Geo-cultural and Political Dialogue between Pakistan and Turkey: Resetting the Diplomatic Pace for 'Soft Power' Regional and Global Imagery in a Changing World

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Abstract

This paper focuses on highlighting the discourse of geo- culture and how the discourse is shaped, defined, and structured in the new global age. The discussion rests with the background of culture and diplomacy and the debate surrounding the concept of soft power. The redefinition preeminently entails to explore the dynamics of softer side of diplomatic conduct and how political dialogue, negotiations, parlays, and diplomatic communication reinforces the process of cultural diplomacy? Therefore, the motivation of this paper is to link the notion of soft power to diplomacy in the contemporary case studies of Pakistan and Turkey. It aims to explore the new dimensions and pathways in outlining policies and perspectives taken by Turkey and Pakistan; in view to address some extremely challenging questions vis-à-vis regional and global political and geo-cultural reality.

Keywords: Geo-culture; Pakistan; Turkey; soft power

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1. Introduction

Recent years have shown some landmarks developments from South Asia to South-Pacific, from the Mediterranean to Persian Gulf. The nature and extent of the political, social, and economic impact of these events have called for re-thinking policy and diplomatic partakes. In such a situation the way in which states redefine their interests, objectives and priorities will be a key factor in understanding the newly changing Geo-Culture/s of States. To begin our discussion of what constitutes this change, we will have to seek to define, reconfigure and re-interpret the discussion on Geo-Culture/s.

In the background to understand geo-culture; we can associate the concept with the field of Political Science and especially the branch dealing with Political Geography. The combination of Politics and Geography synthesise to form a branch of studies, focussing on the issues of land, boundaries, borders, frontiers and how politics can change the dynamic of these borders and frontiers. It can also connote to politics of power and culture, realised to form blocs, alliances, lobbies, interest groups and even proxies. The understanding of the term geo-culture can have a very wide interpretation so far as cultural, political, economic, and socio-cultural and socio-political imagination is concerned.

If we were to observe it from the point of view in terms of remaking of borders, the independence of the Indian subcontinent from the British Colonial legacy (because of the fall of the British Empire) in the mid twentieth century; followed by the creation of two independent states of India and Pakistan; comes to mind as a case in point. Similarly, the creation of Palestine and Israel in 1948, the independence of East Pakistan (present day Bangladesh) in 1971; the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 are some other examples. The events following the end of the first world war; Emergence of Turkey as modern Republic and the end of the second world war followed by the cold war as well as the successionists

wars in the former Yugoslavia; including the creation of Baltic states because of the breakup of the Soviet Empire serves as best examples of an inexorably connected yet intricate relationship between culminations of conflicts, border making and formations. It is meanwhile important to note that Political borders share an irreversible relationship with consequences of wars, conflicts, and disputes at the regional and international level.

2. Geo-culture crosscurrents of Culture and Politics: Reference to Pakistan

2.1. A brief glance of Culture and Politics- Case of Pakistan in South Asian perspective

The partition of the Indo-Pak sub-continent had been one of the worst episodes of the genocide where about more than 20 to 30 million people were in exodus criss-crossing borders and lands across both India and Pakistan. But it is a fact that people, cultures and civilizations can come under heavy odds of history even though with the background and experience spanning over hundreds of years in fact centuries of mutual co-existence. Chapters from the times of partition have uncovered one of the ghastlier episodes among communities living in South Asia and particularly in India and Pakistan.Many instances of the partition tragedy have been a point of interest for many scholars who have tackled this issue with great length. As if the partition legacy of terrible and horrid episodes of violence, was not enough; there followed a repeated occurrences of riots in India based on the Hindu-Muslim schism.The question of the Muslim minorities in India could not be resolved and to date it has worsened followed by the policies of the ruling BJP or Bharatiya Janata Party in India.

The Muslims were one nation until the end of the Mughal rule in India and it is in fact that theMuslim history after the fall of the Mughal empire reflected their

complete ghettoization andthe loss of the nation status as such, the wounds of which were apparent at the advent of theBritish rule when the East India company was established in the seventeenth century, littlethat the world would know that the British aimed from commerce to the conquest of India.The fall of the Mughal Empire, consecutive with the diminishing power of the Turkish empire and the eventual drawdown and the end of the Turkish Caliphate, relegated the Muslims to lower status in social, economic and political domains. The marks of which were felt later and in fact became a triggering point towards the idea of Pakistan. The last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar was banished opening flood gates of the British onslaught, followed by a series of events culminating to the final separation of the two countries in 1947.[1]

In case of Pakistan, the post-independence political and social scenario was full of problems; solutions of which were no easier. But during a long-drawn struggle against the demand of a separate Muslim state and the freedom struggle that spanned over centuries, the expectations of the people of the newly formed republics were high. In this situation, the lack of a suitable political, social, and economic infrastructure, combined with the myriad number of problems in terms of facilitating the refugees coming from India; their housing, employment, food, shelter, and sanitation became a crucial issue. Given the complex nature of the situation, the young state of Pakistan had to deal with enormous pressures and challenges in a wider variety of areas. The role of the leadership also played a great factor, as far as promising the future. The fact that Mohd Ali Jinnah; the founder of Pakistan had died in the immediate after years of the formation of Pakistan, combined with questions of who should take over his mantle became a question mark, answers to which were not easy.

Over successive years, Pakistan emerged on the map of the world as a young Muslim state, although with myriad issues and challenges. It has been a long walk from 1947 to 2021 down the course of history and with all along the years

for a country whose borders with its neighbouring state of India remain conflictual even until today. The British empires hastily decision to merge political boundaries in a disarray with the Boundary Commission under lord Redcliff that divided the princely state of Kashmir without arbitration between the two countries remains a thorn in the neck of South Asian politics.

Apart from Kashmir, India gulped major Muslim majority States like Hyderabad and Junagarh under illegal annexation and against the spirit of the Partition Act of 1947[2]; under which it was decided that Muslim majority States will be part of Pakistan and Hindu majority States be part of India.

In years passed by, for the young state of Pakistan, impediments for the smooth functioning of democracy have been impacted by institutional factors including the factor of institutional balance between the civil and military bureaucracy; the balance between the *civil versus military* is historically in the favour of military and the non-elected institutions have as a result been dominant. Ayesha Siddiqua in her book the 'Military Incorporated: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy'[3] has talked in length about this issue. Similarly, Ayesha Jalal has taken an extensive survey of democratic evolution in Pakistan through her book 'Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia: A Comparative and Historical Perspective'[4]. The book discusses the transition from military to democratic rule in Pakistan which has thus been a painstakingly long journey with jolts and bumps; taking a considerable time and in the course have proved decisive for the social, political, and economic stability of the country. In terms of Pakistan, one could say that the smooth transfer of power from one elected government since 2013 to present electoral process justifies this. The fact that the electoral activity itself is a healthy undertaking on the part of fragile democracies as in the case of Pakistan refers to this claim. Yet only the conclusion of the electoral process is not the yardstick for a democratically sound and stable polity in the long run. There must be a check and balance of institutions guaranteeing

smooth transfer of power, parliamentary democratic traditions to spill over, institutional strengthening, justice and rule of law, transparency, rights, and freedom of speech, guarantee to minorities, marginalized and effective distribution of resources for the general wellbeing of democracy.

Yet, in the vastly changing South Asian region, commensurating with the change of political landscape in Afghanistan following by the takeover by the Taliban, new geographical and strategic thinking requires actors to adopt new pace of strategies forremaking of geopolitical and economic agenda. In such a scenario, Pakistan, like other actors in the region including China, Iran, Russia, and India is recalibrating its role. Pakistan is not only proactive on many fronts; It is also diplomaticallyfound a level playing field in terms of convincing the international community to highlight the issue of Human rights violation in Kashmir perpetrated by India, but it has also addressed domestic terrorism issues with increased sensibility and maturity. On the issue of Afghanistan, Pakistan is fencing the Pak-Afghan border. It remains a credible actor in the Afghan peace process and has tried to mediate the Afghan peace talks with renewed diplomatic efficiency and finesse. It has also tried to extend diplomatic support regionally to small states in South Asia like Bangladesh and Nepal including Maldives, Sri Lanka,and Bhutan. It has also tried to exert its clout on the re- settlement of dispute between Iran and Saudi- Arabiaalong with managing very tactfully the balance between the US and China. In the Organization of Islamic States (OIC), Pakistan's stance of Kashmir has been much successful, In the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC), Pakistan got much leverage as a state promoting values of rights and democracy in Kashmir and Pakistan's version of India's atrocities in Kashmir was adopted by the UNHRC eventually. Furthermore, Pakistan and Turkey Relations have in the recent years seen an upward trajectory, corresponding to a variety of MOU's

and agreements to enhance cultural, regional, bilateral, and multilateral cooperation.

2.2. New realities of the South Asian region

Post Trumpian world has witnessed a back-on-back approach to address reversal of policies with the US discarding the Trump approach towards isolationism in many domains from climate change to Muslim ban to US troop stationing in Afghanistan. In terms of South Asia, which circles dominantly in the US containment of China, India, Pakistan axis remains at the core. Pakistan also comes as priory state in terms of geo-strategic and geopolitical challenges US faces in context to China, India, as well as Afghanistan. Pakistan's clout in Afghanistan is recognized by the US reliance on Pakistan as an actor which can be relied for facilitating talks for the larger peace and reconciliation in Afghanistan. Seen from this perspective, there is an overall sense that Pakistan's history and its geography and the challenges to its security are much clearer today than in the past. This is particularly relevant when one takes into account the scenario developed in the post Biden Presidency period. Comprehensively, most of the members of the Biden team are composed of Obama Administration's members who have had a thoroughknowledge and background of dealing with Pakistan.[5]

With the rising Chinese influence in the South Asian neighbourhood, Chinese advances into the Indian Aksai Chin zone, China's credibility is rising in the South Asian States like Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan who fear Indian influence in their territory, as well as the currentcoup in Burma, Myanmar, it will be very interesting how Biden administration decides to revive its engagement in South Asia. Furthermore, with the farmer's movement in India, the Citizenship Amendment Act as well as the Indian annexation of Kashmir emerging as the two very central points of reference against the democratic credibility of the Indian government, it will be worth- while to observe how the

US Foreign policy tackles the question of Modi's fascist India with its failure to cope both internally and externally remains very tough questions for US to address. India's abrogation of Article 370 and 35 A in Kashmir also manifests a clear breach of its constitution to that end. On 5th August India belligerently took over the disputed and autonomous region of Kashmir stripping off its autonomy by merging with the Union Territory. The legal fraternity in India called it extra constitutional, fraudulent, and illegalbarring the Jammu and Kashmir Assembly rather making it entirely dysfunctional and abrogating it all together. India deployed 900,000 troops, one of the largest deployments of its military contingents ever in Kashmir, blocked and banned all communication links, incarcerated, and detained the political leadership of Kashmir, imposed unlimited curfew, curbed the basic human rights of millions of people in Kashmir by making it one of the largest human prisons of the world. At its worst schools, colleges, universities, and all seats of learning were closed, hospitals recording extreme emergency with severe limitations of medical supplies, maternity wards having almost absent mid nurses. Casualty wards having next to zero rescue staff. The world watched the most hapless scenes of how one of the biggest democracies kept its population hostage. Moreover, the adoption of the Citizenship Amendment Act (CAA), which is called "discriminatory citizenship law," and the "aggressive" suppression of the anti-CAA protests that followed called the attention of the rights group vociferously[6]. The Indian intransigence and continued atrocities against the Kashmiri Muslims, depriving its minorities the right to national self-determination is a serious case in point. Something that which India has vociferously denied even in international forums like the United Nations.The fact that India itself went to the UN in the face of its defeat in Kashmir. With the Kashmir issue having internationalised, India continually denied Kashmiris to exercise right of national self -determination and it remains the fact that it deployed thousands of its armed forces in the region and later imposed one of

the most regressive acts, Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA) to curtail the rights and freedom of the people of Kashmir. The Jammu and Kashmir conflict thus occupies a centre stage when it comes to the context of violations of human rights.

Retrospectively, the International community remained quite indifferent to the plight of the Kashmiris even though the United Nations Secretary General Antonio Guterres proclaimed the emergency to resolve the issue and later the Organization of the Islamic Conference, The OIC categorically called for an international response to the Kashmir issue, authenticating Pakistan's position.

In a changing international scenario, it is incumbent to reflect upon Pakistan and its proactive role on many fronts. On the regional level, Pakistan is contributing to peace and stability by promoting dialogue with its neighbours, convincing the international community that it remains dedicated to resolve peacefully all outstanding issues; including the issue of Jammu and Kashmir with India. Pakistan has also remained steadfast in its attempts to highlight the issue of human rights violation in Kashmir perpetrated by India. It has also successfully maintained a proactive role in mediating the peace process in Afghanistan, maintaining its commitment to ensure a multi -level peace agreement between all stake holders in Afghanistan.

Pakistan's clout in Afghanistan is recognized by the US reliance on Pakistan as an actor which can be relied for facilitating talks for the larger peace and reconciliation in Afghanistan. The Biden administration is cognizant of Pakistan's history and its geography and the challenges to its security in a much clearer sense, quite differently from the Trump administration and recognizes Pakistan credibility in the Afghan peace process.

Pakistan also remains committed to peaceful relations with its South Asian neighbours; it has not only reiterated cooperation but also revitalized its

diplomatic support regionally to Bangladesh and Nepal including Maldives, Sri Lanka, and Bhutan. Recently, it has also tried to exert its clout on the pacification of Iran Saudi- Arabia bilateral relationship. Furthermore, the ambit of Turkish- Pakistan bilateral relationship is growing faster than ever before. Turkey's support to Kashmir cause has rendered immense clout to Pakistan's position on the global front towards Kashmir.

In the Organization of Islamic State Ministerial meeting held in February2021, Pakistan's position on Kashmir has been much accepted with a resolution passed advocating Pakistan's stance on Kashmir which believes in the right of national self- determination for Kashmiris. In December 2020, The United Nations General Assembly approved the Pakistan sponsored resolution that reaffirms the right to self-determination for people subjected to colonial occupation, reaffirming Pakistan's legal case in support to the people of Kashmir. The High Commission for Human Rights UNHCHR, had issued a report in 2009 that categorically condemned the abuses of human rights by India in the Indian administered Kashmir, which was a diplomatic win for Pakistan. Under the above given realities, it is highly timely and topical to discuss the dynamics of new trajectories of developments that are shaping the geo-cultural realities impacting Pakistan and the tremendous influence and changes those new developments are unravelling in our times. Therefore, there is an urgent need to uncover the vicissitudes of options, challenges, and opportunities in this vein.

3. Global trends and Pakistan: A Wholistic Paradigm

3.1. Media and Culture

In a cultural context, the social mainstreaming through electronic and digital media like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram play are very crucial role in generating support and mobilization for issues. In Pakistan for instance, platforms like

YouTube, Facebook and Twitter have become mass-based with millions of followers belonging from 16 to35 years mostly youth. Pakistan's population boom of youth becomes a very interesting point in this debate as the ideas coming from the new generation of millennials[7]are impacting on the patterns of social and economic developments which will have a deep impact on the micro and macro level social patterning.

However, as societies in developing countries like Pakistan become more intricate and complex with the complexity of hybrid political and ethnic identities, issues of cultural tolerance and tackling with groups and multiple identities become challenging. In such scenarios, the role of educational integration in universities, youth platforms in public spaces, activities of art, social mobilization through causes, theatre, and even music can play an instrumental role in capacity building bringing communities and societies together.

In case of Turkey, Turkish soft power diplomacy through art, music, movies, and cinema hasa great impact on the international audience. More and more people in Pakistan are finding agreat interest in exploring Turkish culture, language, music, and art. This impact is not only limited to millennials only rather also range from all age groups. Such a situation makes more effective grounds for cultural collaboration in areas of mass media, art, education, scientific and cultural collaboration. In this context, thus; it is highly imperative to seek projects and research towards understanding the issues and challenges of the youths of the two countries together, making compatibility and generating ideas, opinions and decisions for a new era marked by digitalization, innovation and joint initiatives of support and cooperation.

In many parts of the globe for instance in South Asia, North Africa, East Asia and even in Southern Europe, Turkish drama serials appearing on NETFLIX and AMAZONPRIME has generated a huge interest among the young

generation. In Pakistan, Turkish music through YouTube channels has aroused great attention of the Pakistani audience. Pakistani Electronic Media Regulatory Authority (PEMRA) and the Government of Pakistan have very recently agreed to produce a serial based on a joint venture between Pakistan and Turkey. In this vein, it will be very interesting to observe how electronic media, through channels, can bridge the gap between cultures and civil societies. Performing arts have a huge potency to cultivate and generate new forms of dialogue that consequently can result in newer means of cross- cultural dynamics. Meanwhile, Turkish Universities are playing an effective role in acting as a gateway to many foreign students. One of the most encouraging encounters of my academic interaction with Turkish Universities has been at Ankara Yildirim Bayezit University, during my visit in 2019 as a guest Lecturer. It was very enlightening experience to share my point of views with a variety of students coming from as far as Afghanistan, India, and Morocco. Such interactions on international level are needed to bolster academic, scientific, and epistemic research and to provide mediums for enhancing soft power diplomacy.

3.2. Soft power global imagining and the role of diplomatic partake

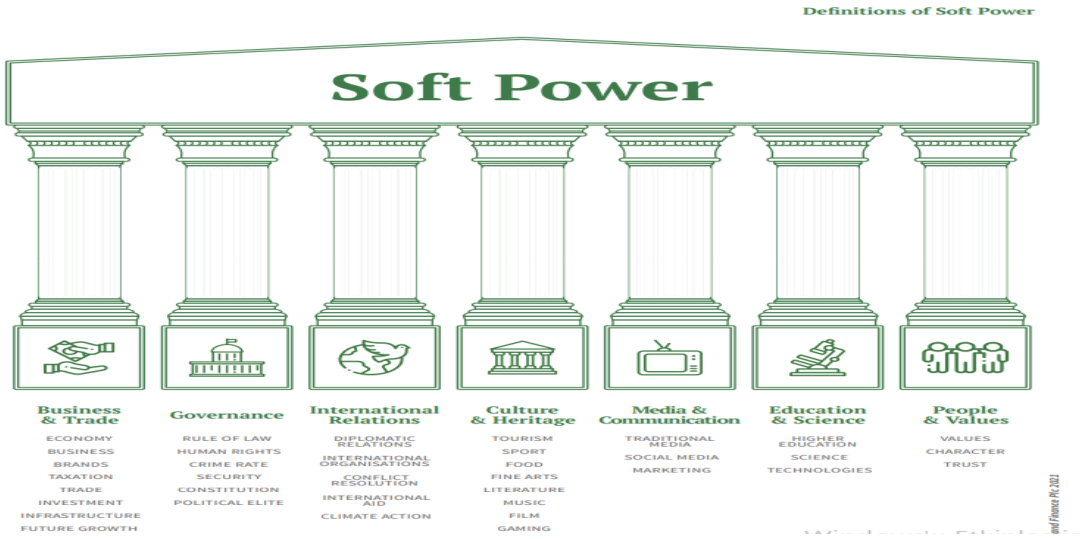
While Soft power is essentially and inevitably defined as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments;”[8] it is plausibly possible through persuading the other party through convincing arguments and rational policies. Here, credibility and the ability to persuade constitute the main elements of soft power. These elements also provide legitimacy to the use of power. The concept of soft power which is at the common point and ground of the public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy was included in the literature by Harvard Professor Joseph Nye in 1990, and it became the essential component of public diplomacy in 2000s. The soft power concept is also described as cultural power. This was because Nye conceptualized the cultural element as the primary source of soft power when defining the soft power concept. Nye based

the concept of soft power on three resources including culture that is found to be attractive by other societies, political values and foreign policy and he defined the concept as shaping the preferences of others without hard power and force and thus ensuring others to want what you want. Based on this, Nye laid the functioning logic of soft power on attraction.

Some scholars are still sceptical about soft power and consider that it would be more effective if more money were allocated to it. Others assert that in today's global information space, soft power is becoming more influential, and it needs less hard power support. Both sets of theorists consider soft power not merely as an influence, and as more than just persuasion or the ability to move people by argument. For them, soft power is based on setting the agenda and attracting others through the deployment of cultural and ideological means of provoking acquiescence.

Soft power is simply defined as the ability to threat others in a desired way. "Desired way" here emphasizes several political goals using power in cultural and diplomatic manners, apart from the militarian one. To achieve soft power in the target geographical zone, several strategies are applied such as business and trade, governance, international relations, culture and heritage, media, communication, education, science, people, and values (see illustration 1). The variety of strategic tools prove that soft power reaches beyond the political arena and affects deeply in all part of a social life including food, sport, tourism, social media, values, human rights and so on.

Image-1: Definition of Soft Power[9]



According to Nye, soft power can be categorized into three sources such as "culture" to attract the others, "political values" at home and abroad, and "foreign policies" as legitimate and having moral authority[10].

Geun Lee in his research also contributes to soft power studies regarding to the policy goals. He identifies it into the following. [11]

- *Soft power to improve external security environment by projecting peaceful and attractive images of a country.*
- *Soft power to mobilize other countries' supports for one's foreign and security policies*
- *Soft power to manipulate other countries' way of thinking and preferences*
- *Soft power to maintain unity of a community or community of countries*
- *Soft power to increase approval ratings of a leader or domestic support of a government.*

Nye's and Lee's categorization shows the diversification of sources and political strategies. These strategies can be found on security policy, imperial

continuity, domestic and international support, and attractive imagination of a country by using the sources to achieve geo-cultural dominance in the region.

When soft power is linked to geo-culture, culture is seen a set of practices creating meaning for a society through literature, art, and education. Thus, culture constitutes a high political priority in soft power strategies. To reach that aim, public diplomacy is used as an instrument to realize the soft power. According to Nye, public diplomacy draws attention to potential resources (such the values an organization or a country expressing in its culture, internal practices, policies, and relations with others) through broadcasting, subsidizing cultural exports and arranging exchanges[12]. The key term for public diplomacy is the attraction, because if the content of a country's culture, values and policies are not attractive, then the soft power cannot be produced[13]. For this reason, public diplomacy tools diversify in two branches: State to Public (StPs) and Public to Public (PtPs). StPs includes official tools and channels to public such as State policies and activities. PtPs are counted as civil elements such as NGOs, research centers, universities, media, and opinion leaders[14]. As mentioned above, soft power reaches beyond the political one and provides varied tools and channels to attract the others using public diplomacy.

3.3. Culture and Cultural Diplomacy through Soft Power

Cultural diplomacy is essentially accepted as a branch or type of public diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy covers the activities of the public diplomacy in the fields of culture and art. The definition of cultural diplomacy as a separate type of diplomacy is due to the prominence of the fields of culture and art in public diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy, which is a type or a branch of the public diplomacy with regards to the activities of culture and art, is in fact intertwined with public diplomacy.[15]While there are many definitions of cultural diplomacy in the literature, the definition of Milton Cummings is the most referred one, which reads as the exchange of values, ideas and culture-art elements.[16] With

this respect, cultural diplomacy can be considered as the building of civil relations directly between individuals and peoples including culture and art activities based upon individuals and civil society. This provides states with the manoeuvre possibility in a broad area as well as with the opportunity to deepen their influence.[17]This way states carry out cultural communication and interaction activities through cultural diplomacy.In public diplomacy, programs such as public relations, image-reputation-prestige management and perception management, propaganda, lobbying, nation branding, agenda setting and information through communication tools are implemented instead of the official mechanisms of the traditional diplomacy with respect to instruments and methods.

The rise of soft power diplomacy has been the phenomenon of the post -cold war era where the presence of global campaigns for the call of national liberation, democratic movements, along with the mushrooming of power networks, organizations as well as pressure groups has been dominating the focus of international attention. This is because in today's times the State must relinquish its powers in some areas where it traditionally played its dominant role or for that matter areas that became more powerful like public diplomacy through various instruments like persuasion, attraction even propaganda are the norms of the day. The rise of the mass media for instance including the electronic media has fairly augmented the non-conventional domains of diplomacy thus.

This can be called as building soft power through cultural diplomacy. In other words, soft power is implemented through public diplomacy activities including culture, values and foreign policy, exchange programs, cultural and informational activities. Transforming soft power to policy by the public diplomacy program and methods makes soft power directly related and intertwined with public-cultural diplomacy. For Nye, soft power is better seen

as a malleable strategy that a country may use to gain its objectives by attraction founded on culture, political values, and a legitimate and moral foreign policy. [18]To better understand the flexible nature of soft power, Nye distinguished between behaviours, resources, and actors. Resources are tangible or intangible capabilities, goods, and instruments at one's disposal; behaviour is the action itself, the manner or way of acting, and the conduct of an agent. In behavioural terms, soft power is an attractive power. In terms of resources, soft power resources are the assets that produce such attraction. Nye argued that the soft power of a country is primarily the product of three main resources: "its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values; when values are widely accepted and implemented, and its foreign policies, when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority.[19] (Nye,2008)

4. Turkey's Diplomatic Relations and Soft Power in South Asia

4.1. The Strategic Importance of South Asia

The Asian continent is a special zone owing to its strategic importance and geographic location. The region stands at the main heart of the world power center and thus, stability and instability in the region go hand in hand. The region includes positive strategic factors such as economic growth, nuclear potential, young and dynamic population, as well as negative factors such as rising nationalism, terrorism, nuclear power status, land, and sea border disputes. Due to instability, dominance in the region proceeds with soft power arguments among regional actors in this area. The future of the region provides a moral source of self-confidence for the countries in the region. Therefore, this competition is called "The Asian Miracle"[20].

Furthermore, South Asia forms the region comprising countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and The Maldives. States in the region such as Pakistan and India are relatively important States that form the strategic balance.

South Asian States remain attractive because of cultural depth, economic potential, human resources; comprising about a quarter of the world's population, which constitute a huge contribution to their influence concerning the evolution of the international system. That's why the region is becoming one of the significant geo-strategic and geo-economic hubs in the current international scenario. Dynamic developments in South Asia make it stand in a notable position among global centers of power and therefore assign it a critical role[21]

4.2. Turkey's Soft Power in The South Asian Region

The Global Soft Power Index, which conducts country' performances analysis, published a report in 2021 about soft power positioning and projection in selected countries.75,000 interviews were conducted over across the 102 countries, as part of the General Public Survey. In this report, it is simply seen that Turkey advanced from 30th to 26th in the list, with a score of 42.3 [22], indicating that Turkey's strengthening its foreign policy on a variety of fronts. One of the main reasons why Turkey has advanced in the list can be explained in Çandar's words. According to Çandar, the emergence of Turkey in the international arena as an autonomous regional power can be found in a-) the decline of American influence in the Middle East and neighboring region, b-) the absence of Europe and/or ineffectiveness of the EU policy in the region, c-) Turkey's growing economic power, and d-) political modernization of Turkey proving that the Turkish democracy has matured enough to accommodate a government allegedly having Islamist roots[23].

According to Kalathil, Turkey offers and extends its soft power and influence as an "emerging regional power".[24] It exerts all the elements such as culture and history, values, domestic and foreign policies followed by states, institutions, economic development, progress in science, art, and literature that are among the important sources of soft power[25].

Turkey believes that the South Asian Region is important in terms of exerting the weight of the Turkish foreign policy. In part, Turkey's relations with the countries in the region and especially with Pakistan have strong historical and cultural ties, which goes beyond to political interests. Turkey strongly believes that the peace, stability, and cooperation can render victory for Turkey's diplomatic priority in the region[26].

Given a closer look at the relations with other the countries of the region, for instance India, Turkey has maintained relative stability in trade, science, and energy at the bilateral level. Relations with other regional countries such as Sri Lanka, Bhutan, The Maldives, Nepal, and Bangladesh are progressing on bilateral, regional, and international platforms and concrete developments are being recorded. For Afghanistan, Turkey is involved with aid programs within the framework of permanent peace and stability. Aid to Afghanistan continues in line with expanding education, especially for girls, increasing the public's access to health services, and supporting the education of Afghan security forces. Afghanistan plays an important role in Turkey's soft power diplomacy, to achieve permanent security and stability in the region[27].

Relations with Pakistan continue deepening at an institutionalized level, as well as bilateral, regional, and international levels. After the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, friendly relations were developed through high-level visits.The relations between the two countries have been institutionalized with the mechanism established as the High-Level Cooperation Council in 2009 and later raised to the level of the High-Level Strategic Cooperation Council (YDSK)[28]. In the meetings held with the YDSK mechanism, decisions are taken in bilateral relations in cooperation against terrorism, security, trade, energy, transportation, and many other areas.[29]

5. Turkey's Geo-cultural and Geo-political Interests in Pakistan

5.1. Historical Background of Strong Cooperation

The emphasis on the imperial past build great importance in Turkey's foreign policy in the region[30].When we look at the history of relations dating back to the Ottoman Empire, the influence of the caliphate come to the forefront. Below, the historical pictures presented by Aziz Fatima Sıddık, the granddaughter of Muhammad Ali Johar, living in Karachi, one of the leaders of the Caliphate Movement, which was established with the aim of political and financial support to the Ottoman caliphate, prove the extent of these relations.

Image-2: Medical officers from Turkey and India[31]

Image-3: Medical team of 25 people who came to Istanbul voluntarily (Red Crescent Society)[32]

As can be seen in both pictures, in addition to the political and financial support provided by the Indian Muslims (including Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims) in the late Ottoman period, it is also seen that personnel support was provided in the wars on the fronts. In fact, it was stated by Sıddık that Indian Muslims who

fought in the British army was sentenced to four years in prison for opposing the war with Turkey.[33].

The transfer of the caliphate to the Ottoman Empire had provided a basis for spiritual ties and spiritual support elements between the two communities- especially after the British began to rule in the Indian Subcontinent- causing high loyalty to Ottoman Empire. Thus, Indian sub-continent Muslims had never denied fighting for Ottoman Empire's existence, showed their support to maintain its authority, and provided donations to rescue Ottoman in a difficult situation. For example, in an article dated August 17, 1876, published in Urdu Akhbar, one of the influential Urdu newspapers of the time, it was stated that Muslims needed to do everything they could to save Turkey from the difficult situation it was in. It was emphasized that if this empire were destroyed, Muslims would lose their importance and no one would take them into consideration[34]. As of today, the celebrations in Pakistan for The Khilafat Movement of the 1920s can be accepted as a spiritual tie of common history35.

5.2. Why is Pakistan Important for Turkey?

Turkey and Pakistan are like a body with two heads,

If one has a headache, the other will also have a headache.[36].

As expressed by Abdullah Muradoğlu, this statement most accurately reflects the extent of Turkey's diplomatic relations with Pakistan. So, the answer to "why Pakistan is important for Turkey?" can widely be found in emotional ties, regional stability, and political role models.

- *Emotional Ties*

The political dimension of the relations also remains strong even today. Although the two countries do not have borders by sea or land, Turkey needs to take care of Pakistan's interests and it sees it as a responsibility that needs to be taken care of. Attaining in west camp during the Cold War period, becoming an

alliance within the framework of the Baghdad Pact called CENTO, supporting each other diplomatically in any political conflict such in Cyprus or Kashmir presents the milestone of the political alliance between Turkey and Pakistan. But relations between the two countries go beyond the “just-foreign policy interest”. Thank to strong support of subcontinent Muslims, Turkey and Pakistan have maintained their relations on “emotional” level built as brotherhood and friendship. The emotional concepts form emotional intimacy and common values between two societies.

- *Regional Stability*

Turkey gives importance to Pakistan’s regional stability. Pakistan is considered with its increasingly significant role in South Asia, as one of the 9 countries in the world having nuclear weapons.Apart, neighboring Afghanistan, where the threat of terrorism is originating, is seen as a threat to Pakistan’s stability[37]. Given the regional importance and historical/emotional ties, Turkey feels the responsibility to support in need in the region. With this aim, strong military cooperation also forms a smart power. The Pakistan-Turkey Military Consultative Group, which was established between the two countries in 1988, was renamed the "High-Level Military Dialogue Group" in the early 2000s, with the deepening of relations. Military training programs, increasing cooperation in trade and defense industry, Turkey's domestic military production and support to Pakistan, aerial vehicle development process, the development of military cargo ships, the signing of the MİLGEM (National Ship) corvette agreement, which is the "defense industry agreement with the most value in one item" for Turkey, in July 2018 form the military cooperation to support Pakistan’s stability in the region38.

- *Political Role Model*

Political relations are surrounded on seeing each other as a model and maintaining the political discourses about being politically strong. For example,

the former Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif expressed that they admire the Turkish model, and that Pakistan has strong Turkish leadership to follow. On Turkey's side, Pakistan needs to remain strong in the region. Expression of "A strong Pakistan" shows Turkey's strategic perspective and foreign policy in the region[39].

5.3. Turkey's Soft Power and Public Diplomacy Tools for Pakistan

As mentioned above about Lee's category for soft power, the fourth category partly reflects Turkey's soft power to Pakistan. The fourth category explains *maintaining a large size of political-economic entities such as an empire, a nation, or a community demands soft power at the center of the entities …through an imperial museum, imperial rituals, common languages, the invention of traditions, and common lifestyles*[40]. Accordingly, it is possible to say that the footprints of the Ottoman Empire and the values remaining from the Ottoman Empire were shaped based onbrotherhood in the relations between Pakistan and Turkey. For this reason, ideas, images, education, discourses, culture, traditions, and national symbols can be considered as the sources of Turkish softpower[41].

To reach that aim, Turkey uses StPs and PtPs as a tool to public diplomacy to realize its soft power in the region. Many public institutions such as TIKA, KIZILAY, TRT, Diyanet, Yunus Emre Foundation, AFAD, the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and such perform their role directly or indirectly. These StPs provide public diplomacy in diplomatic, economic, and cultural manners[42]. Also, Islam plays a fundamental role for public diplomacy strategies. The Ottoman Dream builds a common identity among Turkish zones of influence in the Balkans, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Middle East, aiming regional leadership, patronage of the Muslim world, and a strong presence in many of the major conflicts in its neighborhood[43].

The STPs and PTPs as public diplomacy tools to Pakistan are considered as below:

- *The Directorate of Religious Affairs and TürkiyeDiyanet Foundation*

Diyanet is an umbrella institution for many Muslim countries. Those, whose financial capacities, and human resources were limited to serve religious services for theirMuslim populations, build cooperation with Turkey's Diyanet to avoid Salafi and Wahhabi groups grounded in their countries. Here, Turkey's *laik* (secular) position plays an important role to provide internal security towards extremist religious groups and establish security as modeling Turkey's laik frame.[44]

Apart from that, several aid programs organized by Diyanet in Pakistan show the greater extent of public diplomacy in the region. For example, Eid-Al Adha/ Qurbani Programs in Pakistan inAugust 2020 and 16,450 qurban sharing to 60 thousand families in Pakistan[45]aim to provide the further consolidate friendship ties between two societies. Another sample can be found on high-level meetings. For example, the meeting held on the 9th of September 2020 between Head of Religious Affairs Prof. Dr. Ali Erbaş and Pakistani Minister of Religious Affairs and Interfaith Harmony Dr. Pir Nurulhak Kadri shows the continuity of both societies' emotional cooperation. In this meeting, Dr. Kadri underlined Turkey as a permanent and true friend, standing by each other always and getting stronger relationships among the people than ever. Prof. Erbaş's statement the importance of the work carried out to develop cooperation between the religious institutions of the two countries in terms of religious services and religious education[46] proves Islam as a strong public diplomacy tool in the region.

- *Television Series, Turkish Higher Board for Radio and Television (RTÜK) and Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT)*

Turkish television series has a regional market and seen the importer of Turkish history, Turkish culture, and ideas as a part of public diplomacy. In Pakistan, the top 10 most viewed "Turkish Dramas" are Ertugrul Ghazi, Ishq E Mamnu, Fatima Gul – Aakhir Mera Qasoor Kya Hai? Intikam, Feriha, Kaala Paisa Pyaar, Pyar Lafzon Main Kahan Drama and Mera Sultan or Hurrem Aur Sultan.[47]

Television series provide social engineering for a "New Turkey"[48]. The widespread production of historical television series on Turkish TV came following the production of Muhteşem Yüzyıl, Diriliş and Payitaht, which aired on the public broadcaster Turkish Radio and Television (TRT), conveying the government's political agenda and discourse,[49] in the region with the mission of keeping the historical imperials ties strong and sharing the extension of Turkish identity[50].

- *TIKA- Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency*

Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) was established in 1992 for the need an organization to implement and coordinate the activities and foreign policy priorities. Since then, TIKA has become a tool to implement Turkish foreign policy in many countries with which Turkey shares common values. From the Middle East to Latin America, TIKA is expanding its projects and activities in the fields of education, health, restoration, agricultural development, finance, tourism, and industry[51].

Image-4: TIKA Education Activity in Pakistan[52]

Relationships with Pakistan through TIKA projects and activities have a significant effect on the continuity of a strong partnership. Several examples can be found such as:

-Girls' School Renovation and Refurbishment Activity carried by TIKA with the aim of renovating and equipping two schools, a girls' primary/secondary school and a college, in Mansoorah, one of the poorest areas of Lahore, Pakistan helped increased quality of education by ensuring that students receive education in a better environment[53].

-A 2-week training program held at the Pakistan Tourism and Hotel Management Institute to introduce Turkish Cuisine to Pakistani cooks[54]. Additionally, vocational education project at the Karigar Vocational Education Institute Professional Training Center were carried out to ensure the young population between the ages of 15-30 in Pakistan for qualified education and ease to join their workforce in the service sector.[55]

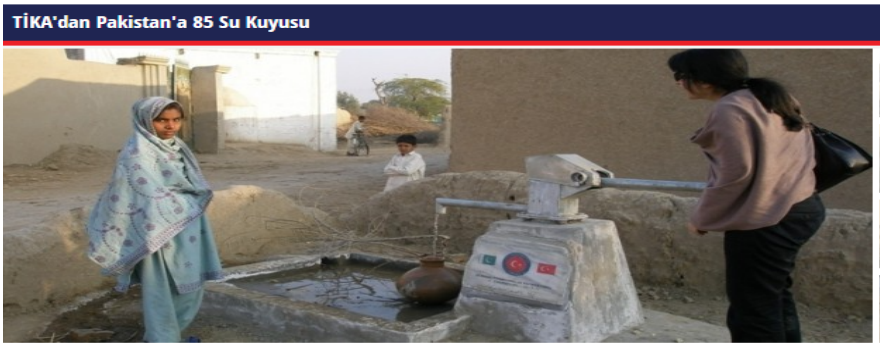
- 85 water well projects in the cities of Swabi, Dera İsmail Khan and LakkiMarwat in the province of Hayber-Pahtunhva, which were most affected by the great flood disaster in 2010[56]

- Sewing Machines Projects upon the request of the All-Pakistani Women Association aimed to contribute to the family economy as well as to meet the clothing needs of women[57]

-The project "Reducing Poverty and Empowering Women in Rural Areas Through Goat Breeding" carried out in cooperation with the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TIKA) and Faisalabad Agricultural University in Pakistan aiming to support agriculture as an economic activity in Pakistan and to increase women's participation in the workforce.[58]

These activities and projects are significant public diplomacy tools to ensure the stability of emotional ties in the region and make closer of two societies by contributing social and economic growth.

Image-5: Water Wells Project[59]



2019-2023 TIKA targets and strategies shows Turkey's future interest in the region as below:

-implementing Turkey's international development cooperation activities in the most effective way

-increasing the number of the projects carried by TIKA from 78 to 150 by 2023[60] including South Asian region.

- *Yunus Emre Institute*

Yunus Emre Institute aims to increase the number of people all over the world who establish bonds with Turkey and to increase the awareness, reliability, and reputation of Turkey in the international arena.[61] With the relations with Pakistan, Yunus Emre Institute in Lahore serve for this aim. Several activities and projects are carried each year. For example, free Turkish courses for orphans provide Turkish education for adults and children in Lahore, Azad Jammu Kashmir University, and the National University of Modern Languages (NUML). With this project, Turkey aims to introduce its culture and language by giving instructive and instructive information[62]

Image-6: "From Language to Literature, Pakistan and Turkey's Friendship and Brotherhood Journey" Program in Lahore[63]

Another activity titled "Pakistan and Turkey's Journey of Friendship and Brotherhood from Language to Literature in the Context of Urdu and Turkish" serves as Turkey's public diplomacy tool to reinforce the existing feelings of friendship and brotherhood between Turkey and Pakistan[64].

These activities and projects are believed to provide strong cooperation and cultural bridge strengthening historical friendships between two societies.

- *Ministry of Interior, Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency - AFAD*

The duties and powers of AFAD are determined between Articles 30 and 56 of the Presidential Decree No. 4 on the Organizations of Ministries, Related, Associated Institutions and Organizations and Other Institutions and Organizations published on 15/07/2018. In the Decree, AFAD's duties are among the institutions and organizations that carry out the necessary measures for the effective performance of disaster and emergencies and civil defense services at the country level, and as well as coordinating humanitarian aid operations at home and abroad and developing and implementing policy proposals on these issues"[65].

International conventions, to provide the necessary communication and coordination, to carry out international emergency and humanitarian aid activities, and to ensure coordination with all institutions in this field are considered as part of extending Turkey's soft power for the countries, which are in need of emergency[66]. In the concept of international aid, a large scale of countries from Japan and USA, including Pakistan, a total of 29,222 tents, 250 prefabricated houses, 28 general purpose tents, 95,490 blankets, 147 living containers, 1,000 beds, 684 heaters and 40 generators were sent[67].

These humanitarian aid activities contribute to shifting public opinion, changing attitudes towards the public and increasing support for specific policies. But in Pakistan's case, those humanitarian aids are more than a political strategy, including the sense-like of closer relations in crisis times and the necessary help for the brothership.

- *Turkish Red Crescent Society (KIZILAY)*

Within the framework of national and international legislation, the Turkish Red Crescent Society undertakes the task of protecting human dignity in disasters and ordinary periods, assisting to the needy and the vulnerable, and reducing vulnerability as operating in 140 countries, mainly in the Balkans, Central Asia, Middle East, and Africa[68]. As of 2020, Turkish Red Crescent heads in 15 countries, including Afghanistan and Pakistan, carrying out its activities with 2 Institutional Personnel and 3 Local Personnel in the fields of Disaster Response, Humanitarian Aid Material Distribution, Reconstruction, Economic Support and Rehabilitation Programs, National Association Support Projects[69].

As a part of public diplomacy, Kızılay has carried out several projects and activities in Pakistan as below:

-2005 Earthquake and 2010 Flood Disaster Response and Rehabilitation Activities, -Humanitarian Aid Material Distribution in Cooperation with Pakistan Red Crescent,

-Distribution of more than 100,000 Food Packages,

-Post-Disaster Rehabilitation Activities,

-Road and Bridge Construction,

-Pakistan Red Crescent Capacity Building Project,

-Headquarters Building Construction and Blood Services Supply Project,

-First Aid Bag Distribution Project in Schools,

-Social Aid Projects Developed in Cooperation with Pakistan Red Crescent[70]

Today, projects and activities continue for Distribution of Food Packages and Humanitarian Aid Materials in Cooperation with Pakistan Red Crescent, Supporting Pakistan Red Crescent Blood Donation Acquisition Project, The Blessings Project – Providing Livelihoods to the Needy Family, Jamia Jhang Hz. Ibrahim Mosque Construction. For 2021, Scholarship Program for Students in Need, Youth and Volunteer Center Restoration Project are planned as further support activities in the country[71].

6. Conclusions and Observations

The pace of change characterising the modern-day world through forces of globalization has characterized a new international order which has marked a change in conventional diplomatic realm. Numerous instances of diplomatic

tasking in resolution of international conflicts now involve Track 2 diplomatic approaches. This approach is characterized of applying the necessary weight of citizens, networks, academic and epistemic groups, policy, and technical experts in International Relations. In fact, this approach takes its locus back from 1960s developed through the decades of 1970s 80s and 90s. Examples include soft track 2 soft power diplomacy through non-conventional channels like Cricket diplomacy and mango diplomacy between Pakistan and India. In real sense, “Track II" diplomacy believed that private individuals who meet on unofficial platforms, can find their way to reaching a common ground that official negotiators can't.

Given these tough realities of the modern day conflicts, wars, onslaughts by the radical militant groups and armed interventions that need more than just the role of the State actors to come to the rescue, Some International non-state actors like UN, EU, International NGOs, Humanitarian missions like Red Cross, Amnesty International become important to address immediate diplomatic and humanitarian concerns taking active roles in the certain hard core international decision making at times necessarily becoming major political and diplomatic stakeholders.

However, the following questions still remain worth asking:

1. What is the role of the changing nature of International Relations and to what extent diplomacy as a tool of state policy is compromised/non compromised by the state to the non –state actors?
2. Why the role of the nation state as the sole partaker of policy tasking has been side-lined in the diplomatic arena? If yes how?
3. Amidst the changing nature of the nation state, role of the non -state actors are enhanced and so does its diplomatic jurisdiction to act as a role model as an important diplomatic caucus?

4. What comprises the non-state actor today? Whether the non- state actors today comprise of big corporations, multinationals, transnationals, pressure groups, conglomerates, freedom fighters, terrorist organizations and militias provide the much-needed space for diplomatic manoeuvring.

These questions above are still being discussed in international agenda and soft power still remains one of the important tools to affect international relations in different manners. Turkey is one of the countries enhancing its soft power to South Asia using humanitarian aid, film industry and so on. Pakistan, among South Asian states, keeps a significant role for Turkey's soft power diplomacy. Due to long historical ties rooting from Ottoman Empire, strong military, economic, cultural and political bilateral agreements still continues for further cooperation. Turkey's public diplomacy tools in Pakistan aims to strength emotional ties such as friendship between two countries. Thus, Turkey's diplomatic strategy in Pakistan is more than bilateral levels and promises to develop historical ties in many political, economic, social and cultural aspects.

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