invasion of Anatolian lands in 1919 and the Greek junta's attempted coup in Cyprus in 1973. The hate speech of the press (a certain part of the press) of the two countries is not only limited to "enemies in the neighboring state", but they also put similar labels on intellectuals and minorities in their homeland (Hadjidimos, 1999). It is not known whether the media broadcasts in this way because people like this kind of hate speech, or whether the people of the two countries feel hatred towards each other with the direction of the media. However, the media problem should be resolved through democratic means and the media should undertake a peaceful task in improving the relations between the two countries.

Solving Diplomatic Problems of Turkey with Soft Power

Related to tourism, Turkey has focused mainly on regions with a cultural or historical connection in the post-2000 period. In this context, the significant increase in the number of tourists from countries in the former Ottoman territories such as the Middle East and the Balkans, as well as from Turkic republics in Central Asia and Muslim-majority countries in Africa enabled Turkey to become a soft power in the field of tourism. As an example, in a short period of 13 years, the number of in-bound tourists from Georgia increased 25 times, the number of in-bound tourists from Iran increased 5 times and the number of in-bound tourists from Georgia increased 15 times. It is also a fact that there was no significant increase in the number of in-bound tourists from Europe and America during this period, and even a decrease in the number of tourists from some countries (Şen, 2019).

Turkey used different tourism tools to realize the soft power policies it targeted so far. In this context, Turkey's representation network abroad was expanded and 65 new diplomatic missions were opened in 13 years. As of 2021, Turkey is the 5th country with the strongest diplomatic network with 246 diplomatic posts (142 embassies/high commissions, 91 consulates, 11 permanent missions, and 2 other representations) opened in different countries (Lowy Institute, 2021). In this way, contact and dialogue with people from different countries became easier.

As it is known, one of the indicators of the attractiveness of a country is the number of foreign students living in that country. In other words, an increase in the number of foreign students in a country means an increase in the soft power of that country. During this period, the number of foreign students studying in Turkey increased by 300%. The promotion of a country's culture and values through the film and television industry is a soft power strategy, and the United States has used this strategy for several decades. Especially thanks to Hollywood movies, this state has established a visible superiority against its rival, the Soviet Union, and has gained the sympathy of a large part of the world. And Turkey has started to use that strategy anymore. As of 2014, 70 Turkish TV series are broadcast in 75 countries around the world, and these soap operas contribute positively to Turkey's image. Realizing the importance of airline companies, which are instrumental in establishing a close bond between tourists and destination countries, and which announce the recognition, prestige and quality of a country to the whole world. Turkey has given special importance to the airline company it owns and Turkish Airlines has been made the flagship of the country. This airline company, which could only fly to 55 countries in the early 2000s, now flies to 108 countries and it has been the best airline in Europe for 4 consecutive years. Turkish Airlines has mostly flown to Africa, Middle East and Asia regions targeted by Turkish foreign policy. Official development assistance was added to Turkey's foreign policy tools in this new era and became an integral part of the country's soft power policy. These aids and assistance are mostly provided to countries and communities that are similar to Turkey in terms of history, geography or culture, and thanks to these aids, unbreakable bonds are formed between the target countries and communities and Turkey (Şen, 2019).

Turkey's membership in many regional and global international organizations has facilitated its communication with other states and their citizens, and this has increased its soft power. The most important of the social international organizations of which Turkey is a member are the Council of Europe, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United Nations, Interpol, Europol, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and the Organization of the Turkic States. The most important international economic organizations of which this country is a member are the World Trade Organization, G-20, D-8, OECD and IMF. In

the military field, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is the most important international organization. Sports organizations such as UEFA and FIFA and technical organizations such as the European Patent Office and the International Maritime Organization have also strengthened Turkey's communication network (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2023).

Solving Turkey's Diplomatic Problems through Tourism, a Type of Soft Power: The Greece Case

What are the national and international strategies that can be used within the framework of tourism diplomacy, which is a soft power element? How can these strategies be applied to promote the country worldwide and ensure the strong growth of the tourism industry in Turkey? It would be very useful to explain what needs to be done in this regard through Turkey's most diplomatically problematic country: Greece. If Turkey-Greece relations can improve thanks to tourism, which is one of the most effective tools of soft power, or if a noticeable progress is made even if the relations do not improve completely, Turkey may adopt similar strategies with other diplomatically problematic countries.

The management model adopted by Turkish Government has been subjected to serious criticism both within the borders of the country and in Europe. This management model may lead to the weakening of its soft power. If Turkey wants to have more soft power, it should use its rich cultural heritage, natural beauties and the advantages of its geographical location more effectively. It is necessary to integrate the tourism sector into the economy and to ensure the development of tourism by developing cooperation with other sectors. Making security checks at the borders of the country in a balance between security concerns and freedom of travel will make it easier for foreigners to come to the country. It is a very good practice to provide the necessary convenience to trucks and buses engaged in international transportation. Impartial courts should be allocated to resolve legal issues arising from international business agreements. In this way, it is inevitable for foreign capital to turn to Turkey. Touristic facilities and companies should be inspected frequently, and a new law enforcement agency should be allocated to provide services at international standards and to assist foreigners who say they have suffered victimization in this country. Tourism exhibitions, museums, natural beauties and local events should be promoted to the whole world with the help of the state. The number of foreign representations and consulates should be increased even more. Necessary support should be given to non-governmental organizations working in cooperation with the tourism sector. All workers and managers working in the tourism sector should be provided with basic courses so that they can contribute positively to the promotion of the country. It should not be forgotten that every employee in the tourism sector is a kind of diplomat and they have worked in different sectors in terms of serving the country.

If the above-mentioned elements are done in good faith, the expected results are: an increase in tourism revenues and therefore per capita income, an atmosphere of perpetual peace (and therefore less defense expenditures), the spontaneous resolution of gangrenous problems, the elimination of cultural and racial barriers, establishing solid bonds and others. As a result, local community living standards improve and local communities' satisfaction and community well-being increase. Tourists are always satisfied. The tourism and accommodation sector generates a lot of income and this brings business stakeholders and employee satisfaction. The government taxes the new income and its treasury is full. Through tourism, not only regional peace but also world peace is ensured (Kuri, Islam & Ananya, 2020).

Conclusion

Although Turkey and Greece seem to be rivals or enemies for a long time, it is possible for these two deep-rooted civilizations to get closer to each other based on their common points. As a matter of fact, in 1966, a concept called Helenoturkism was introduced with the mention that these two civilizations could create a common culture. Kitsikis, who used the term "Helenoturkism" for the first time, defends the thesis that a common civilization can be created by drawing attention to the interdependence of the lives of the two communities that have lived together since the eleventh century. According to him, although Greek and Anatolian lands were ruled by Persians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines and finally Ottomans, respectively, from the Persian Empire and Alexander the Great to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the 20th century, the inhabitants of these lands share common civilizational characteristics. This common civilization has shared the common features of Greek and Turkish cultures since the 11th century AD and for the last millennium. And again, according to those who support this ideology, the traditions, histories, cultures and even genes of these two cultures are similar to each other (Wikipedia, 2023).

If so, it is possible to reconcile these two enemy brothers through tourism and to direct them towards a common goal. All developed states in the world have realized how important the use of soft power is and they are determining and implementing different strategies to use it. Turkey has a relatively weak soft power compared to its military and economic power and should benefit from tourism opportunities to increase its power. In the light of the data and information examined within the scope of this study, it is possible to reach the following conclusion: Turkey has a very serious tourism potential and thanks to it, it can become a strong soft power country in the world. For example, many of the diplomatic problems with Greece (even if not completely resolved) can be solved through tourism. If Turkey can improve its relations with the country with which it has the most problems, thanks to tourism, it may well improve its relations with the others.

REFERENCES

- Akbaş, Z., & Tuna, H. (2012). The Effect of Soft Power on Tourism as a Foreign Policy Tool: An Evaluation Through Turkey Example. *Finans Politik & Ekonomik Yorumlar*, 49(571), 5-17.
- Akbaş, Z., & Tuna, H. (2016). The Effect of Changes in 21th Century Turkish Foreign Policy on Tourism: An Evaluation on Tourists from the Middle East. *Individaul and Society Journal of Social Science*, 6(12), 73-106.
- Altunışık, M. B. (2011). Challenges to Turkey's soft power in the Middle East. *TESEV Policy Brief*, 1, 1-4.
- Babiracki, Patryk (2015). *Soviet Soft Power in Poland: Culture and The Making of Stalin's New Empire, 1943-1957*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. ISBN 9781469623085. OCLC 911173017
- Bunakov , O. A. , Eidelman , B. M., Fakhrutdinova , L. R. & Gabdrakhmanov, N. K. (2017). Tourism as a Method of "Soft Power" in Modern Diplomacy on the Example of the Russian Federation. *Helix* Vol. 8(1): 2174-2177. DOI 10.29042/2018-2174-2177
- Dayıoğlu, A., & Aslım, İ. (2015). Reciprocity problem between Greece and Turkey: the case of Muslim-Turkish and Greek minorities. *Athens Journal of History*, 1(1), 37-50.
- Development Initiatives (2022). Global Humanitarian Assistance Report 2022. Retrieved from

- https://devinit.org/documents/1221/GHA2022_Digital_v8_IdHI18g.pdf on 08 April 2023
- Dowding, K. (2012). Why should we care about the definition of power? *Journal of Political Power*, 5, 119–135.
- Ekşi, M. (2018). “Türk Dış Politikasının Ultimo Ratiosu: Yumuşak Güçten Sert Güce Türkiye’nin Suriye Politikası”, *Journal of the Black Sea Studies*, XV/60: 71-99.
- Global Fire Power (2023). 2023 Military Strength Ranking. Retrieved from <https://www.globalfirepower.com/countries-listing.php> on 08 April 2023
- Good Country (2022). The Good Country Index. Retrieved from <https://index.goodcountry.org/> on 08 April 2023
- Hadjidimos, K. (1999). ‘The Role of the Media in Greek-Turkish Relations. Co-production of a TV programme window by Greek and Turkish journalists’. Robert Bosch Stiftungskolleg für Internationale Aufgaben, Programmjahr 1998/1999. Retrieved from <https://universityofleeds.github.io/philtaylorpapers/pmt/exhibits/1768/Greek-Turkish-Media.pdf> on 08 April 2023
- Harrison, A.J. (2016). Soft Power vs. Hard Power. Retrieved from <https://renaissanceforleaders.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/2-001.jpeg> on 08 April 2023
- Hatipoğlu, M. M. (1985), *Yunanistan’daki Gelişmelerin Işığında Türk-Yunan İlişkilerinin 101.Yılı, 1821-1922*, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, No:85, Ankara.
- Indeed (2022) What is a Conflict of Interest at Work? Retrieved from <https://au.indeed.com/career-advice/career-development/conflict-of-interest-at-work> on 08 April 2023
- Kirişçi, K. (2005). “A Friendlier Schengen Visa System as a Tool of Soft Power: The Experience of Turkey Soft Power,” *European Journal of Migration and Law*, no.7 pp.355-356.
- Kirk, John M., Erisman, H. Michael (2009). *Cuban Medical Internationalism : Origins, Evolution, and Goals* (1st ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan. ISBN 978-1403983725. OCLC 248348330
- Kuri, B.C., Islam, S. & Ananya, S.A. (2020). Tourism Diplomacy: A Feasible Tool of Building Nation’s Image through Tourism Resources. A Study on Bangladesh. *European Journal of Business and Management*. ISSN 2222-1905 (Paper) ISSN 2222-2839 (Online). Vol.12, No.24, 2020 DOI: 10.7176/EJBM/12-24-10
- Kwek, A., Wang, Y., & Weaver, D. B. (2014). Retail tours in China for overseas Chinese: Soft power or hard sell?. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 44, 36-52.
- Lowy Institute Global Diplomacy Index. (2021). Retrieved from https://globaldiplomacyindex.lowyinstitute.org/country_rank.html on 08 April 2023
- Millas, H. (2009). Perceptions of conflict: Greeks and Turks in each other's mirrors. In the Long Shadow of Europe. Greeks and Turks in the Era of Postnationalism. Lieden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2023). International Organizations. Retrieved from <https://www.mfa.gov.tr/sub.en.mfa?7cafe2ef-78bd-4d88-b326-3916451364f3> on 08 April 2023
- Nye, J. S. (1990) *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. N.Y.: Basic Books

- Passport Index (2023). Global Passport Power Rank 2023. Retrieved from <https://www.passportindex.org/byRank.php> on 08 April 2023
- Portland Communications (2023) Turkey: 2019 Overview. Retrieved from <https://softpower30.com/country/turkey/> on 08 April 2023
- Şen, O. (2019). Targeted soft power in Turkish new foreign policy and its impact on origins of in-bound tourists. *Journal of Tourism Theory and Research Online*, <http://dergipark.gov.tr/jttr> 5(1), 65-74. DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.24288/jttr.532357>
- Silver, C. (2022). The Top 25 Economies in the World. Investopedia. Retrieved from <https://www.investopedia.com/insights/worlds-top-economies/> on 08 April 2023
- Torres, D. (2017). China's soft power offensive. Politico. Retrieved from <https://www.politico.eu/article/china-soft-power-offensive-confucius-institute-education/> on 08 April 2023
- Triantaphyllou, D. (2017). Greek-Turkish Relations and the Perceptions of Their Elites. LSE Greece@ LSE. Blog. Retrieved from <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/greeceatlse/2017/01/31/greek-turkish-relations-and-the-perceptions-of-their-elites/> on 08 April 2023
- Tsourapas, Gerasimos (2018). "Authoritarian emigration states: Soft power and cross-border mobility in the Middle East" (PDF). *International Political Science Review*. 39 (3): 400–416. doi:10.1177/0192512118759902. S2CID 158085638
- Turkish-Asian Center for Strategic Studies, (2020). Tourism Diplomacy: Development of Sectoral Diplomacy. Retrieved from https://tasam.org/Files/Etkinlik/File/VizyonBelgesi/SGPK_TURD_Turizm_EN_pdf_5b53be2d-5b10-4421-bce5-731c4711689b.pdf on 08 April 2023
- UNWTO (2016). Tourism Highlights. 2016 Edition. Retrieved from: <https://www.eunwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284418145> on 08 April 2023
- Weber, M. (1947). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York: The Free Press
- Wikipedia (2023). *Hellenoturkism*. Retrieved from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hellenoturkism> on 08 April 2023
- Wikipedia (2023) *Soft Power*. Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soft_power#cite_note-30 on 08 April 2023
- World Tourism Organization (2022) *Turkey: Country-specific: Basic indicators* (Compendium) 2017-2021. Retrieved from <https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/abs/10.5555/unwtotfb0792010020172021202207?role=tab> on 08 April 2023