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Turkey in Africa

A new emerging power?

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10 Turkey's development assistance in Africa in the 2000s

Hybrid humanitarianism in the post-liberal era

Gonca Oğuz Gök

Introduction

Africa has always been at the center of various actors' humanitarian efforts, including states, International Organizations (IOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) throughout its history. Foreign aid was earlier considered to be a strict flow of money and resources from the industrialized democratic Western states conceptualized as North to developing or underdeveloped states of the South in Africa. Since the 2000s, humanitarian efforts have been transforming as Western norms of market liberalism and democracy are in sharp decline. The weakening of liberal democracy is closely associated with major global shifts in the world order since the global financial crisis of 2008. The rising economic power of states from the Global South, such as China, India and Brazil, coincided with a period in which Western states' economic prosperity, financial resources and normative appeal have been in relative decline (Onis 2017). The popular ideas of post-Cold War neoliberal peace and multilateralism seem to be rapidly deteriorating while authoritarianism and populism is on the rise in almost all parts of the world.

Within the context of these structural transformations, the aid landscape has changed in the African continent with the rise of emerging powers from Asia and Latin America who are also becoming significant providers of foreign aid, especially in the 2000s (Tjønneland 2015). South–South cooperation has already become a new alternative model to the established North–South development cooperation in Africa (Sodenberg 2010). As Michael Barnett (2011) asserts, humanitarian efforts have become a "status symbol" for emerging powers in global politics. In this regard, Africa has become the main target of rising donors, searching for more substantial roles in global governance (Abdenur and Da Fonseca 2013). Accordingly, Official Development Assistance (ODA) levels have increasingly been used as a cooperative denominator for power and wealth as well as a status for states looking for more significant roles beyond their borders.[1] These emerging powers insist their aid is distinct in principle and practice from more traditional Western donors (Weiss and Abdenur 2014). Onis and Kutlay

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(2020) define this new post-liberal area as the "age of hybridity," in which no overriding set of development paradigms or policies predominantly shape global governance.

Among other emerging powers, Turkey's rise is noteworthy. Turkish foreign policymakers also began to voice their willingness to actively engage in humanitarianism in different regions of the world during the 2000s, most notably in Africa. Accordingly, one of the defining aspects of Turkish foreign policy has become the increased role of development cooperation programs evidenced by an expanding international aid budget towards the continent. Ankara, increasingly labeled as a "donor country" with its ODA gradually reaching US$8.07 billion in 2018 ranked first in humanitarian aid, followed by the USA with US$6.68 billion, Germany with US$2.98 billion and the UK with US$2.52 billion whereas the EU ranked fifth with US$2.25 billion (Development Initiatives 2019).

Against this background, this chapter will critically engage with the rise of humanitarianism in Turkish foreign policy in the 2000s regarding its development cooperation activities towards Africa. Drawing on Michael Barnett's classification of "liberal humanitarianism," the paper will question how Turkey's development cooperation activities towards Africa in the 2000s fit into or diverge from the framework of liberal humanitarianism (Barnett 2011). In order to better engage with this question, the first part briefly summarizes the historical background of Turkey's humanitarianism towards Africa within Barnett's framework of the "ages of humanitarianism" (Barnett 2011). The second part will precisely focus on Turkey's development cooperation activities in Africa in the 2000s with specific reference to the nexus between government agencies and other humanitarian NGOs (HNGOs) in constructing Turkey's "donor state" identity. The third part will compare and contrast Turkey's development cooperation activities with those of traditional donors such as the EU and rising donors such as BRICS in order to depict any similarities as well as differences in Turkey's humanitarianism in the 2000s.

The paper argues that in terms of humanitarianism, one can talk about a new "post-liberal era" in the making shaped by systemic shifts in the last two decades, especially in the 2010s. Turkey's development cooperation activities in Africa could best be described as "hybrid humanitarianism" in the sense that it encompasses the aims, means and ends of both liberal humanitarianism and rising powers' emerging humanitarian efforts, yet also differs from both of them by its attempt to offer an alternative "Turkish aid model." Turkey's humanitarianism in Africa crosscuts political motives with humanitarian aims and is constructed upon civil society and state networks as well as the domestic and foreign policy nexus. Building on and departing from Barnett's widely acknowledged classification of the "ages of humanitarianism" (see Table 10.1), the paper attempts to provide a framework called "hybrid humanitarianism" in the new post-liberal era of the 2010s exemplified by the Turkish case towards Africa.

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Framing Turkey's humanitarianism vis-à-vis Africa in the historical context

Humanitarianism is widely defined as "the impartial, independent, and neutral provision of relief to those in immediate danger of harm" (Barnett 2009). Barnett (2011) classifies the historical evolution as well as the transformation of humanitarianism in three phases, which he categorizes as "the ages of humanitarianism": (1) imperial humanitarianism (1800–1945), (2) neo-humanitarianism (1945–1990s), (3) liberal humanitarianism (post-Cold War era).

Turkey's relations with the African continent date back centuries. During the "imperial era" of humanitarianism, the Ottomans had good relations with the continent and, in fact, actively worked to "prevent the spread of colonialism" to Africa (Hazar 2017; see Chapter 2 by Palabiyik). With the Turkish Republic's establishment in 1923, there was not much manifestation of a humanitarian role towards Africa. Security and economic issues were at stake, and Ankara struggled hard to develop, secure and legitimize the new Turkish Republic both at home and abroad.

In the era of "neo-humanitarianism," which corresponds to the post-WWII era, security issues continued to be at stake. Economically, Turkey was defined as a developing country and development aid receiver. ODA to Turkey through the Marshall Plan helped it to lay the foundation for its economic development in the 1950s. Although Turkey transformed into a multiparty regime after 1945, its democratization was interrupted several times with no less than three military coups. However, with its willingness, Ankara became a part of the UN-led human rights regime and joined the European human rights regime by ratifying the European Convention on

Table 10.1 Ages of humanitarianism vis-à-vis Africa

	Ages	*Humanitarian efforts*
Imperial humanitarianism	1800–1945	Colonization, civilizing discourse, intervention, patriarchal.
Neo-humanitarianism	1945–1990	Growing role of IOs, UN, decolonization human rights regimes, NGOs, development project.
Liberal Humanitarianism	1990–2010	Humanitarianism transformed, intense NGOs–state nexus, governance, professionalization, and politicization of aid, humanitarian intervention and r2p.
Post-Liberal Humanitarianism	2010–	Declining democracy, rising authoritarianism, South–South cooperation, status competition over ODA, clash of development norms, hybrid humanitarianism.

Source: Drawing on Barnett's (2011) Classification of "Ages of Humanitarianism," this table is revised, adapted and structured by the author.

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Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in 1954 (Turkmen 2007). In Africa, when the decolonization process accelerated in the 1960s, Turkey's relations with the continent remained limited. There was no manifestation of an adopted humanitarian role, mostly due to the above-mentioned domestic instabilities and security concerns of the Cold-War era (Ozkan 2012). Turkey's growing involvement in Africa can be traced back to its first-aid package to the Sahel countries in 1985, under the Turgut Ozal government. Bolstering Turkey's economic strength by integrating it into the world economy and using aid as a powerful instrument to enhance trade and soft power were among Prime Minister Ozal's foreign policy priorities. Accordingly, a comprehensive aid package of US$10 million was implemented in 1985 to develop Sahel countries' institutional capacity, namely Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mauritania, Senegal, and Somali, and Sudan (Birtek 1996). Therefore, Ankara initiated its ODA program under the Ozal government, yet remained an aid receiver state (Oguz Gok and Parlar Dal 2016).

The exact inclusion of a humanitarian agenda, as well as development efforts in Turkish foreign policy, corresponds mainly to the post-Cold War era. In the 1990s, defined as the age of "liberal humanitarianism," several internal reforms and external pressures led to a growing humanitarian agenda in Turkey's foreign policy (Oguz Gok 2020). An important landmark event that affected an extended humanitarian agenda was the declaration of Turkey's official candidacy for EU membership in 1999. To fulfill the membership commitments, the Turkish parliament adopted in 2001 one of the most comprehensive packages of constitutional amendments, including human rights (Aras and Akpinar 2015). Furthermore, by the early 1990s, Turkish leaders began to realize that development assistance efforts would be more effectively administered through the establishment of an official state-sponsored agency. Accordingly, in 1992, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) was established. However, during this period, Turkish ODA was restricted to providing development assistance based on technical support for the infrastructure of newly independent states of Turkic countries in Central Asia and the Caucasus (Fidan and Nurdun 2008).

Turkey's humanitarianism vis-à-vis Africa in the 1990s was highly dependent upon the use of "military means." Turkey deployed significant military forces to the peacekeeping missions in a diverse range of countries affected by humanitarian crises. Turkey was part of the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations in Somalia under the command of General Cevik Bir during 1993 (Hirsch and Oakley 1995). However, political instability due to fragile coalition governments and recurring economic crises prevented Turkey again from adopting an effective humanitarian role throughout the 1990s. The rise of "humanitarianism" in foreign policy in general and intensifying development cooperation towards Africa precisely corresponds to the 2000s.

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Understanding humanitarianism in Turkish foreign policy towards Africa in the 2000s

During the first decade of the 2000s, humanitarianism has become one of the most preferred concepts in Turkish foreign policy. Compared to the 1990s, Turkey's humanitarianism has shifted dramatically from military missions to humanitarian aid and development assistance efforts (Oguz Gok and Parlar Dal 2016). Turkey has increasingly begun to channel its resources for global development efforts in countries affected by conflicts and natural disasters. In 2018, Ankara allocated humanitarian aid that surpasses much more prosperous and larger economies, including the USA, China and the EU (Cihangir-Tetik and Muftuler-Bac 2020). Ankara expanded its role as one of the most influential humanitarian aid donors among non-OECD-DAC countries (Guo 2020). As documented by Humanitarian Assistance Reports, Ankara continued to be labeled among the top three most generous countries concerning its GDP between 2013–2019 (Development Initiatives 2013–2019). Turkey's commitment to international development assistance efforts is evidenced by its participation in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), South–South cooperation (SSC) and its initiatives with Least Developed Countries throughout the 2000s. Turkey is also defined as an "emerging donor country" by the World Food Program (Oguz Gok and Parlar Dal 2016).

One should note here that Turkey's growing humanitarian role in general and development assistance towards Africa has explicitly been shaped by various "systemic" and "domestic" developments in the 2000s as well as "ideational" and "material" factors. In this regard, taking the advantage of systemic and domestic developments, Ankara's development assistance efforts aimed at creating and promoting a benign "humanitarian actor" identity both at home and abroad.

First, "systemic shifts" at the international level created a favorable environment for Turkish foreign policymakers for linking the country's foreign policy framework to the new trends and approaches in international relations in the early 2000s. Accordingly, Turkey witnessed a foreign policy change accompanied by a renewed emphasis on foreign policy instruments like mediation, trade, humanitarian and development aid in the first decade of the 2000s (Oguz Gok and Parlar Dal 2016). Among others, aid has been one of the vigorous foreign policy elements and a "niche area" in Turkey's overall foreign policy and its Africa policy in particular in the 2000s (Korkmaz and Zengin 2020). In parallel with this, foreign policy decision makers adopted a discourse which identifies Turkey as a humanitarian, morally driven state. Accordingly, "humanitarian diplomacy" was set as the new objective of Turkish foreign policy (Davutoglu 2013).

Second, the increasing humanitarianism in Turkish foreign policy was made possible due to favorable "domestic democratic" and "economic" developments in the first decade of the 2000s. Since 1999, when Turkey was

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attributed official candidate status to the EU, it has implemented a series of reforms on civil liberties and democracy regarding many issue areas. Turkey's economic growth in this period also provided favorable domestic conditions to adopt a humanitarian role. In the early 2000s, Turkey rapidly recovered from the 2001 financial crisis's adverse effects and reached a steady growth rate in its economic performance. In "material" terms, the country also survived the 2008 global economic crisis with minimum damage. These "domestic factors" created a favorable environment for the adoption of development assistance as one of the state's key foreign policy tools (Oguz Gok and Parlar Dal 2016).

Turkey's humanitarianism in Africa gained momentum, especially after the Somalian drought crisis in 2011. Turkish government organizations, businesses and NGOs have provided significant amounts of humanitarian and development aid following the then Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan's visit to Mogadishu in August 2011. It was a significant event since it was the first visit to Mogadishu by a head of state from outside Africa in almost 20 years. Accordingly, Turkey became the first non-African country to appoint a new ambassador to Somalia in more than two decades, located at an embassy in Mogadishu. In 2011, Somalia became the fourth-highest recipient of Turkey's development assistance, behind Pakistan, Syria and Afghanistan and ranked first in Turkey's ODA in 2012. However, Turkey's humanitarianism in Somalia is not only limited to ODA. Turkish aid allocation for specific sectors between 2005 and 2017 demonstrates a significant role for "humanitarian aid" in foreign aid (Cihangir-Tetik and Muftuler-Bac 2020). As Eyrice Tepeciklioglu (2019) puts it, Somalia has been particularly striking in Turkey's humanitarian efforts towards Africa between 2011–2018, since Ankara's humanitarian and development aid amounted to a total of US$745 million dollars to Somalia.

According to the most recent TIKA Development Cooperation Report of 2019, Turkish development assistance reached US$9,927.5 million in total; including US$8,797.7 million for official flows carried out by public institutions, US$1,129.8 million for private flows, and US$8,612.4 million for official flows composed of official development assistance. The US$8,423.7 million for official development assistance composed of bilateral ODA illustrates the weight of bilateral flows in Turkey's aid. Among the bilateral ODA, US$7,331 million official humanitarian assistance also demonstrates the priority given to humanitarian assistance. Turkey stands out with over US$1 billion of the private sector and US$826.5 million NGO assistance from official assistance (TIKA 2019). Therefore, according to the TIKA 2018 Development Cooperation Report, various actors such as state institutions, NGOs and private sector partners have been active in Turkey's humanitarian efforts, which are delivered through mostly bilateral channels encompassing predominantly humanitarian aid, among others.

Africa's share in Turkey's bilateral development assistance increased to US $134.8 million in 2018 compared to –US$296,6 million USD in 2017,

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demonstrating a tremendous increase. Among the Least Developed Countries benefiting from Turkey's bilateral assistance, Somalia ranked second with US$31.8 million following Afghanistan with US$38.2 million in 2018 (TIKA Development Assistance Report 2019). In this regard, Africa in general and Somalia specifically continues to be a remarkable case demonstrating Turkey's growing humanitarianism in the 2000s, which corresponds to a network of various state and non-state actors and crosscutting humanitarian, ideational and material motivations and means.

State–civil society nexus in Turkey's humanitarianism towards Africa

In parallel with what Barnett (2011) classifies as liberal humanitarianism, Turkey's development assistance activism in Africa corresponds to a network of multiple crosscutting actors that encompasses the "nexus between state and non-state actors" help to display Turkey as "donor state."

First, the government's official contribution is substantial, considering a remarkable increase in capabilities of the governmental humanitarian assistance organizations in both budget and functionality in the 2000s. State institutions such as the TIKA, the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKI), and Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) are highly involved in the process of delivering assistance to Africa. Besides, several ministries, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of Health and Education, have been active in humanitarian efforts (Cevik, Sevin and Baybars-Hawks 2018). The Ministry of Education provides scholarships to African students and supports educational institutions abroad. The Turkish government launched the Turkiye Scholarships Program in 2012 and has provided a substantial number of scholarships to African students at all levels. There are currently 5,437 students in higher education and 116 visiting professors/research assistants from African countries (MFA n.d.). The growing role of TIKA has been tremendous as the AKP government transformed TIKA into a more global aid agency and turned it into a dominant player after in the 2000s in Africa (Altunisik 2019). The number of TIKA's coordination offices increased to 61 in 2018, as compared to 12 offices in 2002 (Eyrice Tepecikliogl u 2019). TIKA assists in the coordination of initiatives, such as the "Africa Agricultural Development Program," the "Africa Health Program" and the "Africa Vocational Training Program," among many others (Murphy and Sazak 2012).

As a niche area, the "health sector" is among the top areas in the government's humanitarian efforts to African countries. Ankara has signed health cooperation agreements with around 20 African countries. TIKA built the Turkish-Sudanese Research and Training Hospital in Nyala. In Somalia, Turkey has built and equipped the biggest hospital in Mogadishu. The Educational Hospital in Juba (South Sudan) and the Black Lion Hospital in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) are among the health institutions to which the

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Turkish Ministry of Health has made significant contributions (MFA n.d.). Most recently, Turkey sent medical and humanitarian aid to more than ten countries, including South Africa, Niger, Chad and Burkina Faso, to treat the Covid-19 pandemic.

In addition to these institutions, the Turkish Red Crescent (KIZILAY) and the Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet) have also become key actors in the government assistance efforts (Cevik, Sevin and Baybars-Hawks 2018). For instance, the first involvement of the Diyanet in Somalia was solely in the form of direct humanitarian aid. However, it has shifted the focus of its projects to its core purpose, such as education, religious services and bringing students to theology faculties for religious studies in Turkey (Ozkan 2014). Diyanet has delivered US$111.6 million aid to the African continent since its foundation in 1975. Diyanet also provided scholarships to 1,003 students from Africa (TDV 2019). KIZILAY also provides voluntary health service with its field hospital in Sudan and drug store in Chad in Africa. In recent pandemic crises, KIZILAY sent medical supplies to African countries.[2]

Second, non-government public diplomacy has also become an essential part of Turkish foreign policy in line with the "total performance" approach meaning inclusiveness in the foreign policy agenda of non-state actors like NGOs, business circles, think tanks and public intellectual figures (Donelli 2015). Especially after 2011, HNGOs have become visible with their growing involvement, professionalization and expertise in the field (Guo 2020). A common aspect of Turkish HNGOs across the African continent is that a majority have religious backgrounds, such as the Humanitarian Relief Foundation (IHH), *Cansuyu, Yeryuzu Doktorları* (Doctors Worldwide) and *Deniz Feneri* (Lighthouse Association). Before TIKA began to operate in Africa, the activities of Turkish HNGOs were predominantly ad hoc, single-country emergency aid campaigns, supplying food and clothing mostly at times of crises (Ipek and Biltekin 2013) Such a campaign evolved into more sustainable development assistance in the form of construction and infrastructure projects. Turkish NGOs carry out different development projects such as school construction, capacity building training programs, distributing the livestock to locals, and even establishing radio stations for educational purposes. Turkish NGOs also play a humanitarian role, which includes assistance programs such as disaster assistance, medical assistance and food assistance. For instance, the IHH's activities increased in Africa in many sectors as the number of countries to be assisted increased as well from 10 to 30, with more than 60 construction projects. Since 2007, the IHH has also introduced a foreign student program, especially for African students (Dag 2018).

The nexus between government-based institutions and HNGOs in the field has been a defining aspect of Turkey's humanitarianism in Africa. These HNGOs frequently cooperate with state officials and provide logistical support. The Turkish government uses their expertise in host countries and

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collaborates with them in delivering aid. These HNGOs also often express national pride by carrying the Turkish flag in distant geographies and conflict zones (Aras and Akpinar 2015). The presence of Turkish HNGOs in some instances precedes that of embassies, and so became a source of information about local conditions in Africa. For instance, the former head of Yeryuzu Doktorları, Dr. C. Kani Torun, after serving in Somalia for many years, became Turkey's first ambassador after the country reopened its embassy in Mogadishu in 2011 (Celik and Iseri 2016). Not only the state, but NGOs also benefit from this nexus in the sense that party affiliation provides more political leverage to non-state actors. For instance, the Human Rights Platform, of which IHH is a member, has signed a contract with AFAD, the Turkish Embassy in Chad and the Chadian Ministry of Health to discuss aid projects (IHH 2014).

The government–NGO nexus could also be traced to Turkey's humanitarianism via the health sector as a niche area. Turkish doctors took part in many health campaigns organized by HNGOs in cooperation with the Ministry of Health and TIKA between 2007 and 2010. Over 280,000 Africans have undergone health screening. For instance, the "Africa Cataract Project" has been implemented in four countries (Niger, Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan), collaborating with a Turkish HNGO—IHH—and a total of 21,600 patients was operated on in 2018 (MFA n.d.) One should note here that "clientelism" also provides economic benefits to HNGOs and businesses. For instance, the Port of Mogadishu was constructed by conservative Albayrak Insaat and the Mogadishu airport by Cengiz Insaat. The support base of patrons linked with the conservative Independent Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (MUSIAD) and the Turkish Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists (TUSKON) indicates a visible connection between these businesses and humanitarian assistance (Cevik, Sevin and Baybars-Hawks 2018).

Domestic and foreign policy nexus in Turkey's humanitarianism

Turkey's humanitarianism discourse in general and foreign aid policies, in particular, has increasingly been used to achieve various foreign policy goals in the 2000s. The first fundamental priority of Turkish development assistance is declared as "the implementation of projects and activities that comply with Turkish foreign policy" (Cihangir-Tetik and Muftuler-Bac 2020). Echoing the "world is bigger than five" rhetoric, Turkey's growing involvement in humanitarianism in Africa could also be explained in terms of Turkey's quest for a more significant global governance status among established and rising donors in Africa. Turkey's previous campaign for a non-permanent UN Security Council seat for the 2009–2010 period also precipitated a wave of Turkish aid activism. It was accompanied by the opening of embassies and the financing of projects to secure several votes for Turkey during its successful bid for a UN Security Council seat. The support

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of African countries, with their 54 UN members—representing the biggest regional block in the organization—was vitally important for Turkey's UNSC nomination (Oguz Gok and Parlar Dal 2016).

Despite much rhetoric on humanitarian issues, Turkey's humanitarianism has also been driven by the need to diversify "economic relations" in a new global political economy (Ozkan 2012). Data reveals that Turkey's development aid to Somalia has contributed to bilateral economic ties between the two states. Turkey's exports to Somalia have increased dramatically since 2011, from US$4.8 million in 2010 to US$39.5 million in 2011, reaching US $181.5 million in 2018 (Devecioglu 2019). Recent research findings on established donors compared to rising donors like Turkey suggest that trade partnership is ultimately a more important factor than political affinity in determining aid, which is valid for both OECD-DAC members and Turkey (Zengin and Korkmaz 2019). In this regard, trade recipients who import Turkish goods at even an average level are expected to receive significantly more aid (Kavakli 2018). Turkish aid to Africa has been regarded as an opportunity for Turkish firms. In this regard, Turkey's aid structure indicates interconnectedness between Islamic institutions by way of political discourse, which serves the interests of the state, government, NGOs and other stakeholders (Cevik, Sevin and Baybars-Hawks 2018).

Accordingly, Turkey's humanitarianism demonstrates the nexus between state and civil society in "constructing and legitimizing the new state identity." Drawing highly upon Ottoman history, Ankara aimed at articulating a uniquely Turkish moral mission in global affairs, and thus promoting the aid initiatives at home and abroad has become a nation branding which positions the country as a "donor state." Some of the key components of aid manifested in political rhetoric such as "aid as a moral duty," "defending the interests of all aggrieved nations" and "aid as Turkey's manifest destiny" all highlight Turkish leaders' intention to draw historical connections with the generous Ottoman image (Cevik, Sevin and Baybars-Hawks 2018). In their quantitative study, Zengin and Korkmaz (2019) conclude that recipients of aid with an Ottoman past attract more Turkish foreign aid than countries without Ottoman pasts. In another recent quantitative study, Mehmetcik and Pekel (2019) found that the percentage of Muslims living in the recipient country is a significant variable for determining Turkish assistance. However, these findings should be interpreted cautiously as a significant number of Muslim majorities in recipient countries are struggling with severe humanitarian crises to varying degrees.

One should also note here that AKP rulers not only referred to this "altruistic identity" (Cevik, Sevin and Baybars-Hawks 2018) at the international level, but also frequently used it in "domestic politics" to legitimize and consolidate its power among its electorate as well as to enhance the party's humanitarian, historical and religious visions in the eyes of its domestic constituency (Zengin and Korkmaz 2019). Therefore, although Turkey moves with the discourse of "One Africa," political, economic and

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ideological motivations have also been decisive in Turkey's humanitarianism towards Africa (Eyrice Tepeciklioglu 2019).

Turkey's "hybrid humanitarianism" in the post-liberal era

Turkey's humanitarianism in general and development cooperation activities in Africa could best be explained in the light of systemic changes in the 2000s' post-liberal world. The embeddedness of political/economic motives within humanitarian aims has become a characteristic of Turkish "hybrid humanitarianism." This characteristic distinguishes Turkey from both emerging and traditional donors, whose aid efforts have been largely motivated by development-based or politics-based ends, respectively (Zengin and Korkmaz 2019). Turkish development assistance is constructed upon a "non-imperial benign" state image, with a "win–win" strategy and operational procedures built upon direct contact with local populations in the field.

It is liberal in the sense that it fits into Barnett's framework of liberal humanitarianism. It is highly politicized encompassing the means of state–civil society nexus as well as a shared agenda with institutionalized efforts of HNGOs in Africa. Compared to emerging donors, Turkey is part of the traditional Western development and cooperation system as a founding member of the OECD and has been engaged in accession negotiations with the EU since 2005. Although Ankara did not join the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC), it voluntarily reports to DAC. Furthermore, as Cihangir-Tetik and Muftuler-Bac (2020) found in their comparative study, Turkish humanitarian aid complements the EU's development goals.

Although traditional Western donors such as the EU emphasize democracy and the rule of law as political conditions for aid, absence of political conditions for delivering aid makes Turkey similar to other emerging powers such as BRICS. The use of historical and religious rhetoric by Turkish rulers and NGOs has served to legitimize Turkey's presence in Africa as a "benign" actor that can function as an alternative role model. One of the crucial dimensions of Turkey's humanitarianism is that Ankara defined itself as the opposite of traditional donors like the EU and the US. For instance, Langan (2017) argues that AKP leaders have constructed the concept of "virtuous power Turkey" in contrast to a European "other." Turkish humanitarianism in Africa is legitimized as a more trustworthy partner than the EU (Langan 2017). Turkish leaders also frequently refer to identifications like "clean state" in their dealings with African countries. President Erdogan uses "Africa belongs to Africans" and "win–win" rhetoric while defining Turkey's "uniqueness" as compared to Western history and the approach to African aid throughout the 2000s.[3]

As compared to traditional Western donors, rising powers like BRICS prioritize economic ties, trade relations and security interests, rather than democratic ideals. In fact, rising donors in Africa, most notably China, also do not have any political conditionality compared to traditional donors and

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place emphasis on the sovereignty of aid recipient countries. Nevertheless, in practice, they seek comparative advantages and long-term economic gains. For instance, rising powers mostly carry out development projects in exchange for access to rights to natural resources, mining or the purchase of their goods and services. For example, concessional aid or grants such as "loans-for-oil" underscores an essential component of China's aid policy. Moreover, BRICS' policies focus on the import and control of Africa's natural resources through developing market opportunities with significant investments in Africa's energy and mining sectors (Tepeciklioglu, Tok and Basher 2017).

Like rising donors, Ankara does not have any political conditionality. However, this "unconditionality" should not be understood as being independent from any economic or political considerations. Turkey's focus on trade in the 2000s made it more similar to OECD-DAC donors in economic aid (Kavakli 2018). On the other hand, Turkey's humanitarian and development aid is delivered mostly without any conditions. There is no manifestation of initiatives regarding Ankara's long-term interest in Africa's vast natural resources (Tepeciklioglu, Tok and Basher 2017). One crucial difference is also the weight of Turkey's state–civil society nexus on humanitarianism as compared to rising powers like BRICS. While BRICS' economic gains constitute the primacy over non-governmental and civil forms of engagement, Turkey's humanitarianism is heavily constructed upon substantial state–civil society nexus. The growing importance of religious identity in humanitarian aid allocation and state–civil society nexus have distinguished Turkey from many of the other donors (Kavakli 2018). Federico Donelli (2015) defines Turkey as a "hybrid non-traditional actor" as it combines a traditional political-stability perspective (US, UE) with an economic-trade perspective of emerging powers (China, India, Brazil). Therefore, Turkey is argued to have a more balanced perspective regarding economic and humanitarian concerns (Tepeciklioglu, Tok and Basher 2017).

One important denominator of Turkey's hybrid humanitarianism compared to rising donors such as BRICS is its strong emphasis on "bilateral means." BRICS' resort to mostly global multilateral channels with an emphasis on South–South cooperation is also opposed to Turkey's bilateral humanitarian diplomacy efforts with the increasing role of Turkish NGOs (Tepeciklioglu, Tok and Basher 2017). Turkish aid contribution to multilateral institutions initially decreased from 2005 to 2011 while its bilateral aid increased drastically (Cihangir-Tetik and Muftuler-Bac 2020). This increase might result from a desire to enhance Turkey's visibility in humanitarian and development assistance as a niche area or develop deeper bilateral relations with African states. Decreasing belief regarding the efficiency of multilateral mechanisms might have predicted a wave of bilateral aid in the 2010s (Zengin and Korkmaz 2019). Turkey's aid has been faster so far on the ground compared to the slow delivery of multilateral institutions like the UN (Eyrice Tepeciklioglu 2019).

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Turkey's humanitarianism is also different from both traditional and rising donors as Turkish TIKA and NGOs offices are in Mogadishu while most of the other actors are outside. For instance, in Somalia, Turkish NGOs coordinated with Somalian authorities and collaborated with local partners. Therefore, it increases Turkish aid's reliability and makes it faster and more adaptable to change. In this regard, direct contact with local populations without having the burden of an imperial past have all argued to help increase Turkey's credibility and reliability in development efforts (Ozerdem 2019).

On the other hand, Ankara's humanitarian efforts have been criticized on the grounds of not having a long-term vision, lack of genuine knowledge regarding the internal dynamics of the region, and lack of proper coordination with regional and multilateral organizations, and local and international NGOs in the field. Turkey's increasing strategic, political and economic involvement have made it more difficult to reconcile the humanitarian interests of the recipients with Turkey's interests (Akpinar 2013). Emergency humanitarian aid provided in conjunction with civil society organizations has been an integral part of Turkish humanitarian aid to African countries. However, Turkey's potential to create long-term effects in targeted states' socio-economic structure continues to be a big question mark. Therefore, although there is a tremendous quantitative increase in Turkish aid, the qualitative contributions have not been fully endorsed (Eyrice Tepeciklioglu 2019). In this regard, once assistance is decided upon, there seems to be no effective mechanism for monitoring and evaluating its impact (Altunisik 2014). The provision of Turkish arms in sub-Saharan Africa more widely is also deemed questionable in terms of normative credentials (Langan 2017). Despite all, considering Turkey is a relative latecomer to the Africa development cooperation field, it has played crucial roles in constructing a "hybrid model" in the continent.

Conclusion

Turkey's humanitarianism in Africa has been strongly influenced by the systemic shifts of the "post-liberal era" in the 2000s. In an era of clash of norms, Turkey's development assistance activities could best be conceptualized as "hybrid humanitarianism" encompassing the norms and instruments of both traditional and emerging donors.

Ankara's humanitarian initiative towards Africa seems to evolve into a more comprehensive policy. It encompasses emergency aid funding, development projects, opening schools, taking a leading role in shaping state-building agenda involving opening military facility bases, mediating peace talks[4] as well as taking part in exploring oil in Somalia's[5] seas upon invitation. This expanded agenda in Africa has already put Turkey's humanitarianism into a more complicated and multidimensional one.

Evidence suggests that Ankara has been enthusiastically exercising a rising donor role and has been quite successful in terms of constructing

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humanitarianism as a "niche area" in its foreign policy throughout the 2000s. However, whether it will construct a credible and durable humanitarian power role in Africa will depend on its domestic economic and political conditions as well as its robust, durable and consistent normative approach to international affairs.

Overall, this study aimed to understand how Turkey's development cooperation activities towards Africa fit into Barnet's (2011) classification of the "liberal humanitarianism." The paper concludes that, "domestic and foreign policy nexus" and "civil society and state networks" have been defining characteristics of Turkey's "hybrid humanitarianism" towards Africa in the last two decades. Ankara's development cooperation activities also crosscut various political and economic motives with humanitarian aims. This eclecticism of various economic, political and humanitarian aims is the main element of Turkey's hybrid humanitarianism in the 2000s which encompasses the norms and instruments of both traditional and emerging donors. Yet, Ankara's quest for constituting Turkey-specific norms, instruments of development assistance as well as concrete achievements on the ground has neither been negative, nor positive, but rather incomplete.

Notes

1 OECD defines Official Development Assistance as: "Government aid designed to promote the economic development and welfare of developing countries. Loans and credits for military purposes are excluded. Aid may be provided bilaterally, from donor to recipient, or channeled through a multilateral development agency such as the United Nations or the World Bank. Aid includes grants, 'soft' loans (where the grant element is at least 25% of the total), and the provision of technical assistance." The OECD maintains a list of developing countries and territories; only aid to these countries counts as ODA. See https://data.oecd.org/oda/net-oda.htm (accessed May 18, 2020).
2 https://www.aa.com.tr/en/africa/turkish-medical-aid-arrives-in-sudan-amid-covid-19/1878242.
3 See for instance https://www.tccb.gov.tr/konusmalar/362/75311/25-mayis-afrika-gunu-konusmasi.
4 https://www.horndiplomat.com/2019/11/06/turkey-offers-mediating-role-in-the-talks-between-somalia-and-somaliland-fm-mevlut-cavusoglu/.
5 https://www.dw.com/en/turkey-sets-its-sights-on-the-horn-of-africa/a-52111261.

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