Projecting Turkey’s Power with the understanding of Popular Geopolitics

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Dissertação para obtenção de grau de Mestre em Estratégia

Lisboa
2016
Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank Professor Isabel David who believed in the project and accepted without reservation to guide this work. Thanks to the complete dedication with which she shared her suggestions, articles, data and especially the great knowledge in the field of Turkey and its dynamics.

Secondly I would like to thank Mr. Cenan Demirel for accepting the invitation to co-direct the work and his valuable suggestions.

I would like also to thank to the teachers of the department of Strategy at University of Lisbon.

Very special thanks to my lovely parents, Nilgun and Seyfettin, who always believed in my dreams with a huge dose of trust and affection.

A special word goes to my dear sister, Nur Karatas, thank you for inspiring me every day with your great example of determination, character and skills.

Special thanks to Sena Kose, for her encouragement, support with patience and great love.

Thanks to my grandparents and relatives who walked beside me, supporting and motivating me.

I thank all my friends that encouraged me and didn’t let me quit.

Finally last but not least, to Ertugrul Behlul Uysal, Ahmet Karabulut, Isabel Serejo Tonel, Paulo Ferreira, Nuno Ferreira and Dr. Amavel Santos for encouraging me, advising me and keeping me from fading.
ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to answer the following question: How does Turkey project its power through the concept of "popular geopolitics"? I project this question onto the tools of Turkey’s popular geopolitics. The thesis examines to which extent these tools are used for the prosperity of this country.

Such is explored through an examination of different sources such as Turkish TV Channels (TRT, Kanal D, Star TV and Fox TV), Turkish TV series (Silver (Gumus), The Magnificent Century (Muhtesem Yuzyil), 1001 Nights (Binbir Gece) and Resurrection of Ertugrul (Dirilis Ertugrul), Turkish films (The Valley of the Wolfs – Iraq and Nuri Bilge Ceylan’s films) and popular culture elements (music & sports) of Turkey. Their effects and the ways in which they contribute to popular geopolitics of Turkey will be analyzed.

Key Words: Popular Geopolitics, Soft Power, TV series, Films, Popular Culture, Media
RESUMO

O objectivo desta tese é o de responder à seguinte questão: Como projecta a Turquia o seu poder através do conceito da “geopolítica popular”? Esta tese projecta esta questão nas ferramentas geopolíticas populares da Turquia.

Examina até que ponto estas ferramentas são utilizadas para a prosperidade deste país. Irei explorar esta fenómeno, através da analise de diferentes fontes como: Canais de televisão turcos (TRT, Kanal D, Star TV and Fox TV), series de televisão turcos (Silver (Gumus), The Magnificent Century (Muhtesem Yuzyl), 1001 Nights (Binbir Gece) and Resurrection of Ertugrul (Dirilis Ertugrul), filmes turcos ((The Valley of the Wolves – Iraq and Nuri Bilge Ceylan’s films) e cultura popular turca (musica e desporto). Serão analizados os seus efeitos e a maneira como contribuem para a geopolítica popular da Turquia.

**Palavras Chave:** Geopolítica popular, Soft Power, series de televisao, filmes, cultura popular, midia
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Chapter I – Introduction

There are various ways to define Popular Culture, however in order to define it; the definition of “culture” should be taken into consideration. Raymond Williams refers to culture as ‘one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language’.¹ He comes up with three different definitions for this complicated concept. His first definition categorizes culture as a process of “intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development”. Williams’ second explanation of this concept focuses more on its designating a specific way of life. This definition incorporates the growth of “literacy, holiday and religious festivals” along with the factors he designates in his first explanation. His last definition is more like a theory on meaning-making. This one focuses more on the mechanisms of inventive practices.²

This thesis defines culture similar to Williams’ second definition of it. His definition of culture ‘a particular way of life” including all forms of popular media mediums becomes the core aim of this thesis. To be able to explore the ways in which Turkey uses popular culture to expand its domain of becoming a more influential country both in the Middle East and Europe, this thesis refers to “the development of TV films, sport, and music” as outlined by Williams.

This thesis defines popular culture in cooperation with geopolitics. Instead of focusing on the popularity of certain media assets such as films, TV series, music, this thesis’ interest is to find the ways in which such tools project Turkey’s geopolitical power on to other countries.

It is observed that Turkey is becoming more aware of the power of such tools to introduce its core qualities. What Turkey cannot achieve via tourism, can be achieved a lot easier with the industries of films, TV series, music and sport. With accomplishment in such field Turkey is able to assert itself in many ways and thus be known to a plethora of countries with less money and more gain.

Turkey’s methodologies of deploying such tools are discussed in detailed in the following sections. The first section discusses Turkish TV channels, TRT, Kanal D, Star TV and Fox TV, and their influences on both Turkey and many countries abroad. The ways in which they create an impact on the lives of Turkish families are explored.

¹ STOREY, John, Cultural Theory and Popular Culture, NEW YORK, PEARSON, 2006, pp. 44-55
² IBID
Along with this their influences on different territories, such as Middle East, Turkic Countries and Europe, are observed. The second section handles specific Turkish TV series; these are Silver (Gumus), The Magnificent Century (Muhtesem Yuzyil), 1001 Nights (Binbir Gece) and Resurrection of Ertugrul (Dirilis Ertugrul). It is observed via these TV series that Turkey aims to transmit its not so much-known cultural, social, and historical qualities to other countries. The third section focuses on Turkish films, specifically; The Valley of the Wolves – Iraq and Nuri Bilge Ceylan’s films. With a discussion of these films, it is aimed to examine the progression of Turkish film industry. The developing Turkish film industry enables the transfer of such portrayal of Turkish social life in a much easier way. The last section investigates the influences of Turkish singers such as Tarkan and Sertab Erener. It also discusses sports, specifically Arda Turan’s, Turkish football player, transfer to Barcelona. These figures are not mere creators within this industry; they become crucial representatives of Turkey’s international voice. All these components portray an image of a country that is striving hard to make its voice heard in an international arena. This thesis aims to reflect such attempts of Turkey with a discussion of a range of visual and performing media tools.

1. Theoretical Framework

Geopolitics is the study of the impacts of geography (human being and physical) on international relations and international politics. Geopolitics is a technique of studying foreign policy to comprehend, clarify and prognosticate international political action by courtesy of geographical variables. Climate, topography, demography, natural resources are all covered by Geopolitics.

Rudolf Kjellen used “geopolitics” in 1899 for the first time and he is considered as the father of geopolitics. This new field presented by Kjellen was based on the critique of the classical approach which considers states a legal entity. The Swedish professor was influenced by the Social Darwinism and the German idealism. In Kjellen’s mind, the state was something like an organism that looked for the right to live in its foreign policy. In its fight of existence, natural sources, country and geography are the components of establishing the fate to survive. Geopolitics would ensure scientific knowledge on the character of these components and the term has been

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however used to describe a broad spectrum of ideas, from "a synonym for international relations, social, political and historical phenomena" to various pseudo-scientific theories of historical and geographic determinism.4

Geopolitics focuses on political force in relation to geographic range. Exclusively, land area and water sources in affair with diplomatic history. In academic world, geopolitics examines and analyzes history and social science with reference to geography in correlation to politics. Outside of academia, geopolitical prognosis is presented by different kind of groups including non-profit organizations and for-profit private enterprises (such as commissioners, brokerage houses and consulting firms).

Subjects of geopolitics include relations between the relevance of international political actors, relevance focused to an area, land, geographical element or paths, relations which compose a geopolitical framework.

Over the last two decades, geopolitics has undergone on a strong transformation. Thus a new academic bailiwick named ‘critical geopolitics’ has unified itself in the discipline of Geography and beyond it. There are some similarities of this discipline with a parallel enthusiasm in International Relations (IR) to investigate, particularly, the relationship between popular culture and world politics More recently, these instances have been introduced into conversation with one another, and journals such as Critical Studies on Security, E-IR, Geopolitics and Political Geography have been substantial spots for these sophisticated encounters. Recent articles by David Grondin (2014), Matt Davies(2013) and Cahir Doherty (2013) conduct some of the arguments nicely and discussions about IR’s relations with popular culture.5

The fundamental notion behind critical geopolitics is that intellectuals of statecraft establish “ideas about places; these ideas have influence and reinforce their political behaviors and policy choices, and these ideas affect how we, the people, process our own notions of places and politics.”6

4 DITTMER Jason and SHARP Jo, Geopolitics: An Introductory Reader, NEWYORK, ROUTLEDGE, 2014, pp. 75-87
5 DITTMER, Jason, Popular Culture, Geopolitics, and Identity, MARYLAND, ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD PUBLISHERS, 2010, pp.42-55
6 ALEXANDER, B. Murphy and FOUBERG, Erin, Human Geography: People, Place and Culture, NEWJERSEY, WILEY, 2012, pp. 81-90
Critical geopolitics understands the geopolitics as four dependent senses: popular geopolitics, formal geopolitics, structural geopolitics, and practical geopolitics. Popular geopolitics will be the main theory of this thesis.

1.1. Popular Geopolitics

Popular geopolitics is one of the aspects in which geopolitical knowledge is created. It defends that geopolitical ideas are not only developed by the state, academicians, elites and politicians. On the contrary, it is also developed and interconnected through popular culture and daily activities. Popular culture establishes a common judgment comprehension of international politics and international relations through movies, TV series, books, journals, etc.

Popular geopolitics aims to the everyday geopolitical discourse that inhabitants are involved in daily life. Popular assent is required to some degree for the behavior of foreign policy in a democratic society. As mentioned above; geopolitical acting and applications appear in the form of media including television, the Internet, music, newspapers, literature, film, and radio. ‘Popular geopolitics’ looks at the act and potential influence of popular geopolitical representations of area, resources, identity politics, and trend ensured in the media all around the world. The generation, cycle, and consumption of news has always been unbalanced and uneven because some societies and agents are naturally less able to access or create information. The geopolitical power of the media depends on the way that cases, people, and spots are framed. Apparently, in times to come, new media applications such as blogging and podcasting will dominate boosting popular geopolitics’ importance and reputation in the world.

Political geographers have properly studied the act of popular culture in forming the popular comprehension of politics. Klaus Dodds, a political geographer, worked on the transfer of geopolitical ideas through movies. While analyzing James Bond movies, he found a repeated message of Western states' geopolitical concerns. For example, the movie From Russia with Love conveyed the United States' anxieties as a result of

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8 IBID
the Cold War and *The World is Not Enough* conveyed the threats posed by Central Asia.\(^9\)

Popular geopolitics is grateful to a great contribution by the leading work of political geographer Joanne Sharp, particularly her study of *Reader’s Digest* and the ways it set up the Cold War Soviet Union as ‘Other’. By focusing on the textual and visual components of this monthly magazine, she considered well how the Soviet Union was formed as a special kind of place governed by a series of Communist Party-led regimes, planned spatial expansionism, the control of place and ideological hassle globally.\(^10\) Most of the following studies, especially in the 1990s, were trying to handle and adjust the certain failure in traditional geopolitical research through every day. A margin was grounded between what was designated the formal geopolitical judgment and applications of academic world, the regular geopolitics of governments and leaders of political parties, and the popular geopolitics to be framed in media checkouts such as movies and TV series. What commanded research prosecution was an attention in discourses and textual sources, with an endless concern for how popular geopolitical sources came to and end naturalizing and legitimizing the practical geopolitical stories and identifications of governments such as the United States of America.\(^11\)

*Later work, mostly informed by feminist geopolitical learning, has reshaped this focus on the textual and media sources such as Hollywood movies and video games. Instead, emphasis was placed on other registers such as the everyday, the local, the household, the embodied, and the politics of emotion such as fear and hope. This has encouraged a new generation of scholars in the 2000s onwards to re-direct the attention of popular geopolitics away from an interest in textual analysis per se towards a vein of research concerned with how individuals and communities are embedded and affected by geopolitical sites, relations, objects and network.*\(^12\) Some of this might appear banal, mundane and barely noticed, but as some feminist scholars note, the declaration of a war on terror had profoundly different consequences for people depending on class, gender, race, sexuality, and so on. A popular geopolitics of the war on terror would take account of the objectified knowledge and the manner in which

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\(^9\) JEFFREY, Alex and PAINTER, Joe, *Geopolitics and anti geopolitics*, LOS ANGELES, SAGE, 2009, pp. 76-85

\(^10\) IBID

\(^11\) IBID

\(^12\) DODDS, Klaus, *Global Geopolitics: A Critical Introduction*, NEW YORK, ROUTLEDGE, 2005, pp. 25-35
feelings such as fear have played in the past, and continue to play in the present, a stamina role in creating and maintaining what we can named ‘popular geopolitical atmospheres’, in which some people are evaluated to be more doubtful, more hazardous and more suspicious than others. Popular sources such as movies, TV series and documents still take a significant part in sustaining and improving those geopolitical atmospheres and concerns.\textsuperscript{13}

Popular geopolitics contains the study of the media in essentially all its shapes. Media are main streets through which information is interceded to us. Any formal or practical geopolitical speech or geopolitical discourse requires being widely spread if it is to turn into a popular one. In addition, it is pivotal to keep in mind that geopolitical discourses can be prepared “from below” by plantar (grassroots) discussion. Therefore they would have to be mediated to a larger spectator to become genuinely popular. Popular geopolitics focuses on the media includes the news media such as newspapers, TV journalism and etc. We live in a mediated world; apart from our personal experience, all we know about the world comes to us via varied media, either it is the printed word or the audio & visual sources. The media even exploit our personal experiences; it is not possible to go somewhere without prejudged ideas of what to look at and how to understand it. What would it be like to go to a place, not having read about it or seen it on screen or heard it from news? Consequently, the media play an essential role in not only how we look at the world, but also how we feel about it.\textsuperscript{14}

This mediation of the world is totally related to geopolitics because it takes place in ways that combine values and attitudes with different parts of the world, which in turn influences the ways in which people interact. For example, during the Reagan administration there were lots of of anti-Communist action films, including \textit{Red Dawn} (1984), in which the Soviets, Cubans and Nicaraguans initiated an unapt attack to Colorado only to be turned back in part by a group of American youngsters who refuse to associate and Rocky IV (1985), in which the Rocky Balboa takes down a much bigger, steroid boosted Soviet fighter by courtesy of pure American hard work and strength of will. In the following movie, the final match takes place in Moscow this time. Spectator is so assured that Rocky earns to win by what they see and they begin to

\textsuperscript{13} IBID, pp. 38-55
\textsuperscript{14} DITTMER, Jason, \textit{Popular Culture, Geopolitics, and Identity}, MARYLAND, ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD PUBLISHERS, 2010, pp. 90-95
cheer his name, even the Soviet Leader is puzzled and acclaimed Rocky Balboa’s dominance.\textsuperscript{15}

It is worth to investigate how an interest in a movie or TV series can enlarge the scope of geopolitical research. Traditional geopolitics considers that the geographical thoughts, allocations and comprehensions of world politics are limited either to formal geopolitical models of well known theoretician such as Halford Mackinder or to the policy statements of national leaders and their elite colleagues. The term “Popular geopolitics” is used to point out how political and media elites frequently assay to demonstrate the world and their position in coherent and steady aspects. These demonstrations can strengthen hegemonic ideologies such as international capitalism or, outcome of September 11\textsuperscript{th}, a strong evocation between terrorism and Islam. Therefore, if one of the missions of critical geopolitics is to outface hegemonic demonstrations of global politics then we need to be careful to the interconnections with popular culture and the way in which newspapers and other media forms might either strengthen or contend geopolitical displays and demonstrations.\textsuperscript{16}

The relations between popular geopolitics and the mass media are significant and to understand these relations better, according to Klaus J. Dodds, there are four working assumptions underwrite the emerging literature on popular geopolitics and associated media theory\textsuperscript{17}:

1. The media can play a key role in agenda setting. This means that media stories can help shape the ways, in which particular events and or processes are represented and interpreted. They also, as part of that process, highlight some events/people/processes at the expense of others. During the 1990s, the humanitarian crisis in Bosnia was mainstream news while humanitarian emergencies in Sudan and Kashmir received less attention.

2. The media often frame events and processes and hence contribute to particular modes of interpretation or narrative structure. During the Yugoslav Crisis of the 1990s, for example, the British print media alternated between describing Bosnia as a ‘holocaust’ and as a ‘quagmire’. The former

\textsuperscript{15} IBID, pp.110-113
\textsuperscript{16} DODDS, Klaus, \textit{Global Geopolitics: A Critical Introduction}, NEW YORK, ROUTLEDGE, 2005, pp. 70-73
\textsuperscript{17} IBID pp.75
helped to construct a clear sense of moral obligation to relieve human suffering (given the associations with the Nazi genocide of Jewish communities) while the latter implied that intervention might be hopeless and costly (with allusions to the First World War and or the American involvement in Vietnam).

3. Film and other media forms can be used to explore how common sense stereotyping of Others (inside and outside a particular state) contributes to the articulation and reproduction of national identities. Cold War cinema provides a particularly rich example, as American film companies produced films that reinforced an image of the Soviet Union as the Evil Other. However, film companies produced films which subverted such an assumption about the geographical location of threat.

4. The consumption of films and other forms of media is not always obvious or in a manner intended by the producers and or sponsors. There is scope for multiplicity of interpretations of media material. While films such as Top Gun(1986) and Iron Eagle(1985) were, in my view, deeply sympathetic to the Cold War agendas of the Reagan administration, many viewers may simply have been obvious to such geopolitical connections. Just like the media generally, audiences (around the world and not just in Britain or America) can also subvert as well as reinforce and support particular geopolitical visions.
Films can be a prosperous and assorted source for political geographers as well as film reviews due to the extensive circulation of particular productions and the solid spectator potential. Debates about the influence and the connections between image and real-life international political attitude continue, usually focusing on the way in which films indicate specific individuals or groups such as Muslims being a threat to the United States. In international affairs and international relations, there are many examples of governments and political leaders taking advantage of the films to manipulate public opinion, usually in times of financial crisis or war.19

Closer Look: James Bond

James Bond: British Idol? Western Idol or Universal Idol?

James Bond is an imaginary character generated by novel-writer Ian Fleming in 1953. James Bond is a British agent working under cover for MI6 (secret intelligence service) who also has a catchword; “Bond, James Bond”. He is also known as 007 Bond. The series have always attracted the attention of millions of people. Even the

19 DODDS, Klaus, Global Geopolitics: A Critical Introduction, NEW YORK, ROUTLEDGE, 2005, pp. 80-85
subversive actions, or the subversive actors are different in each movie, Bond Films have always focused on the adventures of the agent 007. With the support of United Artists, Bond’s first emergence, Dr No (1962), saw him counteract the evil clever Dr No and his plans to tear to pieces US space running in the Caribbean. Released in the middle of the Cuban Missile Crisis, it had a geopolitical interest that spectators all around the world were able to perceive. Despite running in the US’s geopolitical ‘backyard’, it was a British agent rather than an American agent who was able to rescue the world from a potential depression. For British audiences, Bond primarily performed by the Scottish actor Sean Connery, symbolized a rather attractive post-imperial hero. In a decade of continued colonial losses, and political obsequiousness to the superpowers, Bond was the top partner in the Anglo-American relationship and wander around the world and debunk traitorous plans which are organized by the Soviets and the non-aligned criminal organization, SPECTRE.

When President John Kennedy acknowledged that Ian Fleming was one of his favorite authors, Bond’s vogue as a Western icon was approved. Kennedy and his brother Robert even invited Fleming to get advice from him on how ‘James Bond’ might knock down the communist Cuban leader Fidel Castro. Fleming proposed different kinds of ideas, including poisoned cigars, exploding seashells and even dropping brochures over Cuba asserting that Castro was used to be important. Bond was an icon of style, beyond that he also became a reference of a hyper-masculinity in an era when feminism outfaced Western patriarchy.  

By the late 1960s the Bond films were performed as a worldwide cinematic phenomenon. The Bond formula of an attractive lead actor, swift action, outlandish locations, fascinating women and gadgets was said to be liable for the remarkable commercial achievement. In order to keep the formula hot, the films have also intentionally progressed with the geopolitical times. In the middle of the Cold War, films such as You Only Live Twice (1967) and For Your Eyes Only (1981) developed stories involving an East-West confrontation. In a period of relative détente Bond is seen working with his Soviet counterpart The Spy Who Loved Me (1977) and post-Cold

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20 DODDS, Klaus, Geopolitics: A very short Introduction, OXFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2008, pp.34-39
War films such as *Goldeneye* (1995), *The World Is Not Enough* (1999) and *Die Another Day* (2002) have intentionally been entrenched in the splinter Soviet Union and the ‘axis of evil’ state of North Korea. *Tomorrow Never Dies* (1997) considered the role media moguls could play in engineering a considerable facedown between Britain and China for the purpose of ensuring exclusive media rights in the Chinese market.\(^ {21}\)

The series currently encircles twenty-four films, with the most recent, Spectre, released in October 2015. It is estimated that at least 25 percent of the world’s population has seen one Bond film or more.

\[\text{James Bond Actors}^{22}\]

1.2. **Soft Power Theory**

As mentioned earlier ‘Popular geopolitics’ looks at the role and potential effect of popular geopolitical representations of territory, resources, identity politics, and movement found in the media around the world. In this thesis, another theory will be mentioned to support popular geopolitics that has the similar study area with Popular Geopolitics: Soft Power theory. Here is brief information regarding Soft Power.

Soft power is a concept created solely by a Harvard professor, Joseph Nye.; he defined it as the capability of a country to attract others with its civilization, its culture,

Soft power concept produced by Joseph Nye, with his words; “it is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments. It arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals and policies. When policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of other, soft power is enhanced.”

Hard power is to attract and persuade your opponent with military and economic power. Until 1950’s, many countries did not hesitate to use hard power to take control against their enemies. To use hard power, some conferment and punishment are required, in other words “carrot & stick” method works on hard power.

However especially after the Second World War, an alternative power, Soft Power, emerged and showed that there are some situations that you can avoid “carrot & stick” method. Joseph Nye declared that: “the ability to use the carrots and sticks of economic and military might to make others follow your will.” Here, “carrots” are inducements such as the reduction of trade barriers, the offer of an alliance or the promise of military protection. On the other hand, “sticks” are threats including the use of coercive diplomacy, the threat of military intervention, or the implementation of economic sanctions.” Instead, cooperation and usage of attractiveness factors are the basis of this power. Institutions, values, politics, popular culture are the main sources of Soft Power. Cultural power is America’s supreme weapon in the era of globalization.

American mass culture is a form of power, more specifically of capacity, strength or forcefulness. America’s popular culture power is the virtual empire of world’s lifestyle; it shapes the airline system, shopping, video games, credit cards, car hire, retail chains, fast food, TV series, film genres, internet browsers.

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23 NYE, Joseph S., “China’s Soft Power Deficit to catch up, its politics must unleash the many talents of its civil society.”, The Wall Street Journal, 2012, pp. 25-27
Joseph Nye associates soft power with hard power; both have the same objective: to influence the wills and decisions of others. The differences between the two are the methods and the sources. Hard power uses economics and military whereas soft power is based on attractive elements such as values, culture, creating agenda and charm. Despite the differences between sources, soft power cannot exist without hard power; social scientist Guilo Gallarotti points this out with these words: “changes in world politics have increasingly encouraged national leaders to complement traditional power resources with more enlightened strategies oriented around the use of soft power resources. The resources to compel compliance have to be increasingly integrated with the resources to cultivate compliance. Only through this integration of hard and soft power can nations truly achieve their greatest strength in modern world politics.”

In the beginning, Nye’s theory was less comprehensive, throughout years his thoughts evolved. A former version of Nye’s soft power description was: “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment” which included “culture, values and foreign policies”. Afterwards, Nye amplified his description into “the ability to affect others through the co-optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes.”

At first, Joseph Nye was writing about the United States of America, but we all know the rest of the world also wants to benefit from Soft power. Alliance Françoise is about French Soft Power, Goethe Institutions is about German Soft Power, The British Council is about British Soft Power, and The Beijing Olympics (2008) were enforcement in Chinese Soft Power. Americans have the TV series and Scholarships but the truth is that probably, popular geopolitics tools, Hollywood, American TV series and MTV have done more things for American soft power all around the global world than any government action.

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26 GALLAROTTI, Guilo, Soft Power: What it is, Why it’s important and conditions under which it can be effectively used, CONNECTICUT, DIVISION II FACULTY PUBLICATIONS, 2011, pp.31-33
28 NYE, Joseph S., “China’s Soft Power Deficit to catch up, its politics must unleash the many talents of its civil society.”, The Wall Street Journal, 2012, pp. 31-34
2. METHODOLOGY

It is this thesis’ purpose to deploy the concept of popular culture as a medium of exploring the relationship between the discourse of geopolitics and Turkey’s interaction with other countries. To do so, this thesis bases its argument onto Jason Dittmer’s approach towards popular culture and geopolitics in his book: Popular Culture Geopolitics and Identity. This book brought new insights to this thesis to define such worn-out concepts. Also Dittmer’s other book, Geopolitics: An Introductory Reader, added new perspectives to this thesis to portray the concept of geopolitics and its importance in the studies of Strategy.

John Storey’s book, Cultural Theory and Popular Culture, delves into the concept of culture. His definitions on this notion enabled this thesis to approach culture with a more elaborated perspective. This thesis establishes its discussion on the intercourse between culture and the influences of TV channels, TV series, films, music and sport via Storey’s ways of approaching culture.

The hypothesis for this thesis is that the usage of popular geopolitics is a fundamental weapon for the advancement of a country’s prosperity. I intend to validate this hypothesis by using Turkey as a case study.

2.1. Research Questions

This thesis asks the question of, ‘How do countries promote their popular geopolitics?’ is just as important as the result. Therefore, I will try to answer the question ‘How does the use of popular geopolitics promote Turkey’s prosperity?’ alongside 7 sub-questions:

1- Does Turkey have a strategy to promote its popular geopolitics?
2- How do the Turkish TV channels promote Turkey’s popular geopolitics?
3- How does the Turkish TV series promote Turkey’s popular geopolitics?
4- How do Turkish films promote Turkey’s popular geopolitics?
5- How do music and sports in Turkey promote Turkey’s popular geopolitics?
6- How effective are these instruments in the promotion of Turkey’s interests and prosperity?

7- How can Turkey improve these interests and prosperity through its popular geopolitics?
Chapter II – Projecting Turkey’s Popular via Popular Geopolitics’ Weapons

The definition of geopolitics in Øyvind Østerud’s The Reemergence of Geopolitics article defined as “The term geopolitics reflects the connection between power and interests, strategic decision-making, and geographic space."Geopolitics" denotes the interplay of natural resources, strategic dominance and geographic space on the one hand, and the various state and non-state actors pursuing individual as well as collective interests on the other. Geopolitics relates political power to geographical space.” As Øyvind Østerud mentioned in article geographical space is an important tool to understand countries’ geopolitics power and I would like to start with Turkey’s geographic instruments.

Turkey has a distinguished geopolitical location and geography, which only few countries have in the world. Turkey, officially called the Republic of Turkey has a position in Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia along the Black, Aegean and Mediterranean Seas. Turkey has borders with eight countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Iran, Iraq, and Syria). Turkey has two straits: Strait of Istanbul and Strait of Canakkale. These straits have a crucial role in sea trade between East and West. Also many important trade and transit ways take place through Turkey. 96% of Turkey’s land located in Asian Continent meanwhile 4% located in European Continent; however almost 25% of the total population resides in the European part of Turkey. As a result of this, Turkey has a heterogeneous social structure, having close relations with Asia and Europe, has values for both sides and having importance in geopolitics and Geo-culture. Turkey stands on a key point between EU and Middle East, also forms the south and east borders of NATO. Apart from that, Turkey is the intersection point between EU and the Muslim World. Professor Tarakci said that “There is no chance for weak communities to live in Turkey’s geography.” In conclusion, Turkey has a tough geography to live on; however if opportunities can be scored, this geography offers many advantages.

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30 TARAKCI, Nejat, Science of Stateman: Geopolitics and Geostrategy, ISTANBUL, ZAFER, 2003, pp. 30-34
Addition to geographical instruments, to understand Turkey’s geopolitics we need to know historical factors about Turkey too. Many scholars agree that history is an element that evokes respect in world. In that perspective, Turkish Republic’s history is dated back to ancient times. Throughout the history, 16 Great Turkish Empires founded by Turks before the Republic. The last one was the Ottoman Empire that controlled lands from Middle East to Asia and from Balkans to Africa & Europe. Ottoman Empire led the world in many areas such as art, science, architecture, state agency, and military.

Map of the Ottoman Empire at its Greatest Extent

31 LEWIS, Bernard, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, OXFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2001, pp. 24-32
2.1. TV Channels

Television is now the second most popular mass media channels in the world and its seen all over the world every day. In consequence of its conduction of speech and moving displays, it has turned into one of the most effective and strong story tellers. Mass media are data ducts which are distributing information from social participants like government, agencies and stakeholders to the people. Publicists can pick, subedit and commentate on this intelligence; but most information published in the media comes from influential social actors.

Television is therefore a tool that can use by political, economic, and other elites to acquaint, cultivate, amuse and impress the public. The information stream is pretty much in one direction, from the actors to the mass television spectators. Television has a central role in all facets of modern society; from art, history and sport to education, politics and marketing. It can provide an informed knowledge and critical understanding of the world. It is also extremely proper to wide range of careers in today’s immensely active and competitive job market. In brief, television is vital to human life; it is an indispensable compartment of modern culture and we bound up with TV for fun, news, instruction, culture, weather forecast, sports, games, publicity and advertisement. The value of TV has grown bigger because of the “eruption” in satellite and digital specialty channels in the advanced world. There are various and numerous TV channels all around the world. Turkey can be a great example for this situation:

Today, there are 281 TV channels (16 public, 265 private) broadcast in Turkey. Content and the quality of TV channels can be debatable but the number of TV channels in Turkey has reached an incredible point meanwhile they have increased their influence on Turkey. They conduct their audience with its publications and moreover they have enough potency to strength Turkey’s Popular Geopolitics and Soft Power in the world. There is no way to talk about all 281 TV channels thus the biggest contributors such as; TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation), Kanal D (Channel D), Star TV and Fox TV will be mentioned through this thesis:

33 BLUMENTHAL, Howard J., This Business of Television, NEW YORK, BILLBOARD BOOKS, 2006, pp.40-56
34 VARDAR, Bulent, Sinema ve Televizyon Görüntüsünün Temel Öğeleri, ISTANBUL, BETA BASIM YAYIN, 2006, pg. 51-67
35 GRAHAM, E. Fuller, The New Turkish Republic: Turkey as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World, WASHINGTON DC, UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE PRESS, 2007, pp. 33-40
2.1.1. TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation)

The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation is the national public broadcaster of Turkey. TRT was founded in 1964. Approximately 75% of TRT’s income comes from a tax attached on electricity invoices and a sales tax on television and radio receivers. Advertising constitutes only 10% of total income of TRT. TRT broadcast inside and outside Turkey with its 15 channels. The motivation behind broadcasting in 15 different channels is to address different audiences.

In 1998, the first foreign office of TRT was founded in Berlin / Germany. Then in 1999 Ashgabat / Turkmenistan, in 2000 Baku / Azerbaijan, Cairo / Egypt and Brussels / Belgium followed. In 2002 TRT launched its 6th foreign office in Washington / USA. Today TRT has 11 foreign offices in 10 different countries in 3 continents.

In 2009, TRT became partners with EURONEWS, which is a major worldwide news channel, with 15% portion. In January 2010, EURONEWS started to broadcast in Turkish as 9th language.

In 2009, with “Tanık olmaya hazır mısınız?” (“Are you ready to witness?” in English) slogan TRT Documentary Channel started to introduce Turkey in English, German, French, Russian and Turkish to the world. Also in 2009 TRT Europe Fm radio started to broadcast.

Today TRT broadcasts can be watched and listened through the whole world. Also with TURKSAT satellite it can be followed by Turkish Diaspora in the world.

TRT has changed and modernized a lot since its birth and this evolution helped them to widen their borders and expand their vision. TRT’s innovative initiatives and channels that broadcast to overseas contribute to diplomacy efforts of Turkish foreign affairs and boost Turkey’s Soft Power in the world by its publications. TRT broadcasts around the world, especially in Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia, aimed to strength

37 LEWIS, Bernard, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, LONDON, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1968, pp.78-85
Turkish citizens’ (who live in abroad) connections with the motherland and to block degeneracy of new generations.

In later stages, TRT started to broadcast in regions with people of Turkish origins and people who speak Turkish, thus aimed to emphasize on “Turkishness” and tried to unite Turkish societies. By adding Caucasus and Balkans, TRT tried to have the same dialogue with Turkish origin people there, too. Broadcasting which mentioned above made in Turkish, while broadcasting the main target was imposing “Turkishness” ethnicity.

TRT started broadcasting in different languages rather than Turkish since 2000s. TRT-Int, TRT-Turk, TRT-Avaz, TRT-Şeş, TRT-Arapça, and TRT-Belgesel channels thematically started to broadcast news (about culture, politics, economics, history, art, sports), documentary, soup opera, movies, and talk shows in different languages to introduce and present Turkey and Turkish people to world.  

TRT’s effort on presenting Turkey’s quality to world is significant and respectable. Widening its field with first TRT-Şeş, TRT-Avaz and then with TRT-Turk has been of great importance for Soft Power. On the other hand TRT is going to reach more people with its new channel TRT World, which is going to be broadcast only in English; with interlanguage TRT is going to increase its influence. Therefore Turkey can explain its agenda, internal and external strategies, attitude in world events, determinations and decisions via its own communication channel to the world.

2.1.2. Kanal D (Channel D)

Kanal D is Turkey’s leading media company in the progress, production, entertainment, demonstration, news and information to a broad audience. Kanal D was launched in 1993 and has the first high definition channel in Turkey, Kanal D HD.

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Kanal D belongs to Dogan Media Company which controls an estimable portfolio of news and entertainment networks, substantial television production managements and a major television stations group.39

Both in audience shares and in commercials carrying volume, Kanal D has been a long term leader by far in the sector confronted to other nationwide TV channels. According to TV audience measurements in 2010 Kanal D has been the most-watched TV channel in 308 days out of 365 and has been selected the day’s ratings leader again.40

Skilled producers, wise directors and inventive programmers work jointly to create quality shows to Turkish families. Kanal D presented lots of new type of Television programmes like assorted TV series, talk shows, Turkish and foreign movies, game shows, sports, family programmes and magazine programmes. Kanal D aims to be placed at the top of the industry by its TV serials, pedagogical and amusing children’s shows, ethical news shows and hilarious talk shows presented by the Turkish TV celebrities.

The productions of Kanal D are not only for Turkish audiences at home. In 1996 Euro D was established to facilitate Turkish citizens living in Europe watch the channel. Now this channel can be seen all around the world from the Australia to America.41

Moreover being the biggest national TV channel in Turkey for the past 20 years, Kanal D has also acquired a major performance as a substance provider to different territories via satellite. After the great performance of the Turkish TV series, first in the Turkic Countries, and later on in the Middle East, Kanal D has amplified to new areas such as the Balkans and the Far East. Kanal D has played a vital role in the “vogue” of the Turkish TV Series in the world and contributed to Turkey’s popular geopolitics.

40 IBID
41 HATIRNAZ, Basar, Reyting Gerçeği, ISTANBUL, NOBEL YAYINCILIK, 2007, pp. 45-60
2.1.3. Star TV

Star TV was founded by Cem Uzan and Ahmet Özal in 1989 as Magic Box. For a brief time in the early 1990s, it was called Star Magic Box because the name Star 1 was copyrighted by another media corporation. Its first logo was a blue S with a star on it before it turned to red in early 2000s. Star TV is Turkey's first private TV channel. The channel started its test broadcasting on 5 May 1990.\(^\text{42}\) That was a breaking point for Turkish mass media.

Star TV brought many new productions (such as, cooking shows, game shows, quiz shows) into the Turkish Media and beyond that Star TV broadcasted many world-known series for the first time in Turkey. Among them there were The A-Team, Dallas, Miami Vice, Star Trek: The Next Generation and etc. Star TV is also the first private Turkish Channel to start digital broadcasting in 1999.\(^\text{43}\)

Turkish savings and deposit insurance funds (TMSF) put a block on Star TV and other media sub-entities, including seven radio stations, a newspaper and another TV station due to obdurate debts owed to the Treasury resulting from the transfer of İmar Bankası and Adabank on February 2004.\(^\text{44}\) TMSF open Star TV up for auction, Dogan Media group won the auction with the highest offer of $306.5 m in the lounge on September 2005. For 6 years Star TV was controlled by Dogan Media Group. Dogan Media increased the quality and the market value of Star TV and sold it to the Doğuş Media Group on 17 October 2011, for $327m.\(^\text{45}\) As seen from the numbers Star TV is a very valuable asset among Turkish TV Channels. Star TV has broadcasted many popular Turkish TV series and has played an important role in the popularity of the Turkish TV Series in the world and contributed to Turkey’s popular geopolitics.

\(^{42}\) IBID pp. 60-69


2.1.4. Fox (Turkey)

Fox TV is a television channel broadcasting in Turkey, and it is part of Fox Broadcasting Company. The history of this television channel started in 1993 under the name TGRT. The channel broadcasted both local and foreign programs.

The channel was originally TGRT and started broadcasting on April 23, 1993, under Ihlas Holding. Between 2001 and 2004, TGRT was owned by Tasarruf Mevduatı Sigorta Fonu before being sold again to Ihlas Holding.46

On July 23, 2006, News Corporation acquires TGRT from Ihlas Holding, and is formed by Ahmet Ertegün. The channel began broadcasting on February 24, 2007 with its new name Fox Life.47

Fox Broadcasting Company has 3 different channels in Turkey: Fox Life, National Geographic and Baby TV. Fox Life has raised its influence and impact in Turkey since 2007.

It was not the quality of programmes that carried Fox Life into this thesis, it was the Fox Life identity. Fox Life is the only opposition TV Channel in Turkey right now, with the rest is already kicked out of the satellite. Thus Fox Life broadcasts with a different perspective than the rest of TV channels in Turkey. The most important component that helps to keep Fox Life alive is it being a foreign-owned station. Under the oppressive administration of government, nobody knows how much time left for Fox Life, however with its crew Fox Life produces TV productions that are followed by a huge number of audiences. Especially the Fox Life news which is presented by famous anchor Fatih Portakal is very popular in Turkey; apparently he is the only one who criticizes governments’ action through its show. In according to this, opposition leaders particularly choose Fox Life for telling their messages to their electors. All these factors put Fox Life in a vital position in “Turkey’s TV channels” topic.

2.2. TV Series

Television series is a segment of content intended for broadcast on vision, other than an advertisement, trailer, or any other fragment of content not serving as attraction

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for audience. It could be a single production, or more frequently, a series of interrelated productions.\textsuperscript{48} Today, TV series are the most popular kind of TV programs.

As a kind of amusement, TV series are often refused as the stuff of the massifs, and neglected as entertainment for women and the labor class. Nevertheless, new studies propose that TV series dominate a distinctive capability to mediate how people figure out new senses and emotions. New progresses in the way countries watch TV series also recommends that the entertainment medium could even highlight a new aspect for globalization. United States of America is the biggest country who takes advantage of TV series as the highest TV series producer and exporter. Turkey became the second highest TV series exporter in the world after the US.\textsuperscript{49}

The Turkish TV series industry, exported series worth $250 million in 2015. Turkish TV series are broadcasted in approximately 70 countries. Turkey first started to export TV series to the Turkic republics (Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) in 2001, afterwards continued with the Balkans, the Middle East and Latin America. Sector representative Anadolu Agency declared that TV series exports reached $200 million in 2014 and $250 million in 2015.\textsuperscript{50} According to this Mr. Besit Tatli, the head of Calinos Holding (Production Company) claims that in Turkey 70 new TV series are being produced in the domestic market each year, half of which are liked by the viewers and thus continue to be aired. Tatli states that 10-15 percent of these series are exported abroad. It is expected that the annual revenue from these series to exceed 300 million dollars in 2016. Tatli argues that TV series should reflect the core values of a society along with the universal ones to be able to maintain such high rates of export.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{48} LOTZ, Amanda, \textit{The Television will be Revolutionized}, NEW YORK and LONDON, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY PRESS, pp. 82-85


Turkish TV series are estimated to compass over 400 million audiences across the world and the industry has now detected new places to grow in, including North America and Scandinavian countries. India, Indonesia, Malaysia and China are also on the radar of production companies. Turkish TV series were formerly marketed for between $35 and $50 per episode. Today, these prices change between $500 and $200,000 per episode. Among the countries where Turkish TV series are being broadcast are: Argentina, Bolivia, Germany, Albania, Austria, Azerbaijan, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Bosnia Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Algeria, Czech Republic, Indonesia, China, Estonia, Morocco, Georgia, Croatia, Iraq, Iran, Sweden, Switzerland, Qatar, Kazakhstan, South Korea, Kosovo, Kuwait, Uzbekistan, Libya, Lithuania, Lebanon, Hungary, Macedonia, Malaysia, Egypt, Pakistan, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Syria, Thailand, Taiwan, and Greece.\(^{52}\) Here is the list of the Top Turkish TV series and their contents\(^{53}\):

**Silver (Gumus/Noor)**, was produced by ANS Production. It’s about the deep love between a poor girl and a richer husband. It was sold to 56 countries. The series premiered on 20 January 2005 and reached 100 episodes.

**Magnificent Century (Muhteşem Yüzyıl)**, produced by Tims Productions. It’s about massive costume drama set in Suleiman I’s Ottoman world. It was sold to 47 countries. The series premiered on 5 January 2011 and reached 139 episodes.

**1001 Nights (Binbir Gece)**, was produced by TMC Film. A mother accepts an indecent proposal from her boss to pay for her son's cancer treatment. It was sold to 46 countries. The series premiered on 7 October 2006 and reached 90 episodes.

**The Revival of Ertugrul (Dirilis Ertugrul)**, was produced by Tekden Film. It’s about heroic story of Ertugrul Ghazi, the father of Osman who founded the Ottoman State. It was sold to 46 countries. The series premiered on 10 December 2014 and has reached 48 episodes.

Forbidden Love (Ask-i Memnu), was produced by Ay Yapim. Its’ about forbidden passions which take place in a mansion on the Bosphorus. It was sold to 46 countries. The series premiered on 4 September 2008 and reached 79 episodes.

The Fall Of Leaves (Yaprak Dokumu), was produced by Ay Yapim. It’s about a tightly knit family arriving in Istanbul to face many challenges. It was sold to 45 countries. The series premiered on 13 September 2005 and reached 174 episodes.

What is Fatmagul's Crime? (Fatmagul'un Sucu Ne?), was produced by Ay Yapim. Fatmagul is raped, and marries Kerim who wrongly believes himself to be the perpetrator of the crime. It was sold to 37 countries. The series premiered on 16 September 2010 and reached 80 episodes.

I would like to examine closely the top 4 Turkish TV series (Silver (Gumus/Noor), Magnificent Century (Muhtesem Yuzyil), 1001 Nights (Binbir Gece) and The Revival of Ertugrul (Dirilis Ertugrul), to understand better how they contribute to Turkey’s popular geopolitics and reactions from foreign audience. This examination also gives an idea about the expansion of Turkish TV series to the world.

2.2.1. Silver (Gumus/Nour)

The first Turkish TV series to exceed borders and win the hearts of audience in the Middle East was Gümüş, or Noor in Arabic. Gümüş tells the story of a woman of modest beginnings who improves her career and finds true love.
In 2008, 85 million people in the Arab world watched the final episode of the dramatic Turkish TV series Gümüş. A recent survey which was made in 16 Middle Eastern countries, three out of four people said that they had watched at least one of approximately 70 Turkish TV series that have been exported abroad since 2001. In the last decade, Turkish TV series have expanded to Arab World, fracturing taboos and reaching to the hearts of millions of female audience. Gümüş was the first and the biggest asset of these TV series. Nina-Maria Paschalidou, a Greek filmmaker claims that the most important component of these TV series is appealing female audience in the Arab World which brings success. Paschalidou states that TV series has very simple and easy conversations for women to understand and comprehend; this is the way how TV series enter homes. These TV series boost the female empowerment in the region. Women can easily identify themselves with the characters in TV series and they are dreaming of a life full of their own choices; they want to marry the man they want, they want to be able to work, to do whatever they want, to have children or not to have


children. For sure, the outfits, luxury life, and beautiful villas that show up in these shows increase their desire.\(^{56}\)

"Gümüş has caused many divorces in the Middle East.\(^{57}\) I would like to give two examples about it: first one is Samar, a 54 years old woman from Lebanon: she was a huge fan of Gumus and one day after she watched it, she started to think of marriage should be an equal partnership between two adoring people and she turned off her TV and went to a divorce lawyer. Second example comes from Bahrain: Aisha, 32 years old woman, begged his husband to have a plastic surgery to look like Kivanc Tatlitug, the male character (Mohannan) of the show. Kivanc Tatlitug has become very popular after Gumus. He has been dubbed as the “Halal Brad Pitt” in Middle Eastern countries. Apart from his charm and good looking he is also romantic and supportive partner to his independent wife, which makes him a heartthrob to audience. Women insist on placing Kivanc Tatlitug’s photos on their mobile phone wallpapers and on their bedroom wall.\(^{58}\)

Inherently, the performance of Gumus does not suit well to traditionalists in the Middle East. Actually, Gumus has been blamed over and over again for wrecking traditional values. In Saudi Arabia, Imams issued fatwas against people watching the “sinister” TV shows that disrupt the values of religious values and spread sin. Meanwhile, in Iran, where the shows are watched via smuggled satellite dishes hidden on verandas, authorities have blamed them of disrupting the institution of the family.\(^{59}\)

However, conservatives in the Middle East ventured a battle against Turkish TV series but Turkish TV series have already conquered viewer’s hearts and this leads to an improvement of Turkey’s social and cultural influence in Middle East and Turkish tourism with the help of the majestic views of Istanbul and Bosporus images during the shows.


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2.2.2. Magnificent Century (Muhteşem Yüzyıl)

The TV series is based on the life of Suleiman the Magnificent, the longest-prevailing sultan of the Ottoman Empire. During his sovereignty, between 1520 and 1566, the Ottoman Empire attained the peak of its power. “The Magnificent Century” reached more than 40 countries from Arabic speaking territories to the Balkans, and especially captivated the nations that were formerly under Ottoman control.

Orbit Showtime Networks’ (Dubai based direct-broadcast satellite provider serving the Middle-East and North Africa) executive vice president Khulud Abu Hommos stated that “The Magnificent Century” or “The Sultan’s Harem” in its dubbed Arabic version is a real phenomenon. The Magnificent Century is the highest ever seen TV series on OSN. She also argues that The Magnificent Century is a great combination of a fairy tale and the history, beyond that it has a political relevance too. In the Arab world where people are disappointed with the political actors and political situation, The

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Magnificent Century grants them honor with the Muslim history; it depicts Muslim leaders as honest and impartial.⁶¹

According to Michel Naufal, an expert on Arab-Turkish relations, Turkey created a flashback to its history with the attraction of Turkish TV Series, especially The Magnificent Century. The great script of The Magnificent Century, a slave girl conquering the heart of the Ottoman Empire’s one of the most powerful sultans, and their love and a son (prince) continued as successor, kept Arab audiences’ attention towards the show for more than two years. The detailed sets and fancy outfits changed the fashion world in Arab countries. The Magnificent Century even affected the ladies’ hairstyles and their choice of jewelry.⁶²

Apart from Arab Countries, the Magnificent Century became a phenomenon in Balkan Countries too. These countries have a deep historical connection with the Ottoman Empire and today they became huge fans of gallant tales of Suleiman the Magnificent. Both private and different public TV channels broadcasted The Magnificent Century with steady re-shows.

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2.2.3. 1001 Nights (Binbir Gece)

The story of the series starts with a widowed architect with a sick kid, Sherezade Eviyaoglu, who accepted to spend one night with her billionaire boss, Onour Aksal, to earn the money to cover her child's medical treatment. Sherezade and Onour finally fall in love, but getting involved was not so easy. Numerous intrigues and misunderstandings block them to be together. Ultimately love wins and they come together.

The Cover of One Thousand and One Night

This time we will focus on the success of Turkish TV series in Latin America. For many years, Latin America has been the world's great TV series producer and exporter both inside and outside the territory. However times are changing; Latin America is now importing different popular foreign TV series, such as the famous Turkish drama "One Thousand and One Nights."

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Latin American production companies could make the same TV series, it could perfectly fit to Latin America, but it isn’t so. The biggest component of “One Thousand and One Night is: it takes place in Istanbul, Turkey. Great images and views conquered the hearts of Latin American audiences. From Colombia and Brazil, to Peru and Uruguay, audiences fell in love with One Thousand and One Nights. Moreover Argentinean and Chilean audiences are taking their love of the show to the next level: by naming their children after the characters “Sherezade”, “Onur” and “Kaan” (Sherezade’s sick son).”

On the other hand, there were some criticism on One Thousand and One Nights; the biggest criticism is that the show encourages the gender inequality. Beyond that, some of the criticism of the show has been political, as well such as; the Armenian community in Argentina attempted to censure the TV series, by calling it Turkish propaganda. The Armenian community is strongly against to any cultural imports from Turkey, in the spotlight of Turkey’s denial to recognize the genocide against the Armenian people 101 years ago.

Despite the fact that there are many criticisms against the show, it remains a conquest among Latin American audiences. In May 2015, Concept Media, an Argentinean consulting group, created a qualitative survey about "One Thousand and One Nights". They got extraordinary results and the survey revealed the success. One of the most surprising results that came out of the survey is that normally Argentinean audiences love “close exoticism” in Argentinean TV shows and they don’t disapprove of sex scenes. However in One Thousand and One Nights, producing company doesn’t use sex scenes, which is quite different thing to Argentinean audiences but they like it anyway.

These cultural exchanges also boost questions about the possibility of interchanges between Turkey and Latin America. Despite their differences these two

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regions have many things in common. Cultural exchanges like the export and import of TV series may create new possibilities for both countries; in the light of these trades two countries can succeed in new contexts and can achieve new results such as increasing the volume of tourism and commercial, creating world class twin cities, improving political relations.

2.2.4. Resurrection of Ertugrul (Dirilis Ertugrul)

Resurrection of Ertuğrul, which follows the story of Ertuğrul Gazi, the father of Osman I, founder of the Ottoman Empire, tops the television ratings among AB, educated high-income viewers. The show has been named the best Turkish TV series of the 2014 season, with the Turkish press comparing it to Game of Thrones of USA.

The Cover of Resurrection of Ertugrul

Resurrection of Ertugrul has become very popular in Balkans and has especially captivated the nations that were previously under Ottoman Empire control. This success was noticed by European organizers as well, and Resurrection of Ertugrul was invited to MIPCOM (Marché International des Programmes de Communication, English: International Market of Communications Programmes) as a guest of honor.67

During the festival, one of the speakers was Fredrik af Malmborg, managing director and co-founder of Swedish distributor Eccho Rights. He stated that now that Turkey is selling its TV series to Latin America, Europe, Middle East, the country has come a full circle from the days of importing TV series back in the 1980s. A whole generation of new producers were inspired by Turkey’s great success and started to do their own creations. Beside cultural and linguistic differences, there is also a big difference in production values. TV series are traditionally made on budgets of around US$50,000 per hour, but in Turkey this can change from between US$200,000 and US$600,000 per hour. He also argues that culturally Turkey is likely better suited for reaching audiences from all over the world because it is somehow a combination of Europe and Asia, and not too far from our own culture. Resurrection of Ertugrul and other Turkish TV series are being broadcast all over the world and represent the Turkish culture.68

Actually Turkish TV series don’t just export Turkish culture, they market it too. People who watch the Turkish TV series want to have the same goods, they want to live the same lives, and they want to eat the same food. The TV Series has become a commercial digging. Turkey’s Tourism and Culture Ministry claims that: “The value of TV series exports skyrocketed from a million dollar in 2007 to $130 million in 2012 as the country sold 13,000 hours of programming”.69

I would like to give a specific example on how Turkey market its culture: Turkey is famous with its different kinds of carpets. One of the most popular types of

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68 CAGAPTAY, Soner, The Rise of Turkey: The Twenty-First Century’s First Muslim Power, ISTANBUL, POTOMAC BOOKS, 2014, pp. 70-54

Turkish carpets is Hereke carpets, which are exhibited at the Ottoman sultans’ palaces, villas and pavilions, including the Dolmabahçe Palace and Topkapi Palace.

The Hereke carpets have lost their popularity because of fake ones and the lack of influential advertisement in the international arena. But in the last years, Hereke carpets, which have been used as scenery in Turkish TV series that attract audience from many countries, have regained its popularity with the shows and have recuperated their lost reputation thanks to Turkish TV series.70

Ismail Şaşdın, director of a carpet company in the northwestern province of Kocaeli, said the history of Hereke carpets started in 1843 with the foundation of Hereke Fabrika-i Hümayun, on account of meeting furnishing and curtain necessities of palaces that were created in the last years of the Ottoman Empire.

Hereke carpets are as valuable as diamonds because they are hand-made, and have been very famous in the world. The carpets that Şaşdın’s company has produced were used in the set decoration of 20 TV shows including historical TV series such as

“Muhteşem Yüzyıl” (The Magnificent Century), “Diriliş Ertuğrul (Resurrection of Ertugrul).” Sasdim said that: “We receive demands from new TV series. We do our best to meet these demands. Turkish TV series make great contribution to both the promotion of our country and the continuation of this artwork. The recognition of Hereke carpets increased thanks to TV shows, these carpets are now sent all around the world, especially the U.S. and Japan. Germans in particular show a great interest in Hereke carpets. When they come to Turkey, Japanese people buy Hereke carpets in Cappadocia and Istanbul.”  

We can see that culturally, commercially and from every aspect of the contemporary society, Turkish TV series contribute to the Turkey’s popular culture. I would like to finish “Turkish TV Series” part with the words of İzzet Pinto, CEO of Turkey’s Global Agency, which distributes Magnificent Century and other top titles: "We are showing our country to millions of viewers. We are showing the beautiful scenery, our lifestyle and traditions. So we have a great influence on people through soft power and popular geopolitics.”

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2.3. **Turkish Films**

Films create a picture-based language that can ensure better ways of arranging a substantially changing geopolitical world through which people imagine/position themselves in an unclear geopolitical world.\(^{74}\) Even the most complex and problematic affairs of social and political life can be explained smoothly through cinematic recitations. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, films can be a prosperous and assorted source for popular geopolitics as well as film reviews due to the extensive circulation of particular productions and the solid spectator potential.

Due to lack of technology, deficit spending and lack of qualified staff, Turkey couldn’t give enough attention to film industry. However, after 1980’s Turkey’s film industry started to grow with private companies and foreign capital investments. Over the past ten years, an increasing number of Turkish films and filmmakers have been selected for international film festivals and received a large number of awards such as in Bir Zamanlar Anadolu’da (Once upon a time in Anatolia) won the Grand Prix at the Cannes Film Festival in 2011 and Kis Uykusu (Winter’s Sleep) won Cannes Film Festival Award of Best Film in 2014. With the contribution of these awards Turkish Cinema has been recognized on the international film festival and art house circuit for some years.

As of today, Turkish films are beginning to dominate the box office charts in Turkey, which has one of the largest film-going local audiences worldwide. The success of Turkey’s filmmaking industry has prompted investments from TV studios to co-finance blockbuster films. As a result of this, Turkish films started to be created with high budgets. Education related with the film industry such as acting schools and schools on cinematography became more and more popular and Turkey turned into a country that exports films to Europe and Middle East. These films contributed to Turkey to have better recognition in film industry and these films also improved Turkey’s popular geopolitics in Europe and Middle East. I would like to closely examine “Valley of the Wolves” film and one world famous Turkish director Nuri Bilge Ceylan and his productions to understand better how they contributed to Turkey’s popular geopolitics.

\(^{74}\) FLINT, Colin, *Introduction to Geopolitics*, ABINGDON, ROUTLEDGE, 2012, pp. 84-90
2.3.1. Valley of the Wolves Iraq (Kurtlar Vadisi Irak)

The film Valley of the Wolves—Iraq was produced by Pana Film Company in 2006, after one of the most popular TV series in Turkey: Valley of the Wolves (Kurtlar Vadisi). Pana film began broadcast Valley of the Wolves in 2003 and reached 97 episode series. Honour, duty and love of country were the main themes of Valley of the Wolves and it was very popular among Turkish audiences with these themes. Domestic and International conspiracy theories as well as heroic sacrifices frequently took place in the film and the TV series. 75

Valley of the Wolves’ success on the TV encouraged Pana Film to produce one of the most expensive Turkish film productions in the Turkish film history with US$10.2 million budget. Valley of the Wolves - Iraq grossed approximately US$29 million from the Turkey’s and foreign box office (primarily in Syria, Germany, Belgium, The Netherlands, France, the United Arab Emirates, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Iraq, Greece, Chile, and Brazil). 76 The film was translated into many languages and reached to millions of fans both in Turkey and abroad.

The film showed an alternative voice against the overwhelmingly Western (primarily American) dominant popular representation of the Middle East, as “it reverses the usual political order of things”. 77 The Valley of the Wolves - Irak demonstrates two ends of a spectrum, picturing a paradoxical pattern of becoming both an influential propaganda of geopolitics and yet, at the same time being a strong act of anti-geopolitics. The film aims to portray the inexpressible levels of suffering in Iraq. While doing so, the film accuses West for all the brutality in the region. The film’s purpose of speaking the unspeakable horrors in the region and taking on a rebellious stance against the selected enemy attains the film an anti-geopolitical dimension. 78

77 DODDS, Klaus, Geopolitics: A very short Introduction, OXFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2008, pp. 88-94
Yet, The Valley of the Wolves takes on the role of becoming a very influential medium of geopolitics. It demonstrates Turkey’s regional power. With this, it creates an awareness of Turkey’s geopolitical influence in Turkish viewers.

Apart from the other Turkish TV series and films, this film has three different geopolitical approaches: The first one is, Valley of the Wolf became very popular in Middle East thus the film has contributed to Turkey’s popular geopolitics. The second one is, the film has an anti-Western content because of this Valley of the Wolf has been strongly criticized by Western world and this caused a bad image for Turkey there. The third one is, Valley of the Wolf Iraq created geopolitical information for the people of Turkey to visualize Turkey’s own geopolitical responsibilities in the territory. Thinking of all these negative and positive aspects, we can say that it is still effective in many ways.

Cover of the Valley of the Wolves\textsuperscript{79}

2.3.2. Nuri Bilge Ceylan

Nuri Bilge Ceylan is a Turkish film director, photographer, screenwriter and actor. He has won the Palme d’Or, and the highest prize at the Cannes Film Festival in 2014.\(^{80}\) After all these awards and productions, Nuri Bilge Ceylan is seen as the “Master of Turkish Cinema” by Turkish media. Turkish Cinema has undergone a strong transformation with contributions of Nuri Bilge Ceylan. 20 years ago nobody had imagined an international award in cinema, however today, Nuri Bilge Ceylan aims for broader art-house recognition and perhaps his first Oscar nomination.

Nuri Bilge Ceylan makes frequent use of grim landscapes in slow-paced narratives, while his movies always follow a distinct direction. He succeeds in combining elements of different genres into a tasteful medley of powerful imagery and subtext.\(^{81}\) In his movie Winter Sleep, at three hours and sixteen minutes, is an excellent example of this approach, even expanding his range. It depicts a middle-aged melancholy and marital friction, which are great representatives of the filmmaker’s signature themes. The film was shot in the charming setting of Cappadocia in over two months.

An art film is commonly described by film critics and film studies scholars as a film that holds ‘formal qualities that mark them as different from mainstream Hollywood films.’ These elements include “a sense of social realism, an emphasis on the authorial expressiveness of the director and a focus on the thoughts, dreams or motivations of the characters,”\(^{82}\) instead of a depiction of a clear, goal-driven story. Film scholar David Bordwell describes art cinema as "a film genre, with its own distinct conventions".\(^{83}\) Nuri Bilge Ceylan is a great example for this style of moviemaking and became a very successful director for his work of such kind.

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\(^{80}\) WHITE, Rob, *Nuri Bilge Ceylan: An Introduction and Interview*, University of California Press, 65. 2., (2011), pp. 64-72

\(^{81}\) BORDWELL, David, Narration in the Fiction Film, MADISON, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN PRESS, 1985, pp. 44-47

\(^{82}\) IBID pp.50-54

\(^{83}\) BORDWELL, David, On the History of Film Style, CAMBRIDGE, HARDVAR UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1998, pp. 34-38
Today, he has shown that he is one of the most influential directors both in Turkey and Europe with winning numerous awards such as: Golden Orange Award for Best Director, Golden Orange Award for Best Screenplay, Cannes Film Festival Best Director Award and etc. The importance of him winning these awards can also be understood from his Cannes Film Festival award acceptance speech in 2008. He dedicated this award to his country knowing that it means a lot. He refers to his country as the “lonely and beautiful country” which implies Turkey’s crucial efforts to overcome this loneliness and become a country that has an effective policy of merging with other nations. 

84 SUNER, Asuman, A lonely and beautiful country: reflecting upon the state of oblivion in Turkey through Nuri Bilge Ceylan’s Three Monkeys, Inter – Asia Cultural Studies, Vol. 12, Issue 1, (2011), pp.14-15

2.4. Sports

Arda Turan’s record transfer to Barcelona

Arda Turan was born in January 30th 1987 and he is one the most popular Turkish professional footballers. He plays for Spanish Club Barcelona and is the captain of Turkey national football team. Arda Turan is the first Turkish football player who won the La Liga (Spanish First Division) title; he achieved this championship in the 2013–14 football season with his former club Atletico Madrid. Arda and Atletico Madrid won UEFA Europa League and UEFA Super Cup too. Afterwards he took the number 10 shirt and became very popular in Atletico Madrid Football Club and the city of Madrid. Arda Turan was also ranked 38th in "The 100 Best Footballers in the World" by The Guardian in 2014, in this year Arda Turan was nominated for the UEFA Team of the Year for 2014 too, among 40 other players.\[86]\n
Arda Turan’s successful career attracted football giant Barcelona’s scout team and he was transferred to Barcelona for 41 million Euros, which makes Arda Turan the most valuable Turkish player in history. Arda Turan signed a five year contract at Camp Nou (Barcelona’s stadium) in the presence of Ramon Adell, president of the Management Committee of FC Barcelona and Arda pledged his future to Barcelona and made his country proud.

Barcelona enlarged its squad with a decent midfielder, Atletico Madrid gained lots of money with the high transfer fee, Arda Turan’s dreams came true... At first glance, this transfer may be evaluated under the roof of football industry and has nothing to do with popular geopolitics, but it has! I would like to examine Arda Turan’s transfer and consequences of this transfer closely then show how Turkey’s popular geopolitics benefited from the Arda Turan’s historic transfer:

Barcelona launched a Twitter account in Turkish:

FC Barcelona is the most popular sports team on both Facebook and Twitter, according to new global research by ZenithOptimedia and Sponsorship Intelligence.\[87]\n

\[87\] "FC Barcelona is The Most Popular Sports Team on Social Media", ZenithOptimedia, Web. 11 March. 2016,
The Spanish football club is on the top of ZenithOptimedia’s new ranking on sports teams’ social media performances. It is called “The Social League”. Barcelona is on the top of The Social League with 43 million fans on Facebook and 17 million followers on Twitter. To protect its leader position in The Social League, FC Barcelona has a very active strategy to attract its millions of fans and followers. Barcelona posts content on Twitter 8-10 times a day. It has a strong news strategy, posting updates about team events, game results, activities.

Arda Turan’s transfer added Turkey and the Turkish language into Barcelona’s social media network. Barcelona opened Turkish language Twitter account (@fbbarcelona_tr) and announced that at the end of the 2015/2016 football season, Turkish will be added to the nine languages in which the website is already published. Barcelona will publish more Turkish content on social made as Turkey has the seventh highest number of likes on Barcelona pages. Arda himself has assisted to boost this new communication channel by recording a video that calling fans to read the ultimate news about Barcelona in Turkish language. By this; Turkey will be seen more from all over the world and will increase its vogue in one of the most popular social network pages.

<http://www.zenithoptimedia.com/fc-barcelona-is-the-most-popular-sports-team-on-social-media/>

88 “Barcelona open Turkish Twitter account to get closer to ‘Barca’ fans in Turkey”, DailySabah, Web. 11 March. 2016,

89 “FC Barcelona launches Turkish language Twitter account”, FCBARCELONA, Web. 11 March. 2016,

90 IBID
Sponsorship Deals with Turkish Companies

Arda Turan’s transfer also encouraged Turkish Companies to sponsor football giant Barcelona. As known before, Turkish Airlines and Beko have been official sponsors of Barcelona, after Arda’s transfer, telecommunication company Turk Telekom and tire company Lassa Tires signed sponsorship deals with FC Barcelona.

According to the terms of this sponsorship contract, advertising materials and logos of Turkish companies will be displayed on the internal screens of the Camp Nou Stadium in Barcelona and all other locations of the team. Arda Turan takes the leading parts in commercial shootings next to his world star teammates.

These sponsorships enable win-win situations; Turkish Companies have been contributing to Barcelona’s growth in Turkey and Barcelona has been contributing to Turkish Companies growth in Europe and the world. I would like to finish this subject with the words of Turkis Airline’s CEO Dr. Temel Kotil: “Sports sponsorship allows us to reach a target audience in an effective and economic way. Sports personalities can reach more people than pop-star icons can reach, due to their positive images and ability to have concrete success. For example, Barcelona—one of the teams we sponsor—plays about 50 matches a year in La Liga and the Champions League. In each match the team’s performance is closely watched by millions over 90 minutes, during which we

have rotating advertising panels. This is obviously very visible and we are getting incredibly positive feedback. In addition, being associated with the world's most valuable players positively contributes to brand image.”

**Arda Turan’s Fame in Arab World**

Football became the most popular sport in Arab World in recent years. When Algeria achieved success by qualifying to the knockout rounds in Brazil, World Cup 2014, this helped to peak interest for the sport in the region. There are many famous and successful football players in the world such as Mesut Ozil, Demba Ba, Yaya Toure, Sami Khedira as well as Arda Turan, who is one of the most popular Muslim players in the world. He stated that “When I score my first goal for Barcelona, I will thank God and celebrate it with sujud” and he did. Turkey’s captain Arda Turan scored his first goal for the club against Rayo Vallecano and his celebration conquered the hearts of Muslim audiences.

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Today, wherever you go in the Arab World, people know about Arda Turan; they know Turkish football’s popularity. Arda Turan and his transfer to Barcelona contributed to Turkey’s image and popular geopolitics in the world in an undeniable way.

2.5. Music

Tarkan’s Great Reputation in Turkic World

Tarkan Tevetoğlu, born in October 1972, known as Tarkan, is a World Music Award-winning Turkish pop singer. Tarkan has been known for his romantic pop songs and has been nicknamed the "Prince of Pop" by the media. He has several platinum-selling albums during his career, with an estimated 29 million albums and singles sold. He also produces music through his company HITT Music. One of a few European singers who has managed to span chart success over three continents without singing in English, he is also noted for his live stage performances. Tarkan's influence on Turkey has been compared by the Washington Post to that of Elvis Presley in the United States of America in the 60’s.

Tarkan’s abroad concerts have had a huge influence on his international success. These concerts helped him to introduce his music as well as Turkish pop music. As mentioned above, Tarkan has become popular in three different continents but Turkic Countries probably loved him the most, this can be seen in his huge concerts in those countries.

Turkic Countries share a linguistic, cultural and historic bond with Turkey. This is a great opportunity for Turkish singers to expand across Turkic Countries. Tarkan has taken advantage of this and his songs are in high demand in Azerbaijan, whose language is close to Turkish. In the Central Asian republics where the languages are less similar, the numbers argues that the appeal of Tarkan’s songs are no less influential.


Popularity of Turkish music has risen with the Tarkan’s great skills, charisma and performance in Turkic Countries. By his popularity, Turkey found a chance to increase its influence on its brother countries. Furthermore, with his concert organizations, Turkey created twin cities from Turkic countries and increased the volume of tourism (people from Turkic countries visit Turkey just to see Tarkan’s concerts).

Sertab Erener’s Eurovision Victory

Sertab Erener is one of the most successful female Turkish pop singers in Turkey, and is considered one of the divas of Turkish pop music. In Europe, she is best known for winning the Eurovision Song Contest, the longest running annual TV song competition, in 2003 with her hit song “Every Way That I Can” and she has had many other accomplishments outside Turkey, making her country proud.

Sertab Erener’s Eurovision win meant a lot to Turkey. After coming last in 1975, 1983(null points) and 1987(null points) at Eurovision song contests, Turkey was in an inferior position but Sertab Erener’s victory has changed it. Sertab Erener’s great

performance got many points from all over the Europe including points from some countries that never gave a point to Turkey in the history of the competition.

Sertab Erener’s triumph made Turkey proud and raised the hope of Turkish people towards achieving better outcomes in this song contest. She also proved the quality of Turkish music to Europe and thus contributed to the popularity of Turkish music. The rule of winning countries hosting the contest following year enabled Turkey to attract millions of tourists from all over Europe. Many commercials that were prepared to introduce Turkey’s cultural and historical beauties were broadcasted during the show. Many people had a chance to get to know Turkey through a different perspective as a result of this. Such introduction of Turkey contributed greatly to Turkey’s image in Europe.

Sertab Erener and Winning Award

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Chapter III - Conclusion

In *Strategic Depth*, Prime Minister Davutoglu argues that the Turkish government aims to shift its strategy from a "crisis oriented" manner to a "visionary approach". For this crucial transition he stresses the importance of Turkey’s historical position and geographical location. He also lists “soft power” as an important strategy to do so. Drawing on these claims, this thesis demonstrates Turkey’s aims of reaching up to these goals to be able to assert itself on an international scale.

This thesis lists Turkish TV channels (TRT, Kanal D, Star TV and Fox TV), Turkish TV series (Silver (Gumuş), The Magnificent Century (Muhteşem Yüzyıl), 1001 Nights (Binbir Gece) and Resurrection of Ertugrul (Dirilis Ertugrul), Turkish films (The Valley of the Wolves – Iraq and Nuri Bilge Ceylan’s films), Turkish singers (Tarkan and Sertab Erener), and sports (football player Arda Turan) as means of validating its geopolitical reputation. To do so popular culture is used as a tool for raising an awareness of Turkey’s potential in this field.

Turkish TV channels and series do this by reflecting a panoramic range of sketches from the past to this day. While one TV series is portraying the glamorous Ottoman dynasty, another shows a luxurious lifestyle of modern characters and their lifestyles. Whether it is reflecting the old times or the contemporary day, they always put the extravagant lifestyles forward to attract the attention of viewers from all over the world. Turkey is introduced as a highly well-developed country in which there is no space for the poor. The viewers admire such abundance and loose themselves in this world of make-believe.

In the same way, Turkish films use a similar pattern. They focus on the core values of conduct; such as, bravery, honesty, righteousness and chivalry. By portraying these morals onto the characters in the film, an image of a savior especially for the Middle East is created. Also the awards won with these films enable Turkish film industry to become more assertive and more productive. As shown in this thesis, all these tools play an important role in improving cultural popularity of Turkey.

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101 DAVUTOGLU, Ahmet, *Strategic Depth: Turkey's International Position*, ISTANBUL, KURE, 2000, pp. 70-83
Turkey utilizes music not only as a product of popular culture but also as a means of enhancing its geopolitical power. Turkish singers’ choice of using not only English but also Turkish in their songs can be seen as a way of reaching people from Turkic Countries as well as Europe and other parts of the world. Not only the sales of the records, but also the international concerts help to maintain such reputation of Turkey in music industry. Turkish music’s contribution to its tourism comes up as a vital dimension.

Sports in Turkey’s methodology of attaining a more powerful image in terms of reflecting its geopolitical status plays a pivotal role. Along with attributing recognition to Turkey, sports also supports Turkey financially. The hostings of Formula 1 (2005), the Champions League Final (2005), the UEFA Cup Final (2009), and the FIBA World Cup (2010) serve to this purpose of both introducing Turkey to the world and also contributing to its commercial volume. Along with these Turkish Airlines’ sponsorship agreements with, Manchester United, Borussia Dortmund, Barcelona, and Euro League should also be acknowledged as they play a crucial role in portraying Turkish companies’ success all over the world.

By referring to all these elements, this thesis stresses that Turkey has achieved a plethora of its goals of becoming a more constructive nation in terms of building international ties with other countries. This thesis evaluates Turkey’s attempts as ambitious and but not satisfactory. Turkish government is also aware of this reality and their plans of achieving more, as outlined in the “Discover the Potential” campaign, demonstrate the fact that Turkey is striving hard to promote itself culturally, socially and historically with an unyielding passion.\textsuperscript{102}

Turkey’s cultural and historical background has a critical impact on its policies in the international domain. By becoming more aware of this hidden treasure, Turkey attempts to incorporate its popular culture elements with its geopolitical power. A combination of these essentials leads Turkey into a path towards proving itself as a culturally and geopolitically celebrated nation.

Throughout this thesis many examples were illustrated to reflect the ways in which popular geopolitics helps Turkey to project its power. The interconnectedness of

\textsuperscript{102} For further information on this campaign see: http://www.turkeydiscoverthepotential.com/
media, business and culture as portrayed in the examples of Arda Turan’s transfer to Barcelona and its promoting Turkish businesses, Tarkan’s concerts’ contribution to tourism and the increase in the sales of the handmade Hereke carpets due to their appearance in the TV series of The Magnificent Century; all characterize a mosaic of Turkey’s popular geopolitics. They all contribute to form a Turkey that is capable of proclaiming itself as a unique nation with a decent potential.
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