

T.C.
ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



**TURKEY-AFRICA RELATIONS IN THE 21st CENTURY: ECONOMIC
DIPLOMACY**

THESIS

Therence Atabong NJUAFAC

Department of Political Science and International Relations Program

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Thesis Advisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz KATMAN

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İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

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Enstitümüz Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Ana Bilim Dalı Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler İngilizce Tezli Yüksek Lisans Programı Y1312.110051 numaralı öğrencisi **Therence Atabong NJUAFAC**'ın "TURKEY-AFRICA RELATIONS IN THE 21st CENTURY: ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY" adlı tez çalışması Enstitümüz Yönetim Kurulunun 14.10.2016 tarih ve 2016/21 sayılı kararıyla oluşturulan jüri tarafından **..kategorisi ile Tezli Yüksek Lisans tezi olarak .. kabul edilmiştir.**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results, which are not original of this thesis. (.../.../2016)

Therence Atabong NJUAFAC

I dedicate this project to the following;

- My beloved Parents
 - Mr. ATABONG HENRY FONCHENALLAH
 - Mrs. NKENGATEH JUSTINE
- To my siblings
 - ATABONG EUNICE NGUAFAC
 - ATABONG DILLAND MBEANANG
 - ATABONG ADELIN EFUETZI
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I wish that this thesis will be useful for researchers in further study on fields related to this topic.

FOREWORD

This thesis is written in completion of Master's Program in Political Science and International Relations at Istanbul Aydin University. The research is focused on "Turkey-Africa Relations in the 21st Century: Economic Diplomacy". It tries to analyze the various elements shaping the relations between Turkey and Africa in the 21st century, and the economic relations existing between both sides. Looking at the world today, one will notice that lots of foreign and western countries are struggling to create relations with the continent of Africa. An example is China and France. Turkey is not left out of the race in this 21st century. To this note, this thesis therefore tells us why and how Turkish relations with Africa evolve.

If I stumbled several times without falling, it was because I leaned on a handful of individuals and groups to whom I am deeply indebted. My profound appreciation goes to my supervisor **Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz KATMAN** whose ideas, criticisms, guidance, encouragement and devotion spurred me, and gave the shape and form of this study. Despite her very charged commitments, she created appropriate time to guide me, read carefully through my manuscript, made necessary corrections and observations, making sure I was on the right tract. I will rather say she was more of a mother and care taker than just a supervisor.

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I wish that this thesis will be useful for researchers in further study on fields related to this topic.

SEPTEMBER 2016

The rence Atabong NJUAFAC

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFDB	: African Development Bank
API	: Africa Prospect Indicators
AU	: Africa Union
BSEC	: Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation
CTF	: Combined Task Force
DEIK	: <i>Dış Ekonomik İlişkiler Kurulu</i> (Foreign Economic Relations Board)
EAC	: East African Community
EU	: European Union
FDI	: Foreign Direct Investment
GNI	: Gross National Income
ICC	: International Chamber of Commerce
IGAD	: Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
JEC	: Joint Economic Commission
MDGs	: Millennium Development Goals
MINUSCA	: United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Central African Republic
MINUSMA	: United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MUSIAD	: <i>Müstakil Sanayicive İşadamlari Derneği</i> (Turkey's Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association)
NGOs	: Non-Governmental Organizations
ODA	: Official Development Assistance
OECD	: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OIC	: Organization of Islamic Countries
ONUC	: United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
ONUCI	: United Nations Mission in Cote D'ivoire
SACU	: South African CustomUnion
TASAM	: <i>Türk Asya Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi</i> (Turkish Asian Center for StrategicStudies)
TIKA	: <i>Türkiye İşbirliğive Kalkınma Ajansı</i> (Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency)
TOBB	: <i>Türkiye Odalarve BorsalarBirliği</i> (The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey)
TPP	: Trans Pacific Partnership
TTIP	: Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership
UN	: United Nations
UNAMID	: African Union and United Nations Mission in Darfur

UNCTAD	: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNMIL	: United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNMIS	: United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNMISS	: United Nations Missions in South Sudan
USA	: United States of America
WCO	: World Custom Organization
WFP	: World Food Program
WHO	: World Health Organization
WTO	: World Trade Organization
WWI	: World War I
WWII	: World War II

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21. YÜZYILDA TÜRKİYE-AFRİKA İLİŞKİLERİ: EKONOMİK DİPLOMASI

ÖZET

Bu tez, özellikle potansiyeller, gelecek perspektifleri ve ilişkilerin sınırları açısından Türkiye'nin Afrika'ya yönelik artan angajmanına yönelik genel bir bakışa odaklanmıştır. Türkiye'nin Afrika dış politikasının temel özünü inceler ve 21. yüzyılda Afrika ile ilişkilerin arkasındaki temeli analiz eder. Türkiye'nin Afrika'ya neden daha fazla ilgisi var sorusuna cevap vermeye çalışır. Diğer bir deyişle, bu çalışma 21. yüzyılda Türkiye ile Afrika arasındaki ilişkileri canlandıran ekonomik etkileşimleri (diplomasi) inceler. Aynı zamanda Türkiye ile Afrika arasındaki ilişkilerin kurulmasında anahtar araç olarak ekonomiyi gösterir.

90'lı yıllarda Afrika olarak bilinen kıta, 21. yüzyıldaki kadar Türkiye'yi ilgilendirmemekteydi; çünkü Türkiye Batı ile Orta Doğu, Balkanlar, Kafkaslar ve Orta Asya gibi yakın komşularıyla ilişkilerinedaha fazla önem vermekteydi. Bu çalışmada 21. yüzyılda Türkiye'nin Afrika'ya ilgisinin arkasındaki temel siyasi, ekonomik dini, kültürel ve stratejik motivasyonlarla birlikte süreçte karşı karşıya kalınan bazı zorluklar tartışılmaktadır. Bu tez üç ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölüm tezde kullanılan politika, uluslararası ilişkiler, ekonomi, diplomasi, yumuşak güç ve politik ekonomi gibi bazı temel kavramları tanımlar. İkinci bölüm Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde Türkiye ile Afrika arasındaki ilişki, Soğuk Savaş döneminde Afrika'ya yönelik Türk dış politikası, Afrika kavramı, Kamerun kavramı ve Türkiye kavramını sunmaktadır. Türkiye'nin Afrika ile ilişkilerine genel bir bakış sağlar. Aynı zamanda Türkiye'nin Afrika politikasını ve Afrika Türkiye ile Afrika arasındaki ilişkilerini şekillendiren ana unsurları ortaya koymaktadır. Üçüncü bölüm, 21. yüzyılda Türkiye ile Afrika arasındaki ilişkilerin sürdürülmesinde temelde ekonomik diplomasi olmak üzere çeşitli yaklaşımları sunar.

Anahtar Kelimeler:*Afrika, ekonomik diplomasi, ekonomik işbirliği, kalkınma, ticari ve ekonomik işbirliğianlaşması, Türkiye, Türkiye'nin Afrika dış politikası, yumuşak güç,*

TURKEY-AFRICA RELATIONS IN THE 21st CENTURY: ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY

ABSTRACT

This thesis is focused on an overview of Turkey's increased engagement towards Africa, especially in terms of its potentials, future perspectives and limits of the relations. It portrays and examines the main essence of Turkey's foreign policy in Africa, and equally analyses the main reason or aspects behind this relations with Africa within the 21st century. It tries to answer the questions of why Turkey has so much interest in Africa now. In other words, it explores more the economic interaction (diplomacy) that fosters the relations between Turkey and Africa in the 21st century. It equally shows the economic aspects as key instrument in building relations between Turkey and Africa. This continent known as Africa in the 90s was never a concern to Turkey as it is in this 21st century, since Turkey paid more attention to its relations with the West, and its close neighbors like Middle East, Balkans, the Caucasus and Central Asia. It discusses some of the main political, economic, religion, cultural and strategic motivations behind Turkey's interest in Africa, as well as some of the challenges face along the line in the 21st century. This thesis consists of three main sections. The first section defines some key concepts like foreign policy, international relations, economics, diplomacy, soft power, and political economy. The second section presents the relations between Turkey and Africa during Ottoman Empire, Turkish foreign policy toward Africa in Cold War period, and a brief idea of Africa, Cameroon, and Turkey. It also gives an overview of Turkey's relations with Africa, Turkey's policy in Africa and the main elements shaping relations between Turkey and Africa. The third section presents the various approaches, mainly economic diplomacy approach in maintaining relations between Turkey and Africa in the 21st century.

Key Words: *Africa, development, economic diplomacy, economic partnership, soft power, trade and economic cooperation agreement, Turkey, Turkey's Africa foreign policy*

1. INTRODUCTION

Studies and academic works on Turkey and Africa have traditionally been centered on economic relations. Turkey might not have created relations with all African countries, but the idea of its relations remains general in most studies and academic works. This thesis focuses on the economic relations between Turkey and Africa in the 21st century, not leaving out other factors such as political, socio-cultural, and religious relations.

The economic relation between Turkey & Africa in the 21st century is one of the most interesting aspect or phenomenon in current world politics. Economic relation plays a vital role in a state success and it is one of the strategic elements for the development of a country's economy. Every state survives through its economic relations with other states. Countries like France, China, United States, and Britain, just to name a few have been creating strong affiliations with African countries especially in the area of socio-economic and political relations. Turkey is not an exception to join the race of creating strong relations with Africa. The objective of this thesis is to show dynamics behind Turkey-Africa relations in the 21st century, its developments and key aspects. This thesis is an attempt to contribute into the academic efforts for understanding Turkey-Africa relations. The content of this thesis is vital because it explains a brief account of Turkey-Africa relations during and after the Ottoman Empire and detailed account of same relations during the 21st century.

This thesis is divided into three main chapters, though it has five chapters in general. Chapter one is the introduction and chapter is the conclusion. The first main chapter deals with the conceptual framework. This embodies definition of key concepts, and theoretical analysis. The Second main chapter deals with the developments that took place between Turkey and Africa before the 21st century, analyses Turkey-Africa relations before and during the Cold War period. This chapter equally throws more light on the concept of Africa, Cameroon and Turkey. This thesis also analyzes Turkey's policy in Africa and the main elements shaping the relations between Turkey and Africa. The third and last main chapter presents the conceptual view of

Turkey-Africa economic relations. Also, the soft power approach, trade and institutional partnership, humanitarian aids and politics, foreign trade, privatization policy of turkey, Turkey-Cameroon relations, Turkey-Cameroon Business council, challenges and analysis of Turkey-Africa relations are equally key aspects discussed in the thesis. In the conclusion, Turkey's relation with Africa is based more on a free-market economy system where concrete roles are implemented. Turkey lays more concern on structural reforms in economy, social security, agriculture, energy and communication privatization process and public finance has been put to order to strengthen Turkey's foreign policy with world at large. Turkey is progressively improving its foreign trade with Africa, and opening more doors on tourism. Extending to all African countries will obviously lay more concrete relations between Turkey and the entire African continent.

A qualitative method is applied in this thesis. The researcher's focus is centered on content analysis, and equally assesses previous available literature on the topic. Secondary data analysis is used in this thesis, and it is focused on a descriptive analysis which is based on carrying out intensive research on the relation between Turkey and Africa. The following Ministries were contacted for more information; Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey's Ministry of Economy, Turkey's Ministry of Education, and Turkish Airlines. Empirical methods, institutional inquiries and statistical analyses are applied. To throw more light to this, a series of tables, maps, and figures are used for illustration. In the research, official documents of Turkish foreign policy, articles, reports, newspapers/official sources, thesis, conference presentations and news announced at the web sites of both Turkey and Africa are used.

2. CONCEPTUALFRAMEWORK: SOFT POWER AND CONSTRUCTIVISM

2.1 Definitions

2.1.1 Foreign policy

The relations between Turkey and Africa are a way of strengthening foreign policy. Every nation is always scrambling to make sure its foreign policy is strong and able to create impacts. Turkey is not left out. Comparing Turkey in the 21st century with its foreign activities and Turkey before the 21st century, one will notice that the country's foreign policy has widened up so much. A case for instance is Turkey's presence in most countries in Africa and other parts of the world. In this note, many scholars have come up with a variety of definitions regarding foreign policy but however, all the definitions are centered on the behavior of a country towards other countries. For instance, foreign policy according to M. Fatih Tayful (1994, pp 113-141) is defined as a plan of action adopted by a state in view of its diplomatic transactions with other states (countries). This definition further explains that foreign policies are established as a method in dealing issues that may occur or arise in other states. Also, Amer Rizwan (2009, p. 1) in his article "An Introduction to Foreign Policy: Definitions, Nature and Determinants", defines foreign policy as "the use of political influence in order to induce other states to exercise their law-making power in manner desired by the states concerned: it is an interaction between forces originating outside the country's borders and those working within them". George Modelski (2015, p. 96) argues in his book that a foreign policy is the system of activities that evolves states or nations purposely for changing the behavior of other states, and for the adjustment of their own activities to the level of the various ways in which countries attempt to change, and to be able to try to make sure they succeed in changing the behavior of other countries as well. Looking at foreign policy in a simple argument, it embodies a set of self-interest and equally to achieve goals

within the framework of its international milieu. The main objective or approach here is for states to interact with other states.

From the aforementioned in understanding what a foreign policy is all about, one can therefore argue that the objectives of a foreign policy is not just base on creating relations with other states or making a change, but it is also to try as much as possible to regulate the behavior of other states by ensuring a fruitful continuity of their favorable actions. To this effect, one can also say that the functions of a foreign policy are therefore to try to minimize the “adversely effects and maximize the favorable effects of actions of other states.

2.1.2 International relations

International relations welcomes all kinds of relations across other states boundaries, regardless of whether there are Political, economic, cultural, religious, legal, private, official or any other character, and all human behavior from one state boundary affecting human behavior on the other state boundary. Relation between Turkey and Africa ties to the definition of Merriam Webster which looks at relations as the way in which different groups, countries, and two or more people talk to each other, deal with each other, and behave toward each other. Experts and scholars of international relations have put forth their own definitions of international relations. It should be of our understanding that the term international relations has a very tremendous horizon that embodies different varieties of relations such as political relations, economic relations legal and business relations between citizens and between state to state. According to an article titled “Introduction Relations: Power and Justice (1990)” by Theodore A. Coulumob is and James H. Wolfe (2016, p. 3) international relations is defined as a study that includes the following; international theory, international organizations, resolutions, comparative politics, and strategic studies with arms-control and disarmaments inclusive. Additionally, another scholar by name Joseph Frankel, explains that international relation is more frequently concerned with the web of international politics and not only with states and their interactions. Professor J. Dunn (2016, p. 3), looks at international relations as being the “actual relations” that takes place or operates “across national boundaries”. Trygve Mathisen (1959, p. 160) also regards international relations as “it all embraces all kinds of relations, traversing state boundaries, no matter whether they

are of an economic, legal, political or any other character whether they are private or official and all human behaviors originating on one side of the state boundary and affecting human behaviors on the other side of the boundary”. In a nutshell, it is more concern with creating mutual relations between one state with another for a common purpose or objective.

2.1.3 Economic relations

The whole concept of economic relations comes from economics which is related to the management of money, income, expenses and wealth. It could also be seen as the policies of a government to stabilize and distribute the wealth of the citizens or state. On the other hand, economic relations have more to do with the distribution, consumption of wealth and production between individuals, group of people or state with another. A good example is what is going on between Turkey and Africa in terms of trade, distribution of goods and services; investments etc. This therefore gives an understanding of the term economics, which is related to the existing relations that are going on between Turkey and Africa. Turkey-Africa relation is more centered on economic terms, thus dealing with the production, development, trade and management of material wealth, distribution, commodities, or business enterprise.

According to Harper (2001, p. 39), economics is a subject that drills on the distribution, production and consumption. The term economics is a Greek word which means administration and management of household. Economic models presently emerged as a result of political economy broad field during the 19th century.

According to another scholar Allen (1977, p. 1), he portrays economic relations as a science that is focus in giving analyses and describing the consequences in making different choices that concerns scanty productive resources. An economic relation is also regarded as the study of how individuals and societies make choices of resources, thus putting into consideration the goods and services to produce, how to produce, and how to distribute among the members of society. Economics is classified under micro and macro-economics. Rutherford (1996, p. 1) argues that economics is a study of the economy. He views that macro-economic deal with the study of a nation or world’s economy, using data about unemployment, industrial

production and inflation to understand the future. On the other hand, micro-economics deals with the behavior of specific sectors of the economy, such as households, industries and companies.

Reports from Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs titled the “economic outlook” of Turkey shows that Turkey is ranked the 18th largest economy in the world, and 7th in Europe. Its GDP in 2004 was about 800 billion \$. The economic growth rate of 2008 and 2009 materialized well below the achievement within the year 2002 and 2007. This challenge of economy however bounced back and rose to an increase growth rate of 9.2% in 2010, and 8.5% in 2011. Turkey’s general average growth rate from 2002-2014 was 4.9%. It equally had an increase of 5.4% during 2010-2014, and in the first 9 month of 2015 the economy of Turkey increased to 3.4% and the per capital income increased to 10.404 \$ in the year 2014 as compared to the sum of 3,500\$ recorded in the year 2002. The country’s economic growth target in Medium Term Program (MTP) from 2016-2018 is 4.5% for 2016, and 5% for the period of 2017 and 2018. This clearly presents the economic efforts of Turkey in its foreign policy. Trading and creating concrete bilateral relations between Turkey and Africa, and other parts of the world will help Turkey to realize its dreams. The foreign trade volume of Turkey is equally doing well as earlier explained. It shows that trade volume reached 351 billion \$ in 2015, and its exports grew significantly to 144 billion \$ in 2015, compare to 2002 where it was just 36 billion \$. The country’s investment has provided ample opportunities for foreign investors through its successful economic performance, qualified and competitive labor force, young population, reformist and Liberal investment climate, well developed infrastructures, low tax rates, large domestic markets. Turkey is quite unique in its trade activities and foreign direct investment and serves as a gateway to most regions across the globe like: Europe, Middle East, North Africa, and Central Africa. Statistics from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs shows that the numbers of active foreign firms in Turkey are more than 46,000 and 916 of these foreign firms have established liaison offices. By 2015, the total amount of foreign direct investment was more than 165 billion \$. All these successes on the Turkish side are thanks to privatization which is the country’s priority. Turkey Being listed among the top ten countries in privatization shows that it is working so hard to upgrade its foreign policy.

In addition to the Reports from Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, titled economic outlook of Turkey, Turkish businessmen and women plays a great role in Turkey's foreign policy. Turkey has become so active maintaining good relations with its neighboring and other national countries. Turkish contractors are said to successfully completed a total of 8693 projects in about 107 countries across the world within the year 1972-2015, with a total value of 276 billion \$ within the year 2002-2015. The total turnover of the Turkish construction and engineering sector reached a total of 193 billion \$ in 2015. A total of 42 Turkish firms are listed among the top 250 international contractors firms, compare to only 11 firms in 2004. Another important aspect promoting Turkish economy is tourism. Turkey is considered as one of the world's most popular tourism destination. Just in the year 2015, over 36 million tourist visited Turkey. In this same year, tourism ravenous went up to 31 billion \$. One can also see that from the aforementioned Turkey-Africa relations are impressive orientations of Turkish foreign policy. The rate of these relations was not as serious and effective in the previous centuries as it is in the 21st century.

2.1.4 Diplomacy

Diplomacy according to Merriam-Webster dictionary is the way negotiations are being conducted between nations, and the methods apply in handling affairs without necessarily arousing any hostility. What puzzles many researchers is how the whole idea of diplomacy came about. According to Hammanjidda Gambo (2016), the word diplomacy originated from the word diploma, which means a letter of credence. This was a system in the early modern Europe to certify the powers of an ambassador in negotiating and serving as the direct plenipotentiary or representative of the sovereign. As earlier said, there are many conceptions as to what is diplomacy, but it will be of interest to see that diplomacy entails managing an entity, or mediation. This same concept of diplomacy in the 21st century is more narrowed, and considered as a process of managing the foreign affairs of states within the governmental level.

In other words, diplomacy is the cordial dialogue among states for the interest of both states. In addition to understanding the meaning of diplomacy, another brief definition is that it is the art of conducting negotiations between states such as negotiating alliance, agreements and treaties. According to Daryl Tarte (2014, pp. 125-130) "Diplomacy in Fiji: A Place Called Home", regards diplomacy as the conduct of relations between a state and another state by peaceful means.

According to Carnes Lord (2003, pp. 151-158), he maintain that diplomacy is the interpenetration of domestic and foreign issues. He believes that the conventional distinction between domestic and foreign affairs has less meaning for statement than it is for social scientists. Also, John Joyce Broderick (1924, pp. 68-84) in line to this maintained that diplomacy is a way of conducting and maintaining relations between civilize nations. He later saw it necessary to remove the word “civilized” from the definition and thus redefine diplomacy as the art of conducting international affairs between states.

2.1.5 Soft power

Many scholars have view soft power as an emerging behavior especially in the 21st century. According to Judit Trunkos (2013, p. 4), he supports the argument of Joseph S. Nye that soft power deals with a country’s national resources which is capable of affecting other countries in a way of persuading framing agenda and equally eliciting positive attraction so as to obtain outcomes. Also, Jani Juhani Mustonen (2009, p.2) supports the definition of Robert Dahl which is based on the fact that the concept of power is centered on the capability of persuading others to do things that cannot be done otherwise. He says that power is either categorize under hard or soft. The difference between the two researchers is that the ability of behavior-changing of the former is bases more on coercion, whereas the latter focus more on persuasion and attraction.

According to Joseph S. Nye (2006, p. 153), his argument is centered on the fact that soft power is a cultural power. He believes that power is the ability to alter other people’s behavior to get what is required. Nye came up with three approaches of Power which are; attraction (which in other words is considered as soft power), coercion (considered as sticks), and payments (considered as carrots). In line with this, a British historian by name Nial Ferguson considered soft power to be non-traditional force such as commercial and cultural “good sand”. A country’s soft power can be gained through three resources: through its foreign policies, political values, and through its culture. In a nutshell, Nye definition of soft power is that it is the ability for a nation or individuals to get what it wants, through the method of attraction and not by coercion or payment.

Matteo Pallaver (2011, p. 89) in his view of soft power argues that it all based on influence. At the same time, he still back up his point by saying soft power is not only base on influence because “influence” itself is not necessarily affiliated to “legitimacy”. More often, there is a confusion of influence as equal to power. He went further with his argument by saying that the concept of soft power is more of an autonomous form of power whereby it is being guided by rules, characteristics, features, and good understanding of power so as to be able to efficiently employ it.

2.1.6 Political economy

According to T.E. Cliffe Leslie (1870, p.1) in the political economy of Adam Smith, he argues that no nation or country owns political economy. He thinks that it is a science with rules of accumulation, consumption, distribution and production of wealth. His argument continues with the fact that political economy is an “ascertained body of laws of nature, an offshoot of the ancient fiction of code of nature and the natural order of things”.

Walter, Andrew, Sen Gautam, and Cohen Benjamin J. (2009,pp. 1-26) in his own view of political economy argue that it is concerned with the way economic and political factors operates at the global level. Gautam and Benjamin portrayed that there are two related kinds of investigations by political economists. The first one is more about the way politics impel economic choices, with the awareness that policy choices are done by the government, social groups or actors. The second kind of investigation is focused on the way economic forces motivate and impel political choices such as voting behavior, union, political lobbying, individuals, governments, internal or external policies, and firms.

Adding to the aforementioned, Gilpin and Gilpean Jean M. (1987, pp. 8-24) argue that a “state” and “market” parallel existence and relation in the world today obviously created political economy. The absence of both a state and market makes it impossible to have a political economy. This in order words shows that political economy only survives with the presence of a state and market. Each of them plays a vital role. For instance, if there is no state and price mechanism, the determine factor of market forces would be on economic activities thus leading to a pure world of economist. On the contrary, if there is no market, the state would have to allocate its

economic resources, thus leading to a pure world of political scientist. It is obvious that world cannot exist in a pure form.

2.1.7 Theoretical frame work: Constructivism, Functionalism

The realist perspective in view of a foreign policy can be linked to the relations existing between Turkey and Africa, which is based on the framework of power concept and projects that there is always a destructive competition among the countries in order to achieve or realize their national interest. Realists argue that instead for states to focus on domestic concept of their states, they turn to go beyond that, giving the fact that its objectives and instruments are earlier gained, the decision makers acting as a rational actor turn to define the foreign policy acting as unitary actor. Realists believe that the decision makers have enough psychological capabilities and material to materialize every expected utility to its maximum level.

But not all scholars have the same view points as realists do. Some academicians such as Graham Allison and Herber Simon (1969, 1971, p. 103) have a contrary view point and therefore challenged the ideas or normative rational concept of the realism. In support to this, Ertan Efeğil (2012, p. 11) says in his article on “An introduction to political psychology for international relations scholars”, Herbert Simon, in his essay did stress that decision makers do not have the full cognitive capacity to evaluate all information. He thinks that decision makers take decisions by analyzing insufficient information so as to come to an optimal option rather than the best. The doubt here is whether decision makers of Turkey-Africa relations are applying such strategies.

Looking at the case of Graham Allison “Graham Allison’s Models” (2011, pp. 1-7) on the other hand, in his book he did enumerate different models as suggestions to see how a foreign policy works. He laid more emphases on the organization and bureaucratic models, which is contrary to the rational actor model. Adding to the list of academicians are people such as Christopher Hill, Margaret G., Hermann, Charles W. Kegley who also contributed much by challenging the rational actor model. They argue that to deterministically explain the foreign policy of a state does not necessarily mean the foreign policy analysis. When looking at the foreign policy analysis, all the various operations of the foreign policy process should be looked into, and analyzed. To this note, these scholars think that decisions can be taken under factors such as crisis situation, decision maker’s personalities, and interaction

among the actors and most especially the relations among them. This shows that creating relations with other states is based on the decision and agreement of the policy makers.

Looking at the Turkish new foreign policy of what it calls “Zero Problem with Neighbors” principle with the countries surrounding her, Turkey have so far gained a high significant transformation and evolution with the Arab uprising. Turkey saw it as an opportunity to build similar relations with most countries in Africa while maintain the same principle. Ankara in a way to illustrate its aims has been putting in a lot of effort to strengthen its relations based on Democratic and Liberal system (Genç 2011). In order to overcome its surroundings countries trying to complete their democratization process and economic achievement (goals), Turkey’s aim of achievement is in parallel with the success of regional developments. As a consequence, Turkey-Africa relations have turn to attract the attention of other global powers.

As explained above, some theorists tried to give their own views about the whole idea of creating relations between states etc. The prominent theory about this subject is the constructivist theory. This theory laid more emphasis on the importance of social relations, construction, and the evaluation of international relations. Constructivist theory denotes that a state or individuals often involved themselves in having more environmental interaction, thus leading to a process of societal norms. These norms in order words affect the government behavior, and it is obvious that a country’s foreign policy together with governmental benefits is shaped by the framework of these common norms, institutions and rules. Looking at this, Turkey preferred to past its norms forward, so as to affect government behavior base on its democratic and economic development in Africa. Turkey has simultaneously use conventional diplomatic ways in strengthening its relations with countries having strong economic power.

Constructivist theory can better help to have a good understanding of the change evolving Turkey-Africa relations in the 21st century where it is not only actors that are official decision makers at the level of the state, and equally in terms of interactions of societies and non-governmental institutions. Turkey’s governmental changes likely have a significant effect on its foreign policy, considering that the role in the international system was transformed by Turkey.

In view of Turkish-African relations in respect to social constructivism, one can see that Turkey has a high rate of diplomatic visits to many African countries. This high-level visit is a significant process in terms of constructivist perspective. According to social constructivist, some of the significant processes are; increased of the rate and number of agreements, increased of the scope of bilateral agreements, increased of the number of diplomatic missions, becoming a member of the international and regional institutions in Africa and fully taking active participation in them, increased of the sustainable amount in trade and development of volunteers and formal training activities. Turkey-Africa bilateral and multilateral relations especially its social relations are so vital and understandable with the perspective of social constructivism.

Another important theory, which gives a good view of state relations in a variety of ways, is functionalism. In line to the quest of examining the relations between states especially the relations between Turkey and Africa, and specifically Turkey-Cameroon relations, the ideas of functionalist plays a vital role in supporting this research. A functionalist theorist by name Makamla Mnugu (2008, p.11), in a journal titled “Development Studies/International Relations”, argues that functionalism or functionalist theory is more focused on common interest shared by states. He equally argues that functionalism is centered on the functions of a system rather than an actor or actors. Looking at the case of Turkey-Africa relations, it is more centered on states interest and not that of individuals, though individuals also play a great role. But the final decisions are attached to the state for legalization. The example of this theory can be viewed in different perspectives:

□ **Functionalist view of education:**

This shows that bilateral and unilateral relations between states play an important role in bringing unity and easy socialization. Opening Turkish schools in African countries like in Cameroon (Yaounde and Ngoundere to be precise), and other part of Africa is a good contribution in promoting cultural ties and socialization. The granting of scholarship is also a contributing factor to promoting bilateral ties, social integration, social placement, cultural innovation etc. Therefore, functionalist view of education can be summarized as follows:

- Preparation of adults for adulthood (This falls in the class of social integration)
- Transmission of culture through socialization (This falls under socialization)

- Increase of the number of educated individuals in the society (This falls under cultural innovation)
- Provision of pathways into the structure of society (Social placement)

□ **Functionalist perspective of Stratification:**

This simply shows the way every government operates. That is, a government manages its affairs in a cleverly way. Every state has its own ways and procedures of maintaining its territory which is aim at being at the top. Functionalist has its own way of looking at the society, which is;

- Functionalist believe that society is ranked by a scare of preference
- The practice of inequality is inevitable and obviously necessary for a society as a whole

□ **Functionalist perspective of politics:**

The way Functionalists view politics is not the same way compare to other theories. Politics controls if not all, most state, and politicians are the decision makers of those states. For a state to be strong and active, the leaders of that state must enforce a series of norms and rules to regulate the proper functioning and activities of the state. In other to create relations with other states, the politicians in the name of the government plan and coordinate that. They try to do everything possible for the interest of the state. A summary of functionalist view of politics can be seen as follows;

- Government plans and coordinates all state activities
- Government enforces norms, and regulates states conflicts
- Government has its own view on war
- Government conducts all state deals with other societies

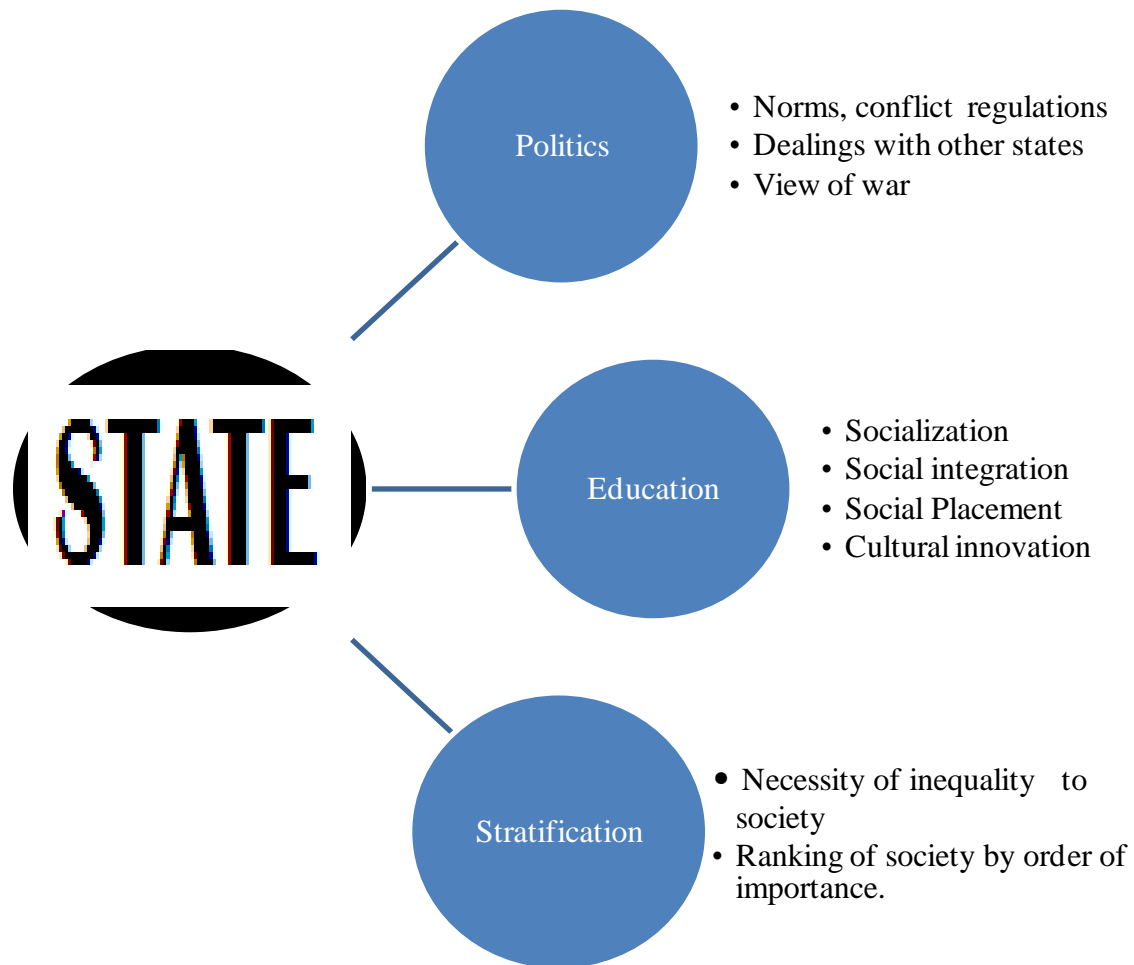


Figure 2.1: Functionalist view of a state

Source:Mnungu, M. (2008), “Development Studies/International Relations.”

<http://aiu.edu/publications/student/english/DEVELOPMENT%20STUDIES%20%20INTERNATIONAL%20RELATIONS.html>

The figure given above shows a clear picture of how the functionalists view the society. Functionalists believe that within a state, there are three main perspectives which include; Politics, education and stratification. Each of these perspective equally are summarize into categories. For instance, politics can be summarize into; norms, conflict regulations, dealings with other states and view of war. Education is also summarized as follows; socialization, social integration, social placement and cultural innovation. Lastly, stratification is summarized as; necessity of inequality to society and ranking of society by order of importance.

3. HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK: DEVELOPMENTS IN TURKEY-AFRICA RELATIONS BEFORE THE 21ST CENTURY

3.1 Turkey-Africa relations before and during the Ottoman Empire

Turkey's relations with Africa is a long-standing historical and cultural relations that started centuries ago. Tulinids, which is known today as Egypt was one of the founding states by the Turks in the continent of Africa since the 9th and 10th centuries. It is important to know that colonial expansion in North Africa was prevented by the Ottoman Empire, likewise with East Africa. A clear example of this is seen in the 16th century, where the Ottoman Navy under the commandship of Admiral Seydi Ali Reis stood as a defender of the Zanzibar Island against the forces that were trying to occupy the island.

Another relation created by the Turks was with the kingdom of Timbuktu, which in our present date is called Mali. Also, another relation was with the Kanem Empire, which was a so-called occupant territories of present-day North Nigeria, Chad, Niger, and North Cameroon. Relations with the North and Northeast of Africa is always a thoughtful and exclusive area in the memories of Turkish people. Turkey in its relations with Africa did not consider it as one. They didn't give equal regards to the Northern part of Africa with the Sub-Saharan part of Africa. More of its interest was geared toward North Africa. Turkey had strong relations with some North African countries such as Libya, Egypt, Algeria and Tunisia, and it is likely due to the fact that these countries were part of the Ottoman State since the period of 15th and 16th century. Turkey's relations with North Africa was due to some common interest between the two. Both sides had similar religious backgrounds as Muslims, also because both Turkey and North African countries were all in the Middle East. This is one of the reasons why Turkey didn't have so much interest to Africa until the 21st century where it became so renowned and top priority on its objectives to create relations across the border. Turkey's interest in creating relations with Sub-Saharan

Africa started in 19th century . This is one of the reasons why Turkey didn't have time for the Sub-Saharan Africa. They had lot of negative ideas about this part of Africa. As more of Muslims, they thought that it was better being close to the North of Africa.

Sub-Saharan Africa was perceived by Turkish to be a far off destination, covered with a lot of negative barriers such as diseases, hunger, famine, and civil war. These mentalities perceived by Turkish people were a huge hindrance of creating relations with that part of the continent. Thanks to the efforts of a renowned Turkish party "Ak Part (Justice and development Party), Turkish Government, and civil society Organization, the negative image of Sub-Saharan Africa began to change. An example of breaking this negative image was the visit of the then Prime Minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to Ethiopia and South Africa in 2005. Most people including the media, and retired diplomats criticized this visit. Turkey-Africa relations can be divided into three eras. The first era starts during the Ottoman Empire relations with Africa till the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923. The relation during this period was just considerable. The second era starts from 1923 to 1998, where the relation was at the lowest level. The third era was from 1998, with the acceptance of the African Action Plan. Turkey's interest in Africa revived, thus reaching a higher peak in 2005. Today, the negative conception about Africa has transformed into a win-win partnership and many agreements. Moreover, Africa is seen today as a ground full of human resources, economic, and cultural opportunities.

Turkey's historical relations with Africa can be well understood by looking at the African continent from a geographical perspective. North Africa was once the main focus point in Turkish foreign policy because of similar religious and historical background that existed between them. Turkey in this present century is circulated in both north and Sub-Saharan Africa today. It is of interest to know that Turkey's growing interest for African was strongly influence by media coverage, and in the academic arena with high increase of research centers, University courses, scientific journals, international conference, all focused on Africa. Even though Turkey had a strong interest on the Balkans, Central Asia, and the Middle East, but this interest was later reversed toward Africa. Acting as a new donor country with greater

ambitions, Turkey's political and economic relations with Sub-Saharan African countries intensified greatly.

Kieran E. Uchehara (2008, p. 51) argues that Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Ethiopia, and Algeria were historically provinces of the Ottoman Empire until when it was cut off and share to France, Italy and United Kingdom. Ottomans developed closed relations with some African regions because of the presence of the Muslims population living there and also because rich diamond and gold were discovered in the areas. According to the speculations by some scholars, the Ottoman Empire expansion during the period of 14th century had indirect contributions to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and Southern region of Africa. In a nutshell, the diplomatic relations existing between Turkey and Africa didn't just start in the 21st century, but rather it started formally since during the 16th century. The Ottoman Empire had some closed relations with Sub-African countries but unfortunately, this closer contact disappeared evidently. In line to this, Uchehara argues that a change of regime could be the main reason behind the disappearance. However, a lot of strenuous efforts has been put in place by the present date Turkey (Ottoman Empire in the previous years) to renew her old relations to a stronger one with the Sub-Saharan Africa and other parts of Africa in the recent years. He points out that the cultural and social relations between Turkey and Africa predate since during the period of the Ottoman Empire till the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923.

3.2 Turkish Foreign Policy toward Africa during the Cold War

Turkish-Africa relations within the 90s were of a very low importance/value if it existed at all. The young Republic of Turkey's foreign policy attitude was shaped by the Kemalist tradition in which more emphases on the policy was centered on non-intervention, vigilance to national sovereignty, and a western orientation. Turkey with its system of policy on and before the Second World War (WWII) had always been very skeptical in being part of any conflict, and rather preferred to be neutral in its foreign affairs and to protect its territorial integrity. Turkey started developing a lot of interest towards Africa during the Cold War period, and was attaching more importance with the Northern part of Africa. This growth of relations was based mostly on economic and political terms. However, the conditions of the Cold War bipolarity shaped these relations, thus embracing the odd historical public sentiment

toward the entire continent. Turkey had great recognition of Africa, but lacked the proper means and strategy on how to go about it.

According to Özkan (2010, p. 95), he argues that Turkey's relation with Africa was downgraded to the lowest level after the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923. This, according to Özkan was as a result of the domestic problems both sides were facing, such as putting in place a new state structure etc. It is of great importance to understand that Turkey's relations with Africa especially North Africa has been stronger thanks to its enormous efforts to diversify its economic and political relations. Sub-Saharan African countries were of no special importance in Turkish foreign policy agenda during this period. By 1970s, Turkish conflict in Cyprus was a hindrance regarding the relations with its Western allies. Turkey missed the opportunity to develop firm and healthy commercial, political, and economic relations with Africa during the unveiling of the decolonization process in Africa. In a nutshell, the lack of interest, and the strategy to use in creating strong relations with Africa was one of the problems in Turkey's agenda. Özkan (2010, p. 95), goes further to give us an understanding that it was still in the 1990s that Turkey opened up to Africa based on the Africa Action Plan in 1998. This opening to Africa through the help of AK Party government was seriously taken into consideration and very much supported by different civil society organizations in Turkey.

3.3 Principles of Turkey's policy in Africa

Turkey-Africa relation is an important orientation of Turkish foreign Policy. Turkey's interest in Africa developed since the era of Cold War, but the strong urge for Turkey to strengthen its relations with Africa became so obvious and vital until the 21st century, and this has gone a long way at seeing Turkey's present position in that part of the continent. Being a strong Afro-Eurasian state, Turkey's interest in Africa is not just on transient social, political, religion and economic expectations. Rather, it is a product whereby a strong historical and cultural aspect upholds. Turkey and Africa relations have so much gained grounds since January 2008, when Turkey was declared as a Strategic Partner by Africa Union. Since then till 2013, Turkey has boosted its economic and political relations with the continent. In the journal published by the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning the relations between Turkey and Africa, some important principles of its policy with Africa are

stated as follows; (1) to establish a closed political relations through re-enforcement of bilateral high visit to the continent of Africa, and to stand as an actor in defending the legitimate rights and interest of the various African states through multilateral and bilateral talks. (2) To stand as a supportive actor in overcoming Africa’s economic hardship by investing in Africa, offer humanitarian services, and trade in Africa and with Africans. (3) To exercise diplomatic techniques in peaceful settlement of dispute in Africa. (4) To actively participate in peacekeeping missions within the continent. The aforementioned is the general objective of Turkey towards Africa. To be specific, the same objectives are also applied to Cameroon which is one of the countries in the continent of Africa. Figure 3.1 given below demonstrates the principles of Turkey’s relations with Africa.



Figure 3.1: Principles of Turkey’s Policy with Africa

Source: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011), “Turkey-Africa relations”,

<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relations.en.mfa>

The conceptual framework is more focus on Africa as a whole and Cameroon to be specific, though the word Cameroon might not feature more often in the explanations but the objectives remains similar. Turkey-Africa orientation is centered on trade and economic motives. This orientation process is considered by academicians to be a pragmatic approach whereby Turkish officials combines its approaches and efforts with that of other officials, traders, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and other international organizations in fulfilling its foreign policy objectives. The opening of Turkey to the continent of Africa and Cameroon to be specific shows that an increase in trade, humanitarian aids, bilateral official visits, educational activities and a concrete visibility in international organization gives a strong support in an “all in one” perspective of Turkey’s foreign policy. The dynamism of Turkish entrepreneurs and NGOs has so much accelerated positively.

Turkey-Africa relations today is much more firm and strong compare to the previous centuries. This is because of the strong backup put in place by both civil society and the states. A case of this is the numerous summits or congresses held by both parties to strengthen relations. A total of 10 congresses have been held since the beginning of this century, and the outcome of the conferences has really yield positive result in creating strong relations between Africa and Turkey.

3.3.1 A win-win policy

In other to strengthen Turkey-Africa relations, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Turkish President made official visits to some African countries. His visits have been considered by Turkish officials as a ‘win-win’ trip to Africa (TRT World, May 27, 2016). The president recently paid two official visits to Uganda and Kenya. Many academicians and officials question why Erdogan decided to visit Uganda and Kenya now. The answers to these questions are that; Kenya for example is the economic giant of East Africa. Its capital city Nairobi is a hub that hosts the headquarters of many international companies and organizations. It equally plays an important political and strategic role in East Africa. President Uhuru Kenyatta’s visit to Turkey in 2014 was his very first visit to Europe as President. After his visit, trade between Turkey and Kenya reached 150 million \$ in 2015. According to TRT World (27 May, 2016), about 400 Kenyan students are studying in Turkish universities under scholarship. This shows a clear indication that relations with Africa is not only about business, but also about other sectors.

On the other hand, Erdogan happens to be the first Turkish president to visit Uganda. Uganda has a lot of opportunities for Turkish investment in sectors like agriculture, mining, and tourism. The chairman of DEIK (Turkey's Foreign Economic Relations Board) Ömer Cihat Vardan in accompanying the president in his trip said DEIK will set up business forums in Kenya and Uganda to enhance contacts between Turkish businessmen and the two countries. Erdogan, during the set tour equally said Turkey's main aim in Africa is more of 'building bridges on the basis of mutual respect and appreciation'. In support to this, Turkish foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu said Turkey is pursuing 'a human-oriented approach' toward Africa rather than exploitation or colonialist one. A total of 5437 students from Africa countries are studying in Turkish institutes of higher education under Turkish government scholarships. In line to this, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu said in an official message during the African Day (25 May, 2016) that 'Turkey stands with African brothers and sisters' (TRTWorld, May 2016).

In a tweet on Invest in Turkey (@investTurkey) on 01.06.2016 at 11:25, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu Foreign Affairs Minister of Turkey said that Turkey sees Africa as a reliable partner. TIKA also tweeted on the 3.06.2016 at 09:40 that "Turkey and Africa: A partnership of equals." This shows that the relation is that of mutual understanding between both sites. The same phrase of seeing Africa as a reliable partner was also reported in a Turkish Newspaper "Daily Sabah"-(Diplomacy) by Anadolu Agency on May 31, 2016. Adding to this, Foreign Affairs Minister of Turkey said "we did our best to develop relations with African countries. Turkey's Africa policy has been transformed into a partnership policy. We opened embassies in 39 African countries. Turkish Airlines flies to 38 destinations in the continent on Africa. Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) done a lot in supporting developmental projects, and have opened 14 offices in the African continent". Foreign Affairs Minister of Turkey and his counterpart Louise Mushikiwabo from Rwanda signed a memorandum of understanding on educational cooperation, visa exemptions for diplomatic passports and more cooperation between the two countries' foreign ministries. Mushikiwabo on this note remarked that "in the last five to seven years there were many developments in the field of trade and investment between Turkey and Rwanda. There are numerous opportunities for the Turkish business community in Rwanda." The Minister requester for more benefits

from many possibilities of Turkey's education, health and engineering in Rwanda. In a nutshell, a Turkey-Africa relation is that of a win-win one.

3.3.2 International summits between Turkey & Africa

3.3.2.1 The First Turkey-Africa International Summit

The relation between Turkey and Africa became a great success during the first international summit that took place in Istanbul-Turkey on the 23th to 24th of November, 2005. This summit was organized by TASAM (Turkish Asian Center for Strategic Studies). During the summit, Turkey declared "2005" as the "Year of Expansion into Africa". The main goals of this summit were as follows: (a) To increase social, economic, cultural and political relations that was existing between Turkey and Africa, (b) To propose possible ways that could be used in combating the existing problems in Africa, and (c) To suggest decisions that could be used to regulate the relations between both Turkey and Africa. During this conference, the then Turkish Foreign Minister claimed that both sides have deeply rooted ties since from the Ottoman era. In line to this, he stressed that Turkey was ready to speed up its past economic and cultural relations with African continent. According to Hasan Öztürk and Ahmet Kavas (2005, p. 16), Former Turkish President Abdullah Gül on his part also stressed on the African Union Commission Chairman, Alpha Oumar Konare's visit to Turkey that, it was the first visit from an African regional organization to Turkey since 1963. This first international Turkish-Africa Summit was a stepping stone to compensate for the old relation that was neglected before. Having a summit and subsequent meetings was an open opportunity for both sides to get acquainted with each other. The outcome of this conference was also to show the African people that Turkey was a friendly nation.

The Second Turkey-Africa International Summit

The 2nd summit between Turkey and Africa was held in Istanbul-Turkey from the 12th to 13th of December 2006. The main aim of this congress was centered on analyzing the issues on economic cooperation, development and aid opportunities, and investment between Turkey and African states, and to look for a way forward to providing necessary information for a closer cooperation. The turnover in this congress was impressive, with a total of over 30 African States, 550 business men and women, senior officials and a host of Ministers. On the Turkish side, about 1,300

businessmen/women were present. The Summit ended up with both Turkey and African businessmen signing trade agreements.

3.3.2.3 The Third Turkey-Africa International Summit

On December, 4th to 6th 2007, TASAM organized the third Turkey-Africa international summit. Participants in this congress were specialist, academicians and the representatives of institutions of Counsel from the African Union Member States, and specialists from Europe. This Summit was aimed at improving cooperation between African States and Turkey. The outcome of the summit paved the creation of TIKA offices in Ethiopia, Sudan and Senegal. Over 60 ministers and government officials from different African countries, as well as over 500 businessmen and women from 40 different African countries, and about 1500 Turkish entrepreneurs were represented. According to Uchehara, the second summit was of more importance to African businessmen than the first summit.

3.3.2.4 The Fourth Turkey-Africa International Summit

The summit was held in Istanbul/Turkey, from the 25-27 November 2008, with participants from more than 45 countries, and over 3500 participants from Africa, and Turkish businessmen and women inclusive. During the summit, Kürşad Tüzmen, the then Turkish Minister of Foreign Trade recount on the opportunities the African market presents for Turkey. He encourage on the importance for Turkey to create more strong relations with the countries in Africa. Atila Kızılaskan (Undersecretariat of Turkish Foreign Trade) supported his idea by adding that the condition of creating a strong relation with Africa was very ripe, especially for small and medium sized enterprises. More emphases were laid by the then Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ali Babacan, on the contributions to be realized from the meeting to improve cultural, economic, and commercial affiliations between African countries with Turkey. He added that “Turkey place great importance on its relations with Africa, which has a great potential. Turkey’s relations with Africa are based on principles of sharing, friendship, partnership and brotherhood. These relations can be characterized as a win-win relation”. He did say that 15 new embassies were to be established in Africa, giving a total of 22. In line to this, John Magara who serves as the Kenyan assistant trade Minister said Kenya was soon to open an embassy in Turkey in line to promoting bilateral relations with Turkey. During this summit,

Turkey's membership request for African development Bank (AFDB) was accepted. The acceptance of this membership has enabled Turkish investors in Africa to join all economic projects within the continent.

3.3.2.5 The Fifth Turkey-Africa International Summit

The Summit was held on the 19-21 November 2009 in Istanbul/Turkey. The theme used for this congress was "The Role of Civil Society and Think Tank Organizations of the Development of Turkish-African Relation/USTKIP Commission Meetings". The Summit was aimed at; following up the developments in Turkey and Africa relation, analyze obtained information, develop a consistent vision for a common future and evaluate opportunities that could provide benefits for Turkey and Africa. It was also aimed at contributing to the improvement of communication and tolerance between both sides, and to help in maintaining global peace and stability. The Summit was organized by TASAM. During the congress, the Sudanese Minister of Agriculture and Forestry emphasized on the active and constructive importance of Organizations such as think tank organizations and civil society on its wonderful achievement and development of strengthening relations between Africa and Turkey. Dr. Al Mutafi expressed in his presentation that they would be so proud to establish "a comprehensive partnership between Turkey and Africa". According to the report from TASAM, the congress ended with a declaration that a common cooperation between the think tank organization and civil society of Turkey could lead to the development of a stable and efficient relations. The congress was equally focused on "Economy and Development". Report from TASAM website explains that there was a vision of reaching what was termed as the "Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and also to increase the amount of investment towards sectors like agriculture, which in turn will resolve immigration problems in Africa. The conference ended with an agreement of maintaining "peace and security/global partnership".

3.3.2.6 The Sixth Turkey-Africa International Summit

The sixth international Turkish-African congress was held from 16-18 December 2010, in Istanbul/Turkey. This Summit was centered under a theme "Millennium Development Goals (MDGs): The Role of Civil Society in Africa's Development and Global Cooperation". The Summit was organized by TASAM, with the aim of

servicing a strong and permanent institutionalization in the continent. It was also to increase more cooperation and communication between Turkey and African states.

3.3.2.7 The Seventh Turkey-Africa International Summit

This summit was equally organized by TASAM, African Institute and Center for Strategic Studies, and hosted by the Sudanese Ministry of International Cooperation. It started from the 18th to 19th of January 2012 in Khartoum-Sudan. The theme used during this summit was “Multi-Dimensional Struggle for Africa: The Future of Turkish-African Relations”. There were representatives from Turkey and Africa, Think Tanks, non-governmental organizations, academicians, and other experts. One of the main issues discussed during the congress was the “growing interest of rising powers towards Africa”. Some of the specific goals of this conference were:

- ✓ To find out possible reasons why there is a growing interest toward Africa in the 21 century
- ✓ To give analyzes of Africa’s position in the world in this present century
- ✓ To determine the main expectations and objectives of global powers having interest in the African continent
- ✓ To analyze competing parties policies toward the African continent
- ✓ To also determine the various effects of policies in Africa being adopted by the countries having interest in Africa.
- ✓ To make analyses on the relations existing between countries that are in multi-dimensional struggle for Africa
- ✓ To determine the position of Turkey’s African initiative in the multi-dimensional struggle for Africa
- ✓ To increase the transfer of information between Africa and Turkey, so as to realized the opportunities of mutual cooperation
- ✓ To present all biased approaches in mutual cooperation
- ✓ To know the expectation of African countries from Turkey

3.3.2.8 The Eighth Turkey-Africa International Summit

The 8th international Turkish-African Summit was held in Accra-Ghana on the 16-17 April 2013. The theme during this summit was “Economic Growth, Food security and health for all”. The social and economic problems of Africa and possible solutions to the problems were all examined in a comprehensive manner during the

summit. There was the presentation of a paper titled “African Economies: Opportunities and Risks, Food Security and Agriculture Policy, Energy, Water policy and Food Security”. The paper was also about “Health for All, the Expo 2020 vision, social policy, and the contribution of civil society. The issue of how to sustain peace, stability and security in Africa was discussed.

3.3.2.9 Ninth Turkey-Africa International Summit

The ninth congress was organized still by TASAM on the 24-25 April 2014, in Istanbul. The theme of the congress was “Sectorial and Financial Transformations in Africa: Opportunities and Risks”. Five sessions were organized with the scope of the congress, under the themes; “Africa and Global Economy”, Trade and Investment Opportunities”, “Economic and trade Relations between Turkey and Africa: Business World perspective”, “Investment to social Development”, “Turkey-Africa policy”. A host of Ministers and Turkey Undersecretaries, African Union top officials, Institutions, Experts and Financial institutions attended this summit. Many topics such as; multi-lateral cooperation, economic and trade relations, trade and investment opportunities were discussed. It was viewed in the summit that the discovery of energy reserves, structural regulations, new laws, and increase in investment to infrastructure were some of the factors that support development. The main goals of the summit were: (a) to draw attention to changing conditions and investments opportunities in the countries in Africa, (b) to analyze regional economic communities, (c) to discuss the importance of intra-African trade (d) to establish a network so as to expand trade relations between Africa and Turkish private sector, and (d) to share the success stories of women and young entrepreneurs.

3.3.2.10 Tenth Turkey-Africa International Summit

The 10th International Turkish-African Congress was held in Dakar, Senegal, on the 19-21 November 2015. The theme during this summit was “Trade Investment and Competition in Africa: New opportunities”. Sub-themes were: Africa’s investment map, Africa’s Economic Outlook, and Sectorial Distribution, Africa’s Comparative Outlook, Trade in Africa, and Turkey-Africa Relations: Opportunities and Expectations. The turnover was very impressive, with the presence of various ministers and undersecretaries from Senegal and Turkey, African Union, experts, institutions etc. A presentation was done on the African development process during

the congress using up-to date data. Much emphasis was laid on the multilateral cooperation, trade, investment opportunities, economic and trade relations between Africa and Turkey. All States were encouraged to be part of the upcoming conference of Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), and also the ongoing Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). There was a need for improvement to meet up with the full potentials in the areas of marketing, agriculture, tourism, healthcare, social responsibility, education, trade and investment. The issue of developing a collaborative financial sector and the extension of insurance services to all business community to boost the cooperation existing between private sectors, and address of risk management was highlighted at the congress.

3.4 Main elements shaping relations between Turkey & Africa

3.4.1 Socio-political relations

Turkey-Africa political relations became so strong after 2005, when Africa was proclaimed the “Year of Africa” by Turkish government. In the same year the proclamation, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan who was the then Prime Minister of Turkey paid an official visit to some African States like Ethiopia and South Africa. Turkey also became an “Observatory Status” in the African Union (AU), and was also declared by AU as a “Strategic Partner” during the 2008 Turkey-Africa summit.

The 2nd Turkey-Africa Partnership Summit that took place in Malabo, the Capital of Equatorial Guinea from the 19th to 21st of November 2014 marked one of the contributing factors that showed the existing collaboration that was going on between Turkey and the continent of Africa. Being an Observer and a strategic partner of AU shows Turkey has been doing a lot to tighten its relations with Africa. According to reports from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a total of 16 countries took part as active participants of the summit, while in general view, there were 30 African countries represented in the Malabo Summit. It showed that seven African presidents were present (Equatorial Guinea, Chad, Mauritania, Benin, Zimbabwe, Niger and Democratic Republic of Congo), and eleven Ministers from; Kenya, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Senegal, Angola, Sudan, Ethiopia, Libya, Ghana, Morocco and Somalia. The Chairman of the African Union Commission was present during the summit. This encouraging representation from African diplomats shows

the concern they had in strengthening relations with Turkey. A clear support to this statement can be seen from the chosen theme of the Summit which states “A new model of partnership for the strengthening of sustainable development and integration”. An adoption of declaration and joint implementation plan for the period of 2015 to 2019 was one of the key aspects during the conference, and this was because of the interest of relations from both sides, and how to meet more often to discuss on how to strengthen their relations. Decisions of the Summit called for a third Turkey-Africa Partnership summit agreed to take place in Turkey in 2019.

The Importance of Turkey-Africa political relations can also be seen within the activities in the United Nations (UN). For instance, in 2008, Turkey was elected as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, with votes from 151 countries. This was possible thanks to the massive support of African countries that voted “en bloc” in favor of Turkey, though with the exception of South Africa and Mozambique (Pham, 2010). Moreover, Turkey is seeking the leadership role in world politics by establishing strong relations with African states. In exchange to this, most African countries expect Turkey to stand by them to articulate their problems and interest at the UN forum.

Turkey adopted a system of creating close and firm political relations with Africa so as to intensify a positive bilateral high level of formal visits to Africa. Also, Turkey was to act at the same time as the voice of Africa to defend the rights and interest of African countries. It is however important that Turkey has of now been engaged in five UN peacekeeping missions in Africa. These missions are; UN Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC), the hybrid AU-UN Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), UN mission in Liberia (UNMIL), and UN Mission in Cote D’Ivoire (ONUCI). Turkey was equally part of the United States-led Combined Task Force (CTF) 151, a multinational naval force carrying out anti-piracy operations under the mandate of UN Security Council, off the coast of Somalia since 2009. In 2012, Turkey assumed command of this task force (Pham, 2010; Combined Maritime Forces, 2012). Turkey took some political measures to concretize their relations with Africa in the following ways; (i) To organize high-level visits to most African countries, (ii) To establish a healthy political consultation mechanism, (iii) To apply quality intensification of contacts with countries in Africa within international organizations, (iv) To have a healthy reciprocal inter-

parliamentary visits, (v) To have visits of Turkish delegations and diplomats to various African countries, and (vi) To contribute to the various UN technical and humanitarian assistance programs.

Turkey attaches a lot of importance to ensuring stability and peace in the African continent. According to analyses from Turkish Ministry of Foreign affairs, Turkey has of now given a lot of contribution through the United Nations in peacekeeping missions in Africa. Turkey has embarked on providing financial and personnel support to Seven out of Nine peacekeeping missions in Africa, that is; MINUSM/Mali, MONUSCO/DRC, UNMISS/South Sudan, MINUSCA/CAR, UNAMID/Darfur, UNOCI/Cote D'Ivoire, and UNMIL/Liberia. Additionally, Turkish National Police have been providing training to its counterparts personnel in African countries in various fields. Military support is not left out. Turkey also usually provides training to African military personnel. According to the report from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the title "Turkey-Africa Relations, it shows that 2202 Africa trainees were received in Turkey by the end of 2014. This number keeps increasing every year. Just in 2015, statistics in line to this shows that there were 570 African trainees received in Turkey.

3.4.2 Diplomacy Academy

Diplomacy Academy is a Turkish academy that was established with its first name being "Foreign Affairs Academy" on January 22, 1968 by the Turkish Government. The name was later changed to "Foreign Affairs Training Center" as part of the responsibilities of the Foreign Affairs. The Academy was restructured under article 6004 of the organization and duties of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with a change of name to "Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs". The objectives of this Academy is centered on training institutions which plan and conducts basic, preparatory, and in-service training and internship programs for the Ministry members to effectively execute international relations of the Republic of Turkey, consular services, and its foreign policy. Another objective is to provide human resources. The Academy equally offers training programs for career diplomats to other countries. This Academy is responsible in the planning and participation of top ministry officials in the training programs, professional seminars in other countries, and language courses. Its main activities include; training programs for foreign

diplomats, training programs for Ministry Officials, and training programs for other public Institutions and entities.

Turkish Diplomacy Academy has been in Bilateral Cooperation with Diplomatic Academies of many countries across the world by endorsing framework agreements call “Memorandum of Understanding for Cooperation.” This cooperation is divided into two parts in Turkey. That is, the National Cooperation Agreements and International Cooperation Agreements. Our focus is more centered on the International Cooperation Agreement.

Analysis given by the Turkey’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs shows that Diplomacy Academy has of now signed “Memorandum of Understanding for Cooperation between Diplomatic Academies” and “Protocol on Exchange of Diplomats” giving a total of 79 and 15 countries respectively. The interest displayed by foreign states in the “Exchange of Diplomats” program has so much increase significantly in the recent years thanks to the activeness of the foreign policy agents of Turkey. It is interesting to know that Diplomacy Academy has set up the coordination of exchange of foreign diplomats for a period of 3 months to 1 year. The “memorandum of understanding for cooperation between Diplomatic Academies constitute the legal basis in regards to the Cooperation of Diplomatic Academies, which stipulate the exchange of lectures, experience, instructors and publications, as well as joint conferences, seminars and training programs.

As an example to the aforementioned, the Academy organized a one-week diplomacy training for a total of 4 Ethiopian diplomats on the 28th of February to 6th of March 2016 in Ankara the capital of Turkey. During the training, Ministry Officials and Ambassadors briefed on a series of topics; Turkey-Africa relations and Turkey-Ethiopia relations as part of the training program. The delegation visited some important places and historical arenas such Ataturk’s Mausoleum and TIKA in Ankara, and also Hagia Sophia Museum, Topkapi Palace, Blue Mosque and Spice Bazaar in Istanbul. The attendees were Mr. Negus kebede KASSAW, Mr. Mesfin Weldellassie Melkisa, Mr. Muguleta Hobie Ashancho and Mr. Teshome Mekonnen Temesgen. In this same context, Moussa Ali Meigague, Director of Diplomatic Studies Institute in Djibouti’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, paid a visit to the Academy on February 23-25, 2016 in Ankara. On the last day of his visit, he and Mesut Özcan, Director of Diplomacy Academy held a

meeting for the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between the two institutions. They equally discussed on potential cooperation strategies. The visiting Director ended his visit by visiting TIKA and Ataturk Mausoleum. This whole concept explained above shows the bilateral relations existing between Turkey and African countries, and the efforts put in place to strengthen these relations. Table 3.1 shows African countries that signed Memorandum of Understanding for Cooperation with Diplomacy Academy of Turkey, and also African countries that signed protocol for Exchange of Diplomats.

Table 3.1: Memorandum of Understanding for Cooperation and (with Diplomacy Academy of Turkey) Protocol for exchange of Diplomats

No	List of Countries	African Countries signed MoU for Cooperation with Diplomacy Academy	African Countries signed Protocol for Exchange of Diplomats
1	Burkina Faso	✓	×
2	Cameroon	✓	×
3	Chad	✓	×
4	Cote D'Ivoire	✓	×
5	Congo	×	✓
6	Egypt	✓	×
7	Equatorial Guinea	✓	×
8	Ethiopia	✓	×
9	Gabon	✓	×
10	Gambia	✓	×
11	Ghana	✓	×
12	Guinea	✓	×

13	Kenya	✓	×
14	Liberia	✓	×
15	Libya	✓	×
16	Mali	✓	×
17	Morocco	✓	×
18	Namibia	✓	×
19	Niger	✓	×
20	Republic of Congo	✓	×
21	Senegal	✓	×
22	South Africa	✓	×
23	South Sudan	✓	×
24	Sudan	✓	×
25	Tunisia	✓	×
26	Zambia	✓	×

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Diplomacy Academy (2012), “International Cooperation Agreements”, <http://diab.mfa.gov.tr/en/about/cooperation-activities/>

Table 3.1 given above shows that out of the 26 African countries listed, 25 of them signed the Memorandum of Understanding for cooperation with Diplomacy Academy of Turkey, just 1 (one) country signed the Protocol for Exchange of Diplomats. The 25 countries include; Cameroon, Chad, Burkina Faso, Equatorial Guinea, Cote D’Ivoire, Egypt, Gabon, Ethiopia, Guinea, Gambia, Liberia, Ghana, Mali, Zambia, Morocco, Niger, Namibia, Republic of Congo, South Africa, Senegal, Sudan, South Sudan, and Tunisia, while the 1 (one) on the other hand is Congo respectively.

3.4.3 Cultural relations

Cultural relations between Turkey and Africa became more evident after the end of Cold War, which in other words provided an opening for Turkey's foreign policy. Cultural diplomacy was one of the strategies and approaches used by Turkey to attract the Central Asian states. After resolving external issues with the Soviet Union, Turkey had the open chances to extern its winds by starting the granting of scholarships, known as the "Grand Student Project" for Turkic students and other relative communities. This project started with Turkic States, and later extended to Africa after when 2005 was announced as the "Year of Africa" by 2015 in Turkey. A total of 70 students were granted scholarship in this same year, and this number increased to 257 in 2010 and 393 in 2011. Between 2005 and 2011, Turkey granted a total of 1089 undergraduate and graduate scholarships to African students. This number kept increasing each year. This increase in number shows the cultural and educational relations platforms as important aspects to strengthening Turkey-Africa relations. According to Tekin (2005, p. 103) between the year 2005 and 2011, a total of 85 students had scholarships from Morocco, 73 from Guinea-Bissau, 65 from Nigeria, 62 from Ethiopia, and 54 from Egypt.

The massive movement of Turkish to Africa and Africa to Turkey has opened a mutual door for individuals to learn each other's culture. The numerous festivals organized by Turkish, and the variety of cultural activities perform in all areas in Turkey has so much attracted many Africans into Turkey. On the other hand, many African students and associations have been organizing their cultural activities in Turkey, and this has been attracting a lot of Turkish people to know more about Africa. The social interactions in schools are other important factors. As a normal routine in some universities in Turkey like Istanbul Aydin University, the international students have a particular day within the year call "International Students day" where they present their cultural meals, items and other activities for the rest of the people to see and learn from it.

According to Turkish Foreign Ministry, Turkey has abolished visas for diplomatic passport holders for a total of 17 different African countries. African businessmen and women, and tourist travelling with Turkish airlines are given the opportunity to obtain their entry visas to Turkey at Istanbul Ataturk Airport, based on the

probability of having or being a holder of a valid Schengen, UK, or USA visa. In addition to the cultural aspect, a Turkish cultural center is now established in Khartoum by Yunus Emre Association. The Association aims at extending and creating new centers in Petrolia, Djibouti, The Gambia and Niger.

3.5 Africa

In terms of Africa, many questions might arise as to what type of place it is. Many people even consider Africa as a country. Some look at it as a place of no hope, starvation, diseases etc. Each and everyone have his/her own definition and picture of Africa. Scholars have put in their best to argue and show what Africa is all about.

James Ferguson (2006) in his book titled “Global shadows-Africa in the Neoliberal World Order” argues that Africa is a vast continent, with a landscape of “one fifth of the entire world’s land surface”. The continent embodies so many countries, having 54 fully recognized sovereign States (countries), plus nine territories, and two de facto countries that has limited recognition (African Union, 2016). It has a population of over 1.2 billion (Bish, 2016, p. 1), and surrounded by the Mediterranean Sea to the North, the Indian Ocean to the Southeast, the Red Sea and Suez Canal to the Northeast, and the Atlantic Ocean to the West. Africa has over 1250-3000 native languages. According to Joseph J. Bish (2016, p. 1), Africa has a population of over 1.2 billion. This population has drastically increased compared to just 477 million people in 1980. Joseph denotes that in the previous years, the population of Africa grew by 30 million, and an estimate of an annual increased of 42 million is expected by the year 2015, thus giving a double population of 2.4 billion. Statistically, population growth would be about 3.5 million people per month and about 80 people per minute (Bish, 2016, p.1). It is not easy to have a static and clear account of the measurements of Africa. There are statistics but not all are same.

According to James R. Moore (2014, p. 3), Africa stretches 4800 miles north to south and 4500 miles East to West at its widest points. Africa contains about 37% of the world’s desert Land. Africa is surrounded by water, and it is a continent with well determined and accurate borders. Its surroundings are so fruitful. For instance, Africa is separated from Europe in the north by the Mediterranean Sea, separated from Asia in the Northeast by the Suez Canal, and also by the Red Sea. From the Southeast and

east, it is surrounded by the Indian Ocean. Finally, Africa is surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean from the West. In line to this, same analysis goes further to support the fact that Africa has a total of 54 independent States, with its transcontinental country being Egypt, and having a small part of its territory in Asia. This part of the territory (Egypt) is located around the Suez Canal, but politically it is a full and active member of the African Union. According to the last United Nations (2016, p.1), Algeria is the biggest country in Africa, having a landscape of about 7% of the entire continents territory while Nigeria is the most populated, with a total of about 186.987-563 people, the smallest state is Seychelles, and it is considered to be the worldwide most famous luxurious beach holiday destination, occupying about 115 stretching along easting coast mainland.

The alphabetical list of the independent countries found in the continent of Africa are as follows; Angola, Algeria, Botswana, Benin, Burundi, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Egypt, Central African Republic, Chad, Gabon, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Cote D'Ivoire, Eritrea, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Lesotho, Libya, Malawi, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritius, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, Niger, Rwanda, Nigeria, Mozambique, Morocco, Namibia, Somalia, South Sudan, South Africa, Senegal, Seychelles, Sudan, Sao Tome and Principe, Uganda, Togo, Zambia, Tanzania, Swaziland, Tunisia, and Zimbabwe .Africa is clearly shown on the map given below. All the recognized independent states of Africa and their capitals are well demonstrated on the map given below at Figure 3.2.

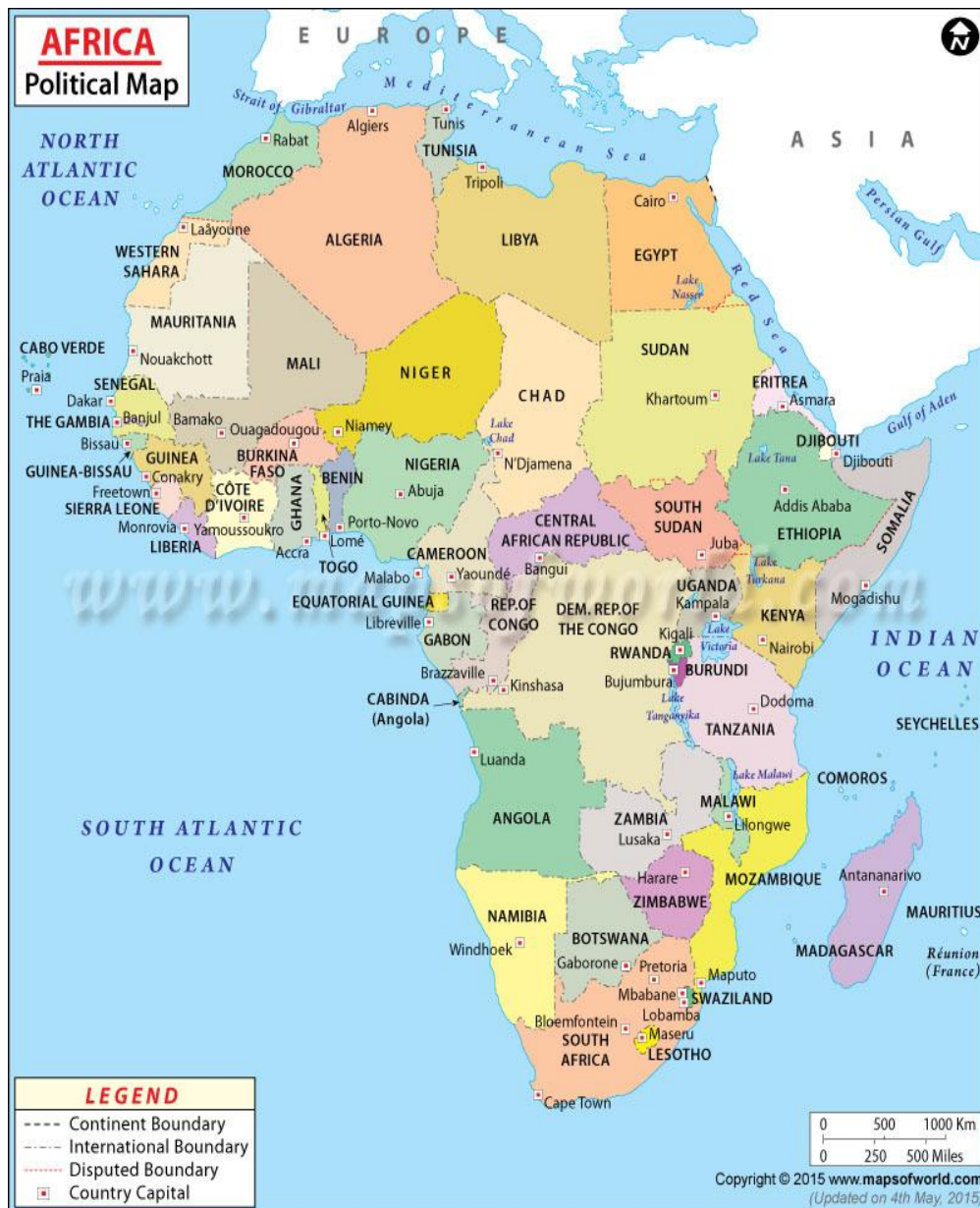


Figure 3.2: Map of Africa

Source: Maps of world (2015), “Political Map of Africa”, <http://www.mapsofworld.com/africa-political-map.htm>

3.6 Cameroon

According to the population estimate of the UN (2016, p.1), Cameroon is a cultural diverse coastal country in Africa with an estimated population of 23.924,407 million. Cameroon is geographically situated by the Gulf of Guinea, on the West Coast of Africa, on the Eastern Atlantic Ocean. It has a surface area of 179,527 square miles

(465,000 square kilometers). The country is bordered by Central Africa, Nigeria, Chad, Gabon, the Republic of Congo, and Equatorial Guinea. Nigeria lies to the West of Cameroon, Central African Republic and Chad lies to the East, the Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Gabon lies to the South. Cameroon has a mix climatic condition favorable to many people. The climate of Cameroon is hot and humid in the forest zone of South and West, and cooler in the highland around the Grass-field region Northwest and West ganyes. Going to other areas of the country, it is hotter and drier in the Savana and Sabel in the North region. Cameroon’s capital is Yaounde, located in the center region and second populated city in the country. The country has a distinct cultural, political, religious, traditional and ethnic variety, and is always referred to as “Africa in Miniature” for it cultural and geological diversity. It has 10 regions and its natural features include beaches, mountains, desert, Savannas and rainforest. The largest city is Douala as the economic capital and main seaport. The official languages are English and French with over 200 different linguistic groups.



Figure 3.3: Map of Cameroon

Source: MINJUSTICE (2015), “Report by the Ministry of Justice on Human Right in Cameroon in 2014”,

http://www.minjustice.gov.cm/pdf_download/droit_homme/English/Rapport_Minjustice_2014_Ang.pdf

3.5 Turkey

Turkey has a very long historical background and this section tries to limit it and give just the essential aspect of the country. Turkish Republic was proclaimed in October 29, 1923. Turkish people enjoyed self-rule for the first time after so many centuries. The first president after the proclamation of Turkey's Republic was Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who ruled for about 15 years, until his death in 1938. He introduced a broad range of reforms in many sectors like; Social, Political, Economic, legal and cultural spheres that were “virtually unparalleled in any other country” (TCF-Turkish Cultural Foundation,2016, p. 1).

Turkey is officially known today as the Republic of Turkey, and it is a parliamentary republic in “Eurasia” (Europe and Asia), largely located in western Asia and the other smaller portion located in Southeast Europe. Turkey is a transcontinental country that includes Anatolia in Western part of Asia, and East Thrace in the Southern part of Europe. A total of 8 countries share borders with Turkey. They include; Iraq and Syria to the South, Azerbaijani exclave of Nakhichevan, Armenia and Iran to the east, Georgia to the Northeast, Greece to the west, and Bulgaria to the Northwest. It is also surrounded by the Black Sea to the North. Mediterranean Sea is located to the South and the Aegean Sea to the West. Bosphorus, Marmara Sea, and Dardanelles demarcate the boundary between Anatolia and Thrace. It equally separate Asia and Europe. Another argument from the analysis of turkiyeburslari.gov.tr shows that Turkey is officially called The Republic of Turkey, with its capital being Ankara. It denotes that Turkey has an area surface of about 814.578 km, with its coastal Length being 7.200 km. the country's official language is Turkish.

According to the UN (2016, p. 1) population estimate on world population review, the total population of Turkey is 79,622,062, with 81 different main cities. Another argument in line to this is from World Atlas, which shows that Turkey's population by 2012 was 79, 749,461, with a density of 104 people per square kilometer. It also stipulates that the country's land area is 769, 632 square kilometers, and 13,930 square kilometers of water. The different analysis from different researcher this however makes it a little difficult for the researcher of this study to know the exact rate and figures of the population, land area etc. There is a clear map of Turkey

below, illustrating the total number of cities in the country and also the neighboring countries and surroundings at Figure 3.4.



Figure 3.4: Map of Turkey

Source: Çetin, T. and F. Oğuz (2011), “The political economy of regulation in Turkey”

<http://www.springer.com/la/book/9781441977496#aboutBook>

Since the foundation of “The Republic of Turkey”, a total of 12 presidents have ruled as head of state till 2016. The projects of extending relations with other parts of the world was not just the hard work or ideas of one President, but rather the ideas of all of the 12 presidents contributed to Turkish foreign policy in one way or the other. Turkey’s foreign policy has gone a long way in the international arena thanks to the efforts of all these presidents in one way or the other.

4. TURKEY-AFRICA RELATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY: ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY

4.1 Conceptual views of Turkey-Africa economic relations

Economic relations with Africa started since during the period of the Ottoman Empire and it provided an exclusive structure to speed up the acceleration of mutual trade relations and economic partnership between Africa and the Modern Turkey. Enwere and Yılmaz (2014, pp.216-230) argue that some strength in Africa economic system was emerged by the Ottomans and in 1518, and the Ottomans controlled the lands of Egypt before strategically extending its economic tentacles right inside the interior of the entire Africa. Egypt was strategically and economically so vital to the Ottomans due to its fertile lands, large population, and trade relations into Europe, Middle East and Africa. Also, the provision of sublime port was a source for the Ottomans to have absolute control over the East Mediterranean and the Nile Valley.

Hazar (2000, pp. 109-110) argues that the Ottoman economic relations with Egypt through proactive trade strategy pave a way to economic growth in other parts of Africa most particularly in Sub-Saharan and North African countries. In North Africa, trade relations was with states such as; Libya, Egypt, Tunisia, and Algeria, while in Sub-Saharan Africa the Ottomans economic strategic trade role was with countries like Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Djibouti etc. Northern Sub-Saharan Africa was not left out of the list. The Ottomans maintained a good economic relations and alliance with a renowned empire called Kanem Bornu Empire which is today known as Niger, Northern Nigeria and Chad. They were a sort of trade by batter practiced by both trading blocs whereby, the Kanem Bomu imported military equipments from the Ottoman Empire, while solid minerals were exported as exchange in return. Hazar (2000, p.110) further argues that great economic benefits were offered to both trading blocs as a result of the operations of an economic system by the Ottoman trade relations with Africa. The economic relations between the

Ottomans and Africa is said to have taken a strategy of an economic community which was characterized by freedom of movement for both the goods, and the goods and the citizens. Traders had a lot of benefits through exploitation from the Ottoman monopoly of land routes. In line to this, Hazar (2000, p. 110) argue that goods such as silk and gold were imported to African countries from the East and Europe, while animal skins and gold were exported from Africa as well. The opening of the first mosque in Lagos in 1894 pushed the Ottomans to send emissary to Lagos. This didn't just widen but the religious affiliations, but it also opened a way for a more collaborative economic and trade relations in today's Nigeria.

According to Enwere and Yilmaz (2014, pp. 216-230), they argue that the economic hegemony and trade of the Ottoman Empire influence in Africa began disintegrating in the late 19th century was replaced in a tactical way with the European trade values and models. It is impressive to know that Egypt adopted a capitalist ideals, technology and values in the 19th century which led to the tremendous improvement in the productivity in Africa. The Ottoman economic hegemony in Africa collapsed during the First World War (WWI), resulting to the emerged of their former provinces of Africa as modern states, under the European role thus becoming "The Peripheral States of Western Capitalist Powers". Many scholars in their research have argued that the collapse of the Ottoman Empire let to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 (Enwere and Yilmaz. pp. 216-230). This argument goes further that the emergence of Modern Turkey drastically reduced the economic relation between Turkey and Africa as a result of a strategically wiped off of the Ottoman economic legacy in Africa by the Western values of colonialism and capitalism. This however let to the loss of sight between Turkey and Africa.

Despite the loss of sight in the economic relations between Turkey and Africa, it was later renewed strategically during the period of Cold War. Greater economic importance evolved again by the Turks towards Africa, and this gave birth to the establishment of both diplomatic and economic relations with all the newly independent states of Africa which were recognized by Turkey after the decolonization process in Africa around the late 1950s and 1960s. In line to this, Akçay (2012,p.89) argues that considering Turkey's efforts to strengthen its economic relations, the Turgut Özal regime became the first Turkish Prime Minister to grant foreign aid to Africa in 1985 after decades of economic interactions. This

became a new platform of economic partnership with the modern state of Africa. This helped to wipe off the negative ideas shown by some Turkish economic observers who believed that economic partnership with Africa was a waste of time, resources, and energy. The economic strategy of Turgut Özal, economic relations and trade with Africa drastically increased “in a geometric proportion and with the declaration of 2005 as the year of Africa”. This also led to the adoption of the African Action Plan in 1998, which was aimed at opening up Turkey’s economy to Africa, and to portray a united and positive image of Africa in Turkey.

Looking at the economic relations of Turkey with Africa in the 21st century, Turkey has sustained a social and economic development with an incredible high growth rate of about 6-7% per year since 2002. With this outcome, it is seen as one of the highest OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). Oğuzhan Tekin in his thesis on “Turkish Foreign Policy toward Africa: Motivations and Interest from 2001-2010” argues that the high growth rates, together with other foreign investments has led to the rise of small and medium sized entrepreneurs of Anatolia. Anatolia is often termed as Anatolia Tigers. This however has boosted the leverage of Turkey’s economic and social transformation. Due to the crisis in the European Union (EU) in 2009 as great trade partners of Turkey, the Anatolian Tigers were subjected to strengthen new markets efforts in the Middle East and Africa. Civil society organizations of Turkey TOBB (*Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği*), and MUSIAD (*Müstakil Sanayicive İş Adamları Derneği*) have played a great role as small and medium size entrepreneurs of Turkey in leading Turkey’s organizations in its foreign policy initiatives. In order to strengthen Turkish foreign policy, Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry has put certain procedures to widen up the missions and work definitions of Turkish diplomats abroad. These procedures started with economic objectives such as; opening up of new markets, easing the flow of credit investment, building good ideas for trade agreements and to encourage Turkey’s investment to their countries of operation. Priorities toward trade and economic relations have been part of Turkey’s objectives, and guideline to Turkish ambassadors. The ambassadors also have the authority to act as general directors of Turkish companies, so as to effectively strengthen Turkish investment strategies abroad.

Turkey's role in African economic organization is so vital. As earlier mentioned, the continent of Africa is full of resources, and stands in a better position for many countries to develop trade relations with. Turkey's economic relation with Africa is fast evolving in the 21st century. A good example to notice the evolvement is the gesture where in 2005; Turkey became the 26th non-regional member of the African Development Bank (Pham, 2010, p. 11). Since this date, Turkey embarked on various infrastructure projects in Africa, finance by this Bank. Additionally, Turkey's aim in supporting Africa in economic sphere is to try to see on how to solve its problems and difficulties through trade transactions, humanitarian assistance and investment. Moreover, Turkey entered into a free trade agreement with some communities in east Africa, which are custom union to countries like; Uganda, Kenya, Burundi, Tanzania and Rwanda by 2019 (Vicky, p. 11). Turkey became a member of the international Authority on Development (IGAD) partner forum since 2008. This Organization is the Eastern African regional political and economic organization. In 2005, Turkish Embassy in Abuja-Nigeria was accredited to the Western African political and economic government Organization known as "Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)". Additionally, since 2010, Turkish Embassy in Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania was accredited to the East African Community (EAC) (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2011 b). Turkey in its strive to sustaining bilateral relations came up with a strategy which was based on having concrete agreements of Trade, Economic, Technical and Scientific Cooperation, prevention of double taxation, and mutual promotion and protection of investment so as to have a legal framework of trade relations. Turkey also made sure of inviting some African officials like Ministers of Trade, Industry, Health, Education and agriculture, so as to have a good cooperation network, and to intensify its relations. The contributions of civil society in exchange of visit by businessmen, and the creation of a joint business council or Chambers of Commerce economically strengthen the relations between Turkey and Africa.

According to Oğuzhan Tekin (2014, pp. 87-115) argues that Turkey's national goal projected to 2023 was to be listed among the top ten economies of the world. In other to achieve this 2023 goal, Turkey is expected to work harder in promoting its investment and trade strategies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Being ignorant on the markets found in these areas to maintain trade and investment may lead Turkey

to be unsuccessful on their target of 2023. In line to the 2023 vision, another argument came up by Yalin Alpay (2016, p. 47). He argues that for Turkey to really excel economically, it must respect the vision of 2023. To him, Turkey's foreign trade with the continent of Africa should be at least "150 billion \$ by 2023". If Turkey doesn't go up to this amount, it will mean that Turkey did not use its opportunities judiciously. Also, he suggests that Turkey's export to Africa by this same expectation year of 2023 should at least be "87 billion \$". It will be a failure if Turkey doesn't meet up with this amount. Alpay ended his argument by presenting a forecast table of Turkey's trade with Africa by 2023 (million \$).

Table 4.1: Turkey's trade with Africa projected to 2023 (million \$)

Year	Export	Import	Foreign Trade	Export %	Import %
2000	1.373	2.714	4.087		
2001	1.521	2.819	4.340	10,8	3,9
2002	1.697	2.698	4.393	11,6	-4,4
2003	2, 131	3,338	5,469	25,6	23,8
2004	2, 968	4,820	7,788	39,3	44,4
2005	3, 631	6,047	9,678	22,3	25,5
2006	4,566	7,405	11,978	25,8	22,5
2007	5,976	6,784	12,760	30,9	-8,4
2008	7,769	8,141	15,910	30,0	20,0
2009	10,099	9,769	19,868	30,0	20,0
2010	13,129	11,723	24,852	30,0	20,0
2011	15,755	13,481	29,236	20,0	15,0
2012	18,906	15,503	34,409	20,0	15,0
2013	22,687	17,829	40,516	20,0	15,0
2014	27,225	20,503	47,728	20,0	15,0
2015	32,670	23,579	56,248	20,0	15,0
2016	37,570	27,115	64,686	15,0	15,0
2017	43,206	31,183	74,389	15,0	15,0
2018	49,687	35,860	85,547	15,0	15,0
2019	57,140	41,239	98,379	15,0	15,0
2020	65,711	47,425	113,136	15,0	15,0
2021	72,282	52,168	124,449	10,0	10,0
2022	79,510	57,384	136,894	10,0	10,0
2023	87,461	63,123	150,584	10,0	10,0

Source: Alpay, Y. (2009), "Why is there a need for economic cooperation between Turkey and Africa?" the related document-TASAM, http://www.tasam.org/Files/Icerik/File/why_is_there_a_need_for_economic_cooperation_between_turkey_and_africa_7ee31fa4-c251-4438-af99-9dd7509f6a48.pdf

Table 4.1 given above project Turkey-Africa trade relation by 2023. From the export, import, and foreign trade in the previous years since 2000, Yalin projected how trade

between African and Turkey would look like. For instance, in the year 2000, export was 1.373 million \$, import was 2.714 \$, and foreign trade was 4.087 million \$. In 2001, it increased to 1.521 million \$ for import, 2.819 million \$ in export, and 4.340 million \$ on foreign trade. The figures kept fluctuating in the subsequent years. In 2016, import was realized at 37.570 million \$, export was 27,115 million \$, and foreign trade is 64,686 million \$. It is therefore projected following the previous trade statistics that by the year 2023, import would be 87,461 million \$, export would be 63,123 million \$ and foreign trade would be 150,584 million \$.

4.2 Turkey's soft power approach toward Africa

Turkey's zeal or interest on Africa can be seen to be an intensive attempt to revitalize partnership or relation in many ways. The opening up to Africa remains a big challenge and a very important aspect for Turkey as this will determine the success or failure of its policy. Since during the designation of 2005 as the "Year of Africa", and the "adoption of the African Action Plan in 1998", Turkey has given more preference in expanding and giving greater profile to its soft power Policy. In line to this, firstly, Turkey created an open door for financial aid to some African Countries through its cooperation agency, international agencies, and through TIKA (Cooperation and Development Administration of Turkey). Secondly, Turkey's policy of announcing 2005 as the Year of Africa, boosting of Turkey-Africa Summit in Istanbul in 2008, creating a total of 8 new embassies in Africa in 2009 giving a total of 20, is a process of soft power strategy to maintaining its relations. The aforementioned equally became the birth idea for Turkish officials and business men to tighten trade relations between the two parties and also economic development. Turkey's soft power approach can be seen in some major areas as follows; humanitarian aid, and trade relations.

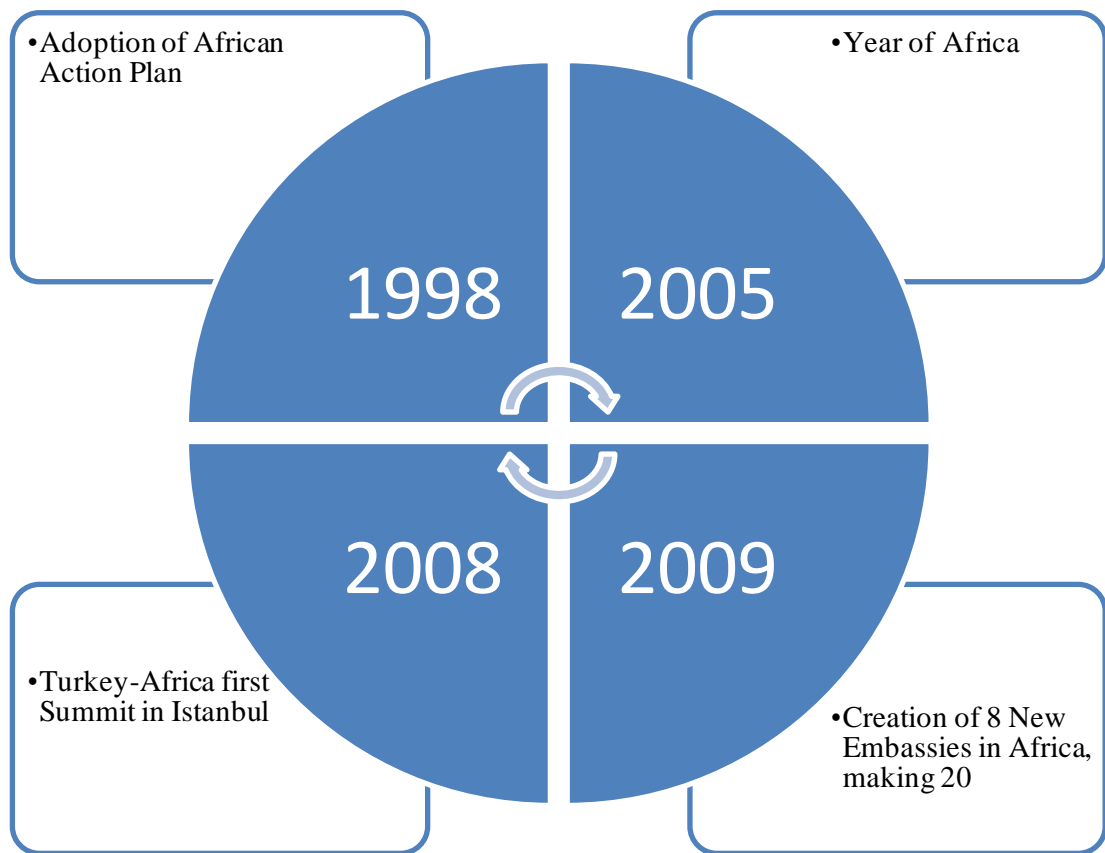


Figure 4.1: Turkey’s soft approach towards Africa within 1998-2009

Source: Mehmet, Ö.(2010). Turkey’s Rising Role in Africa, Turkish Policy Quarterly 9 (4), 93-105

According to Özkan and Akgün (2010, pp. 525-546) in line to the economic relations with Africa argue that “the persistent negative image toward Sub-Saharan Africa was changed by the AK Party when the then Turkish Prime Minister paid a visit to South Africa and Ehiopia in 2005”.The diplomatic visit provided an open way for the strong economic relations with Sub-Saharan African countries in this century. The economic strategy of Turkey in Africa was aimed at improving its status from a “traditional ally of North Africa to an active and constructive player in the economy of Sub-Saharan African States”. The European Council’s rejection of granting

Turkey's application to join the European Union (EU) in 1999 instead prompted the strategic economic orientation of Turkey to create relations with Africa. So, Sub-Saharan Africa offered Turkey a new prospect for economic development and expansion, base also on the fact that it had an economic growth of 5% a year. The traditional Ottoman economic relations with North Africa on the other hand tend to reinforce its strategic economic influence in Africa.

4.3 Trade and Institutional Partnership

Turkey with its trade partnership and bilateral agreement has remarkable features through its soft power resources which were aimed at influencing the outcomes of policies in Africa and trade negotiations as well. According to Özkan and Akgün, (2010, pp. 525-546), Turkey's increased its soft power policy by 2008, and became a great partner with Africa Union and the Economic Community of West African States. It also strengthened its relations with African Development bank and Intergovernmental Authority on Development in East Africa. The Foreign Economic Relations Board (DEIK) in Turkey played an important role in fostering Turkey's power trade relations. It established business councils in some African countries like; Algeria, Morocco, Ethiopia, South Africa, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Sudan to boom trade activities in Africa.

According to the reports from Turksat regarding Turkey's membership with International Trade Organization, Turkey has acted as a member of the World Trade organization (WTO) since 1995. Turkey's participation and membership in numerous organizations is as a result of the country's commitment to integrating in regional and international trade norms. Some of the Organizations include; the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), World Custom Organization (WCO), Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), D-8, International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) etc. Adding to the custom union with EU, Turkey equally signed other Free Trade Agreements (FTA) with some African countries as follows; Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, Mauritius, and Ghana .

Hazar (2000, p. 109-110), argues that a tremendous increase in Turkey's total trade volume in Africa was 5.4 billion \$ in 2003, to over 17 billion \$ realized in 2013. This

increase of trade volume became a point of attraction to other Economic players like France. France in 2010 proclaimed its interest with Turkey for a joint trade mission in Africa, so as to suppress China's trade influence in that Continent (Özkan and Akgün, 2010, pp. 525-546). France perceived that Turkey was a good ally to challenge the spread of Chinese-led investment, infrastructural projects, and close collaborative links and impression of China in the mind of Africans.

Trade relations between Turkey and Africa became desirable to most African countries especially in the field of construction, drilling and agriculture. These trade relations between Turkey and Africa aims to utilize and produce Turkey's agricultural technology and expertise in Africa. Chigozie and Mesut (2014, pp. 226-227) view that Turkey's soft power approach in creating relations with Africa is not centered on the manipulation of free market just as neo-liberal policy is always strive at getting the best trade deals and pay-offs at all possible means. This system is at the destructive detriment of the African economy. Rather, Turkey's soft power policy is more concentrated on trying to develop a two side initiative where both parties benefits, and to see how a change of African economy can be met.

According to Ali Bilgiç and Daniela Nascimento (2014, p. 2) in their article titled "Turkey's new Focus on Africa: Causes and Challenges", put forth some arguments on the economic dimensions of the relations between Turkey and Africa under two Categories; Trade Relations and Development Aid. They argue that both Turkey and Africa benefits from increase trade and development cooperation, because it is a source of creating more employment and investments. Looking at the context of trade, they argue that progress can be observed from trade relations with Africa especially between 2000 and 2008. Trade statistics shows that in the year 2000, Turkey's trade with Sub-Saharan African countries was amounted 741 million \$, and by the year 2008, it drastically increased to 5.7 billion \$. The 2012 figures shows that while steel and iron products were considered to represent the maximum share of Turkey's exports to Sub-Saharan Africa, which worth the sum of about 1 billion \$). Items like pearls, jewelry and valuable stones were the common imports from Africa to Turkey (worth about 813 Million \$) (MoE, 2013). As a result of high booming of economies in many African States, Turkey extended its relations strategy by equally investing in communications via Turkish Airlines, which flew to about 38 destinations and 23 countries in the Sub-Saharan African countries.

According to the reports from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey has 26 Commercial Consulates in some Africa countries Capital, in line with the increase in diplomatic presence. In addition to this, Turkish Foreign Economic Relations Council (DEIK) established a business with a total of 19 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Turkey signed lots of economic and trade agreements. For instance, it signed agreements with 38 different Africa countries, so as to sustain a contractual basis for mutual economic relations between both sides. According to Joe Hammoura (2016, p. 4) it is estimated that Turkey had a bilateral trade volume of about 17.5 billion \$ in 2015 with Africa. Comparing this figure to that of 2003 record, it shows that it is a three-fold increase in trade volume. Sub-Saharan Africa alone had a trade volume of 6 billion \$ in 2015. There was a drop down in Turkey's trade with that part of Africa, thus giving a decrease rate in global trade. However, Turkey's share in Africa's total trade still remains same.

Additionally, Turkish contractors are amongst the top undertaker in Africa. According to Joe Hammoura (2016, p. 5), African countries have a share of about 21% in the overall international business volume from Turkish contractors (the share of North Africa rates 19%). This shows the efforts put in place by Turkish contractors. They have gone a long way by undertaking over 1.150 projects in Africa, which worth the Sum of 55 billion \$. The investment of Turkey in Africa keeps growing, and it thus create employment, employ local labor force, export final products to third countries while using home-produced resources. A total of about 6.2 billion \$ of Turkish investment is estimated in Africa Hammoura (2016, p. 5).

According to the reports published by Financial Times in October 2015, "Turkish investment in Africa creates the largest number of jobs in Africa (16.593 in 2014), compare to the foreign direct investments in the continent" Joe Hammoura (2016, p. 3). Looking at the development aid on the other hand, TIKA (Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency) became the prominent institution through which official aid was channeled to Africa. Turkey put a lot of efforts in the previous years in the field of development. For example, Turkey hosted the UN/Istanbul Somalia Conference on the 21st May, to 23rd 2010, which was designed to assist in the peace process in Djibouti. The Istanbul Declaration that was adopted during the conference was a road map to settling Somali issue. Today, Turkey has become the largest donor in Somalia among the "Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development-

Development Assistance Committee” countries. Also, Turkey co-chaired with Egypt in 2010 the International Donor’s Conference for the development and reconstruction of Darfur in Cairo. Turkey pledged around 65-70 million \$ during the conference to support in humanitarian aid, mainly in the field of health, education, and agricultural sectors (Ali and Daniela, 2014, p. 2),

According to Bilgiç and Nascimento (2014, p. 2), Turkish developmental and international projects has widely increased in Africa during the previous years through TIKA, This organization has carried out a lot of developmental projects and activities in countries such as; Senegal, Sudan, Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Gambia just to name a few. Turkey’s focused is centered on three main projects in Africa, which include “The Agricultural Development Program for the African Continent”, The African Health Program” and “The Vocational Training Program for Africa”. According to Bilgiç and Nascimento (2014, p. 2), he argues that, in the year 2009, the development aid to Africa by the Turkish the Turkish government organization was worth the sum of about 44 million \$ in 2012 through ODA (Official Development Assistance).

Trade transactions between Turkey and Africa in the area of flights have equally play a great role in strengthening relations between both parties. Turkey today is seen to have a total of 48 flights destination to Africa and in 31 countries. This has contributed to Turkish Airlines being the major international airline connecting most African countries to other parts of the world. This Airline has equally intensified people to people contacts tremendously through the direct flight between Turkey and African countries. It has also connected both business people and tourist travelling both ways. It can be of no doubt that some transactions between both sides might have come as a result of businessmen meeting on a flight. The level of tourist’s visits between Turkey and Africa increase so much last year, compare to the previous years. A total of 885 thousand Africans visited Turkey as tourist, while in 2006, the number was 210 thousand. This difference shows how widely the movement from one side to another has so much grown. This movement of tourists in other words in increasing Turkey’s economy, through its flight business and the expenses incurred by tourists in Turkey every year.

4.4 Humanitarian Aids And Politics

According to Mehmet Özkan(2012, p. 98) in his article titled “The Political Economy of Turkey’s Engagement with Africa”, he did argue that “aid is one of the strong foreign policy elements in Turkey’s overall foreign policy”. The designation of Africa in 2005 as the “Year of Africa”, and the adoption of the African Action Plan in 2008, helped Turkey in giving more preferences in expanding and giving greater profile to its soft policy. Turkish aid agency, the Cooperation and Development Administration of Turkey (TIKA) operates three different offices in different cities in Africa; Addis Ababa, Khartoum, and Dakar. These offices act as part of Turkey’s development aid to Africa. With these offices, Turkey is able to widen its cooperation with Africa.

According to Chigozie Enwere and Mesut Yilmaz (2014, p. 228),the purpose of establishing TIKA was to help the transition of states in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. This was later transformed in 2003 into a soft power agency, and began expanding to other areas of the globe alongside its influence and power as well. Africa is seen today as one of the regions that Turkey’s strategic influences has covered, so as to operate African markets and allocates African resources. TIKA now aims at widening strong cooperation tides with most Africa countries by embarking on projects like in Education, Health, Agriculture, Infrastructure etc. Özkan (2012, pp. 98-99)in an article “Turkey’s rising role in Africa” reviews that Turkey made some donations to some African countries and African Union as well. A review of the donations is as follows; Turkey gave a total of about 7.5 million \$as donations to some African countries through the World Health Organization (WHO), World Food Program (WFP), and the Red Crescent, to assist them in natural disasters and drought. In 2008, a sum of 3.5 million \$ was allocated as humanitarian assistance through WFP, meanwhile in 2009, a sum of 0.5 million \$was donated to the African Union’s budget. Özkan (2012, pp. 98-99).

The drought and famine in East Africa is one of the cases where Turkey’s humanitarian and leadership assistance became prominent. The visit of the then Prime Minister of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdoğan to Somalia on August 19, 2011 was very remarkable. This gave the public and the world as a whole the impression and relations Turkey had for Somalia. The president during his visit went further by

visiting hospitals and refugee camps that witness severe drought. To further show how enthusiastic Turkey was in terms of creating relations with Africa, it opened an embassy in Mogadishu-Somalia and carried on some developmental projects like building hospitals, highway from Mogadishu Airport to the city center etc. As a supportive factor to the political relations with Africa, a series of summit were held to strengthen cooperation between Turkey and Africa. The first summit took place in Istanbul from the 18th to 21st of August 2008. 50 members states from Africa were represented in this summit and two important documents were adopted. That is, “The Istanbul Declaration” and “Turkey-Africa Partnership Framework Document”. The documents framework is paraphrase as follows:

Acknowledging the critical role that Trade and investment should play with the framework of this partnership as agents of development [...] and we pledge to create a favorable legal and stimulating business environment for economic cooperation as a central pillar of the Africa-Turkey partnership.

This summit was aim at showing Turkey’s seriousness in expanding ties and increase trade with African continent. The second aim of the summit was that Turkey wanted the support of African countries to be a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 2009-2010.

According to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on “Turkey-Africa Relations”, cooperation with Africa on health is an important aspect to widen Turkey’s foreign relations. The Ministry outlines some points to show its cooperation with Africa in health sector as follows:

- a) Health is an important aspect of Turkey’s humanitarian support to the continent of Africa. According to the ministry, Turkey signed health cooperation agreement with 20 countries in Africa.
- b) Within the year 2007-2010, Turkish doctors took part in the numerous health screening campaigned, organized by Turkish NGOs, in partnership with the Turkish Ministry of Health, and TIKA. Based on the estimated figures from NGOs, 500 Turkish doctors and over 100 health personnel provided health care in over 20 countries in Africa by the end of 2014, and over 280 000 Africans underwent health screenings and 53, 000 cataract patients had operation. Another example in line to this is seen within the framework of “Africa Cataract Project” which operates in 4 different States in Africa (Ethiopia, Sudan, Niger, and

Somalia). In collaboration with a Turkish NGO, over 21,600 patients had operation just last year 2015.

- c) Turkish government has of now provided treatment for patients in Africa who are unable to have treatment in their countries. Over 1000 of such patients have been treated in accordance with the bilateral agreement and emergency humanitarian aid program.
- d) The Turkish Ministry of health extended vocational training to African Countries, to widen Turkish health sector cooperation between Turkey and Africa. An example of this is the Turkish-Sudanese Research and Training Hospital in Nyala, having a total of 150-beds and was constructed by TIKA.
- e) Turkey built and equipped the biggest hospital in Mogadishu-Somalia. This hospital was officially inaugurated by president Erdogan on January 25th, 2015 in Somalia.
- f) Turkish Ministry of health in Juba (South Sudan) and the Black Lion Hospital in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia).
- g) Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy ended Turkey up with an endorsement to holding the First World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul in 2016.

4.5 Mutual and singular benefit of economic and trade relations

According to Savaş Genç and Oğuzhan Tekin (2014, p. 95), the continent of Africa is an important market for pavement and infrastructure projects “worth billions of dollars”. These projects are in a technical consultancy and contractors sector, and mostly finance with revenues from energy and natural resources. The African continent is saturated with a lot of energy and natural resources and definitely needs to realize huge-scale projects such as housing, energy transfer lines, hospitals, dams and watering, pipelines, transportation and infrastructure. Turkish Companies already have considerable experience in both international and domestic level.

In line to the aforementioned, Gençand Tekin (2014, p. 95) mentioned that the Undersecretariat of Treasury of the Republic of Turkey[s Prime Ministry in 2003 prepared a document “improvement strategy on trade and economic relations with African countries (*Africa ileticariveEkonomikilişkilerinGeliştirilmesiStratejisi-ATES*)” in order to strengthen relations with the African continent. The “Strategy of Africa” was renewed due to an increase in economic and trade relations since 2003,

and also because the way for technical and contractors consultancy companies in Turkey was paved through the enhancement in investment, so as to carry on projects in Africa, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Since 2001, Turkey's trade volume has significantly been increasing in Africa. Within the period 2002 and 2010, Turkey's trade increased from 87 billion \$ to 298 billion \$ respectively. Comparing Turkey's trade volume with that of Africa in 2001, it was just \$ 4.3 billion, and by 2010 it went up to \$15.7 billion (Savaş and Tekin, 2014, p. 95)

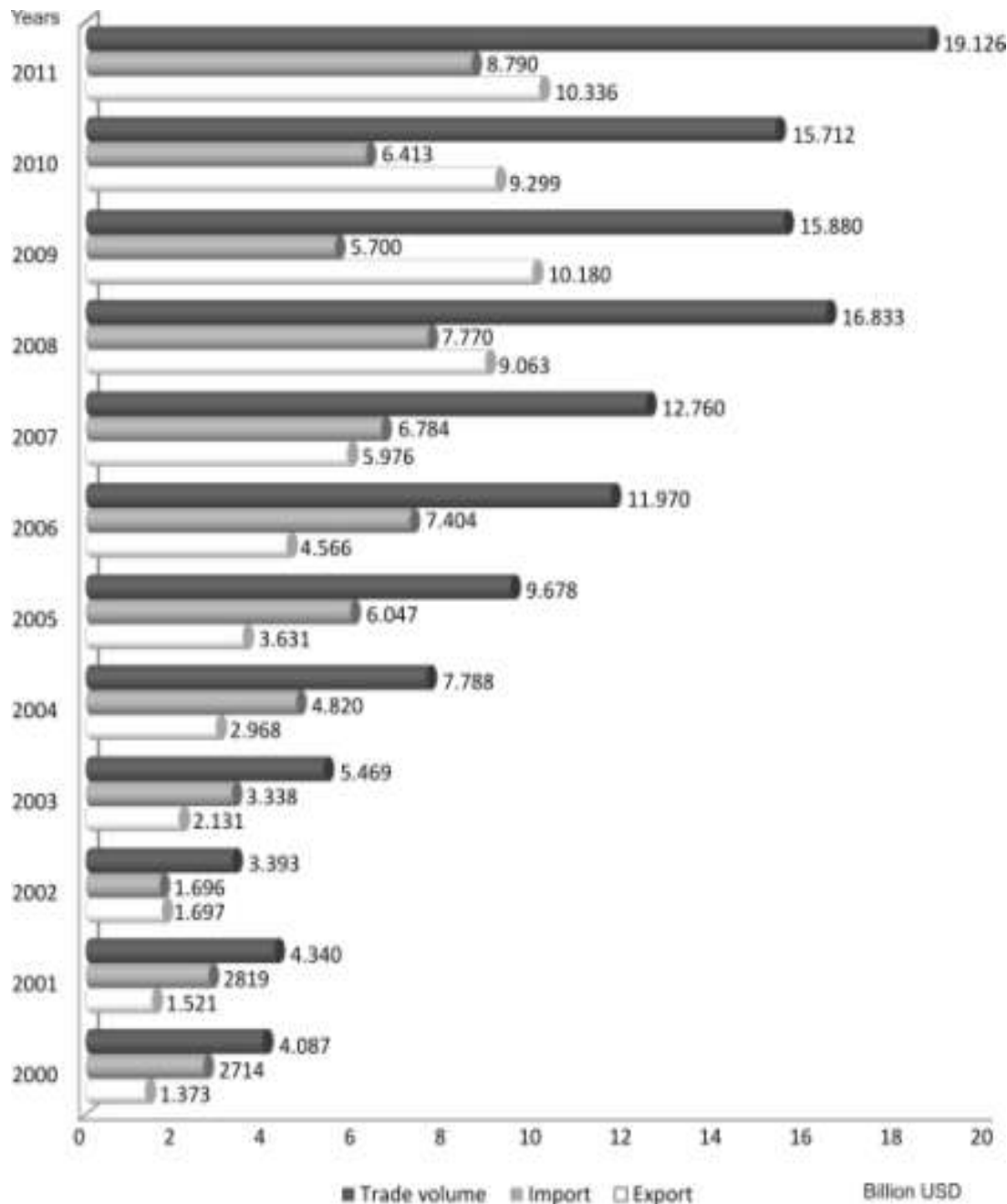


Figure 4.2:Turkey’s export, import, and trade volume with African countries

Source: Genç, S. and O. Tekin (2014), “Turkey’s increase engagement in Africa: The Limits, Potential, and Future Perspectives of Relations”, Department of International Relations, Fatih University, Istanbul Institute, <http://oaji.net/articles/2016/3041-1455610178.pdf>

Figure 4.2 given above shows in the framework of the “Strategy of Africa”, Turkey realized the sum of \$10.3 billion of its export, \$8.7 billion of import, and \$19.1 billion of trade volume with Africa in 2011. Additionally, Turkey had a significant damage of its export due to the ongoing events that was in North Africa, especially in Libya. The Ministry of Economy in Turkey expected export to Libya to amount to \$

2.7 billion in 2011, but just \$ 747 million was realized. This is an indication that Turkey might have probably lost about \$2 billion in export to Libya in this same year 2011. In the year 2009, Africa was the only lucky destination in the world where Turkey witnessed an increased of its export.

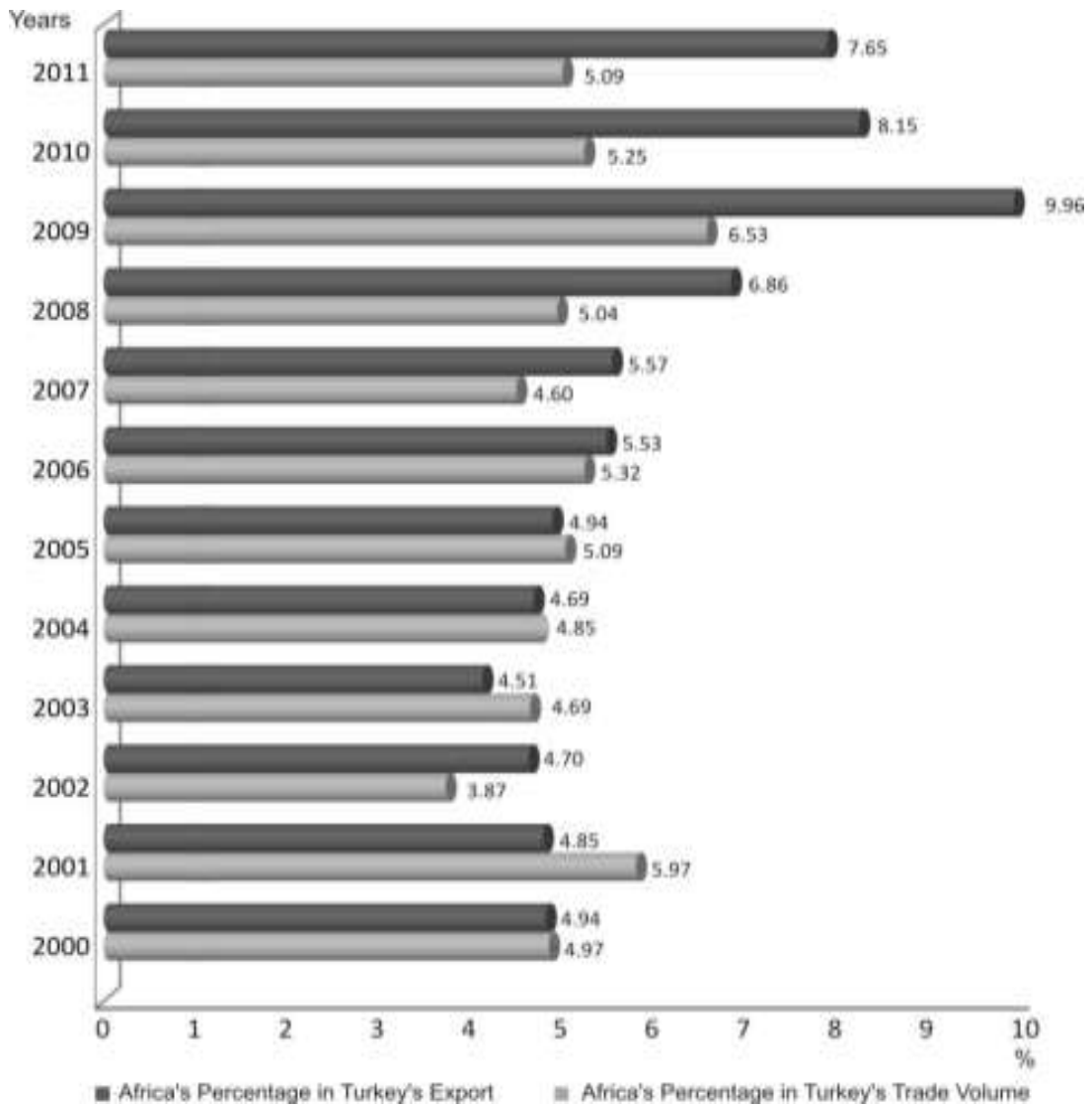


Figure 4.3: Africa's Percentage in Turkey's Trade Volume and Export

Source: GençS. and O. Tekin (2014), "Turkey's increased Engagement in Africa: The Limits, Potential, and Future Perspective of Relations", Department of International Relations, Fatih University, Istanbul Institute, <http://oaji.net/articles/2016/3041-1455610178.pdf>

Figure 4.3 above shows the actual Africa's percentage of Turkey's trade volume and export. Nigeria and South Africa, and North African countries account for about 85% of Turkey's total trade volume in Africa. Within North Africa, only about five countries had 70% of Turkey's trade volume in Africa.

4.6 Foreign Trade

An export-led growth policy has been Turkey's target since 1980. The outcome of economic reforms executed in the previous decades was a contributing factor for the change of Turkish trade volume and composition. According to the report from the Turkish Ministry of Public Affairs in 2015, the total volume was 351 billion \$. Turkish exports had an increase of 144 billion \$ in 2015, as compare to the sum of 36 billion \$ in 2002. Turkey's main export target marking the 100th anniversary of the Republic of Turkey is estimated to be 500 billion \$.

Table 4.2: Total trade volume by regions

No	Regions	Trade Volume (billion \$)
1	Free Zones in Turkey	3.34
2	Europe (EU)	146.65
3	Europe (Non-EU)	51.78
4	North America	21.75
5	Central and South America	8.11
6	Middle and Near East	63.86
7	Africa	19.28
8	Asia and Pacific	61.51
9	Others	12.71
	Total	389.01

Source: The Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011), "Economic Outlook of Turkey,
<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/prospects-and-recent-developments-in-the-turkish-economy.en.mfa>

Table 4.2 given above is the total trade volume of Turkey with the inclusion of other regions around the world. The table presents that Turkey's total trade volume is worth 389.01 billion \$, and each region has a trade volume as follows; free zones trade volume in Turkey is worth 3.34 billion \$, Europe (EU) is equals to 146.65 billion \$, Europe (non-EU) is worth 51.78 billion \$, North America has a trade

volume of 21.75 billion \$, Central and South America is 8.11 billion \$, Middle and near East is worth 63.86 billion \$, Africa is worth 19.28 billion \$, Asia and Pacific is worth 61.51 and others is a sum of 12.71 billion \$.

Table 4.3: Foreign Trade Statistics

Million \$								
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Exports (FOB)	132,027	102,143	113,883	134,907	152,462	151,803	157,628	143,9
Imports (CIF)	201,964	140,928	185,544	240,842	236,545	251,661	242,183	207,2
Trade Volume	333,991	243,071	299,427	375,749	389,007	403,464	399,810	351,1
Trade Balance	-69,936	-38,786	-71,661	-105,935	-84,083	-99,859	-84,555	-63.3

Source: The Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Investment Support and Promotion Agency (2014), "Foreign Trade-investment in Turkey", Foreign trade statistics, <http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/pages/InternationalTrade.aspx>

Table 4.3 shows the general Turkish foreign trade statistics as from 2010 to 2015. Every year had an increase in both export and Import of Turkish trade. But in 2013, the Export figure (151-8 billion \$) dropped compare to 2012 which had 152-6 billion \$. The following year 2014, it increased again to 157-6 billion \$. Another decrease was in 2015 with a total of 143-9 billion \$ compare to 2012, 2013, and 2014. This shows the fluctuation of trade between Turkey and Africa. On the other hand, the import transactions increased progressively until 2014 where it witnessed a drop of trade volume. Turkey's foreign trade was amount 399-7 billion \$, lesser than that of 2013. The year 2015 was a little worse compare to the trade from 2011 to 2014. Its foreign trade was amount a total of 351-1 billion \$. The foreign trade of Turkey is clearly portrayed on export and import in Figure 4.4 and 4.5 given below.

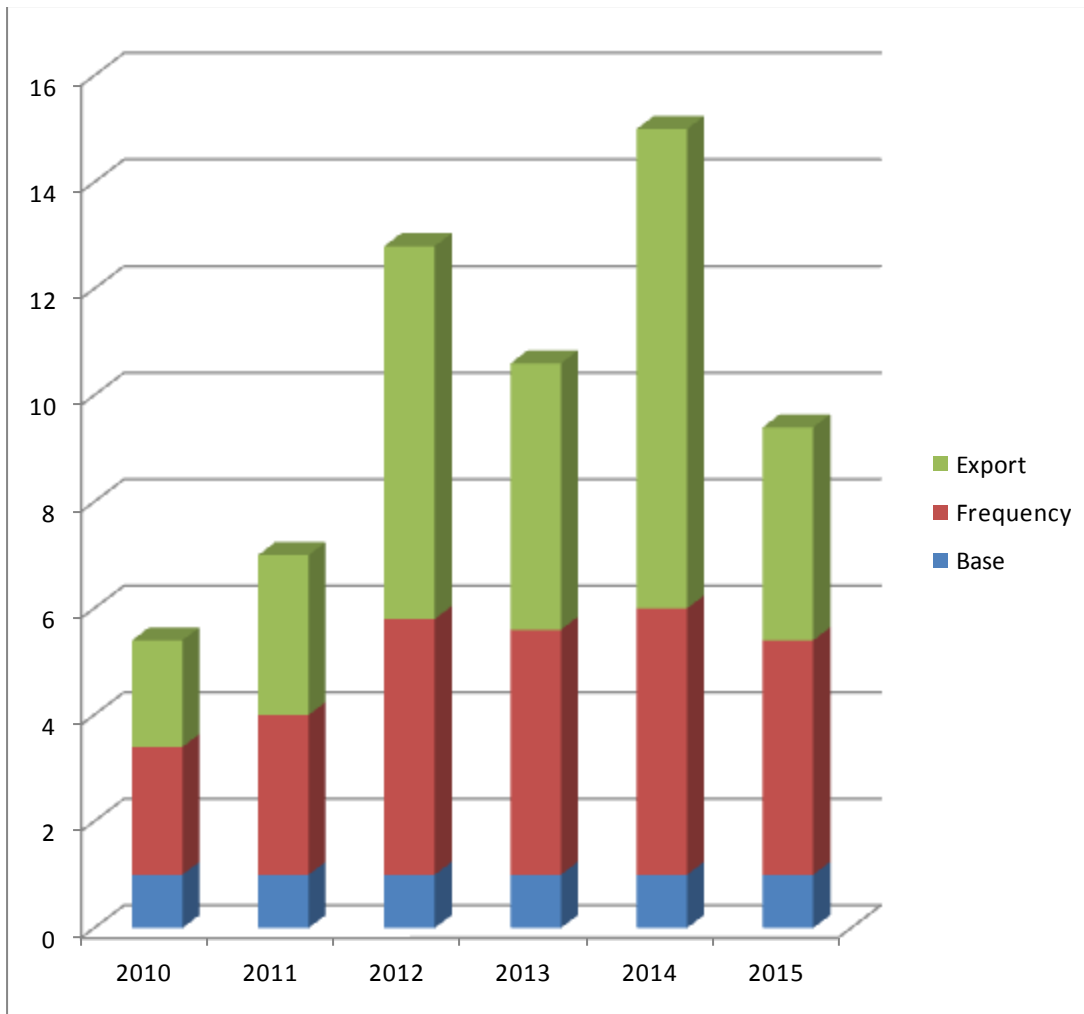


Figure 4.4: Export of Turkish foreign trade (billion \$)

Source: The Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Investment Support and Promotion Agency, (2014), “Foreign Trade Investment in Turkey”, <http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/InternationalTrade.aspx>

Figure 4.4 above portrays the export of Turkish foreign trade from 2010 to 2015. One can clearly see that Turkish exports start with an objective which is to strengthen its foreign policy, but along the way it faces challenges giving a fluctuating frequency. At the end of each year, it knows the total export of that set year. For instance, in 2010, the foreign export not the same compare to the others years. Also, Figure 4.4 has different rates of exports. The export for 2014 was higher than that of 2015.

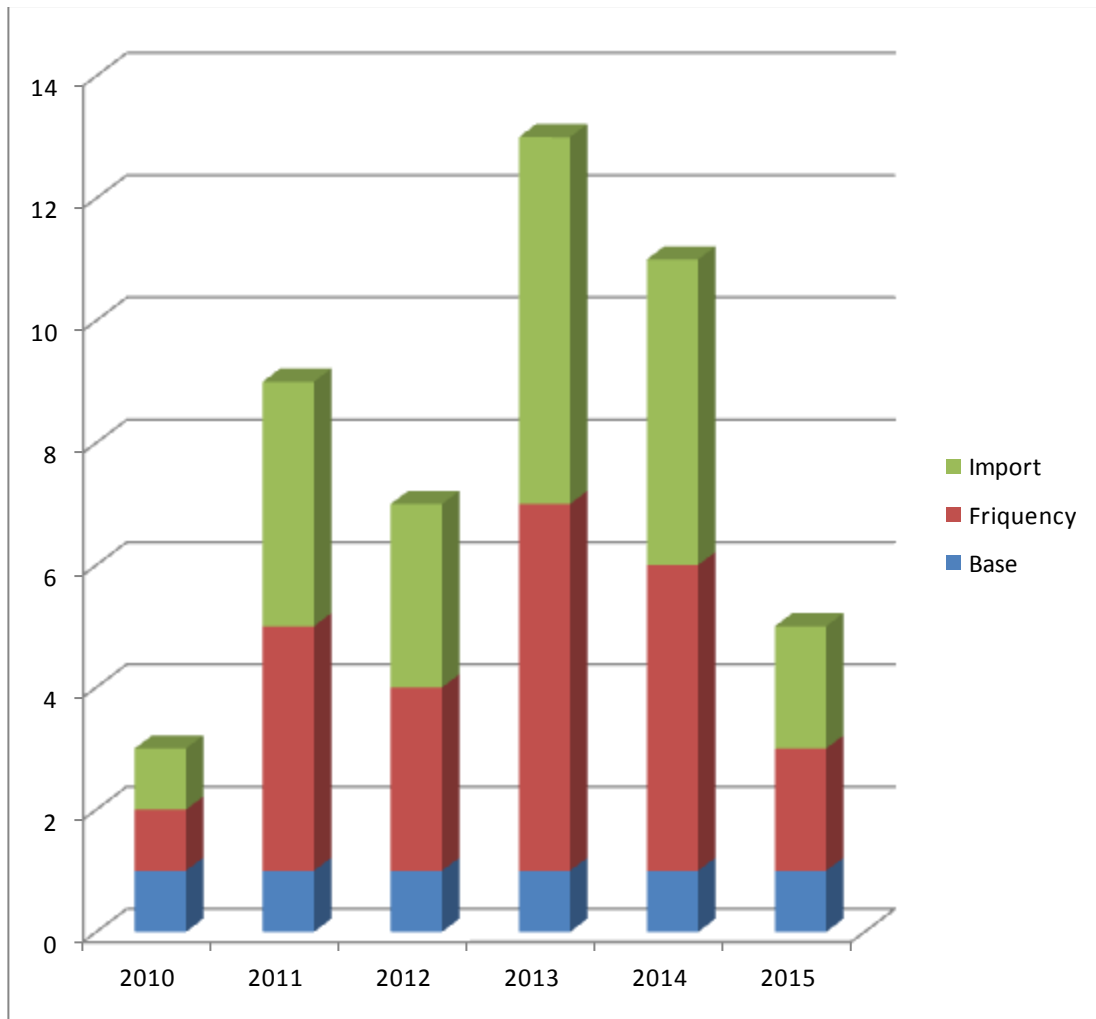


Figure 4.5: Import of Turkish foreign trade (billion \$)

Source: The Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Investment Support and Promotion Agency, (2014), “Foreign Trade-Investment in Turkey”.

[http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-](http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorguide/Pages/InternationalTrade.aspx)

[US/investmentguide/investorguide/Pages/InternationalTrade.aspx](http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorguide/Pages/InternationalTrade.aspx)

According to Figure 4.5, imports are also not fixed. It fluctuates every year. Figure 4.5 shows that Turkish import was really high in 2013 than the rest of the years. Import last year was almost the last compared to the rest of the years. This is therefore a true fact that Turkish foreign import trade does not move progressively. It varies on yearly basis. According to the website of “Investment Support and Promotion Agency”, the basic aims of Turkey’s import policy since early 1980s till present date can be summarized as follows;

- To reduce protectionist measure in conformity with the new GATT rule
- To reduce bureaucratic procedures in Turkey

- To do everything possible to secure a supply of raw materials and intermediary goods at a convenient price rate, and with high quality standards

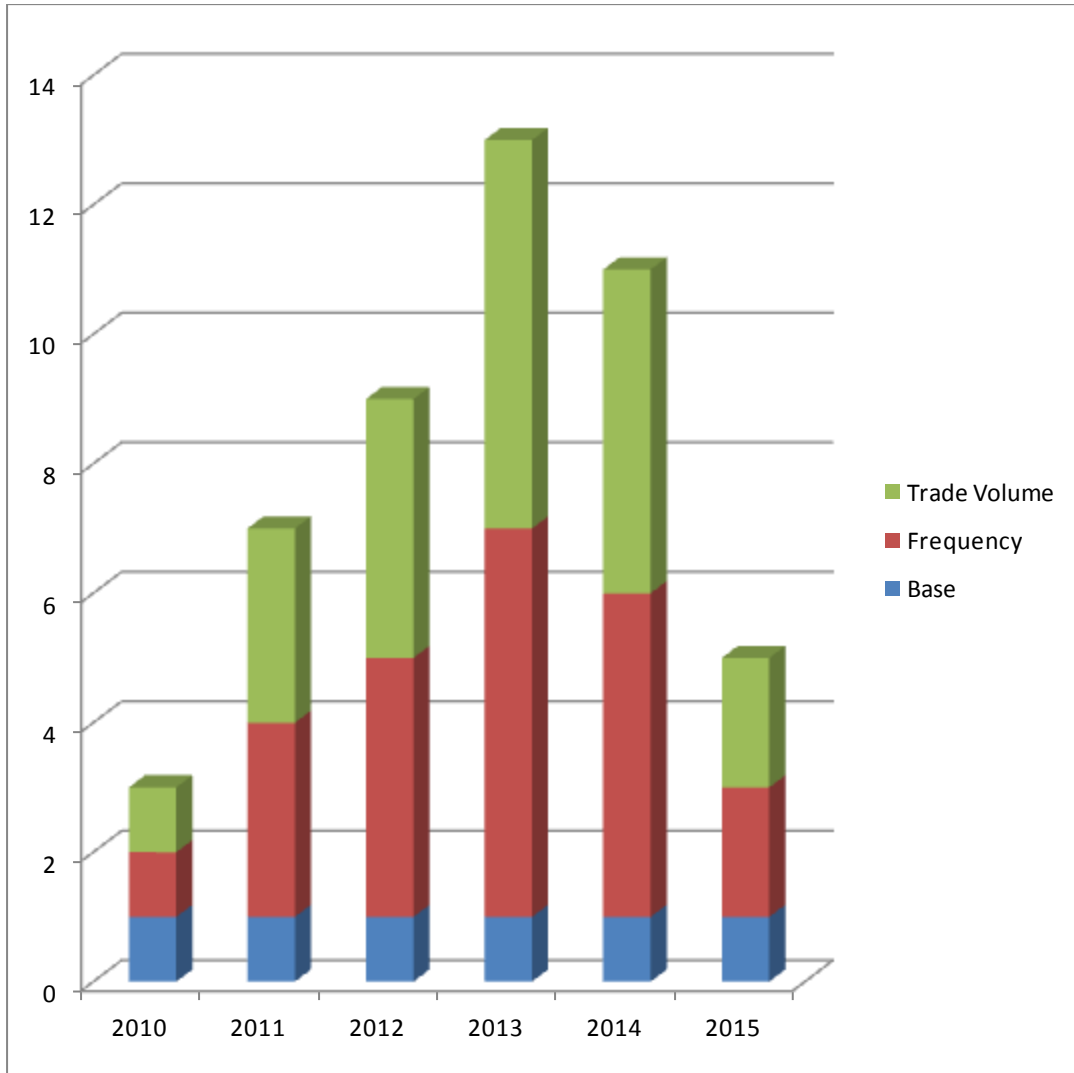


Figure 4.6: Trade volume of Turkish foreign trade (billion \$)

Sources: The Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Investment Support and Promotion Agency, (2014), “Foreign Trade-Investment in Turkey”.

[http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-](http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorguide/Pages/InternationalTrade.aspx)

[US/investmentguide/investorguide/Pages/InternationalTrade.aspx](http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorguide/Pages/InternationalTrade.aspx)

Turkey’s foreign trade volume is not stable, as shown on Figure 4.6. It started progressively from 2010 until 2013. In 2014, the trade rate dropped. This is same in 2015. It dropped even worse compare to the other years.

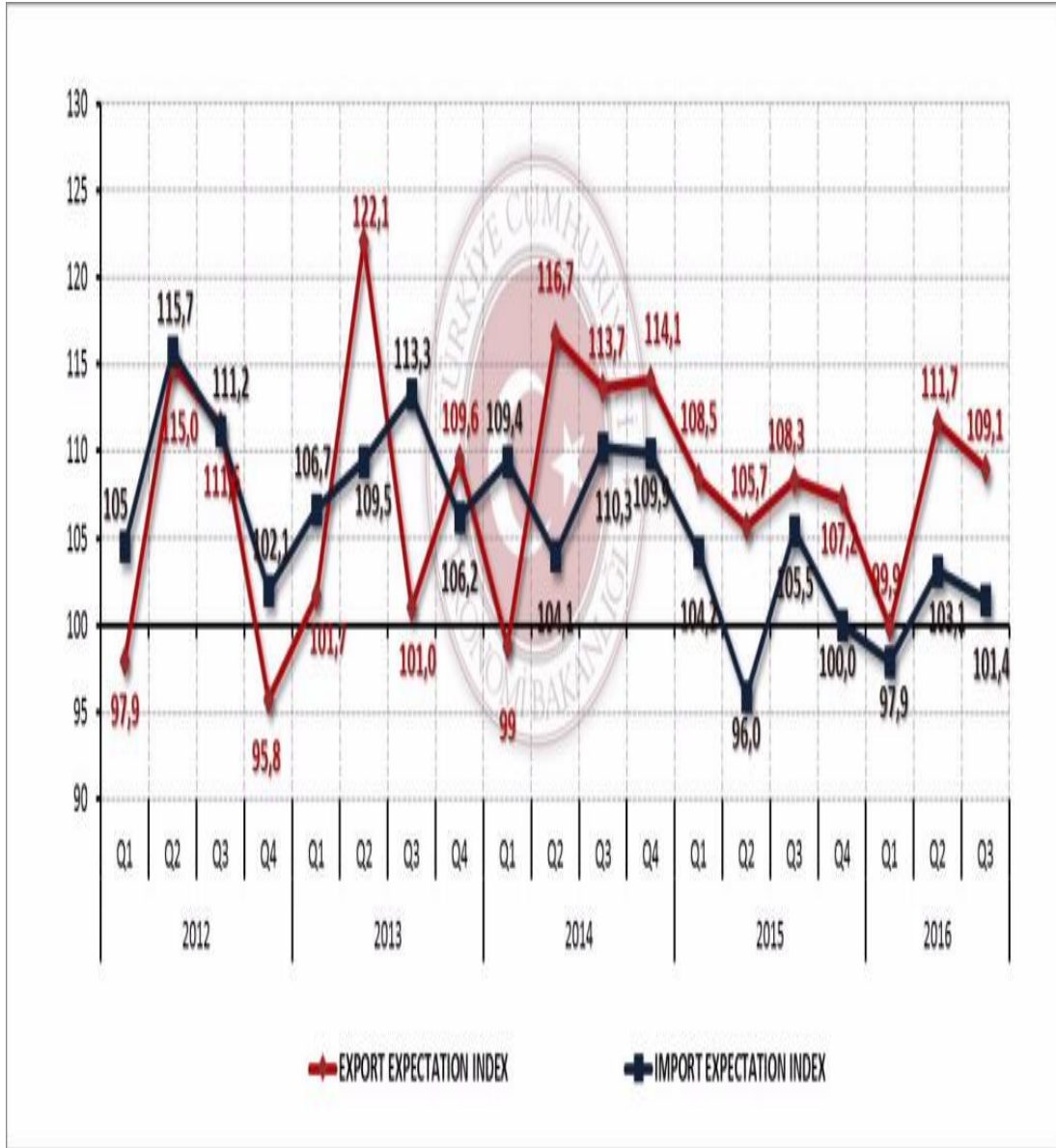


Figure 4.7: Foreign Trade Expectation Survey of 3rd quarter, 2016

Source: Republic of Turkish Ministry of Economy, (2016). “Foreign Trade Expectation Survey of 3rd Quarter”

http://www.economy.gov.tr/portal/faces/oracle/webcenter/portallapp/pages/bakanimiz/gundemDirectDetail.jsp?content_id=EK-227570&_afLoop=127448414464840&_afWindowMode=0&_afWindowId=dxxu5dtmt_26#!%40%40%3F_afWindowId%3Ddxxu5dtmt_26%26_afLoop%3D127448414464840%26content_id%3DEK-227570%26_afWindowMode%3D0%26_adf.ctrl-state%3Ddxxu5dtmt_78

Figure 4.7 given above shows the foreign trade expectation survey of Turkey in the 3rd quarter of 2016. In a report from the Turkish Ministry of Economy (11.07.2016, 10.50:00), Foreign Trade Expectation Survey (DTBA) reflects assessment of Turkish foreign trade based on the current situation of the country, coupled with future

expectations of leading firms. Turkey's export expectations index has decrease in the 3rd quarter of 2016 as compare to the 2nd quarter of 2016 (decrease of 109.1 from 111.7 respectively).

4.7 Privatization policy of Turkey

Turkey has been among the top with its privatization agenda. The accurate philosophy of privatization is to “confine the role of the state in areas such as basic education, health, social security, large scale infrastructural investment, and National defense. This procedure is to fulfill the target of Turkey which is focused on creating concrete competitive market economy driven mostly by private sector.

According to the reports from the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs on “Economic Outlook of Turkey”, Turkey is now shortlisted among top OECD countries that received the most out of privatization. Figure 4.8 given below shows that, 8 billion \$ privatization revenues was realized in the period of 1986-2003, and 58 billion \$ between the period of 2004-2015. This gives general privatization revenue of 66 billion \$ within 1986-2015.

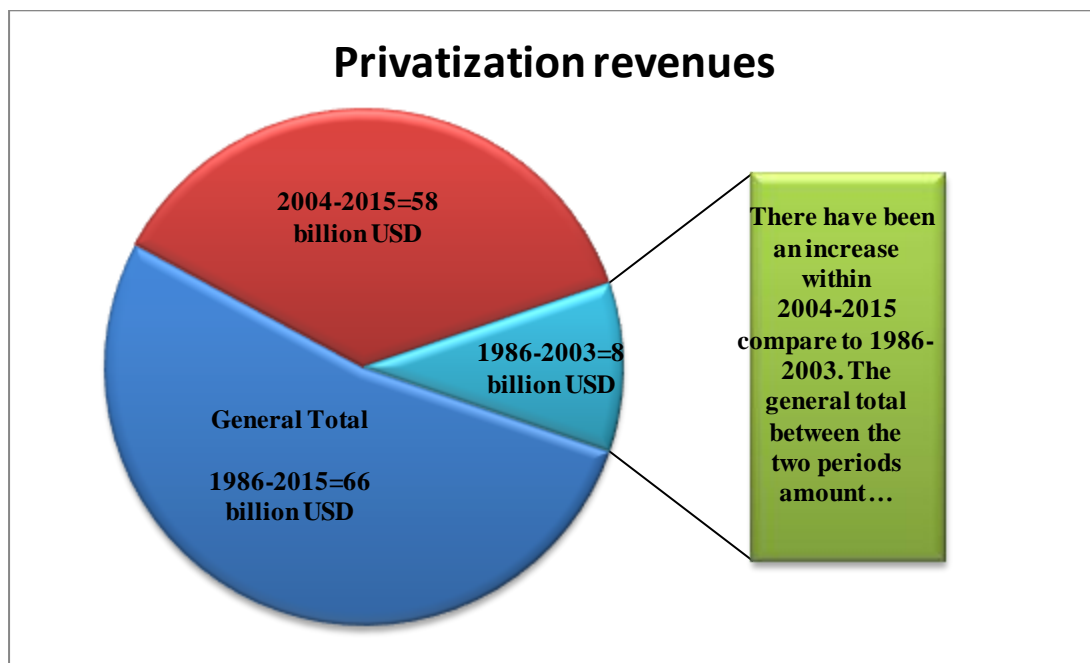


Figure 4.8: Turkish privatization revenues

Source: Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2011), “Privatization, Economic Outlook of Turkey,

<http://www.mfa.gov.tr/prospects-and-recent-developments-in-the-turkish-economy.en.mfa>

4.8 Turkey-Cameroon relations

The relations between Turkey and Cameroon has so much widen up especially in the 21st century. Cameroon is the only country in Africa that all features in Africa are found in. The country has a general appellation as “Africa in miniature”. This name is because Cameroon exhibits all major climates and vegetation of the continent: Coast, desert, beach, rainforests, mountains, savanna and plains. The soil is very rich in minerals, having natural resources such as gemstone, timber, iron, oil, phosphate, gas, manganese, just to name a few. Cameroon was recognized by Turkey after its independence in 1960. Within the framework of Turkey’s “Opening up Policy in Africa”, the Turkish Embassy in Yaounde was created in January 15, 2010. Cameroon’s Minister of Economy, Planning, and Regional Development, Mr. Louis Paul Motaze, participated in the first Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit held in Istanbul from 18021, August 2008. He later had another meeting with the president of the Republic of Turkey during the same occasion.

The visit of Turkey’s president to Cameroon on the 16-17 March 2010 initiated a new period in the relations between Turkey and Cameroon which became stronger after which. An Agreement between Turkish Government and Cameroon Government in respect to mutual abolition of Visas for Diplomatic Holders, Service and Special Passport was signed. Another agreement of the “Memorandum of Understanding for the Establishment of Political Consultation Mechanism between Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cameroon’s Ministry of External Relations on Technical, Scientific and Economic Cooperation in the Field of Agriculture” were signed during the visit. In line to the relations, six ministers from Cameroon visited Turkey in 2010 and 2011. A lot was done to achieve the draft agreements which were later proposed for the establishment of the legal framework of Turkey’s trade relations. Turkey also has been offering lots of scholarships opportunities to the youths of Cameroon to study in Turkey.

Cameroon’s trade volume summed up to about 88.5 million \$ in 2010. This statistics is based on the analysis from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Turkey. The figure was

expected to increase in the coming years. Many Turkish businessmen and investors began showing more interest to trade in Cameroon, and many Turkish contracting companies are already undertaking lots of projects there. In cooperation to the president's visit to Cameroon the Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA) gave support of medicaments to "Chantal Biya Foundation". Many other aspects were put into place. For instance, in July 2010 and February 2011, a total of 20 doctors, Medical personnel, and dentists from the Turkish NGO "Aegean Health Volunteers Association" carried on a series of check up on thousands of people in Cameroon, and were provided training and distributed two tons of medicaments as well.

Turkish Government has of now widened up its relations with Cameroon, and has allocated higher education scholarships to the Government of Cameroon every year. As of now, there are two private Turkish schools in Cameroon, one of which in Yaounde the capital city, and the other one in Ngoundere in the North of the Country. According to Cameroon Post line, the two official visits of President Abdullah Gul of Turkey to Cameroon marked the beginning of bilateral cooperation between the two countries. Turkey was once regarded as "Sick Man of Europe", but the emerging relations between Turkey and Africa and the signing of many bilateral Agreements especially with Cameroon has gradually erase the name and notion of considering Turkey as "sick man of Europe". The country is very active and alive now, and is experiencing a lot mutual cooperation with foreign countries, while giving humanitarian assistance to many countries. During president Gul's visit to Cameroon, he went a long with a "strong delegation of 120 businessmen to prospect for business". Agreements of mutual visa exemption, protocol on technical, scientific and economic cooperation were signed (Nkemgu, 2010, p. 1)

According to Nkemgu(2010, p. 1) report on "Cameroon-Turkey: Boosting and Diversifying Cooperation", Turkish businessmen invest in so many sectors in Cameroon such as; health, mining, and education. Mr. Gul said during his visit that "we attach a special importance to the close cooperation with Cameroon". He continued by expressing his desire of Turkey to develop new ties in Africa and work in an egalitarian manner. He quoted "we are for a win-win relationship". On the other hand, Cameroonian observers saw President Paul Biya's resolve to diversify Cameroon's ties economically, politically and culturally. The president on his side

said “there is very promising complementarities between Turkey which has a striving economy and is asserting day by day as an emerging power and Cameroon which is striving to accelerate its development”. As per export transactions, Cameroon exports Timber, Petroleum, Textile, and Aluminum to Turkey. Turkey is still very much interested in Cameroon’s gas. The Cameroonian leader expressed satisfactions on Turkey’s foreign policy priority towards Africa. He equally expressed how important Turkey has become a great partner of African states regarding its foreign policy objective.

According to the press release published by the Prime Ministry Office of Cameroon following the 2nd session of the Economic, Technical and Trade Commission of Turkey and Cameroon that was held on the 12-13 June 2014 in Turkey, the government of Cameroon develop more interest in strengthening its trade and economic relations with Turkey. The Government planned of holding a “Cameroonian Economic and Trade Days” with Turkey in October 2014 precisely in Ankara. This was to better plan on having more firm relations those sectors. In other to promote the image of Turkey in Cameroon and their products, the Cameroon Government’s plan of holding a Turkish product fair at its capital city before the due date of the meeting in Ankara. This is a clear indication to show strong relations both nations were willing to put in place.

According to Martin Nkemngu (2010), Turkey has gone a long way in trading already in Cameroon. They have a Mall in the nation’s Capital of Cameroon, which is commonly known as Turkish Mall, having a total land space of over 6,000 m Square. To make this trading links more of a realization, the Cameroon Head of State paid a special visit to Turkey on March 2013 which in order words was considered as the economic Mission of the Cameroon’s head of State. This mission was aimed at strengthening economic cooperation between the two nations, particularly in investment. The visit of the president led to an increase in strengthening economic relations, and opened more opportunities for investors to operate between the two nations. Cameroon aimed during this period to raise its trade volume with Turkey to about 500 Million \$ by 2015.

Trading with Cameroon is a great channel for investors and traders. According to the AC Nielsen’s Africa Prospect Indicators (API), in its second edition of ranking the

most attractive African Countries in investment published on 7 March 2016, Cameroon was ranked as the 6th most attractive country in the continent of Africa in terms of investment for 2015. Cameroon in line to its ranking is also well known for its potential distribution network. On the part of Micro-economic criterion, Cameroon is ranked 6th, despite its strong challenges faced in the world’s drop of oil prices and the War against Boko Haram.

RANKING					
COUNTRY	OVERALL RANK	MACRO RANK	BUSINESS RANK	CONSUMER RANK	RETAIL RANK
COTE D'IVOIRE	1	3	1	8	1
KENYA	2	2	5	6	7
TANZANIA	3	1	4	7	8
NIGERIA	4	4	3	2	3
ZAMBIA	5	7	9	1	4
CAMEROON	6	6	2	5	2
SOUTH AFRICA	7	8	8	4	6
UGANDA	8	9	6	3	5
GHANA	9	5	7	9	9

Figure 4.9: Ranking of attractive African countries for investment Figure

Source: Business in Cameroon, (2016), “Cameroon in the top 10 of African countries most attractive for

investment”, <http://www.businessincameroon.com/public-management/1303-6059-cameroon-in-the-top-10-of-african-countries-most-attractive-for-investments>

Figure 4.9 given above shows the ranking of attractive African countries for investment. Top on the list is Cote D’ivoire having the first position of the overall rank, and stand the 3rd in macro rank, 1st in business rank, 8th in consumer rank and 1st in retail rank. Next on the list is Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria, Zambia, South Africa, Uganda, and Ghana. Trading with the aforementioned countries gives upper hand of having fruitful business transactions.

According to the Turkish Embassy in Cameroon, 10 Cameroonian head of business were to be registered in the 24th edition of what was termed as WIN Eurasia Automation, to take place in Istanbul, from the 17th to 20th of March 2016. The participation of all delegation from Cameroon economic operations to this event was seen as an opportunity to establish and strengthen a strong business partnership with Turkey. Statistics from Turkey’s Embassy in Cameroon equally shows that “the volume of exchange between Turkey and Cameroon has tripled in the past 10 years, that is, from \$4 million in 2006 to about 120 million \$ in 2015. There was a high rate in 2014, with the sum of about 150 million registered in trade exchange alone.

Turkey-Cameroon Business Council has contributed a lot in widening Turkey-Cameroon relation. It was founded in 2014, with the purpose of enhancing the bilateral business relations between Turkey and Cameroon. According to the reports from the DEIK (Foreign Economic Relations Board) “about DEIK”, the objectives of a Business Council is to organize a series of activities such as “Business forums, delegation visits, B2B meetings, and Seminars”, in order to strengthen economic relations between the two countries. Another core purpose of the Business Council is to bring Turkish and Cameroon businessmen and businesswomen together so as to create a solid partnership and business opportunities that will benefit both countries. The Ministry explained that Cameroon falls among the top seven largest economy in Sub-Saharan Africa and very rich in natural and mineral resources. Cameroon is an exporter of Cocoa, coffee, cotton, bananas, and Rubber, meanwhile the most important activity of the country is the production of aluminum. There is also a great role of mining Sector, and oil production in the economy of Cameroon. Besides all these, Cameroon equally produces bauxite, iron ore, gold and gas.

To ensure poverty alleviation, the government of Cameroon proclaimed in 2009 the “2035 vision”, to become a middle income and industrialized country, and to consolidate democracy and national unity. In this regard, foreign investment is very important to set up the country’s advance and modern infrastructures. Statistics from the report on DEIK website about Turkey-Cameroon Business council shows that the trade volume between Turkey and Cameroon by 2012 was 145 million \$ and 147 million \$ in 2013. Turkey-Cameroon Business Council relations is therefore to provide accurate and updated information to Turkish investors, and to increase trade volume and provide product diversification between the two countries.

4.9 Challenges

Irrespective of the significant change that took place in Turkey’s foreign policy, in the 1990s, Turkey faced some severe challenges within its internal politics. This was because of the fragility of the current coalition, Kurdish problems, and the outbreak of economic crisis which started in the year 2000. As a result of this, African Action plan had not come to effect, it was rather on papers. The change of mind came after the coming up Justice and Development Party to power (Afacan, 2013, p. 48). AK party assumed power in November 2002, and engaged in dealing with the internal problems of the country, especially the criticisms from the secular opposition at the time. Economic crises, as well as the country’s foreign policy were issues to tackle. Moreover, relations with EU was deteriorating, coupled with the emergence of new and old regional problems, the Second Gulf War in 2003, and Cyprus issues. According to Mehmet Özkan (2012, P. 113), Turkey is driven by two main factors while approaching Africa: the first is Turkey’s eagerness to diversity its economic relations, and to reduce its dependence on European countries and Russia in a new global political economy. The second factor is Turkey’s re-orientation policy in global politics from the Western centric to a more diversify foreign policy.

The government of Turkey under AK Party managed to secure its internal and external legitimacy. Since 2005, Turkey has been able to focus on developmental aspects to boost its foreign policy. Its foreign policy strategy has internationalized by creating more relations with distant regions like Africa, Middle East etc. An important issue for Turkey was the improvement of political, economic, and cultural relations with countries in the continent of Africa, and this was designed as one of

the “secondary” tools to strongly complement other central foreign policy initiatives like the zero-problems with neighboring countries, and multi-dimensional foreign policy (Afacan, 2013, p. 49). According to Aras (2009, p. 7), there are critics in seeing Turkish engagement with neighboring countries as the manifestation of “neo-Ottomanism”, since as Turkey’s initial aim was focus on developing contacts with countries which were part of the Ottoman Empire in the past. The Foreign Minister of Turkey was accused of trying to take advantage of historical and cultural affinities with neighboring countries.

According to Bilgiç and Nascimento (2014, p. 3), he argues that Turkey’s initiative have been a mixture of Mild expectation and confusion. The presence of India and China in Africa has prompted many people to have doubts as to the reason why Turkey has also shown what is considered by people to be an “unexpected interest in the continent”. There is no clear answer for Turkey’s Africa relations. Another challenge faced by Turkey is the lack of colonial roots in Africa. Another argument in line to this is that the lack of colonial history and emphasis on an equal partnership with African countries spread optimism about the future of such relationship among African leaders.

The lack of interest from many countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa to create relations with Turkey was another contributing factor to Turkey’s challenges in Africa. Relations between these two bodies were so dominant, thus hindering economic development until recently in the late 20th and early 21st century. Since 2002, this trend has change due to global affairs. As an example to the dominant relations, Turkey showed great interest in signing a Free Trade Agreement with some African organizations like; South African Custom Union (SACU) since 1998, but SACU was reluctant to grant the request. This was so challenging for Turkey for her request not to be granted. By 2009, the South Africa department of Trade and Industry announced a free Trade deal of study between Turkey and SACU. Mehmet (2014), denotes that, while the emerging multi-dimensional foreign policy has provided the theoretical basis of opening up to Africa, an increase in Turkish involvement in Africa at the political and economic levels represents a smooth convergence of both government and business policies.

According to Mehmet (2010 p.104), Turkey had a long-time interest in buying “Rooivalk” attack helicopters from South Africa for the Turkish army, but the request was rejected by South African. Since 1990s, Turkey knocked the doors of South African officials for its request, but the then President Nelson Mandela’s administration rebuffed, due to Turkey-Kurdish issues. The disappointment challenged went further by President Mandela’s refusal to accept the Atatürk Peace Prize in the year 1992 and the imposition of arms embargo on Turkey by 1995 on Turkey. This embarrassment and challenge with South Africa was calm by Mandela’s successor Thabo Mbeki who had different views with the country’s policy towards Turkey. In line to this, the then Turkish Prime Minister Erdoğan made his first head of Government visit to South Africa on March 2005. On the other way round, former South Africa Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Nguka visited Istanbul as one of the 50 heads of States during the first Turkish-African Summit. Adding to this, since June 2006, Turkey has had a positive prospect from South African Officials on Rooivalk trading. It was announced in a press conference by South African Minister of Public Enterprises, Alec Erwin that “there would be a high level of sharing transfer of Technology [with Turkey] ... that applies to any program we are involved in with Turkey, not only the Rooivalk”.

Another challenge is the unstable trade volume between Turkey and Africa. It started progressively from 2010 until 2013. In 2014, the trade rate dropped. This is same in 2015. It dropped even worse compare to the other years. This constant drop might affect the Turkish economy.

4.10 Analysis of Turkey-Africa relations

Turkey-Africa relation is well illustrated below with the use of tables and figures. This section demonstrates the following; Turkish Investment legislation with bilateral agreements, foreign direct investment (FDI) inflow to Turkey by year and by sector, geographic breakdown of FDI inflow to Turkey, companies statistics with International capital in Turkey, lists of embassies and consulates in Turkey and in Africa, business council members with Turkey, Turkish airline destinations and airports, country list of scholarship students from Africa in Turkey, peace missions in Africa with Turkey’s support, cooperation Turkish-African conferences, trade transactions between Turkey and Africa, and TIKA offices in Africa.

Table 4.4: Turkish investment legislation bilateral agreements

No	Countries with bilateral Agreement for the promotion and protection of investment	Double Taxation prevention Treaties	Social Security Agreement	Custom Union and Free Trade Agreement (FTA)
1	Egypt	Algeria	Libya	Egypt
2	Ethiopia	Egypt	-	Morocco
3	Libya	Ethiopia	-	Mauritius
4	Morocco	Morocco	-	Tunisia
5	Senegal	South Africa	-	Democratic Rep. of Congo
6	Tunisia	Sudan	-	Cameroon
7	-	Tunisia	-	Libya
8	-	-	-	Seychelles
	Source: Turkish Ministry of Economy	Source: Turkish Revenue Administration	Source: Social Security Institution (SSI)	Source: Turkish Ministry of Economy

Source: Investment Support and Promotion Agency (2007), “Turkish Investment Legislation and Bilateral Agreement”,
<http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/BusinessLegislation.aspx>

Table 4.4 given above presents Turkish investment legislation bilateral agreements with some African countries. Table 4.4 shows that some African countries like Tunisia, Senegal, Egypt, Ethiopia, Libya and Morocco entered into a bilateral agreement for the promotion and protection of investment with Turkey. Other African countries such as Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco, Ethiopia, Egypt, South Africa and Algeria signed double taxation prevention treaties with Turkey. Just one African country on the table signed social security agreement with Turkey. Lastly, Egypt, Morocco, Mauritius, Democratic Republic of Congo, Tunisia, Cameroon, Libya, and Seychelles signed custom union and free trade agreement (FTA).

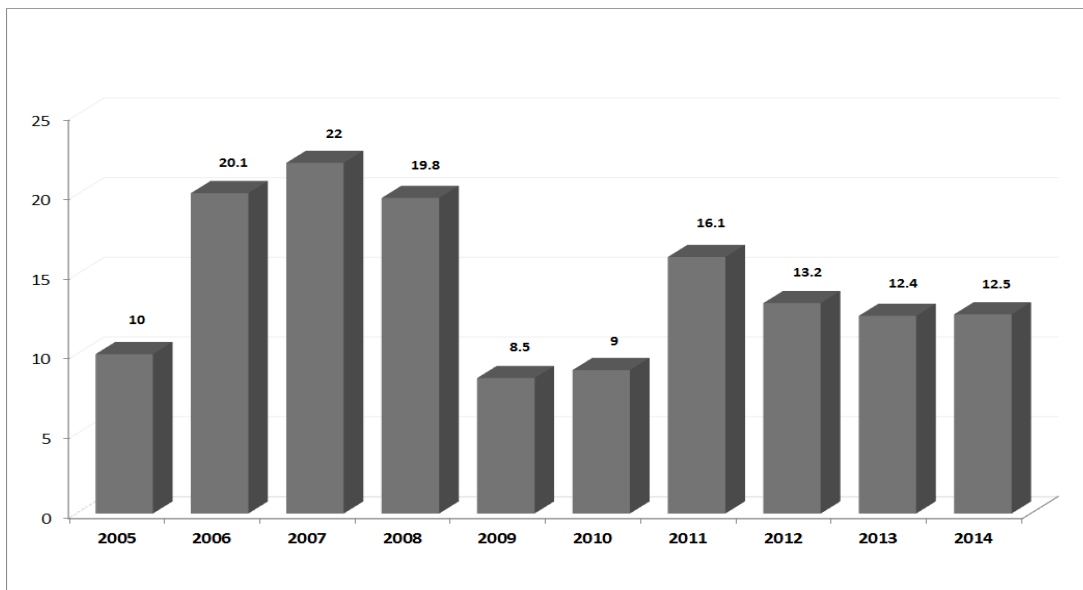


Figure 4.10: FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) inflow to Turkey (billion \$)

Source: Investment Support and Promotion Agency (2014), “FD Iinflow to Turkey- Invest in Turkey”,
<http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/FDIinTurkey.aspx>

Figure 4.10 given above presents the foreign direct investment inflow to Turkey within the year 2005 to 2014. According to the Investment Support and Promotion Agency of Turkey in 2005, foreign direct investment (FDI) inflow to Turkey was 10 billion \$. In 2006, the amount increased to 20.1 billion \$. In 2007, the FDI inflow was 22 billion \$. Instead of continues increased of FDI inflow to Turkey, in 2008, it decreased to 19.8 billion \$ compare to 2007. In 2009, the FDI went so low to 8.5 billion \$ thus becoming a year with the least FDI inflow to Turkey. In 2010, the amount increased to 9 billion \$ as compared to the previous year 2008. Another progress was in 2011 with the sum of 16.1 billion \$. In 2012, the FDI dropped again

to 13.2 billion \$. The year 2013 and 2014 was almost the same, having an FDI of 12.4 billion \$ and 12.5 billion \$ respectively. Figure 4.7 clearly indicate that FDI inflow to Turkey is not stable (increased and decreased).

Table 4.5: FDI inflow to Turkey by Year

Million \$					
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
FDI Total (Net)	9,099	16,176	13,282	12,457	12,530
Equity Investment (Net)	6,221	14,146	10,126	9,298	8,445
Inflows	6,256	16,137	10,759	9,866	8,699
Liquidation Outflows	35	1,991	633	568	254
Intra-company Loans	384	17	520	110	-26
Real Estate (Net)	2,494	2,013	2,636	3,049	4,321

*Loans that company with foreign capital are given by foreign partners

Source: Investment Support and Promotion Agency (2014), “FDI inflow to Turkey- Invest in Turkey”,
<http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/FDIinTurkey.aspx>

Table 4.5 given above presents the FDI inflow to Turkey per year. Within the year 2010 to 2014, FDI inflow to Turkey was fluctuating. For instance, in 2010 the Net real estate was 2,494 million \$ while in 2011, it dropped to 2,013 million \$.in the subsequent year 2012, FDI Real Estate (net) increased to 2, 636 million \$ and progressively in 2013 and 2014 (3,049 million \$ and 4, 321 million \$ respectively).

Table 4.6: FDI inflow to Turkey by sector

Million \$						
Sectors	2010	2011	2012	2013*	2014*	
Agriculture		81	32	43	47	61
Agriculture, forestry and fishing		81	32	43	47	61
Industrial sectors		2,887	8,038	5,480	4,819	4,666
Mining and quarrying		136	146	213	242	449
Manufacturing		924	3,597	4,343	2,207	2,891
Manufacture of food products, beverages and tobacco		124	650	2,201	400	557
Manufacture of textiles and textile products		94	148	376	60	139
Manufacture of leather and leather products		0	0	0	0	1
Manufacture of wood and wood products		1	0	84	3	0
Manufacture of pulp, paper and paper products; publishing and printing		18	74	12	107	90
Manufacture of coke, refined petroleum products and nuclear fuel		3	1,255	179	236	100
Manufacture of chemicals, chemical products, basic pharmaceutical products and materials		120	348	579	272	495
Manufacture of rubber and plastic products		7	128	486	168	75
Manufacture of		54	37	10	29	158

other non-metallic mineral products					
Manufacture of basic metals and fabricated metal products	213	292	101	100	129
Manufacture of machinery and equipment n.e.c.	64	76	32	5	4
Manufacture of computers, electronic-electrical and optical equipment	177	464	143	607	918
Manufacture of transport equipment	38	93	121	97	124
Manufacturing n.e.c.	11	32	19	123	101
Electricity, gas, steam and air-conditioning supply	1,824	4,293	924	2,334	1,323
Water supply, sewerage, waste management and remediation	3	2	0	36	3
Services	3,288	8,067	5,236	5,000	3,972
Construction	310	301	1,427	178	232
Wholesale and retail trade	435	709	221	377	1,165
Transportation and storage	183	222	130	300	136
Accommodation and food service activities	113	122	16	59	20
Information and communication services	36	36	133	110	212
Financial and insurance activities	1,621	5,883	2,084	3,415	1,535
Financial service activities (banks)	835	4,745	1,500	1,608	1,018
Insurance,	766	882	348	1,538	120

reinsurance and pension funding (except compulsory social security)					
Activities of holding companies	10	170	176	229	262
Other activities auxiliary to financial services	10	86	60	40	135
Real estate activities	241	300	173	128	227
Professional, scientific and technical activities	94	103	78	87	94
Administrative and support service activities	17	55	234	175	93
Public administration and defense, compulsory social security	0	0	0	0	0
Education	17	68	60	2	0
Human health and social work activities	112	232	546	106	200
Arts, entertainment and recreation	62	13	81	5	2
Other service activities	47	23	53	58	56
Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods--and-service-producing activities of households for own use	0	0	0	0	0
Activities of extra-territorial organizations and bodies	0	0	0	0	0
Total	6,256	16,137	10,759	9,866	8,699

(*) Provisional

Source: Investment Support and Promotion Agency (2014), “FDI inflow to Turkey- Invest in Turkey”,

[http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-](http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/FDIinTurkey.aspx)

[US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/FDIinTurkey.aspx](http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/FDIinTurkey.aspx)

During the last five years, the international and manufacturing sectors have attracted the higher amount of FDI. Table 4.6 given above presents the FDI inflow to Turkey by sectors. There are a variety of sectors such as; forestry, agriculture, industrial, fishing, mining, quarrying, manufacturing of textiles, manufacturing of leather, and wood product. The FDI inflow of each of these sectors to Turkey varies each year.

Table 4.7: Geographic breakdown of FDI inflow to Turkey

Million \$						
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013*	2014*
Europe	5,248	4,939	12,588	7,925	6,400	6,566
Developed Europe	4,942	4,737	11,495	7,303	5,272	5,512
EFTA countries	281	197	323	592	234	324
Other European countries	25	5	770	30	894	730
Africa	2	0	0	0	221	42
North Africa	1	0	0	0	0	0
Other African countries	1	0	0	0	221	42
America	331	384	1,485	491	343	325
North America	312	378	1,423	471	342	325
Central America	12	0	57	16	1	0
South America	7	6	5	4	0	0
Asia	673	928	2,055	2,337	2,899	1,766
Near and Middle Eastern countries	361	473	1,558	1,593	2,286	1,231
Arabian Gulf countries	209	388	195	940	880	425

Other Near and Middle Eastern countries	78	45	1,359	653	1,406	788
Other Asian countries	312	455	497	744	613	535
Oceania and polar regions	12	5	9	6	3	0
Unclassified	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	6,266	6,256	16,137	10,759	9,866	8,699

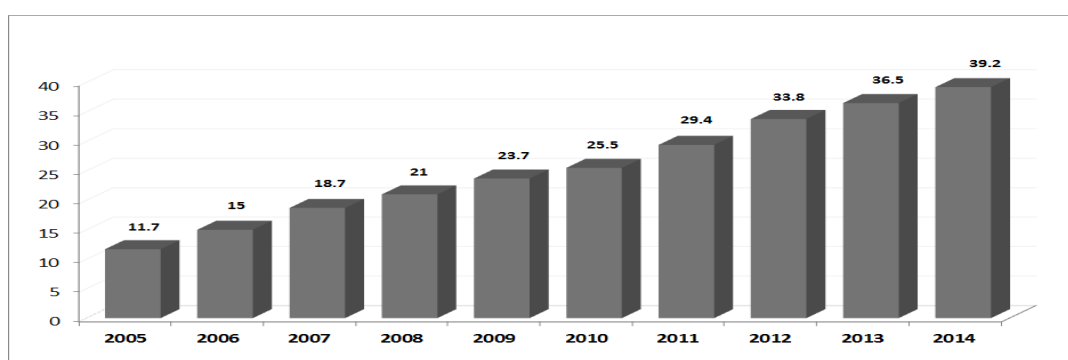
(*) Provisional

Source: Investment Support and Promotion Agency (2014), “FDI inflow to Turkey- Invest in Turkey”,

[http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-](http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/FDIinTurkey.aspx)

[US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/FDIinTurkey.aspx](http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/FDIinTurkey.aspx)

Table 4.7 shows the geographical breakdown of FDI inflow to Turkey. Turkey has so far witnessed different geographic FDI breakdowns since 2009. In 2009, Turkey had a total geographic breakdown of FDI inflow of 6,266 million \$. In 2010, the inflow was 6,256 million \$. The year 2011 was a year of difference. The geographic breakdown of FDI inflow to Turkey increased from 6,256 million \$ in the previous year to 16, 137 million \$. In 2012, the inflow decreased again to 10, 759 million \$. Continued decrease in the FDI inflow in 2013 and 2014, that is 9,866 million \$ and



8, 699 million \$ respectively.

Figure 4.11: Companies with international capital in Turkey (cumulative in thousands)

Source: Investment Support and Promotion Agency (2014), “FDI inflow to Turkey- Invest in Turkey”,

[http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-](http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/FDIinTurkey.aspx)








[US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/FDIinTurkey.aspx](http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/FDIinTurkey.aspx)

Figure 4.11 shows that within the year 2005 to 2014, over 39,100 companies with foreign capital operated in Turkey. That is, the number of companies with international capital (cumulative, in thousands). Africa is not excluded in this range because some African countries fall under the list of companies with foreign capital in Turkey.

Table 4.8: Turkish Embassies and Consulates in Africa

No	Host country	Mission	Head
1	 Algeria	• Algiers (Embassy)	Adnan Keçeci
2	 Angola	• Luanda (Embassy)	Hamit Osman Olcay
3	 Benin	• Cotonou (Embassy)	Turgut Rauf Kural
4	 Botswana	• Gaborone (Embassy)	İbrahim Mete Yağlı
5	 Burkina Faso	• Ouagadougou (Embassy)	Aydın Sefa Akay
6	 Cameroon	• Yaoundé (Embassy)	Hüsni Murat Ülkü
7	 Chad	• N'Djamena (Embassy)	Ahmet Kavas
8	 Republic of the Congo	• Brazzaville (Embassy)	Can İncesu
9	 Côte d'Ivoire	• Abidjan (Embassy)	Yağın Kaya Erensoy
10	 Democratic Republic of the Congo †	• Kinshasa (Embassy)	Bekir Uysal
11	 Djibouti	• Djibouti (city) (Embassy)	Hasan Yavuz
12	 Egypt	• Cairo (Embassy) • Alexandria (Consulate–General)	Mehmet Akif Özdemir
13	 Eritrea	• Asmara (Embassy)	Fırat Sunel

14	 Ethiopia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Addis Ababa(Embassy) 	U.Kenan İpek
15	 Gabon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Libreville (Embassy) 	NurdanBayraktarGolder
16	 The Gambia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Banjul (Embassy) 	Ali RızaÖzcoşkun
17	 Ghana †	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accra (Embassy) 	Aydın Nurhan
18	 Guinea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conakry (Embassy) 	VehbiEsgeleTensel
19	 Kenya †	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nairobi (Embassy) 	H. AvniAksoy
20	 Libya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tripoli (Embassy) Benghazi (Consulate–General) 	Ali Kemal Aydın Ali Sait Akın
21	 Madagascar †	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Antananarivo (Embassy) 	ArtemizSümer
22	 Mali	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bamako (Embassy) 	Hikmet Renan Şekeroğlu
23	 Mauritania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nouakchott (Embassy) 	Musa Kulaklıkaya
24	 Morocco	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rabat (Embassy) 	Uğur Arıner
25	 Mozambique †	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maputo (Embassy) 	Aylin Taşhan
26	 Namibia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Windhoek (Embassy) 	Murat Ahmet Yörük
27	 Niger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Niamey (Embassy) 	Hüseyin Özdemir
28	 Nigeria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abuja (Embassy) 	Ali RifatKöksal
29	 Rwanda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kigali (Embassy) 	Mehmet RaifKaraca
30	 Senegal †	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dakar (Embassy) 	Zeynep SibelAlgan
31	 Somalia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mogadishu (Embassy) 	C. Kani Torun
32	 South Africa †	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pretoria (Embassy) and Cape Town (Consulate) 	KaanEsener
33	 South Sudan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Juba (Embassy) 	Haluk Ağca

34	 Sudan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Khartoum (Embassy) 	ErdoğanKök
35	 Tanzania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dar es Salaam (Embassy) 	Ali Davutoğlu
36	 Tunisia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tunis (Embassy) 	Ömer Güçük
37	 Uganda †	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kampala (Embassy) 	Sedef Yavuzalp
38	 Zambia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lusaka (Embassy) 	Ahmet ŞemseddinArda
39	 Zimbabwe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Harare (Embassy) 	Kadir HidayetEriş
40	 Mauritius	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Port Louis (Consulate) 	

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, “Turkish Embassies and Consulates in Africa, “Turkish Embassies and Consulates in Africa”
<https://diplomatic.mfa.gov.tr/missions.aspx?selMenuId=4>

Table 4.8 given above presents a list of the various Turkish embassies and consulates located in Africa countries and the heads. These embassies and consulates helps in strengthening the relations between Turkey and Africa. 40 African countries have either Turkish embassies or consulates, or both.

Table 4.9: African Embassies and Consulates in Turkey

No	Counties	Embassy	General Consulates	Honorary Consulates	Location in Turkey
1	Algeria	✓	✓		Çankaya-Ankara
2	Angola	✓			Ankara
3	Benin	✓		✓	Oran-Çankaya/Ankara
4	Burundi	✓		✓	Çankaya-Ankara
5	Burkina Faso	✓		✓	Yıldız-Çankaya/Ankara
6	Cameroon			✓	Avcılar/ Istanbul
7	Cape Verde			✓	Üsküdar/ Istanbul
8	Central African Republic			✓	Üstbostancı/Istanbul
9	Chad	✓		✓	Oran-Çankaya/Ankara
10	Republic of	✓		✓	Ankara

	Congo				
11	Cote D'Ivoire	✓		✓	Gaziosmanpaşa/Ankara
12	Democratic Rep. of Congo	✓		✓	Ankara
13	Djibouti	✓		✓	Yıldız- Ankara
14	Egypt	✓	✓		Kavaklıdere- Ankara
15	Ethiopia	✓		✓	Ankara
16	Gabon	✓		✓	Oran, Çankaya
17	Gambia	✓		✓	Yıldız- Ankara
18	Ghana	✓		✓	Ankara
19	Guinea	✓		✓	Gaziosmanpaşa/Ankara
20	Guinea-Bissau			✓	X
21	Kenya	✓		✓	Yıldız- Ankara
22	Liberia			✓	Altunizade, Üsküdar, İstanbul
23	Libya	✓	✓		Çankaya/Ankara
24	Madagascar			✓	Mecideyekoy/İstanbul
25	Malawi			✓	X
26	Mali	✓		✓	Çankaya/Ankara
27	Mauritania	✓		✓	Çankaya/Ankara
28	Mauritius			✓	MaçkaBeşiktaş/İstanbul
29	Morocco	✓	✓	✓	Ankara
30	Mozambique			✓	Çankaya/Ankara
31	Namibia			✓	Tuzla/İstanbul
32	Niger	✓			Ankara
33	Rwanda	✓		✓	Çankaya

34	Sao Tome and Principe			✓	Şişli/Istanbul
35	Senegal	✓		✓	Çankaya/Ankara
36	Seychelles			✓	X
37	Sierra Leone			✓	X
38	Somalia	✓		✓	Ankara
39	South Sudan	✓		✓	Ankara
40	Sudan	✓	✓	✓	Ankara
41	Tanzania			✓	X
42	Togo			✓	Istanbul
43	Tunisia	✓	✓	✓	Ankara
44	Uganda	✓		✓	Ankara
45	Zambia	✓		✓	Yıldız-Çankaya
46	Nigeria	✓			Ankara
47	South Africa	✓		✓	Ankara

Source: Tekin, O. (2012), “Turkish Foreign Policy towards Africa: Motivations and Interests, 2001-2010”, http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2016_03/30044345_meb_istatistikleri_orgun_egitim_2015_2016.pdf

Table 4.9 given above shows that there are 47 African countries having either an Embassy or Consulate in Turkey. It also shows that some of the Africa countries either have an embassy, General Consulate or Honorary Consulate in Turkey. The various locations of the diplomatic portal in Turkey are equally presented on the table. Some of the countries have all the diplomatic portals as shown on the table, while others have either have two or just one. For instance, a country like Algeria has an Embassy and a General Consulate in Çankaya-Ankara. Where there is an empty space, it means that country doesn't have an embassy, general consulate or honorary consulate. There are “x” in some of the spaces. It means that there is no information for that set area.

Table 4.10: Member states of African Business Council with Turkey

No	Business Council Partners with Turkey	Founding Year
1	Cameroon	2014
2	Chad	2015
3	Djibouti	2015
4	Mali	2015
5	Mozambique	2015
6	Republic of the Congo	2015
7	Senegal	2015
8	Algeria	1990
9	Angola	2011
10	Cote d'ivoire	2014
11	Egypt	1992
12	Equatorial Guinea	2014
13	Ethiopia	2008
14	Gambia	1967
15	Ghana	2011
16	Kenya	2010
17	Libya	2007
18	Mauritania	2011
19	Mauritius	2014
20	Morocco	1990
21	Nigeria	2011
22	Rwanda	2011
23	South Africa	1997

24	Sudan	2008
25	Tanzania	2011
26	Tunisia	1990
27	Uganda	2011

Source: DEIK, (2011),“African Business Council”

Table 4.10 given above shows that there are 27 African countries in a business council partnership with Turkey. This shows how significant trade and other economic activities is important to both sides. Coming to a mutual relation like this open an opportunity for traders and investors to operate with ease and secured as well.

Turkish Airlines has so much gain ground across the world and especially Africa, with its air network system. Its activities across the globe has made it become an international company, flying to about 31 countries in Africa. Within some of the destinations in African countries, Turkish airline flies to more than one city. For instance, in Algeria, it flies to five different cities; Algiers, Batna, Oran, Constantine, and Tlemcen. This bilateral connection between Turkey Airlines to Africa has contributed so much in strengthening relations between both sides.

Table 4.11: Turkish Airlines destinations in Africa

No	African Countries	Number of cities	Cities
1	Algeria	5	Algiers, Batna, Oran, Constantine, Tlemcen
2	Benin	1	Cotonou
3	Burkina Faso	1	Ouagadougou
4	Cameroon	2	Douala, Yaounde
5	Chad	1	N'djamena
6	Congo	1	Kinshasa
7	Djibouti	1	Djibouti

8	Egypt	4	Alexandria, Cairo, Hurghada, Sharm-El-Sheikh
9	Eritrea	1	Asmara
10	Ethiopia	1	Addis Ababa
11	Gabon	1	Libreville
12	Ghana	1	Accra
13	Ivory Coast	1	Abijan
14	Kenya	2	Mombasa, Nairobi
15	Libya	4	Misurata, Sebha, Tripoli, Benghazi
16	Madagascar	1	Antananarivo
17	Mali	1	Bamako
18	Mauritania	1	Nouakchott
19	Mauritius	1	Port Louis
20	Morocco	1	Casablanca
21	Mozambique	1	Maputo
22	Niger	1	Niamey
23	Nigeria	3	Abuja, Lagos, Kano
24	Rwanda	1	Kigali
25	Senegal	1	Dakar
26	Somalia	1	Mogadishu
27	South Africa	3	Durban, Cape-Town, Johannesburg
28	Sudan	1	Khartoum
29	Tanzania	2	Dar-Es-Salaam, Kilimanjaro
30	Tunisia	1	Tunis
31	Uganda	1	Entebbe

Source: Tekin, O. (2012). "Turkish Foreign Policy towards Africa: Motivations and Interests 2001-2010", http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2016_03/30044345_meb_istatistikleri_orgun_egitim_2015_2016.pdf

Table 4.11 given above shows that there are 31 countries and 48 Turkish Airlines destinations in Africa. Flying to these countries has really facilitated free and ease movement from almost all African countries to Turkey and vice versa. Turkish Airlines is one of the highest airlines that fly to Africa yearly, and Algeria tops with the highest destinations.

Table 4.12: African countries & students studying in Turkey with government scholarship

No	Country	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
1	Algeria	-	-	-	6	-	3	19	22	63	89	220
2	Angola	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	4	9
3	Benin	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	6	17	40	73
4	Burkina Faso	-	-	1	-	2	-	7	7	20	34	71
5	Botswana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	5	12
6	Burundi	-	4	-	5	10	1	21	21	31	49	87
7	Cameroon	-	-	4	-	-	4	10	12	63	94	160
8	Cape Verde	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
9	Central Africa	-	1	-	1	2	7	20	19	65	66	116
10	Chad	3	-	-	-	5	10	16	12	29	63	130
11	Congo	-	4	-	2	1	3	17	15	17	18	42
12	Democratic Republic of Congo	1	7	-	5	7	14	36	31	80	103	188
13	Djibouti	10	-	-	-	24	-	44	42	44	65	160
14	Egypt	-	2	6	4	6	10	24	24	92	111	393
15	Equatorial Guinea	-	-	2	-	-	1	2	2	-	-	3
16	Eritrea	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	8	13	47
17	Ethiopia	4	2	3	4	10	9	47	45	120	181	333

18	Gabon	1	2	-	1	-	3	6	5	13	22	43
19	Gambia	1	4	2	-	7	7	19	19	34	59	111
20	Guinea	2	6	2	-	10	6	23	23	41	55	119
21	Guinea-Bissau	-	2	1	3	18	31	66	71	89	86	126
22	Ghana	4	-	-	1	2	9	33	34	113	151	276
23	Ivory Coast	1	-	-	-	3	5	15	-	39	54	90
24	Kenya	4	-	2	1	8	13	30	34	77	94	198
25	Libya	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	26	29	64
26	Lesotho	-	-	-	-	4	-	4	5	7	8	25
27	Liberia	-	-	-	1	-	2	3	4	15	26	48
28	Madagascar	1	-	-	-	5	2	13	12	22	35	74
29	Malawi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	12	19	43
30	Mali	1	-	-	1	-	2	6	5	38	56	97
31	Mauritius	2	-	1	1	4	-	8	7	15	14	43
32	Mauritania	1	3	-	-	-	-	8	14	61	75	120
33	Morocco	-	3	-	-	9	18	53	94	134	156	277
34	Mozambique	1	1	7	1	3	1	13	12	29	31	46
35	Namibia	-	2	-	-	-	1	2	2	5	5	10
36	Niger	1	-	2	-	6	6	21	22	48	72	142
37	Nigeria	7	12	1	-	14	14	53	53	63	48	153
38	Rwanda	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	53	91
39	Senegal	2	2	-	1	5	8	23	23	36	39	101
40	Seychelles	1	-	-	-	2	-	2	2	3	2	5

41	Sierra Leona	2	1	-	-	5	-	6	5	9	16	39
42	Sudan	8	-	2	8	1	4	40	32	60	95	245
43	South Sudan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	22	56
44	South Africa	2	1	-	-	-	11	11	10	9	7	23
45	Swaziland	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	5	12	24
46	Tanzania	3	1	2	-	-	8	14	11	47	70	155
47	Togo	1	-	-	-	-	-	6	5	16	25	44
48	Tunisia	3	1	2	4	-	7	12	9	50	80	236
49	Uganda	1	-	3	3	9	12	33	37	80	116	201
50	Zambia	1	-	-	1	-	2	8	8	26	37	71
51	Zimbabwe	1	-	3	-	-	-	3	3	23	36	73
52	Sao Tome and Principe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	5
53	Comoros	-	-	-	3	10	10	25	23	22	36	80

Source: Tekin, O. (2012). "Turkish Foreign Policy towards Africa: Motivations and Invests, 2001-2010",
http://sgb.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/2016_03/30044345_meb_istatistikleri_orgun_egitim_2015_2016.pdf

Table 4.12 given above shows the number of student from some African countries studying in Turkey on government scholarship. It is quite impressive that out of the 56 sovereign countries in Africa, 53 of which have students studying in Turkey on scholarship sponsored by the government. This shows a strong connection between Turkey and Africa especially in education wise. The number of students in the year 2015 outnumbered any other year beginning from 2005.

Table 4.13: UN peacekeeping missions in Africa with Turkey's support

No	Mission	Location	Dates	Personnel	Turkish Personnel
1	MINURSO	Western Sahara	1991-2013	237	
2	MINURCA	CAR	1998-2000	1, 350	
3	UNAMSIL	Sierra Leon	1999-2005	17,670	
4	MMONUC	DRC	1999-2010	C, 21,000	
5	UNMEE	Ethiopia, Eritrea	2000-2008	4,200	
6	SAPSD	Burundi	2001-2009	754	
7	MINUCI	Cote d'ivoire	2000-2004	76	
8	UNMIL	Liberia	2003-2013	16,115	30
9	ONUB	Burundi	2004-2006	5,770	
10	UNOCI	Cote d'ivoire	2004-2013	10,954	16
11	UNMIS	Sudan	2005-2011	10,519	
12	MINURCAT	Chad and CAR	2007-2010	5,525	
13	UNAMID	Sudan	2008-2013	21,600	22
14	MONUSCO	DRC	2010-2013	22,016	10
15	UNMISS	South Sudan	2011-2013	7,900	25
16	UNISFA	Sudan	2011-2013	C 4,500	
17	MINUSMA	Mali	2013-2013	12,600	

Source: Williams, Paul D.(2010), "African security brief lessons learned from peace operations in Africa", <https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/133696/AfricaBrief-3.pdf>

Table 4.13 given above shows that Turkey has always been Africa in trying to maintain peace either directly or indirectly. During the past years, Turkey gave support in some UN peace keeping missions in some African countries. In the year 1991-2013, Turkey gave 237 personnel in the MINURSO (Western Sahara) incident. Many other African countries like Ethiopia, Liberia, Burundi, Sierra Leon, Sudan, and Chad, just to name a few equally had Turkey's support with military personnel.

Table 4.14: International Turkish-African Congresses

No	International Congress	Year	Place
1	1 st International Turkish-Africa Congress	23-24 November 2005	Istanbul/Turkey
2	2 nd International Turkish-African Congress	12-13 December 2006	Istanbul/Turkey
3	3 rd International Turkish –African Congress	04-06 December 2007	Istanbul/Turkey
4	4 th International Turkish-African Congress	25-27 November 2008	Istanbul/Turkey
5	5 th International Turkish-African Congress	19-21 November 2009	Istanbul/Turkey
6	6 th International Turkish-African Congress	16-18 December 2010	Istanbul/Turkey
7	7 th International Turkish-African Congress	18-19 January 2012	Khartoum/ Sudan
8	8 th International Turkish-African Congress	16-17 April 2003	Accra/Ghana
9	9 th International Turkish-African Congress	24-25 April 2014	Istanbul/Turkey
10	10 th International Turkish-African Congress	19-21 November 2015	Dakar/Senegal

Source: TASAM, “International Turkish-African congresses”, <http://www.tasam.org/en/Spektrum/6/Afrika>

Table 4.14 given above presents the number of Turkey-Africa International Conferences within the 21st century, from 2005 to 2016. These conferences led to a more strong relation between Turkey and Africa, in the sense that it was to set up ways to strengthen relations between both sides. Its focused was based on all sectors such as economic, political, cultural, social etc. These conferences were coordinated by Turkish Asian center for Strategic Studies (TACSS), which is specialize in Uniting entrepreneurs, researchers, and scholars. TACSS also have an objective of

initiating and providing decision-makers with creative, dynamic, realistic, and effective solutions and decisions through scientific research; analysis, studies and evaluations related to Turkey and its surrounding regions sharing a common historical, political, cultural, economic, sociological, legal and geopolitical structure. TACSS is a private and independent center which serves Foreign and Turkish public and private institutions in studies concerning variety of issues. Its presence in Africa-Turkey relations is very significant.

Table 4.15: Bilateral trade volume between Turkey and Africa

African Continent	Year	Trade Volume
Africa in General	2000-2005	9 billion \$
	2005-2009	15.87 billion \$
	2010	14.1 billion \$
	2011	17.1 billion \$
	2012-2014	23.4 billion \$ (13.7 billion from export and 9.6 billion \$ from import)
	2015	17.5 billion \$
Sub-Saharan Africa	2000	742 million \$
	2001-2005	6 billion \$
	2006-2008	5.5 billion \$
	2009	4.88 billion \$
	2010	4 billion \$
	2011	7.5 billion \$
	2012-2013	8.4 billion \$
	2015	6 billion \$
North Africa	2000-2013	15 billion \$
	2015	11.5 billion \$

Source: Tepebaş, U. (2015), “Turkey Africa Trade Volume”, TASAM, http://www.tasam.org/en/Icerik/14467/turkey_africa_trade_volume

In 2014, Turkey-Africa trade volume increased to 23.4 billion \$ as shown in Table 4.14. This gave a slight increased record of approximately 70 million \$ compare to the previous years. In the said amount above, 13.7 billion was from exportation, while 9.6 billion \$ was from importation. In line to this, the trade Share of North Africa alone was 15 billion while that of Sub-Saharan Africa was 8.4 billion \$. This shows that Turkey trade more with North Africa than with Sub-Saharan Africa. Additionally, Sub-Saharan Africa recorded a trade increase of approximately 800 million \$, while North Africa had a loss of about 700 million \$.

Table 4.16: Essential trade partners with Turkey (billion \$)

No	African country	Trade Volume (US dollars)
1	Egypt	4.8 billion\$
2	Algeria	4.7 billion\$
3	Nigeria	2.5 billion\$
4	Libya	2.3 billion \$
5	Morocco	2 billion\$
6	South Africa	1.7 billion \$
7	Tunisia	1.1 billion \$

Source: Tepebaş, U. (2015), “Turkey Africa Trade Volume”, TASAM, http://www.tasam.org/en/Icerik/14467/turkey_africa_trade_volume

The essential trade partners of Turkey in the continent of Africa have not had any impact. Egypt is at the top with its trade volume of 4.8 billion \$; Algeria follows with 4.7 billion \$; Nigeria records 2.5 billion \$; Libya with 2.3 billion \$; Morocco follows with 2 billion \$; South Africa also records 1.7 billion \$; and Tunisia with 1.1 billion \$ respectively.

Table 4.17: Turkish major export markets in 2014

Markets	Million \$	Share (%)
A-EU 28	68,524	43.5
B-Free Zones in Turkey	2,270	1.4
C-other countries	86,834	55.1
1- Other European countries	15,186	9.6
2- North African countries	9,757	6.2
3- Other African countries	3,997	2.5
4- North American countries	7,293	4.6
5- Central American countries and Caribbean	938	0.6
6- South America countries	1,852	1.2
7- Near and Middle Eastern countries	35,388	22.5
8- Other Asian countries	11,593	7.4
9- Australia and New Zealand	600	0.4
10- Other countries	231	0.1

Source: Investment Support and Promotion Agency (2014), “FDI inflow to Turkey by year (million \$)”,

[http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-](http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/InternationalTrade.aspx)

[US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/InternationalTrade.aspx](http://www.invest.gov.tr/en-US/investmentguide/investorsguide/Pages/InternationalTrade.aspx)

Table 4.17 given above shows the amount and share of Turkish major export markets in the year 2014. For instance, Turkish major export market with A-EU 28 was to 68,524 million \$, giving a share of 43.5%. The table shows that Turkish major export markets operated in almost all continents in the world in the year 2014.

Table 4.18: TIKA offices in Africa

No	Country	Office
1	Algeria	Algiers Program Coordination Office
2	Cameroon	Yaoundé Program Coordination Office
3	Chad	N'Djamena Program Coordination Office
4	Djibouti	Djibouti Program Coordination Office
5	Egypt	Cairo Program Coordination Office
6	Ethiopia	Addis Ababa Program Coordination Office
7	Kenya	Nairobi Program Coordination Office
8	Libya	Tripoli Program Coordination Office
9	Namibia	Windhoek Program Coordination Office
10	Niger	Niamey Program Coordination Office
11	Senegal	Dakar Program Coordination Office
12	Somalia	Mogadishu Program Coordination Office
13	Sudan	Khartoum Program Coordination Office
14	Tanzania	Dar Es salaam Program Coordination Office
15	Tunisia	Tunis Program Coordination Office

Source: TIKA (2015), "Afrika", http://www.tika.gov.tr/upload/2015/Prestij/Afrika_Ing.pdf

Table 4.17 given above shows that TIKA has a good number of offices in Africa. The offices serves as a bridge between Turkey and African countries, and helps in strengthening good relations with African countries. TIKA has 15 offices across Africa in countries such as; Algeria, Cameroon, Djibouti, Chad, Kenya, Egypt, Namibia, Ethiopia, Niger, Tanzania, Senegal, Somalia, Tunisia, and Sudan.

5. CONCLUSION

The economic relations of Turkey with African states did not just start in the 21st century, but rather it is a product of a chronological account of previous relations in trade and other activities that were created during the Ottoman Empire. One can critically look at this from the Ottoman economic relations with Egypt which was the main trade line that opened up new links to the economy of other African States in both North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. The re-emergence of the economy of Modern Turkey in Africa after the cold war paved a way for the establishment of traditional trade links with North Africa, thus strategically extended to cover other areas like central, Southern, and West African countries, together with their respective economic integration networks and regional organizations. Turkey's domestic transformation firmed up Africa-Turkey strategic economic relations with the aim of diversifying its trade agreement with Africa.

Turkey's active involvement in its foreign affairs is a significant indicator of its integration with globalization process. AK Party with its philosophy of making Turkey a regional power and a global player paved a way for Turkey's diversify market portfolio and this made Turkey to enhance its relations with African states. Turkey's foreign policy is said to have been drawn with "The Action Plan" document prepared in 1998 by Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The main purpose of this study attempts to examine Turkey-Africa relations in the 21st century, most especially in the 21st century. Though, many questions might arise that: why choose the 21st century as the limited time frame for Turkey-Africa relations, what are the essence of the economic relations between Turkey and Africa, what are the elements shaping the economic relations between Turkey and Africa, and what type of relations existing between Turkey and Africa.

Looking at the general outlook of Turkey in its foreign policy, one is tempted to say that it is based more on free market economy where concrete roles are drafted. The

public and private sectors have regulatory roles that are used for the implementation of a bilateral foreign trade policy. Goods and products are traded freely among institutions and individuals. According to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, great emphasis has of now been place on structural reforms in the economy of Turkey. Privatization process in line to this has been accelerated, and the public finance has also been put into order. Noteworthy reforms in sectors such as social security, agriculture, energy and communication has also been implemented in financial markets. The implementation of reforms by Turkey strengthens the infrastructure for economic institutions, and the country's economy has been made more resistant to "probable fluctuations in international markets" via the creation of autonomous institutions.

Turkey had developed some interest in Africa since during the period of Cold War, but the strong urge for Turkey to strengthen its relations with Africa became so obvious and vital until the 21st century. This has gone a long way at seeing Turkey's present position in Africa. Being a strong Afro-Eurasian state, Turkey's interest to Africa was not just based on the transient political, social, religion and economic expectations. It was rather a product whereby a strong historical and cultural aspect upholds. Turkey and Africa relations have so much gained grounds since the declaration of Turkey as a strategic partner of the Africa Union in January 2008. Haven already said in the introduction above, according to Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the following points were so vital for Turkish objective in extending relations with Africa; (i) To establish a closed relation by re-enforcing bilateral high visits to Africa, and standing as an actor in defending the legitimate rights and interest of the countries Africa through multilateral and bilateral talks, (ii) To stand as a supportive actor in overcoming Africa's economic difficulties through investments, humanitarian and trade assistance, (iii) To play a diplomatic role in the peaceful settlement of disputes in Africa., (iv) To actively participate in peacekeeping missions within the continent. These points above shows that Turkey really had a vision going to Africa and was really determine to achieve this vision. As an Africa Country, the same objectives were also applied to Cameroon to strengthen relations.

From the aforementioned, Turkey's involvement in Africa has a long history since during the establishment of various reforms of relations with African countries by the

Ottomans, both in North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. This equally went a long way in creating relations with a country like Cameroon. The approach towards Africa and Cameroon to be specific, regarding socio-political, economic, cultural and religious levels is not a new phenomenon in Turkish foreign policy. It started long since during the Ottoman period. But it became more strong and effective in the 21st century under the leadership of AK Party.

After analyzing the findings, it was revealed that a Turkey-Africa relation in the 21st century has so much developed. This relation has enabled the civil society, businessmen/women, researchers, and government to better “know” both sides. The study confirmed that there are a lot of interaction between Turkey and Africa in many ways such as through congresses, official visits, education, trade, humanitarian aids, tourism, just to name a few. Some special attention is paid to economic relations so as to enhance the Trade and investment. The study shows that unlike Turkish, Africans are very much interested in strengthening relations with Turkey.

Turkey’s increasing used of soft power strategies drive a great desire to tie both the economy of Turkey and Africa more closely. From the aforementioned, Turkey’s soft power content ranges from professional and cultural exchange, agriculture, and humanitarian assistance. The opening to Africa by Turkey has gained a lot of importance especially in terms of opening up new markets as a “way of reducing its dependence on traditional European and Russian trading partners”.

This research has made a lot of attempts in responding the various questions such as why Turkey needs cooperation with Africa, how Turkey and Africa would benefits from this development, main elements shaping the economic relations between Turkey and Africa in the 21st century, what Africa is all about, types of relations between Turkey and Africa, and the reason why to choose the 21st century as the time frame for Turkey-Africa relations. It is well known that Turkey never had strong relations with Africa until late 20th century and 21st century. Turkey’s concentration was more geared toward the Balkans, Caucasia, EU, USA and the Middle East. It is of no doubt that Turkey’s relation with Africa is a new development in international arena. However, as earlier said, this relation had existed before between Africa and some African countries during the period of the Ottoman Empire, specifically with North Africa. Turkish academics, universities, and media

have now grasped the importance of Africa in the academic sense and official reports, and as such many institutions in Turkey have established centers of African research. A good example is TASAM which as of now is carrying on a lot of research about Africa, likewise Institutions like Istanbul Aydin University which also has an African Research Center. On the African site, the same application of African universities, academics and media plays a great role in understanding presenting Turkey-Africa relations. With the new development in the world (globalization), Turkey has so much improved its economic and political relations with Africa. This development can be seen in a high level of visits between Turkey and African officials, and organization of international congresses between both sides. Just within the 21st century, a total of 10 Turkish-African congresses have been held, with the aim of creating better ways of strengthening the relation between Turkey and Africa. Furthermore, trade relations between Turkey and African countries has so much increased, Turkey's trade volume growing up to about 17.5 billion \$ in 2015. The change of Turkish foreign policy toward Africa has been a great challenge to the successive Turkish governments of joining the European Union. Creating strong relations with Africa was just an alternative to those challenges.

As an emerging and donor nation, Turkey is ready to always share its development experience with states that needs help. The strategy of Turkey's approach is based on the combination of both humanitarian and development assistance. It also has an approach that supports capacity and institution building in all areas. The relevance of expertise and solutions offered by Turkey to the host political, economic and social environment is another element that draws on Turkey's past and current challenges. Turkey-Africa relations in other words create a sense of share experience effect, which leads to a more genuine partnership and facilitates mutual communication. There is another important sector in Turkish humanitarian assistance to Africa countries.

Additionally, Turkish Ministry of Health has extended vocational training to African countries to widen Turkey and Africa cooperation in health sector. A good example of this is the Turkey-Sudan research and training Hospital in Nyala which was constructed by TIKA went operational from February 28, 2014. The government of Turkey in support to this project allocated over 108 million \$ as support to the hospital project, including construction and running of the hospital for the next five

years. After these five years of co-management of the hospital with Sudan government, the hospital will be officially handed to the government of Sudan to continue with the management. The objective of creating this hospital was for it to constitute a model for the Sudanese health system, and for the entire continent of Africa. Turkey also built and equipped the biggest hospital in Mogadishu-Somalia. This hospital has over 200 beds, and was officially inaugurated by the present President of Turkey, on the 25th of January 2015 during his visit to Somalia. It was named Difer Hospital. The United Nations authorities decided to hold the first World Humanitarian Summit in 2016, in Istanbul-Turkey, as an endorsement of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy which was considered to be one of the basic tenet of Turkey-Africa relation policy.

The researcher of this thesis therefore recommend that from the results obtained in this study, some salient proposals are made to African states and Turkish government, Traders, researchers, and the civil society/NGOs. Regarding the strong relations going on between Turkey and Africa, it will be of great importance if the Turkish Government can institute another subject in its curriculum as "African Studies". This will enable the citizens and young Turkish to have a brought knowledge about Africa. The level at which the continent is being labeled will not be such again, as it is seen as a continent of diseases, hunger etc. Being innocent about Africa is a problem to the young generation who are regarded as the leaders of tomorrow. A new leader with the lack of knowledge about Africa can destroyed the relations between Turkey and Africa in the future. But this will not happened if the young generations are being guided on the right part with a full knowledge of Africa and its importance. Adding to this, the Turkish government should encourage the exchange of university lecturers. They should employ Africa lecturers to teach in Turkey as well. Most universities in Turkey only have nationals as full time Lecturers. Institutions with international students should equally have international lecturers to make a balance. This will enable the students to learn other teacher and working styles and to be more open to the world. This same formality goes same to Africa too.

Inline to the aforementioned, the government should try to put a range of house prices for students to rent apartments. They are being exploited in Turkey by landlords and those who give homes out for rent. Sometimes they face a lot of

challenges to get accommodations. The government should try to solve accommodation problem so that the students will feel happy and fine it easy to invite their friends to come over to Turkey. A home that cost 600 Turkish Lira normally is given to international students for 1000 Turkish Lira. Adding to this is for the government to enable foreigners work. Many come to Turkey, but as researchers or Students, they find it difficult to take care of themselves properly thus give negative impression about the country to their friends and brother in their countries. With this, the inflow of foreigners into the country will drop and thus it will affect the country's foreign relations. On other way round, if the students can work, they would give positive ideas about the country to their friends and brothers and the end result will be them willing to come to Turkey. If they come, it will boost the work force of the country and strengthen Turkey's relations. It will equally boost the country's economy through payment of taxes, and the daily expenditures.

Additionally, Africa should establish a strong academic program for exchange of students open to the world. It should be Like Erasmus program. I made an examination and tried to give a name as "ARASMUS- African Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students". This will be another way of strengthening relations with the World. If Turkey can encourage this idea to the African continent where Turkey will exchange its students to study in Africa in the set program to know more about Africa and vice versa, more fruits will be achieve in the relation making. Applying this policy will help many Turkish students to know a lot about Africa, which in other words will be to boost Turkey morals in the future, and vice versa. Employing African students in Turkey after graduation is another contributing factor. This will boost the work force of the country and the workers will create more links between the parties (Turkey and Africa).

Turkish Ministry of Education should put an eye view on the publications about Turkey and Africa. Some Turkish writers used tones that make most African readers to be embarrassed. Africa is not a country but rather a continent of 54 legitimate states. If something happens in two or three African countries, reporters or writers refer it to be in all African countries. The government can draft some laws to make official writers to know what they write and write what they see or research.

Another recommendation goes on trade. Since trade volume of Turkey with Africa is not stable and keeps decreasing, the Turkish Government in collaboration with Private sector should extend the shipping line towards many African countries. As of now, Turkey ships anchor in just few African countries, thus making trading difficult for the other countries willing to trade. There are many businessmen and women willing to trade but the means to send the goods to their respective African countries is the problem. The establishment of many shipping lines to many African countries, trading will be much easier and the economy of both Turkey and Africa will grow more.

Adding to the aforementioned, the inflow of Africans into Turkey is becoming so high, and the citizens are having lots of challenges extending their passport when it expires. In order to strengthen more relations, let many African embassies be created in Africa so that the citizens can easily table their problems for fast answer. Not cases where they will have to go back to their countries to try to solve some of their problems like extending passport. A case for example is Cameroon. The Cameroonians in Turkey are so many and they are always facing a lot of problems when it comes to extending passport and other pertinent issues. Cameroon has just an Honorary Consulate in Avcılar/Istanbul-Turkey, which is not in the position to solve major problems of Cameroonians.

Questions like in the aforementioned keeps ringing in the minds of many researchers, but it should be noted that Turkey's interest in creating close relations with Africa can be viewed in two dimensions such as; (i) the visible prominence of a new geographical perception in Ankara's outlook towards the world, which takes Africa and Asia as regions that are not distant nor troubled, but rather possible partners. the second (ii) is the repositioning and defining of Turkey as a "Central States", rather than a bridge, and also, to develop strong partnership with Africa in order to play a great role in international affairs. Turkey's relation started since before and during the period of the Ottoman Empire and during the Cold War. Turkey developed a win-win policy with Africa and the outcome of this gave rise to the organization of a series of International Summits between Turkey and Africa in the 21st century. Also, the elements that shaped Turkey-Africa relations are more of economic, socio-political, Diplomacy Academy, and Cultural relations. The study is limited to the 21st century because Turkey's interest to the continent became noticeable during when

2005 was announced as The Year of Africa. Little or nothing was done before the 21st century to tighten relations with Africa. Thanks also to the shift of Turkish government during an era of Ak Party in the 21st century that this relation could be more realized. Turkey's interest was more geared toward the Balkans, Caucasians, the European Union, United States, Middle East and Southern Asian, Far Eastern and Pacific countries.

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