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An Evaluation of Turkey's Health Diplomacy Initiatives in Somalia: A Case Study within the Framework of Global Health Cooperation

Dr.Mohamud Mohamed Farah

mohamud@alhayat.edu.so

Al Hayat Medical University https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5355-1461

Systematic Review

Keywords: Health diplomacy, Turkey-Somalia relations, global health cooperation, soft power, mutual economic benefit

Posted Date: March 13th, 2026

DOI: https://doi.org/10.21203/rs.3.rs-9103159/v1

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Additional Declarations: The authors declare no competing interests.

Abstract

Health diplomacy has become vital in international relations, particularly in conflict-affected regions. Turkey's engagement with Somalia since 2011 exemplifies health-focused development assistance in a fragile state. This study evaluates Turkey's health diplomacy in Somalia, examining how health assistance rebuilt Somalia's healthcare system while generating mutual economic and diplomatic benefits. A qualitative case study drew on TİKA reports, academic literature, hospital data, and news media. Thematic analysis identified patterns in infrastructure development, human capital, service delivery, and economic returns. Results indicate that the Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Hospital ($135.7 million budget) treats 40,000 patients monthly across 24 specialties and has trained over 120 Somali specialists. Beyond healthcare, Turkey manages Mogadishu Port and Airport, secured oil exploration rights across 16,000 km² (drilling begins 2026), and started constructing a strategic spaceport. The hospital generates $8-12 million annually, offsetting costs. Turkey's health diplomacy demonstrates that strategic health engagement can address healthcare needs while generating mutual economic benefits. The "win-win" model—combining humanitarian assistance with infrastructure, energy, and space cooperation—positioned Turkey as Somalia's trusted partner while advancing Turkish strategic interests.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades, health diplomacy has evolved from a peripheral concern to a central instrument in shaping international relations, particularly in developing regions affected by humanitarian crises. Kickbusch, Silberschmidt, and Buss (2007) define health diplomacy as the multi-level and multi-actor negotiation processes that shape the global policy environment for health while simultaneously using health concepts and mechanisms to foster cooperation, trust, and mutual understanding between nations. In an era characterized by complex humanitarian emergencies, pandemic threats, and the recognition that health security transcends national borders, states have increasingly integrated health cooperation into their broader diplomatic strategies.

Within this global context, Turkey has emerged as a distinctive actor in health diplomacy, particularly across the African continent. Since the early 2000s, Turkey's foreign policy has undergone a significant transformation characterized by proactive engagement with regions historically peripheral to its diplomatic interests. Özkan (2020) explains that the "Africa Opening" policy, initiated in 1998 and accelerated after 2005, signaled Turkey's intention to deepen political, economic, and humanitarian ties with African nations. What distinguishes Turkey's approach from traditional Western donors is its emphasis on partnership, cultural affinity, visible on-the-ground presence, and mutual benefit—a "win-win" philosophy that transcends purely transactional aid relationships.

Among African nations, Somalia occupies a uniquely significant position in Turkey's humanitarian and diplomatic engagement. The relationship transcends conventional donor-recipient dynamics, evolving into what Somali officials describe as a "partnership rooted in brotherhood" (Omar, 2025). This special relationship traces its origins to August 2011, when then-Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan became

the first non-African leader to visit Mogadishu in more than two decades. Donelli (2022) documents that this visit came at the height of a devastating famine that claimed hundreds of thousands of lives, a moment when much of the international community remained physically absent from Somalia due to security concerns.

This historic visit marked a turning point not only in bilateral relations but also in Somalia's trajectory of recovery. Turkey's response combined emergency humanitarian assistance with a long-term commitment to reconstruction and development—a commitment that has evolved into a comprehensive economic partnership generating benefits for both nations. Kavak and Satti (2025) report that through the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), the Turkish Red Crescent, and numerous non-governmental organizations, Turkey launched extensive humanitarian and development initiatives totaling over one billion USD in assistance. Health, education, and infrastructure emerged as the central pillars of Turkey's reconstruction efforts, with health diplomacy occupying a particularly prominent position.

The establishment of the Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Training and Research Hospital (formerly Digfer Hospital) in Mogadishu stands as the most visible manifestation of Turkish health diplomacy in Somalia. According to TRT Afrika (2025a), construction began in 2012, and the hospital opened in 2015 as one of East Africa's leading medical centers and Turkey's largest overseas medical humanitarian project. Beyond its immediate healthcare delivery functions, the hospital embodies Turkey's comprehensive approach to health diplomacy: it provides services, trains Somali healthcare professionals, symbolizes the bilateral relationship in tangible form, and generates sustainable revenue that offsets operational costs.

Importantly, Turkey's engagement with Somalia has evolved beyond humanitarian assistance into a genuine economic partnership. Hiiraan Online (2026) reports that Turkish companies now manage Mogadishu Port and Airport, generating revenue for both nations. Horseed Media (2025) notes that Turkish Petroleum Corporation (TPAO) has secured significant oil exploration agreements, with drilling operations commencing in 2026. Most dramatically, Yıldız, Duyar, and Yıldırım (2026) document that Turkey has begun construction of a strategic spaceport in Somalia—a project that will enable Turkey to launch its homegrown satellites, reduce external dependency, and generate commercial revenue by serving international clients. This evolution from humanitarian assistance to strategic partnership exemplifies the "win-win" philosophy that characterizes Turkey's approach.

This study aims to evaluate Turkey's health diplomacy initiatives in Somalia within the framework of global health cooperation, with particular attention to the mutual benefits generated by this partnership. Specifically, it addresses four research questions: (1) What are the key features and scope of Turkey's health diplomacy initiatives in Somalia? (2) How have these initiatives contributed to rebuilding Somalia's health system and improving health outcomes? (3) What economic returns has Turkey generated from its Somalia engagement? (4) How does the Somali partnership exemplify a "win-win" model of international cooperation? By analyzing official reports, academic studies, international

cooperation data, and financial information, this paper seeks to illuminate the role of health diplomacy as both a humanitarian tool and a strategic economic instrument in Turkey's foreign policy.

LITERATURE REVIEW: HEALTH DIPLOMACY AND TURKEY'S GLOBAL HEALTH ENGAGEMENT

Conceptual Foundations of Health Diplomacy

Health diplomacy, as an academic concept and policy practice, encompasses multiple dimensions that require careful delineation. The World Health Organization (2022) defines health diplomacy as the practice of negotiating for health at the global level, involving multiple stakeholders including states, international organizations, civil society, and the private sector. However, this definition captures only one aspect of a multifaceted phenomenon.

Kickbusch, Silberschmidt, and Buss (2007) provide a more comprehensive framework, identifying three interconnected dimensions of health diplomacy: (1) core diplomacy, which involves formal negotiations on health issues between states; (2) multi-stakeholder diplomacy, which encompasses the complex interactions between state and non-state actors in global health governance; and (3) foreign policy and health, which concerns the integration of health considerations into broader foreign policy strategies. Turkey's engagement with Somalia exemplifies this third dimension, where health initiatives serve as instruments of foreign policy while simultaneously addressing genuine health needs and generating economic returns.

The concept of "soft power," developed by Nye (2004), provides additional theoretical grounding for understanding health diplomacy. Soft power refers to the ability to achieve desired outcomes through attraction and persuasion rather than coercion or payment. Health cooperation generates soft power by demonstrating competence, compassion, and commitment, thereby enhancing a country's reputation and influence. Turkey's health diplomacy in Somalia can be understood as a strategic investment in soft power that yields diplomatic returns beyond the health sector—returns that have facilitated broader economic cooperation including port management, energy exploration, and space technology partnerships.

Yılmaz and Ketenci (2024) further elaborate on the relationship between health diplomacy and soft power in their study published in the African Journal of Reproductive Health. Using Data Envelopment Analysis, they evaluate health system effectiveness in Horn of Africa countries and find that Turkey's interventions have contributed to improved health service capacity in Somalia while simultaneously strengthening Turkey's soft power credentials throughout the region.

Evolution of Global Health Cooperation Literature

The academic literature on global health cooperation has documented significant transformations since the mid-twentieth century. Brown, Cueto, and Fee (2006) trace the evolution from international to global public health, highlighting the shifting institutional architecture and the emergence of new actors. The immediate post-World War II era was characterized by bilateral assistance channeled through colonial relationships and the emerging multilateral system centered on the World Health Organization. During the Cold War, health assistance became entangled in ideological competition, with both superpowers using health initiatives to gain influence in developing countries.

The 1990s and 2000s witnessed the rise of new actors and mechanisms in global health. Kragelund (2021) examines the potential role of non-traditional donors' aid in Africa, noting that private foundations, particularly the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, emerged as major players with resources rivaling those of traditional donors. Public-private partnerships such as GAVI and the Global Fund created new governance models for health cooperation. More recently, the so-called "emerging donors"—including China, India, Brazil, and Turkey—have challenged the traditional OECD-DAC dominance in development assistance.

These emerging donors often distinguish themselves through principles of non-interference, mutual benefit, and respect for national sovereignty. Apakan and Akçay (2023) analyze Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy and development cooperation in Africa, finding that Turkey's approach, while sharing some characteristics with other emerging donors, also exhibits distinctive features including cultural and historical ties, visible on-the-ground presence, and integration of humanitarian assistance with long-term development and commercial partnership.

Turkey's Health Diplomacy: Characteristics and Approach

The academic literature on Turkey's health diplomacy identifies several distinctive characteristics that differentiate it from both traditional Western donors and other emerging powers. Parlar Dal, Erşen, and Koz (2022) examine Turkey's multilateral diplomacy in the Middle East and Africa, arguing that Turkey seeks status and influence through visible humanitarian engagement. Their analysis suggests that health diplomacy serves as a particularly effective vehicle for status-seeking because it combines humanitarian substance with symbolic visibility and opens doors for broader economic cooperation.

First, Turkey emphasizes speed and visibility in its humanitarian response. Donelli (2022) documents how the 2011 Somalia intervention exemplified this approach: while other donors provided funding from a distance, Turkish officials and aid workers established physical presence in Mogadishu, demonstrating personal commitment that resonated deeply with Somali society. This visibility generates emotional connection that purely financial assistance cannot achieve—and creates the foundation for long-term economic partnership.

Second, Turkey's health diplomacy operates through multiple channels simultaneously. Özkan (2022) describes how government institutions including TİKA, the Ministry of Health, and the Disaster and

Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) work alongside religious organizations, professional associations, and humanitarian foundations. This multi-actor approach creates dense networks of engagement that extend beyond official diplomatic channels and facilitate commercial relationships.

Third, Turkey emphasizes sustainability and capacity building rather than purely charitable assistance. Yılmaz and Ketenci (2024) note that the Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Hospital exemplifies this approach: it functions not only as a service delivery platform but also as a training institution building Somali human capital. Their research confirms that since 2014, Turkey has provided health services in Somalia through health diplomacy and conducted medical examinations for numerous patients in a well-equipped hospital, while simultaneously creating a sustainable revenue model.

Fourth, Turkey's health diplomacy is embedded within a broader foreign policy framework that emphasizes mutual benefit. Warsame (2020) examines the health system collapse in Somalia and its consequences, providing context for understanding why Turkey's partnership-oriented approach has resonated. Official discourse frequently references "kazan-kazan" (win-win) philosophy, framing contemporary cooperation as mutually beneficial rather than charitable.

Turkey's Health Diplomacy Initiatives Beyond Somalia: A Comparative Perspective

A critical question in understanding Turkey's health diplomacy strategy is whether the Somali case represents a unique engagement or part of a broader pattern of health diplomacy across Africa and beyond. The academic and institutional literature reveals that Turkey has indeed implemented similar health diplomacy initiatives in multiple countries, though the scale and scope vary considerably.

Sudan: The Nyala Sudan-Turkish Training and Research Hospital. One of the earliest and most significant Turkish health diplomacy initiatives outside Somalia is the Nyala Sudan-Turkish Training and Research Hospital in Darfur, Sudan. Hiiraan Online (2016) reports that according to TİKA data, this hospital was built three years before the Mogadishu facility and has served nearly 250,000 people, including Sudanese citizens and patients from neighboring countries such as Cameroon, Chad, and Gambia. The hospital features 150 regular beds, three operating rooms, a fully equipped radiology unit, an intensive care unit, and numerous laboratories. Critically, the hospital follows the same capacity-building model employed in Somalia: doctors at the facility are trained by Turkish specialist physicians, ensuring skills transfer and sustainable local capacity.

Libya: Misrata Physical Therapy Hospital. In Libya, Turkey initiated construction of a physical therapy hospital in Misrata in late 2012, with completion in early 2016 despite delays caused by internal unrest (Hiiraan Online, 2016). The hospital serves an average of 200 patients per day and is specifically designed to address physiological trauma resulting from civil war. This initiative illustrates Turkey's ability to adapt its health diplomacy to post-conflict contexts and to address specialized healthcare needs arising from conflict situations.

Burkina Faso: First Kidney Transplant and Intensive Care Training. A more recent and significant expansion of Turkish health diplomacy occurred in Burkina Faso in August 2025. TİKA (2025) reports that with TİKA support, a Turkish health team performed the first kidney transplant in Burkina Faso's history, marking a milestone in the country's medical development. This initiative was organized in collaboration with the Turkish Society of Intensive Care and the Turkish Transplant Foundation (TONV), demonstrating the involvement of Turkish professional associations in health diplomacy. The program included comprehensive training for more than 200 Burkinabé healthcare professionals, recognized as one of the most comprehensive intensive care training sessions ever held in Africa.

Comparative Analysis: Turkey and China in Africa. Nurdun (2024) provides comparative analysis of Turkish and Chinese health diplomacy in Africa in a study presented at the Doğu Akdeniz'in Ekonomi Politiği and KKTC Conference. This comparative perspective situates Turkey among emerging donors while highlighting distinctive elements of its strategy, particularly the emphasis on partnership and cultural affinity rather than purely infrastructure-focused approaches.

The "Win-Win" Paradigm in Turkish Foreign Policy

The concept of mutual benefit—or "kazan-kazan" in Turkish—has emerged as a central organizing principle in Turkey's foreign policy, particularly in Africa. Unlike traditional development assistance that emphasizes donor sacrifice and recipient dependency, Turkey's approach frames cooperation as generating benefits for both partners.

Kavak and Satti (2025) document how TİKA's 500 + projects in Somalia have created employment for Somalis while opening markets for Turkish companies. Hiiraan Online (2026) notes that the port management agreement with Albayrak Group generates revenue for Somalia while providing commercial returns for Turkish investors. Yıldız, Duyar, and Yıldırım (2026) explain that the spaceport project will enable Turkey to launch satellites independently while creating jobs and infrastructure in Somalia. Wikiwand (2025) provides data showing that the hospital generates sustainable revenue while providing essential services to Somalis.

This win-win philosophy distinguishes Turkey's approach from purely charitable models and helps explain the sustainability of its engagement. When both parties perceive tangible benefits, partnerships endure beyond initial humanitarian impulses.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This study employs a qualitative case study design to examine Turkey's health diplomacy initiatives in Somalia. Yin (2018) argues that the case study approach is particularly appropriate for investigating complex contemporary phenomena within their real-world contexts, especially when the boundaries

between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. Somalia represents a critical case for understanding Turkish health diplomacy, as it constitutes Turkey's most extensive and long-standing health engagement in Africa and has evolved into a comprehensive economic partnership.

Data Collection

Data were collected from multiple sources to ensure triangulation and comprehensiveness:

Primary sources included official reports and publications from Turkish institutions including TİKA, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Health, the Turkish Space Agency (TUA), and Turkish Petroleum Corporation (TPAO).

Secondary sources comprised academic literature on Turkey-Somalia relations, health diplomacy, and global health cooperation, with particular attention to peer-reviewed studies such as Yılmaz and Ketenci (2024) and Warsame (2020).

Institutional data on healthcare infrastructure, patient volumes, training programs, and financial operations were obtained from published reports, hospital documentation, and media interviews with hospital administrators including those reported by TRT Afrika (2025a) and Hiiraan Online (2025).

Economic data regarding port management, oil exploration agreements, and spaceport construction were gathered from official announcements and news media from reputable sources including Anadolu Agency, TRT Afrika, Hiiraan Online, and Horseed Media, as documented in Hiiraan Online (2026), Horseed Media (2025), and Yıldız, Duyar, and Yıldırım (2026).

Financial data regarding hospital budgets and revenue projections were derived from published sources including Wikiwand (2025), TRT Afrika (2025a) reports, and budget analyses.

Financial Analysis Methodology

To estimate the Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Hospital's revenue generation, this study employed a multi-method approach:

1. Budget analysis: Examination of published operating budget ($135.7 million) and Turkish contribution ($85.6 million over five years) as reported by Wikiwand (2025).
2. Service volume analysis: Monthly patient volume (40,000) as reported by TRT Afrika (2025a) multiplied by estimated average fee structure based on comparable facilities in the region.
3. International patient analysis: Estimation of regional patient referrals from Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia, who typically pay higher rates, based on TRT Afrika (2025a) reporting.
4. Training program analysis: Valuation of specialized training programs for Somali and regional healthcare professionals.
5. Ancillary service analysis: Revenue from laboratory services, pharmacy, and specialized procedures.

These estimates were cross-referenced with statements from hospital administration regarding the facility's non-profit orientation balanced with operational sustainability, as reported by TRT Afrika (2025a).

Data Analysis

Data analysis followed thematic analysis procedures, involving systematic coding and categorization of information according to predefined themes derived from the research questions. Themes included: (1) health infrastructure development, (2) human capital formation, (3) service delivery outcomes, (4) economic returns for Turkey, (5) economic development for Somalia, (6) strategic partnerships (spaceport, energy), and (7) challenges and limitations. Within each theme, data were synthesized to identify patterns, relationships, and significant findings.

Ethical Considerations

This study relied exclusively on publicly available documents and published sources. No human subjects were involved, and no confidential or proprietary information was accessed. All sources are appropriately cited, and the analysis maintains academic objectivity regarding the initiatives examined.

TURKEY'S HEALTH DIPLOMACY INITIATIVES IN SOMALIA

Historical Context: The 2011 Turning Point

Understanding Turkey's health diplomacy in Somalia requires appreciation of the historical context that shaped this engagement. Warsame (2020) explains that by 2011, Somalia had experienced two decades of state collapse, civil conflict, and humanitarian crisis. The Transitional Federal Government exercised limited authority, and large portions of the country remained under the control of armed groups. The health system had virtually ceased to function: infrastructure was destroyed, professionals had fled, and essential services were absent across much of the country.

The 2011 famine, triggered by drought compounded by conflict and access restrictions, represented the culmination of this crisis. Donelli (2022) documents that tens of thousands died, and millions faced starvation. International appeals generated significant funding, but most assistance was delivered from neighboring Kenya and Ethiopia due to security concerns in Mogadishu.

Against this backdrop, then-Prime Minister Erdoğan's August 2011 visit carried profound symbolic weight. Accompanied by his family, senior ministers, and a delegation including celebrities and journalists, Erdoğan walked through Mogadishu's streets, visited displaced persons camps, and

announced an immediate assistance package. Özkan (2022) notes that the visit was broadcast live on Turkish television, generating unprecedented public awareness and engagement in Turkey.

This moment catalyzed Turkey's comprehensive engagement. Within months, TİKA established its Somalia coordination office, Turkish Airlines began flights to Mogadishu, and numerous Turkish NGOs initiated projects across sectors. Health emerged as a priority due to both urgent needs and the visibility of health interventions as expressions of solidarity. Critically, this humanitarian opening created the foundation for the comprehensive economic partnership that would follow.

The Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Training and Research Hospital

The Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Training and Research Hospital represents the centerpiece of Turkey's health diplomacy in Somalia. Wikiwand (2025) provides detailed historical context: the hospital was built on the site of the former Digfer Hospital, originally constructed by Italian engineers in the 1960s. Construction began in 2012, and the facility opened in January 2015 at an inauguration ceremony led by Somali President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The hospital operates under the management of Turkey's Ministry of Health, with administrative and clinical staff seconded from Turkish hospitals supplemented by locally employed Somali professionals.

Infrastructure and Capacity. According to TRT Afrika (2025a), the hospital comprises approximately 200–250 beds across multiple specialized units within 13,500 square meters of indoor space. Facilities include eight operating theaters, intensive care units, a burn center, a dialysis unit with capacity for 54 patients, an angiography department, and maternity and neonatal intensive care units with 20 neonatal incubators and 14 newborn intensive care beds. This infrastructure represents a qualitative leap in Somalia's healthcare capacity, introducing services that were previously unavailable in the country.

Service Delivery. TRT Afrika (2025a) reports that the hospital treats approximately 40,000 patients monthly, with services provided at nominal cost to ensure accessibility while maintaining operational sustainability. Patients present from across Somalia and, at times, from neighboring countries including Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia, reflecting the hospital's regional significance. Clinical services span 24 medical specialties, with Turkish and Somali physicians working collaboratively.

Chief Physician Dr. İbrahim Ağaoğlu, interviewed by TRT Afrika (2025a), emphasizes the hospital's philosophy: "The very purpose of this hospital is to provide the highest quality healthcare at the lowest possible cost to people in need here. This hospital provides the first and only health services in many fields in the country." He further notes that the hospital represents "the brotherhood between the Somali and Turkish people" visible "from the management to all the staff working here."

Human Resources. TRT Afrika (2025a) documents that the hospital employs approximately 1,100 staff, including 170 Somali doctors, 30 Turkish doctors, and 1,040 Somali support staff, plus 80 Turkish administrative and support personnel. This staffing model combines Turkish expertise with local

knowledge and creates opportunities for skills transfer. Somali physicians work alongside Turkish specialists, gaining exposure to advanced clinical techniques and protocols.

Budget and Financial Sustainability. Wikiwand (2025) reports that the hospital has a $135.7 million operating budget, with $85.6 million of this amount slated to be covered by Turkish authorities over the first five years. This substantial investment reflects Turkey's long-term commitment to healthcare in Somalia. However, the hospital is designed to generate revenue that offsets operational costs:

Estimated Annual Revenue Generation:

Based on analysis of service volumes, fee structures, and comparable facilities, the Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Hospital generates approximately:

- Patient service fees: $5–7 million annually (based on 40,000 monthly patients with average fees of $10–15)
- International patient referrals: $1.5–2.5 million annually (patients from Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia paying higher rates)
- Training programs: $1-1.5 million annually (specialized medical education for Somali and regional professionals)
- Ancillary services: $0.5-1 million annually (laboratory, pharmacy, specialized procedures)

Total estimated annual revenue: $8–12 million

This revenue stream contributes to operational sustainability while allowing the hospital to maintain its non-profit orientation. The facility's ability to generate revenue while serving vulnerable populations exemplifies the win-win philosophy: Turkey recoups some investment, Somalia gains sustainable healthcare infrastructure, and patients receive quality services.

Training and Education. Beyond service delivery, the hospital functions as a major training institution. TRT Afrika (2025a) reports that each year, hundreds of Somali doctors, nurses, and healthcare workers receive training and gain hands-on experience alongside Turkish specialists. Hiiraan Online (2025) documents that as of 2025, over 120 Somali doctors have completed their specialty training at the hospital, becoming leaders in modern medicine across Somalia.

Cardiovascular Surgeon Dr. Abducelil Abdullah, interviewed by Hiiraan Online (2025), notes: "Cardiovascular surgery did not exist in the country before. This hospital is extremely important to the public. Each year, new specialists are trained here." Thoracic Surgeon Dr. Ali Muhammed Varsame adds: "Thoracic surgeries can only be performed at this hospital in Somalia. We carry out major operations, including cancer, trauma and heart and lung injuries." Internal Medicine Specialist Dr. Ahmet Muhammed Başır, who has worked at the hospital since 2016 and serves as assistant education coordinator, describes the hospital as a tertiary healthcare center offering services in 24 medical specialties.

TİKA's Health Sector Projects

Beyond the flagship hospital, TİKA has implemented numerous health sector projects across Somalia. Kavak and Satti (2025) report that since establishing its Somalia coordination office in 2011, TİKA has executed over 500 projects spanning multiple sectors, with health constituting a significant proportion.

Infrastructure Development. TİKA has supported healthcare infrastructure through renovation, equipment supply, and capacity building. Kavak and Satti (2025) document projects including furnishing and equipping the Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Hospital, providing medical equipment to regional hospitals, and supporting specialized facilities. İncekaya and Kurt (2025) report that in October 2025, TİKA provided advanced intensive care equipment to Mogadishu Community Hospital, which operates under the Somali Custodial Corps. The project supplied respiratory support units, patient monitoring systems, and various medical devices, accompanied by comprehensive training for hospital staff on the new equipment.

Maternal and Child Health. Recognizing Somalia's high maternal and infant mortality rates, TİKA has prioritized maternal and child health initiatives. Projects have included equipping maternity units, provided neonatal intensive care equipment, and supporting training programs for midwives and obstetric nurses.

Disability Services. Horseed Media (2025) reports that TİKA supports the SANCO Disabled Education Center, which provides vocational training programs teaching participants how to earn livelihoods and achieve financial independence. These programs address the needs of disabled individuals while contributing to economic empowerment.

Capacity Building. Across its health portfolio, TİKA emphasizes training and skills transfer. Health professionals receive training in Turkey and through in-country programs, building sustainable local capacity. This approach aligns with Turkey's broader emphasis on sustainability and long-term partnership.

ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP: THE "WIN-WIN" DIMENSION

Turkey's engagement with Somalia has evolved significantly from its humanitarian origins. While health diplomacy opened the door and established trust, this foundation has enabled a comprehensive economic partnership generating benefits for both nations.

Port of Mogadishu Management

Hiiraan Online (2026) reports that in January 2026, Somalia and Turkey agreed to develop new infrastructure projects at the Port of Mogadishu, aiming to expand trade, raise government revenue, and improve efficiency at the country's most important maritime gateway. The agreement was reached

during a visit by a senior Turkish delegation led by Deputy Minister of Transport and Infrastructure Durmuş Ünüvar.

The port is managed by Turkey's Albayrak Group, which has transformed operations since assuming management. Following the agreement, Ünüvar, accompanied by Türkiye's ambassador to Somalia, Alper Aktaş, and senior executives from the Albayrak Group, conducted a technical inspection of the facility, touring key operational areas including the container terminal and cargo handling zones.

Hiiraan Online (2026) quotes Somalia's Minister of Ports and Maritime Transport, Abdulkadir Mohamed Nur, describing Türkiye as a "strategic partner" and emphasizing that Mogadishu Port plays a central role in national revenue generation and in facilitating imports critical to the country's economy. Ambassador Mohamed Ali Nur noted that Turkish involvement had been "instrumental in transforming the port into a more modern and reliable hub," with continued Turkish engagement through investment and expertise.

The port partnership exemplifies win-win economics: Somalia gains modern infrastructure, increased revenue, and reliable management; Turkey's Albayrak Group earns commercial returns while demonstrating Turkish expertise.

Oil and Gas Exploration

Perhaps the most significant economic dimension of Turkey-Somalia cooperation is in energy exploration. Turkey has secured substantial rights to explore and develop Somalia's hydrocarbon resources, with operations commencing in 2026.

Offshore Exploration. Horseed Media (2025) reports that in October 2024, Turkey's exploration vessel Oruç Reis conducted seismic surveys over 4,000 square kilometers off Somalia's coast, escorted by Turkish frigates for nearly ten months due to security considerations. Zawya (2025) notes that in April 2025, Turkish Petroleum Corporation (TPAO) signed an onshore exploration and production agreement covering three blocks spanning 16,000 square kilometers.

Turkey's Energy Minister Alparslan Bayraktar, quoted by Horseed Media (2025), announced in December 2025 that drilling would begin in 2026: "We carried out seismic operations this year, and most likely 2026 will be a drilling year for us in Somalia's offshore region." He noted that offshore drilling would be highly complex, requiring operations in deep waters of around 3,000 meters, and that Turkey would dispatch "recently acquired vessels" to survey and extract resources.

Onshore Development. Bayraktar also outlined plans for onshore drilling, acknowledging significant infrastructure challenges: "They don't even have a road to access the area. So, we need to build the relevant infrastructure. Security is another challenge, and we are working to address these issues. In 2026, we aim to start operations, and this time it will not be seismic studies but direct drilling in the onshore block in Somalia."

Resource Potential. According to Zawya (2025), US government reports indicate that Somalia may have at least 30 billion barrels of oil and gas reserves. Developing these resources would require significant investment over three to five years, with estimates suggesting Turkey would need to spend up to half a billion dollars to complete exploration and initial drilling operations, with further development potentially costing several billion dollars more.

Somali President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, quoted by Horseed Media (2025), has framed oil development as transformative for Somalia's economy: "Somalia will begin boring its first oil well within months. Our commitment is to use the God-given wealth in Somalia to drive growth and everything will be done according to our laws."

The energy partnership exemplifies win-win economics at scale: Somalia gains investment, infrastructure, and future revenue from resource extraction; Turkey gains access to significant hydrocarbon reserves, reducing energy import dependence and creating commercial opportunities for Turkish Petroleum Corporation.

Spaceport Construction: Turkey's Strategic Leap

The most dramatic manifestation of Turkey-Somalia strategic partnership is the spaceport project—a facility that will enable Turkey to launch its homegrown satellites independently while positioning itself as a commercial launch provider in the growing global space market.

Project Announcement and Rationale. Yıldız, Duyar, and Yıldırım (2026) report that the spaceport project was announced by Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in late December 2025, with Industry and Technology Minister Fatih Kacır subsequently providing details. Feasibility and design work have been completed, and the first phase of construction is now underway on land allocated to Türkiye under a bilateral agreement with Somalia.

Strategic Location Advantages. TRT Afrika (2025b) explains that Somalia's location near the equator provides critical technical advantages for space launches. Astrophysicist Umut Yildiz, quoted by TRT Afrika (2025b), explains: "The Earth's rotational speed is highest at the equator, so rockets sort of receive additional thrust when launched, and need less fuel to transport large rockets into orbit. Somalia is a great location for fuel efficiency."

Additional advantages identified by TRT Afrika (2025b) include:

- Weather conditions allowing launches throughout the year
- Low air and sea traffic density
- Launch trajectories over open ocean, reducing risks to populated areas

Security Considerations. While Somalia's security situation presents challenges, Yıldız, Duyar, and Yıldırım (2026) note that the existing Turkish military base in Mogadishu provides a security framework

for the spaceport. The facility will be protected by established security arrangements, including the Turkish military presence in the region.

Phased Development Plan. Yıldız, Duyar, and Yıldırım (2026) outline the spaceport project's three-phase development strategy:

1. National Autonomy Phase: Ensuring launches of domestic Turkish satellites into low Earth orbit (LEO) and geosynchronous Earth orbit (GEO), eliminating external dependency in critical areas like rocket engines, fuel technologies, propulsion systems, high-technology materials, avionics, and ground support infrastructure.
2. Industrial Development Phase: Deepening domestic capabilities in space technology manufacturing, creating a sustainable and competitive domestic industrial ecosystem.
3. Commercialization Phase: Opening the facility for international private sector clients to generate revenue and provide launch services in the global market.

Market Context. TRT Afrika (2025b) reports that the global space economy reached an estimated $600 billion in 2024 and is projected to approach $1.8 trillion by the mid-2030s. Launch services are among the fastest-growing segments, yet viable launch sites worldwide remain limited, creating a structural bottleneck. Professor Arif Karabeyoglu, member of the Turkish Space Agency (TUA) Board of Directors, quoted by Yıldız, Duyar, and Yıldırım (2026), notes: "Despite the rapid increase in launch demand and available vehicles, the world faces a severe shortage of suitable launch sites."

Strategic Significance. Space and defense policy expert Nazmelis Zengin, quoted by Yıldız, Duyar, and Yıldırım (2026), observes: "This project gives Türkiye a credible and sustainable position in the rapidly expanding global space launch market by aligning geography, technology and strategic autonomy." The current concentration of launch capacity has produced bottlenecks and waiting lists for satellite operators worldwide—a gap Turkey aims to fill.

Timeline. Yıldız, Duyar, and Yıldırım (2026) report that the Turkish Space Agency plans to achieve initial operational capability in the first months of 2027. The project is coordinated by the Ministry of Industry and Technology, the Turkish Space Agency (TUA), and other national institutions.

The spaceport represents the ultimate expression of win-win partnership: Turkey gains independent launch capability, strategic autonomy, and commercial revenue; Somalia gains infrastructure investment, jobs, technology transfer, and positioning as a space-faring nation. TRT Afrika (2025b) reports that President Mohamud has claimed Somalia could "become the first African nation with a space station" through this partnership.

Other Economic Sectors

Beyond ports, energy, and space, Turkey-Somalia economic cooperation spans multiple sectors:

Airport Management. Turkish companies manage Mogadishu's Aden Adde International Airport, providing expertise that has transformed the facility into a modern transportation hub.

Military Cooperation. Turkey operates a large military base in Mogadishu (Turksom) and has trained thousands of Somali soldiers, representing roughly one-third of Somalia's military, both in Turkey and at the Mogadishu base.

Education. Turkish schools and universities operate in Somalia, including the Somalia-Turkey Vocational School for Girls and numerous educational institutions supported by TİKA and Maarif Foundation.

Construction. Turkish construction companies have been involved in numerous infrastructure projects, from roads to government buildings.

Banking and Finance. Turkish banks and financial institutions have established presence in Somalia, facilitating trade and investment.

Summary of Economic Returns

The comprehensive nature of Turkey-Somalia economic cooperation generates significant returns for Turkey:

Sector	Turkish Entity	Estimated Investment	Estimated Returns/Benefits
Healthcare	TİKA, Ministry of Health	$135.7 million (hospital budget)	$8–12 million annual revenue; soft power; diplomatic access
Port Management	Albayrak Group	Significant infrastructure investment	Commercial returns; trade facilitation
Oil Exploration	TPAO	$500 million+ (initial phase)	Access to 30 + billion barrels reserves
Spaceport	TUA, Ministry of Industry	Classified	Launch capability; commercial revenue; strategic autonomy
Military	Ministry of Defense	Significant	Strategic presence; regional influence
Education	Maarif Foundation, TİKA	Significant	Soft power; human capital development
Construction	Multiple Turkish firms	Various	Commercial returns; infrastructure development

This portfolio approach spreads risk across sectors while creating reinforcing benefits. Health diplomacy opened doors; economic cooperation sustains and deepens the relationship.

OUTCOMES AND IMPACT

Healthcare System Improvements

Turkey's health diplomacy has produced measurable improvements in Somalia's healthcare capacity and service delivery. The Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Hospital alone has transformed the landscape of tertiary care in the country, introducing specialized services previously unavailable. Hiiraan Online (2025) documents that before the hospital's establishment, Somalis requiring cardiac surgery, advanced trauma care, or specialized cancer treatment had to travel abroad at prohibitive cost or forgo treatment entirely.

TRT Afrika (2025a) reports that the hospital's dialysis unit, the largest in Somalia, provides life-sustaining treatment to patients with renal failure who would otherwise face certain death. The burn center addresses a critical need in a context where domestic accidents and conflict-related injuries are common. The angiography department enables diagnosis and treatment of cardiovascular conditions that previously went undetected until catastrophic presentation.

Yılmaz and Ketenci (2024) provide empirical validation of these improvements, using Data Envelopment Analysis to demonstrate that Turkey's interventions have contributed to improved health service capacity in Somalia relative to regional peers.

Beyond the flagship hospital, TİKA's distributed projects have strengthened healthcare across Somalia. Kavak and Satti (2025) document that equipment donations have enabled regional hospitals to expand services, while training programs have built professional capacity that persists beyond individual projects.

Human Capital Development

Perhaps the most sustainable impact of Turkey's health diplomacy lies in human capital development. Hiiraan Online (2025) reports that the training of over 120 Somali specialists represents a transformative investment in Somalia's health workforce. These professionals not only provide services but also train subsequent generations, creating multiplier effects that extend far beyond their individual clinical contributions.

The integration of Somali physicians into hospital management and clinical leadership fosters ownership and sustainability. Unlike models where expatriate professionals provide services with limited local engagement, Turkey's approach deliberately cultivates Somali leadership. Somali doctors serve as specialists, trainers, and coordinators, ensuring that capacity remains when Turkish staff eventually transition.

A Somali doctor working at the hospital, interviewed by Hiiraan Online (2025), explains why he chose to remain in Somalia despite opportunities abroad: "I could work as an ordinary doctor elsewhere, but

Somalia needs medical professionals. I help people here. That is the main purpose of being a doctor." This commitment to national service, enabled by Turkish capacity-building, represents sustainable impact at its most profound.

Diplomatic and Strategic Outcomes

Turkey's health diplomacy has generated significant diplomatic returns that extend beyond the health sector and enable broader economic cooperation. The visible presence of Turkish institutions and personnel in Mogadishu has positioned Turkey as Somalia's most trusted international partner. Somali officials consistently reference the "brotherhood" between the two nations, a framing that transcends standard diplomatic language (Omar, 2025).

Somalia's State Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ali Mohamed Omar (2025), articulates this relationship: "When the Somali people reflect on their journey of recovery, one truth stands above all: Türkiye has been with Somalia through every chapter of its struggle and renewal. From the darkest days of the humanitarian crisis to the ongoing work of state-building and development, Türkiye has never wavered in its commitment. It is no exaggeration to say that Somalia's path back from total collapse would have been unthinkable without Türkiye's brotherly support."

This diplomatic capital has translated into tangible economic outcomes. Turkey maintains its largest overseas embassy in Mogadishu. Turkish companies have secured contracts for major infrastructure projects including port management, airport operations, oil exploration, and spaceport construction. In 2024, Turkey mediated negotiations between Somalia and Ethiopia over regional tensions, demonstrating its credibility as a diplomatic actor in the Horn of Africa (Omar, 2025).

Health diplomacy has also contributed to Turkey's broader Africa strategy. Özkan (2020) notes that Somalia serves as a platform for demonstrating Turkey's commitment to the continent, with positive spillover effects on relations with other African nations. The "Somalia model" of comprehensive engagement has been referenced in discussions of Turkey's approach elsewhere in Africa.

Soft Power and Public Perception

Among the Somali public, Turkey enjoys exceptionally favorable perceptions rooted in visible, tangible assistance. The Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Hospital functions as a daily reminder of Turkish support, with patients and families experiencing direct benefits. TRT Afrika (2025a) notes that public references to the hospital as "Erdoğan Hospital" reflect personalization of the bilateral relationship that strengthens emotional attachment.

Turkish cultural presence reinforces these perceptions. Turkish language instruction through Yunus Emre Institute, Turkish television dramas broadcast on Somali channels, and educational opportunities in

Turkey create multiple touchpoints between Somali society and Turkish culture. Health diplomacy initiated this engagement, but complementary initiatives have sustained and deepened it.

This positive public perception creates a favorable environment for Turkish businesses and investors, demonstrating the economic value of soft power.

DISCUSSION

The Win-Win Paradigm in Practice

Turkey's engagement with Somalia exemplifies the win-win paradigm in international cooperation. Unlike traditional aid relationships characterized by donor sacrifice and recipient dependency, Turkey's approach generates tangible benefits for both parties:

Benefits for Somalia:

- Critical healthcare infrastructure and services
- Training for 120 + medical specialists
- Modernized port and airport facilities
- Oil and gas exploration investment
- Spaceport infrastructure and technology transfer
- Military training and security cooperation
- Educational opportunities
- Employment for thousands of Somalis

Benefits for Turkey:

- Soft power and diplomatic influence
- Commercial returns from port management
- Access to significant hydrocarbon reserves
- Strategic space launch capability
- Commercial space launch revenue potential
- Regional strategic presence
- Markets for Turkish goods and services
- International prestige as a humanitarian actor

This mutual benefit structure creates sustainability that purely charitable approaches cannot achieve. When both parties perceive ongoing value, partnerships endure beyond initial humanitarian impulses.

Health Diplomacy as Gateway

The Somalia case demonstrates the power of health diplomacy as a gateway to broader cooperation. Turkey's health engagement opened doors that facilitated subsequent economic partnerships:

1. Trust establishment: Health initiatives demonstrated Turkey's genuine commitment to Somali welfare, building trust that commercial actors could leverage.
2. Visible presence: Turkish healthcare personnel and institutions created a visible, positive Turkish presence throughout Somalia.
3. Network development: Health engagement connected Turkish and Somali professionals across sectors, facilitating business relationships.
4. Political capital: Successful health initiatives generated political goodwill that facilitated negotiations in other sectors.
5. Demonstration effect: The hospital showed what Turkish partnership could achieve, creating demand for Turkish involvement in other sectors.

Health diplomacy did not merely precede economic cooperation—it enabled it. Without the trust and goodwill generated by healthcare initiatives, Turkey would likely not have secured port management, oil exploration, and spaceport agreements.

Financial Sustainability and Revenue Generation

The Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Hospital's estimated $8–12 million annual revenue demonstrates that health diplomacy initiatives can be designed for financial sustainability while maintaining accessibility. Key factors enabling this balance include:

Tiered pricing

Somali citizens pay nominal fees; international patients pay market rates.

Revenue diversification

Patient fees supplemented by training programs, ancillary services, and international referrals.

Efficiency

High patient volumes (40,000 monthly) spread fixed costs across large service base.

Quality differentiation

Specialized services unavailable elsewhere attract patients willing to pay.

Turkish contribution

Initial Turkish investment ($85.6 million over five years) covered startup costs, allowing sustainable pricing models.

This model suggests possibilities for health diplomacy initiatives that generate partial or full cost recovery while serving vulnerable populations.

Strategic Dimensions: Space and Energy

The spaceport and energy agreements represent the strategic culmination of Turkey-Somalia partnership. Both address critical Turkish strategic interests:

Space Independence. Yıldız, Duyar, and Yıldırım (2026) explain that Turkey currently depends on other nations for satellite launches. The Somalia spaceport will enable independent launch capability, eliminating external dependency in critical space technologies.

Commercial Space Revenue. TRT Afrika (2025b) notes that with global launch capacity constrained and demand growing, Turkey can generate significant commercial revenue by serving international clients.

Energy Security. Turkey imports most of its energy. Access to Somali hydrocarbon reserves (estimated 30 + billion barrels) could significantly improve Turkey's energy security.

Geostrategic Positioning. A Turkish spaceport and military base in Somalia positions Turkey as a significant actor in the Horn of Africa, with influence extending throughout the region.

These strategic dimensions demonstrate how humanitarian engagement can evolve into partnerships serving core national interests—while simultaneously benefiting the partner country.

Contributions to Global Health Cooperation Discourse

The Turkey-Somalia case offers insights for broader global health cooperation discourse. First, it demonstrates the potential of middle powers as health diplomacy actors. While much literature focuses on major powers and multilateral institutions, Turkey's experience shows that middle powers can achieve significant impact through focused, sustained engagement in selected partner countries (Kragelund, 2021).

Second, the case illustrates the importance of political leadership in health diplomacy. Donelli (2022) notes that Erdoğan's 2011 visit was not merely symbolic but established a framework for comprehensive engagement that subsequent officials have maintained. High-level political attention signals priority, mobilizes resources, and creates accountability for follow-through.

Third, the case highlights the value of multi-channel engagement. Turkey's simultaneous involvement of government agencies, NGOs, private sector, and professional associations creates dense networks that formal diplomatic relationships alone cannot achieve (Apakan & Akçay, 2023).

Fourth, the case demonstrates that health diplomacy can succeed in challenging environments. Somalia's security situation remains difficult, yet Turkey has maintained continuous presence and

operations throughout.

Finally, the case shows that health diplomacy can be designed for mutual benefit and sustainability, not merely charitable assistance.

Challenges and Limitations

Despite significant achievements, Turkey's health diplomacy in Somalia faces challenges and limitations:

Sustainability Concerns. While the hospital generates revenue, continued Turkish presence and funding remain necessary for maintaining current service levels. Questions about eventual transition to full Somali management require attention.

Security Constraints. Security concerns limit geographic reach. While the hospital serves patients from across Somalia, most TİKA projects concentrate in Mogadishu and relatively secure areas.

Coordination Challenges. Turkey's bilateral approach sometimes operates parallel to rather than integrated with broader international efforts.

Measurement Gaps. While service delivery metrics are readily available, assessing diplomatic returns and soft power impacts proves challenging.

Oil and Space Implementation Risks. Both oil exploration and spaceport construction face significant technical, security, and financial challenges that could delay or derail implementation.

CONCLUSION

This study has evaluated Turkey's health diplomacy initiatives in Somalia within the framework of global health cooperation, examining how health-focused development assistance has contributed to rebuilding Somalia's healthcare system while generating mutual economic and diplomatic benefits. The findings demonstrate that Turkey's engagement, catalyzed by the 2011 famine and sustained over more than a decade, has produced significant outcomes across multiple dimensions while evolving into a comprehensive strategic partnership.

The Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Training and Research Hospital stands as the most visible manifestation of Turkish health diplomacy, providing services unavailable elsewhere in Somalia while training a new generation of Somali specialists. Wikiwand (2025) and TRT Afrika (2025a) document that with a $135.7 million operating budget and estimated annual revenue of $8–12 million, the hospital demonstrates that health diplomacy initiatives can be designed for financial sustainability while maintaining accessibility. TİKA's distributed projects have strengthened healthcare infrastructure and built capacity across multiple facilities (Kavak & Satti, 2025).

Beyond healthcare delivery, these initiatives have generated significant diplomatic returns that enabled broader economic cooperation. Hiiraan Online (2026) reports that Turkey now manages Mogadishu Port and Airport. Horseed Media (2025) and Zawya (2025) document that Turkey has secured substantial oil exploration rights with drilling commencing in 2026. Yıldız, Duyar, and Yıldırım (2026) report that Turkey has begun construction of a strategic spaceport that will provide independent launch capability and commercial revenue. This evolution from humanitarian assistance to strategic partnership exemplifies the win-win philosophy that characterizes Turkey's approach.

The spaceport project is particularly significant, positioning Turkey to address global launch capacity constraints while gaining strategic autonomy in space technologies. With the global space economy approaching $1.8 trillion by the mid-2030s and launch sites severely limited, Turkey's equatorial launch facility in Somalia could generate substantial commercial revenue while serving national security interests (TRT Afrika, 2025b).

Examination of Turkey's health diplomacy in other countries reveals that the Somali case is not unique but rather part of a broader pattern. Hiiraan Online (2016) documents the Nyala Sudan-Turkish Training and Research Hospital and Misrata Physical Therapy Hospital in Libya. TİKA (2025) reports on the Burkina Faso kidney transplant initiative. These demonstrate that Turkey has developed a deliberate, replicable health diplomacy strategy combining infrastructure investment, human capital development, and partnership orientation.

The Turkey-Somalia case offers several key lessons for global health cooperation:

1. Health diplomacy can serve as a gateway to broader cooperation. Trust and goodwill generated through health initiatives enable partnerships in other sectors.
2. Mutual benefit creates sustainability. Partnerships designed to benefit both parties endure beyond initial humanitarian impulses.
3. Strategic location matters. Somalia's equatorial position created unique value for Turkey's space ambitions, demonstrating how geographic factors can deepen partnerships.
4. Long-term commitment yields return. Turkey's decade-plus engagement, maintained despite challenges, generated trust that facilitated major economic agreements.
5. Multi-sector integration amplifies impact. Health, education, infrastructure, security, and economic cooperation create reinforcing benefits.

Challenges including sustainability, security, coordination, and implementation risks warrant ongoing attention. Oil exploration and spaceport construction face significant hurdles that will test the partnership's resilience.

As global health governance evolves and new actors emerge, understanding diverse approaches to health diplomacy becomes increasingly important. Turkey's engagement with Somalia provides a model of comprehensive, sustained, partnership-oriented cooperation that generates benefits for both partners while contributing to global health goals. For Somalia, Turkish partnership has helped rebuild a shattered

health system, develop human capital, attract investment, and restore hope for a prosperous future. For Turkey, it has demonstrated the power of health as a diplomatic instrument, established a platform for broader engagement with Africa, and secured strategic assets in energy and space. For global health cooperation, it offers insights into how health can serve both humanitarian and strategic objectives when pursued with genuine commitment and mutual benefit orientation.

The Somali case suggests that the most effective international partnerships may be those where both parties give and receive—where the language of "brotherhood" reflects not empty rhetoric but genuine mutual benefit. In an era of skepticism about traditional aid relationships, the win-win model exemplified by Turkey-Somalia cooperation points toward new possibilities for international partnership in health and beyond.

Declarations

Ethics approval and consent to participate

This study, "*An Evaluation of Turkey's Health Diplomacy Initiatives in Somalia: A Case Study within the Framework of Global Health Cooperation*" was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of Al-Hayat Medical University (Approval No: AHREC/2025/057, Date: 19 October 2025). The committee confirmed that this study conforms to the principles of ethical research involving human participants as outlined in the Declaration of Helsinki (2013 revision), the Belmont Report, and the Al-Hayat Medical University Ethics Policy.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author thanks the Faculty of Health Sciences at Al-Hayat Medical University for supporting this research.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

FUNDING

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION

Mohamud Mohamed Farah conceptualized the study, conducted the research, analyzed the data, and wrote the manuscript.

ORCID

Mohamud Mohamed Farah: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5355-1461

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