The Greek audience “discovers” the Turkish soap-series: Turkey’s “soft power” and the psyche of Greeks

Georgios Mihalakopoulos

Today’s world is mainly characterised, among other things, by interdependence and confusion. And the best way for a state to distinguish itself from the others is to promote globally a “shiny image”. This kind of strategy focuses on persuasion aiming at the gaining of influence. And this is the rationale behind the promotion of the Turkish TV series globally and especially in the Balkans and the Middle East. This paper tries to elucidate some of the aspects related to the extraordinary, albeit unexpected, success of this “goldmine” called Turkish soap-operas.

Keywords: Soft power, Turkish TV series, success, Balkans, Middle East, foreign policy, influence, Turkish language, Turkish culture, Greek TV channels, image of Turks, subliminal messages.

Introduction

Nowadays, when examining the higher levels of foreign policy application and considering a state’s international rule, one must focus on the concepts of: soft power, sticky power, public diplomacy and the influence of the “image”.

The types of power being exercised on a specific geographical space are firstly, the so called, hard power, which describes both military and economic power that can be used to induce others to change their position, and secondly, the power that Professor Nye calls soft power. According to him “soft power rests on the ability to set the political agenda in a way that shapes the preferences of others”. In other words, soft power is getting others to want what you want.

2 Ibid., 9.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
Economic, or sticky, power on the other hand, is different from soft power. It is based neither on military compulsion nor on simple coincidence of wills. Sticky power refers to economic attraction that will inevitably lead to dependence.¹

Public diplomacy is considered to be another element of high foreign policy and is broadly defined as a government’s efforts to conduct foreign policy and promote national interests through direct outreach and communication with the population of a foreign country.² It is the diplomacy via the public and not of the public.

All of the above mentioned policies are finding their way of being implemented to the people’s greater masses via the use of “images”, and more effectively via television since it is a medium of applying soft power; an instrument of sticky power; and reaches the public directly. Television is the lower common denominator in sentimental, psychological and sociological level, offering low cost information and entertainment aspects directly into one’s own house. This makes its influence of great importance.

1. Turkish foreign policy

Turkey’s current foreign policy cannot be fully understood unless one takes a look into the Özal governmental policies of the 1980s. Turgut Özal initiated Turkey’s economic, social and political liberation by policies that aimed at expanding the political sphere and opening new opportunities in education, economy and law.³ The reforms initiated by Özal in the 1980s helped to redefine Turkish foreign policy in such a way that it became more open and more active towards its periphery, something mainly influenced by the so-called “pressure of globalisation”.

The above mentioned reforms characterised Turkey’s political, economic and social life for decades and set the foundation for a modern and technologically advanced country. Since 2003, Özal’s legacy has been invigorated, however under a new shape, by the political, economic and social reforms of the AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi – Justice and Development Party). It wouldn’t be an exaggeration if someone refers to the period beginning in 2003 until today as the “Tayyip Erdoğan era”.

Tayyip Erdoğan, just like Turgut Özal, aimed at making Turkey a peripheral centre of power by focusing on intense diplomatic activity and dialogue, mainly with Turkey’s peripheral countries. Within this framework, the use and promotion of high level cultural “products” became one of the Turkish foreign policy priorities.

2. Turkish TV series-background

One of Turkey’s cultural “products”, which so far seem to acquire an important significance, is the Turkish TV soap operas. Although there are no clear statistics numbers

---

³ M. Hakan Yavuz, 2009:16.
regarding the amount of TV series sold to third countries and no official data — apart from the ones presented from times to times in various newspaper articles — a statement made by the Culture and Tourism Ministry of Turkey says that between 2005 and 2011 a total of 35,675 hours of Turkish TV programs were sold to 76 countries around the world.1

The South Eastern European Times published that 65 Turkish television series have been sold abroad since 2001 bringing in over 50 million dollars to the booming Turkish television industry:2 Hürriyet Daily, on the other hand, stated that Turkey earned more than $60 million only in 2011 from exporting TV series and that more than 100 Turkish TV series have been watched in over 20 countries this year.3 These TV series broke viewer records in the Middle Eastern and North African countries, bringing in foreign currency while, at the same time, helped Turkey’s clout to rise in the region through the promotion of the Turkish lifestyle.4

The countries in which the Turkish TV series have been broadcasted include North African States, Balkan States, Russia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, the United Arab Emirates, Iran, Iraq, Bulgaria and Greece,5 and the popularity of these Turkish television series, from the Balkans to the Middle East, has introduced Turkey to an international audience and subtly transformed the image of the country abroad.6

Fırat Gülgen, chairman of Calinos Holding, which produces 80% of TV series exported from Turkey, speaking to the Anatolia news agency on December 10, stated that “We have begun to be broadcast in the Balkan countries this year”, while he mentioned that Turkish TV series are exported to many Central and Eastern European countries including Serbia, Croatia, Czech Republic, Romania, Poland and Hungary. In the Far East, buyers include Malaysia, Indonesia, Taiwan, Thailand, Singapore, Japan and Vietnam.7 Also, for the first time, Turkish TV series were sold to countries such as New Caledonia, Niger, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Somalia.8 Gülgen said that prices for an episode of a given series ranged between $500 and $15,000.9

According to İzzet Pinto, working for the film distribution company Global Agency, Turkish series are quite a novelty for a public very much used to watching only American or Latin American TV productions,10 to conclude that “the Turkish TV series are a big commercial opportunity for Turkey”.11

---

1 Aslıhan Aydın, “Turkish TV series broadcast in 76 countries”, Today’s Zaman, 2012.
4 Hatice Utkan, ibid.
5 “Turkish TV series take over the throne from Brazil”, Sunday’s Zaman, 2011.
6 Cigdem Bugdayci, op. cit. See also Alphan Melis, “Türkiye’nin yumuşak gücü: Dizileri”, Hürriyet, 2011.
7 Hatice Utkan, op. cit.
8 Aslıhan Aydın, op. cit.
9 Hatice Utkan, op. cit.
10 Cigdem Bugdayci, op.cit.
11 Ibid.
Abdurrahman Çelik, Director of Copyrights to the Culture and Tourism Ministry, said that his Ministry discussed this issue with the Industry Ministry and the Finance Ministry in order to see what more can be done to expand the global reach of Turkish television series and determined that accurate data were needed. Çelik said that according to a new law introduced in 2008, television series are now accepted as export products and companies can make money off them: “series episodes that we were selling for $50 only five years ago are now selling for $50,000. This is the clearest expression there is of the general development we have seen in the series sector and in the interest from abroad in Turkish series.” Çelik mentioned that the export of series to other countries started with “Deli Yürek” being sold to Kazakhstan in 2001 and that the export of such films took off much faster following 2005. He noted that “despite the fact that 2009 was a year of global economic crisis, there were 3,670 series hours exported from Turkey. This was a 30 percent increase over the previous year. After all, there is a very serious television series sector in Turkey. They have started to surpass the average European series in quality. Both the technical underpinnings and the general topics addressed by these series are really advancing.”

The greatest demand for more Turkish television series comes from Kazakhstan, which has broadcasted 42 such series, followed by Bulgaria, with 27 series from Turkey, Azerbaijan with 23, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia with 17, Middle Eastern countries with 14, Uzbekistan with 13, Greece with 8, Kosovo with 4, Iran with 3, Romania with 2 and Bosnia with one Turkish series. At this point one should mention that for yet unknown reasons Azerbaijan prohibited the broadcasting of Turkish TV series.

However, the emergence of Turkey as a popular brand is equally significant as the millions of dollars coming in from the TV series’ sales. In the Balkans and the Middle East, regions traditionally wary of Turkish influence, the “soft message” promoted through television holds the power so as Turkey to be able to re-market itself.

According to a recent Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation report by Meliha Benli Altunışık entitled “Turkey’s ‘soft power’ in Middle East and the impediments ahead”, 78% of the respondents in the Arab World and Iran said that they have watched a Turkish TV series. The report states that the series have become an important part of Turkey’s soft power by creating a lasting influence on Turkey’s image in the region.

12 Aslihan Aydin, op. cit., “Turkish TV series broadcast in 76 countries”...
13 “Turkish TV series take over the throne from Brazil”, Sunday’s Zaman, 2011.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
16 Serkan Meriç, “Ρεκόρ στις εξαγωγές των τουρκικών τηλεοπτικών σειρών” (Turkish TV series’ exports break a record), 2011.
17 Cigdem Bugdaycı, op.cit., “The soft power of Turkish television”...
18 The title of the report is “Türkiye’nin Ortadoğudaki ‘yümüşak gücü’ ve önündeki engeller”, TESEV (Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation), 2011.
Although unplanned, the spread of Turkish television falls neatly into the soft-power strategy of Turkish Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu as it was outlined in his seminal 2001 book *Strategic Depth* in which he advocates a pro-active and multi-dimensional foreign policy that sees Turkey’s shared history and culture with former Ottoman lands as a strategic advantage — forming one prong of Turkey’s soft-power strategy. Only to mention that according to the 2010 record on sales towards Europe, Balkans and Middle East, 60% of the sales took place in the Middle East, a former “ottoman” space while more than 300 private TV channels in Middle East are interested in buying Turkish TV series.

Orhan Tekelioglu, a communications professor from Istanbul Bahçeşehir University, interprets in a different way the news found in the Turkish Press concerning the international spread and success of TV series: “The sales from the TV series are greeted with ‘hails of victory’ as if coming from ‘an army campaign’ — this must be what they call neo-Ottomanism”.

Nilüfer Narlı, a sociologist at Bahçeşehir University, commenting on the links between Turkish soap operas and the rising Turkish influence abroad, said that Turkey has increased its “soft power” in the Middle East and the Balkan countries. More specifically, speaking to *Hürriyet Daily News*, Narlı said that “as the circulation of soap operas in the international arena has increased, learning Turkish language and culture have become very important in the Arab and Balkan countries. This is what we call ‘soft power’ within the context of the culture industry”.

To add to the above, Izzet Pinto said that “In the Balkans, newborns are being named after the TV series 1001 Nights characters”, and at the same time he stated that the secret to success is familiarity.

On the other hand, Kemal Uzun, the director of TV series *Noor*, said that “neither the characters nor the subject matter, nor the featured locations are foreign [to viewers]”. “They do not feel like outsiders to what is taking place. We are close cultures, close geographies; we have close ties.”

The soap operas of this kind have the effect of “creating attachment, understanding and affection for Turkish identity, culture, and values in the region” and it was to no surprise that a “tourist wave” reached Turkey bringing in Arabs and Iranians

---

19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 An indication of this mentality that seems to be still present with the ruling AKP in Turkey is apparent in a recent statement made by Ahmet Davutoğlu who said: “2012 marks the 100th year since we lost Middle East”. See http://haber.sol.org.tr/devlet-ve-siyaset/davutoglu-2012-ortadoguyu-kaybedisimizin-100-yili-haberi-50773.
22 Cigdem Bugdayci, “The soft power of Turkish television”, *Southeast European Times*, 2011.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.
from various classes. Turkey became the most popular tourist destination\textsuperscript{27} showing an average 12\% increase in the number of tourists coming the countries that have watched the TV series within a five-year period.\textsuperscript{28}

Abdurrahman Çelik, Director of Copyrights to the Culture and Tourism Ministry, also draws our attention to the importance that the Turkish TV series’ popularity has and to the possible rise of the Turkish cinema: “Thanks to series and films, we are really able these days to promote ourselves influentially. Even those who didn’t know what sort of country Turkey is before are now learning. ... The influence wielded by the film sector is very great. As the state has finally begun to comprehend all this, we have arrived at a stage in which the state extends a hand to the sector”.\textsuperscript{29} Çelik noted that Turkish television series have begun to be fashionable in an extraordinarily rapid way in many countries and that the various successes of Turkish foreign policy, such as agreements on the elimination of visa requirements with neighbouring nations, have all contributed to Turkey being “fashionable”.\textsuperscript{30}

Çelik emphasised how significant it was for Turkey that homegrown television series from this nation are breaking viewing records in the Middle East, the Turkic republics of Central Asia and the Balkan countries. He also said that foreign production companies have been noticing the beauty of the settings that are chosen to shoot many of these series, saying this is translating into an interest expressed by foreign producers to shoot their own work here. More specifically he said, “of course, shooting a film is not an easy thing. One needs to prepare the proper technical foundations. So we have formed a technical team to determine where films can be best shot in Turkey”.\textsuperscript{31}

\section*{3. The Turkish TV in Greece and the Greek psyche}

Examining the development of the Turkish TV series within the Greek TV system, is a rather complicated attempt, because in order to understand what exactly is going on, one has to examine not one but many on-going factors in the current Greek society.

It all started with the “Borders of Love” showing the love affair between Nikos and Nazli. The specific television series, entitled “Yabancı Damat” in Turkish, (“Foreign Groom”) and “Τα Σύνορα της Αγάπης” (“Borders of Love”, in Greek), was produced for and aired by Turkey’s Kanal-D network in November 2004. It was later broadcasted throughout Greece by the private Mega channel, generating phenomenal TV ratings in a “football-less” summer season in the country. This TV series deals with the relationship between a young Greek man and a young Turkish woman and the problems

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{28} Aslihan Aydin, op.cit., “Turkish TV series broadcast in 76 countries”...
\textsuperscript{29} “Turkish TV series take over the throne from Brazil”, \textit{Sunday’s Zaman}, 2012.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.
they faced especially as far as the prejudices encountered within this inter-cultural relationship (and later marriage) are concerned. Its comedic tone and play on historic Greco-Turkish antagonism made it a huge success in both Turkey and Greece, as well as making stars out of the leading actors.32

So, in 2005 the story of this mixed couple, the Greek Nikos and the Turk Nazlı, reached 1.2 million viewers during the summer season and the lives of the actors that were starring in the TV series became the top story in the TV magazines. The mass hysteria of the Greek audience made some people talk about the beginning of a new era in the Greek-Turkish state relations, while the casting crew was visiting Greece receiving a warm welcome that reached — at some points — even the level of exaggeration.33

This fairy tale ended when the TV series came to its end and for the following five-year period there was no new Turkish TV series entry in the Greek private television. Then Macedonia TV started broadcasting “1001 Nights” (Binbir Gece, in Turkish) and soon it was a great hit.34 It is worth mentioning that the TV ratings for the show reached 40% in the summer, and this for a small country of 11 million, and knocked off the top spot only by the occasional Champions League soccer matches. Major TV channels such as ANT1 and MEGA Channel competed with each other by showing a Turkish TV drama each at 9 pm and more, they were showing re-runs in the late afternoon.35 More than 1 million viewers were declaring to be great fans of this specific TV serial (“1001 Nights”) and its protagonists became part of the Greek celebrities’ system. A great majority of the Greek people, being influenced by this new type of Turkish fairy tale confuses state diplomacy with TV fiction.36 This soap opera magnetised Greece’s television audience in such a way that the majority of the Greek press spoke about a Turkish invasion of Greek TV.37

Greek private TV channel ANT1 had the idea of investing much more on Turkish soap operas following the success of the “1001 Nights”. On September 2010, ANT1 TV Channel buys a new Turkish TV serial called “Dudaktan Kalbe” — in Greek it was known by the name “Kismet”. Both TV series, i.e. “1001 Nights” and “Kismet”, had little to do with the actual conservative Turkish society since they presented a world in which abortions, adultery, forbidden relations, crimes and bribery were main incidents that were taking place during the evolution of the script action.38 “Kismet” was soon followed by “Gümüş”, another series on ANT1.

33 Αφροδίτη Ιραμμέλη, “Οι... μεσσίες από την Πόλη”, To Βήμα (Grammeli Afroditi, “The... Messiah came from Constantinople” To Vima), 2010.
34 Ibid.
36 Αφροδίτη Ιραμμέλη, op. cit.
38 Ιραμμέλη Αφροδίτη, op. cit.
Most of the private TV channels in Greece — especially nowadays that the economic crisis has cut down the budgets of the Greek productions — have put into their every day broadcasting programmes the Turkish soap operas, aiming at the highest viewing numbers with the lowest financial cost.\(^{39}\) Today, Greek TV channels choose Turkish soap operas more often than US ones because they are cheaper.\(^{40}\) Some people even argue that these soap operas are “saving” the Greeks from their everyday problems.\(^{41}\) People spend their nights before the television screen. Of course the upsurge in the amount of time people spend watching TV carries no meaning for media bosses due to the vertical fall in advertisement revenues. There are only a handful of new domestically produced series. Thus they make do with foreign movies, foreign series and panel discussions.\(^{42}\) Had there being a Greek TV series of good quality and of fine production, then the Turkish TV soap operas would not last a chance. But there is no such Greek TV series currently being broadcasted.

Some other people fear that all this “come and go” with the Turkish TV series is a cultural invasion while others see it as an opportunity of getting to know the everyday lives of simple people.\(^{43}\)

At the end of the day, everything comes down to numbers. Each part of a Greek series costs around 70,000 to 80,000 euros, whereas each part of a Turkish series costs about 7,000 to 8,000 euros.\(^{44}\)

One has to notice that the Turkish TV series in Greece are subtitled into Greek. That helped the Greek audience to familiarise itself with the Turkish language. That resulted as to that one in every two Greek citizens watches Turkish TV programs and in the meantime the number of Turkish language courses in Greece has increased from one to 10.\(^{45}\)

“It comes as a shock to me,” said Asli Tunc, a media professor at Istanbul’s Bilgi University. “Greeks need a new kind of entertainment to forget about their problems and these serials seem to meet that demand for now... They are also a trip down memory lane to days when the economy was better.”\(^{46}\)

The Turkish TV series that were aired in the period between 2005 and 2012 are the following:

- “Τα σύνορα της αγάπης” (Borders of Love or Yabancı Damat, 2005): the effort of two young lovers (Turk and Greek) to overcome prejudices.

---


\(^{40}\) “Turkish soap operas wind up on Greek televisions”, Anatolia News Agency, 2010.


\(^{42}\) Yorgo Kirbyaki, “Turkish TV series a solution for big Greek crisis”, Hürriyet, 2011.

\(^{43}\) Stella Tsolakidou, op. cit.

\(^{44}\) Yorgo Kirbyaki, op. cit.

\(^{45}\) Aslihan Aydin, op. cit., “Turkish TV series broadcast in 76 countries”...

The Greek audience “discovers” the Turkish soap-series

- “Χίλιες και μία νύχτες” (Thousand and one nights or Bin bir gece, 2010): the struggle of an emancipated woman.
- “Κισμέτ” (Kismet or Dudaktan kalbe, 2010): four persons chasing their dreams, but “Kismet” has its own plans.
- “Ασημένια φεγγάρια” (Silver moons or Gümüş, 2010): a “Brad Pit”-like man who leaves some initiatives to women.
- “Το αγιάζι του έρωτα” (Bitter life or Acı hayat, 2010): the “Anatolian” man, the leading place of the father within a family.
- “Εξέλ” (Ezel, 2011): the struggle of a poor, victimised young man who seeks revenge.
- “Μενεξέ” (A girl named Violet or Menekse ile Halil, 2011): a girl who wants to be with the one she loves against her family’s will.
- “Ερωτας και Τιμωρία” (Aşk ve Ceza, 2011): the clash between traditional Anatolian customs and modern westernised life create obstacles in the relation of a man and a woman.
- “Ρώτα την αγάπη” (Yer Gök Aşk, 2012): the story of two women (two sisters) claiming the love of the same man.
- “Αλάλε, Έρωτας στην Κωνσταντινούπολη” (Lale Devri, 2012): the story of two families in Istanbul.

So, the Greeks find comfort in watching the Turkish soap operas and at the same time the dramas are exporting, in a way, the Turkish culture, even to a doubtful market like Greece, Global Agency’s Pinto said: “Greeks feel closer to Turks than they did”, he told Reuters. “Sometimes soft power is more important than political power.” 47

Problems arose only when the ANT1 Channel broadcasted the Turkish TV series called “Ezel”. Reaction of the people was instant due to the fact that parts of the “Ezel” production were filmed in Turkish occupied northern Cyprus. 48 As for the crew of the rest of the TV series: when they came for a visit in Greece there was fury of enthusiasm by the Greek TV stations and fans, the protagonists repeated the clichés of how the Turks and Greeks are the same people, giving generously the impression that the “bitter” past — between the two people — should be forgotten by adopting an attitude that dictates that at the end of the day the Greek and the Turkish people are the same.

For some people and organisations, a rather significant issue for the creation of a friendlier and rosier future between the two nations (if not states) is to have or at least adopt or promote the impression that both people are the same (especially when it comes to the impression that Greek people are having towards the Turks). And to that end some media persons thought that in order for such an impression to become

47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.
reality, Turkey and Greece should collaborate on two new TV shows aimed at encouraging relations between the two countries. And it was announced last summer in a Turkish newspaper. The two television programs will be backed by the Culture Ministry of Turkey and Greece respectively. The title of the first show will be “Muhteşem Yolculuk” (The Amazing Journey) and it will be a 13-episode documentary shot along the Aegean coast. Filming will begin in Istanbul and will end in Athens. The name of the other TV show has yet to be decided. Erdal Murat Aktaş, the director of the TV series, stated that “We will emphasise the common values and wonders of the two countries. There will be four celebrities on the show, who will host some of the episodes. We also hope to have special guests from different areas of the music world, literature or cinema. Because of the recently aired Turkish series in Greece, there is also a great being interest shown toward the actors of the series Ezel and Gümüş.”

Apart from that initiative, rumour has it that the Greek private TV channel ANT1 (the TV Channel that broadcasted the majority of the Turkish Soap operas hits) will shoot a Greek-Turkish series in Kastelorizo island; the island that personifies on the one hand, the timidity of the Greek government to proclaim an Exclusive Economic Zone in the Aegean Sea and on the other, the Turkish pressures against it.

But the Greek-Turkish “rosy” relation does not stop at the TV series only. Recent attempted changes in Greek history school textbooks, great number of documentaries depicting a fast-changing and westernised Turkey, published or broadcasted interviews with both Greeks and Turks residing at each other’s country, broadcasted historical documentaries on Greek TV whitewashing the... “ottoman period” and rarely using the term “Turkish occupation” instead, are some of the few actions that were taken in order for the Greek people to have a change of mind regarding their neighbours.

4. Conclusion

When it comes to the evident success of the Turkish soft power being exercised through the TV series and especially to the results achieved by its use, one has to admit that Turkey recognises that “cultural diplomacy” constitutes a key element for projecting the country’s power.

The non-depiction of the Turkish society’s conservatism, the portrayal of nothing else than the western-oriented segments of society which constitute a minority, the non-mentioning of the complex social-political processes that Turkey is being through and the challenges and risks produced therein, the minimum depiction of poverty in Turkey (to note: the absolute poverty index in Turkey was 18.08% in 2009), all the above were carefully instrumented so as not to be mentioned and even to produce a “colorful” image of the country.

49 Saliha Cüvelek, “Television shows to promote Turkish-Greek friendship”, Today’s Zaman, 2011.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
The Greek audience “discovers” The Turkish soap-series

In addition, the reader should never overlook the fact that the power of the images (in this case of TV) is exercised in the subliminal level. And therefore, it wouldn’t be irrelevant to say, as far as the subliminal influence of the Turkish TV series is concerned, that messages are promoted saying, for instance, that Greece belongs to the East or promulgating the “proud to be a Turk” motto targeting the populations that claim to be Turks and live outside Turkey or, finally, presenting the sense of social and financial superiority of the Turks.

The synthesis of all the above data leads us to think that the main target of Turkey’s foreign policy, within its periphery, by the use of the “vehicle” called cultural diplomacy, is threefold: first, to create “networks” (i.e. NGOs) focusing to the public and aiming at the development of the communication between persons, second, to consolidate the trust with respect to the Greek public and finally, to persuade that since Turkish economy has been reformed so did the family “ethos”.

So, next time some TV commentator is trying to shape reality for your sake do not forget that the global circulation of information relates to the choice of a minimum of things that happen every day, accompanied with a commentary and it is done by a minority of people for the majority of the consumers.

Bibliography

Anatolia News Agency, 2010

Athens News Agency, 2006

Aydin, 2012

Aydin, 2012
Bugdayci, 2011

Cüvelek, 2011

Davutoğlu, 2012

Grammeli, 2010

Kirbaki, 2011

Loutradis, 2010

Mead, 2004

Meriç, 2011

Melis, 2011

Nakamura and Weed, 2009

Nye, 2002

Sunday’s Zaman, 2011

Tagaris, 2012
Karolina Tagaris, “Gloomy Greeks forget woes with lavish Turk TV dramas”, *Reuters*, 5 January:

Tsolakidou, 2012

Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation report, 2011
“Türkiye’nin Ortadoğudaki ‘yumuşak gücü’ ve önündeki engeller” (“The Perception of Turkey in the Middle East 2010”) at: http://www.tesev.org.tr/Upload/Publication/9d5cd7a4-9179-42fc-ae01-7ef98542aca7/T%C3%BCrkiye%27nin%20Ortado%C4%9Fu%27daki%20Yumu%C5%9Fak%C3%BCc%C3%BC%20ve%20%C3%96n%C3%BCan%C3%BEngeller_07.2011.pdf.

Utkan, 2011

Utkan, 2011

Yavuz, 2009