



SOFT POWER, PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TECHNIQUES: A CONCEPTUAL EVALUATION*

YUMUŞAK GÜÇ, KAMU DİPLOMASİSİ VE KAMU DİPLOMASİSİ TEKNİKLERİ: KAVRAMSAL BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

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Abstract

For many years, the traditional diplomacy model was accepted as the most important actor in building relations around the world. Traditional diplomacy involved negotiations between two or more government officials that resulted in consensus or conflict. Countries with especially high military and economic power in international relations have always had an advantageous position against their counterparts. For many years, traditional diplomacy has been the dominant paradigm of international relations. However, in the 21st century, a new foreign policy method has emerged that deeply affects international relations and causes a kind of paradigm shift. The subject of this method, known as public diplomacy, is people rather than governments. Public diplomacy, which can be seen as a strategic communication model, has meanings such as influencing the people of other countries and becoming a center of attraction for them. The present study seeks to provide a detailed evaluation of public diplomacy and its techniques, starting from the concept of soft power integrated with public diplomacy. As a part of this effort, public diplomacy techniques were exemplified and tried to be presented to the reader in a practical way.

Key Words : Soft power, diplomacy, public diplomacy, international relations.

Öz

Geleneksel diplomasi, uzun yıllar dünya üzerindeki ilişkilerin inşa edilmesinde en önemli aktör olarak kabul edilmekteydi. Geleneksel diplomasi, iki ya da daha fazla sayıda hükümet görevlisinin mutabakat ya da çatışmaları ile sonuçlanan müzakerelerini içermekteydi. Uluslararası ilişkilerde özellikle askeri ve ekonomik gücü yüksek olan ülkeler, muhatapları karşısında her zaman avantajlı bir konum elde etmekteydi. Uzun yıllar geleneksel diplomasi uluslararası ilişkilerin hâkim paradigması olmuştur. Ancak 21. yüzyılda uluslararası ilişkileri derinden etkileyen ve bir tür paradigma değişimine neden olan yeni bir dış politika yöntemi ortaya çıkmıştır. Kamu diplomasisi olarak bilinen bu yöntemin öznesi hükümetlerden çok halklardır. Stratejik bir iletişim modeli olarak görülebilecek olan kamu diplomasisi, başka ülkelerin halkalarını etkilemek, onlar için cazibe merkezi haline gelmek gibi anlamlar taşımaktadır. Bu çalışmada, kamu diplomasisi ile bütünleşen yumuşak güç kavramından yola çıkılarak kamu diplomasisi ve tekniklerine dair detaylı bir değerlendirme

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yapılmıştır. Çalışmada kamu diplomasisi teknikleri örneklendirilerek uygulamalı şekilde okuyucuya sunulmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler : Yumuşak güç, diplomasi, kamu diplomasisi, uluslararası ilişkiler.

INTRODUCTION

Public diplomacy has started to be accepted as an important method in international relations, especially since the post-Cold War period in the 1990s. In the post-Cold War era, the global system was reshaped with a focus on civil society. Thus, it has been understood that politics will be realized on the basis of society in the era of globalization and information after the Cold War. If politics will be carried out on the basis of society, it means that diplomacy will become civilian. Civil society, civil actors and the public will now be among the stakeholders of diplomacy. This change and transformation in the nature of diplomacy is seen as the most important factor that creates public diplomacy (Ekşi, 2014: 9).

The most important resource that feeds public diplomacy is the soft power of a country. Since public diplomacy is a strategic communication model based on soft power, based on civil society and focusing on the public. The most important difference that distinguishes public diplomacy from traditional diplomacy is that it is civilian or looks civilian. In public diplomacy, the target is the people of other countries. Therefore, public diplomacy expresses a perspective beyond official government relations. Soft power is of great importance in public diplomacy to influence the public opinion of other countries. Because soft power includes cultural and political values and a strong foreign policy. The basis of soft power is to create a strong image against other people and to attract them.

Public diplomacy, as a set of policies that activate the soft power potential, is accepted as a popular foreign policy method today. Countries that claim to have a global power in the world carry out public diplomacy activities. Public diplomacy activities can be realized with some techniques. This study aims to evaluate public diplomacy techniques from a theoretical perspective. However, the limits of the study are not limited to what public diplomacy techniques are. In the study, the concepts of soft power and public diplomacy will be given in detail. The aim of the study is to provide a theoretical background to researchers working on public diplomacy. In this context, first of all, public diplomacy will be explained based on the concept of soft power. After giving a conceptual analysis of public diplomacy, what public diplomacy techniques are will be explained.

1. SOFT POWER

Four centuries ago, with a realistic point of view, the only power that Nicollo Machiavelli put forward by advising the princes in Italy about the policies of cruelty and fear was military power (Yılmaz, 2012: 48). In 1939, the British realist E. H. Carr (1964: 108) divided international power into three categories: military, economic, and power over ideas. Thus, the concept of power has gained new dimensions in terms of the discipline of international relations. Power is the ability to influence the

behavior of others to get what one wants. Joseph S. Nye presents his perspective on the concept of power as follows: “You can force others with threats, you can deceive them by paying them, or you can attract them to want what you want” (2005: 11). Thus, Nye draws attention to the three dimensions of power (military, economic and soft power). The starting point of military power is deterrence, precautions and threats. Military power corresponds to coercive diplomacy and wars in the eyes of government policies. Economic power acts from some sanctions, pressures and provocations. It can be stated that economic power is realized through aid, bribery and sanctions in the face of government policies. Soft power, on the other hand, has begun to take its place in government policies in the form of public diplomacy, either in two ways or in many ways, with behaviors such as being a center of attraction and setting the agenda. Public diplomacy is based on the principle that countries can explain their values to the World in a better way. Countries that can use such elements as science, art, sports, culture and education skillfully, which are defined as soft power in public diplomacy, become centers of attraction in the World (Özkan, www.kamudiplomasisi.org).

Soft power is the most important factor affecting a country's ability to act in foreign policy. The concept of soft power was first used by Joseph S. Nye in his book *Bound to Lead* (1990), which was published in 1990. According to Nye, soft power is the ability to attract what one wants, instead of using it forcibly or giving money (2005: 5). Soft power is the ability to lure people into doing what they want, to manipulate the motives of others, instead of forcing them or using hard power.

In this century, when liberal values such as freedom, constitutional democracy, rule of law, market economy and limited state are on the rise simultaneously with globalization, the distance of hard power from sources of legitimacy has made soft power an alternative to hard power all over the world. In this respect, soft power has been accepted as a more valuable and applicable foreign policy technique. By using soft power, states develop good relations with other peoples. Public diplomacy, which means putting soft power into practice, creates a strategic communication model that goes beyond propaganda, based on mutual understanding and tolerance (Altıncık and Güner Koçak, 2022: 139).

Hard power, as it is known, is a type of power that is largely considered primitive in today's conjuncture, such as weapons, the threat of war and economic coercion. Especially as seen in the Iraq war in the recent period, hard power has had negative effects on other people. In relation, it has faced many criticisms and protests. On the other hand, hard power can withstand the deception by use of the trickery (carrot) and threats (stick). But sometimes the desired results can be achieved without the use of concrete threats or money. The indirect way of getting what you want is sometimes called the "second face of power." In this respect, A country can achieve the desired results in world politics thanks to soft power. Because other countries that admire the values of that country, take that country as an example, and emulate its prosperity and opportunities want to watch it (Nye, 2005: 14). Here, soft power, which is the second face of power, has become a foreign policy technique that is supported

by various non-governmental organizations, international organizations, global companies and, of course, large masses of people, since it is more legitimately welcomed in the international platform compared to hard power.

Soft power and influence are not the same thing. Influence can be based on the harsh power of threats and money. Soft power, on the other hand, is not just about persuading or the ability to change people with words, although it is an important part of it. At the same time, it is the ability to attract and it means to attract and persuade (Demir, 2012: 59). While traditional diplomacy relies on military and economic power that constitutes hard power to get results, soft power is based on cultural, political and educational (and of course economic) power. A successful diplomacy based on hard power can create a sense of respect in people, but it also causes feelings such as fear, dissatisfaction and insecurity (Taylor, 2006: 49).

On the other hand, it is not possible to say that soft power and hard power are completely separate from each other. It can even be asserted that these two powers have important relations with each other. Because in both, there is an expectation of reaching the goal by influencing the behavior of others. However, while doing this, both follow different ways and methods regarding the source and type of behavior. The power of command (that is, the ability to change what others do) can be based on coercion and persuasion. The power to attract (that is, to shape the wishes of others) is the ability to use that person's culture and values or the agenda of political choices for his own purpose. Thus, it relies on the ability to make others unable to express their preferences because they seem unreal (Nye, 2005: 16). Here, soft power sources are defined as attracting, while hard power sources are generally command and coercion.

The outcome of the global information age is uncertain. The cost of this era is high and it cannot afford long-time hard intervention strategies. Actually, it does not need it. Because hard power has a high cost and a low chance of success. Scary, destructive, hateful, painful, and destructive interventions directed at societies ultimately receive a similar response (Yeniceri, 2012: 101). The most important and exemplary examples of this are the failure of the United States of America to achieve success with hard power in the Vietnam and Iraq Wars, and the fact that these policies caused a great anti-Americanism almost all over the world.

As mentioned briefly above, hard power is mainly military and economic, while soft power expresses an area of influence and attraction beyond that. Soft power is fueled by many factors. Some of these are culture, education, art, written and visual media, film, poetry, literature, architecture, higher education (universities, research centers, etc.), non-governmental organizations, science and technology infrastructure and innovation capacity, tourism, economic cooperation platforms and diplomacy. The soft power that emerges from the combination of these elements reveals the depth of a country's social capital. In addition to these, one of the most important factors determining the soft

power capacity of a country is its political system. A fair, transparent and democratic political order that paves the way for freedoms, is sharing, puts people in the center, is one of the elements that enable a country to have soft power (Kalin, 2011: 9). As can be seen, various elements that make up soft power are mentioned.

2. SOURCES OF SOFT POWER

Joseph S. Nye, who introduced the concept of soft power and made important studies on this subject, examines the sources that make up soft power in three categories. According to Nye, a country's soft power is primarily based on three basic sources: its culture, political values and foreign policies (2003: 11). It is important to examine what these three sources are in order to better understand the content of soft power in order to make the subject more understandable.

2.1 Culture

Culture refers to the way of life of members of a society or groups within it. Culture includes art, literature, and painting. But the scope of culture is broader. For example, how people dress, their customs, work patterns and religious ceremonies are other cultural elements (Giddens, 2000: 45).

According to another definition, culture is a set of values, ideas and other meaningful symbols that help individuals to communicate, interpret and evaluate as a member of society. Behaviors and attitudes influenced by culture are self-awareness, communication and language, dress and appearance, food and eating habits, time and awareness of time, relationships, values and norms, beliefs and attitudes, mental process and learning, work habits and practices. Culture is an entity that transcends individuals and gives them direction, shape and personality. The great German philosopher Hegel calls it objective geist, that is, the materialized soul. Thinkers who came after Hegel called it culture (Wein, 1959). Culture is all of the social rules that enable the development of a society's art, architecture, music, dance, speaking, thinking, listening and creating abilities (Çeçen, 1996: 11). Culture is such a whole that consists of the material and spiritual values of a society (Çeçen, 1996: 18). Culture, on the other hand, is created to be communicated to people. Cultural accumulation, which is not transmitted to all members of the society, will be weak against other cultures and will disappear over time (Çeçen, 1996: 78). Since the culture that has disappeared over time will be replaced by dominant cultures, the exported culture will also lead the society to change its mentality and preferences. In short, if a country makes its own culture more valid in front of other cultures and carries it to an international line, it will be adopted by wider masses of people. Thus, this culture will be able to create an area of influence in a wide geography. The goods and services produced by popular culture that reach large masses also cause the life style, values and thoughts of the country that produces/exports that culture to be marketed to others and to establish a sense of belonging between others and that culture. Consumed values are internalized over time and become an important element in every moment and area of human life. For example, in China, it is not only the hamburgers that

attract customers to McDonald's restaurants, but also the cultural elements associated with America and the "special social spaces" that allow ordinary consumers to taste the Chinese form of both American food and American popular culture (Yan, 2003: 37; Demirhan and Taylan, 2017: 103).

According to Nye, it is difficult for narrow-minded values and limited cultures to create soft power. Openness of cultures increases the potential of soft power. For example, the USA benefits from a universal culture (Nye, 2005: 20). Therefore, the USA has a high potential to export culture. As it is known, the globalization process has removed the borders and made the whole world a common market. Societies, which have become an important element of pressure in the implementation process of policies with the changing world system, have moved from a passive position to an active position (Spybey, 1996: 6). In this common market, people and different cultures have been blended and have led to the emergence of a common world culture. It is possible to say that cultural elements are one of the most important actors of soft power. With globalization, an intercultural race has occurred, and the way to win this race is possible if each society or country makes its own culture a center of attraction.

Countries that introduce themselves in other countries through cultural studies and that want to establish a bond of belonging between other peoples and their own culture aim to create a universal high culture. Along with the culture internalized in this way, they will add their own cultural codes to the codes of the foreign peoples they are engaged with. Ultimately, societies that are easy to manage and direct will be created, standardized by the created upper culture.

2.2 Political Values

One of the sources of soft power is undoubtedly how a country's political values are welcomed by large circles such as the international community, non-governmental organizations and international organizations. As it is known, many policies such as democracy, the rule of law, the rule of law, the importance given to individual rights and freedoms, local and global sensitivity to the environment, the free market economy, the minimal state, the popularity of all the elements that necessitate an open society, and humanitarian aid are all of that country's soft power. are important criteria in the world.

When we look at the countries where authoritarian and totalitarian systems prevail today, it is seen that these countries are not appreciated by other countries and societies. Even authoritarian and totalitarian countries face protests at various times. It is known that various embargoes are applied to authoritarian and totalitarian countries where democratic values are weak. It is known that especially developed countries view these countries negatively in terms of international trade and international relations. Political instability and the inability to establish democratic values in both Latin America and Middle East and African countries cause various political blockages and occasional rebellions/conflicts in these countries. This results in the isolation of these countries from the

international community. As a result, these regimes, which are seen as disreputable by others, cannot create a center of attraction for other countries and peoples.

The fact that a country is governed by democracy, is a state of law, attaches importance to individual rights and freedoms, is sensitive to the environment, and that the name of that country is mentioned with humanitarian aid in many parts of the world will increase the prestige and soft power of that country all over the world. Otherwise, authoritarian and totalitarian administrations, countries with bad human rights records, criminal states on the rule of law, even though they are strong in terms of economy and military, their reputation in other countries and accordingly their soft power will be weak (Demir, 2012: 63). Ernst&Young, a research company that produced a soft power index in the world in 2012 based on the global economy, drew attention to the importance of political values, one of the soft power resources, by considering the political values and policies of governments on issues such as the rule of law, individual rights and freedoms, democratic participation in elections and environmental awareness (CO2 emission) (www.emergingmarkets.ey.com).

It is also possible to express that global companies refrain from investing in countries where the above-mentioned principles of political values such as democracy, the importance of individual rights and freedoms, the rule of law, and free market economy are not developed. Although the administrations with authoritarian and totalitarian governments are strong economically and militarily, their reputation in the international community will be damaged and they will be condemned to be weak countries in terms of soft power.

2.3 Foreign Policy

Each of the foreign policy instruments of a country is an important criterion in the increase or decrease of its soft power. Especially in this period when it is claimed that globalization has turned the world into a common village or ship and borders have disappeared, multiple relations networks and civil society have become important at the international level. In such a conjuncture, it is important for soft power that each country be more transparent in foreign policy, be sensitive to the common problems of the world and follow open-minded approaches.

The actions of governments in a country, their policies both domestically and internationally, have a great impact as soft power. Today, thanks to mass media and the internet, people all over the world can follow the developments all over the world. The policies implemented by the countries make a great contribution to the formation of a positive or negative opinion against those countries. World public opinion is now much more sensitive to political activities and actions in other countries (Demir, 2012: 63).

As an example of the effect of foreign policy on soft power, the attitude of the USA in the Iraq War can be given. The popularity of the USA in the Iraq War has declined almost all over the world. In addition, anti-US sentiment has increased in many countries, including Turkey. According to Nye,

the rise of anti-US and anger towards the US stem from the wrong attitudes of the Bush government in foreign policy (2005: 22). Acting on the basis of other interests, under the guise of contributing to world peace, is met with reaction all over the world. This situation necessitates the multidimensional consideration of the steps to be taken in foreign policy of the countries.

Considering this issue, some countries carry out an effective foreign policy, even if they are not very strong, to become centers of attraction that are welcomed by the whole world with sympathy. The most important example of this is Norway. Norway, with its foreign policy vision in recent years, creates the impression of "Norway equals Peace" in the perspectives of other peoples, and the problems of various countries are resolved through this country. The negotiations on Turkey's Kurdish Question, also known as the Oslo Process, are an example of this.

As can be seen, a country's culture, political values and foreign policy are three important sources of its soft power. Countries should give importance to soft power resources while carrying out public diplomacy activities in order to influence the public. In addition, countries have to strengthen their soft power potentials that will increase the scope and influence of public diplomacy activities. As can be understood from here, public diplomacy activities occur upon the activation of soft power potential. In this part of our study, the concept of public diplomacy will be examined in order to better understand the subject.

3. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

In the changing world system, civil actors and relations come to the fore more than official actors and relations. This situation has brought about changes in many policies. Diplomacy has also taken its share from this change. Traditional diplomacy consisted of developing political relations through the governments or representatives of different states and its reflections in foreign policy. With this aspect of traditional diplomacy, peoples were not included in this network of relations. However, the relations between public diplomacy and "government-government" have turned into relations between "government-peoples" and even "people and peoples".

Public diplomacy requires engagement with different peoples by using various tools and actors beyond traditional diplomacy methods. In this respect, public diplomacy has caused a paradigm shift in the discipline of diplomacy. Public diplomacy is a strategic communication method that a government uses to tell its ideals, ideas, culture, political system, national goals, shortly, its own story to other peoples.

Today, governments' ability to effectively defend their foreign policy goals and arguments depends on the extent to which they can influence the world public opinion and especially almost all the circles of the countries they target. No matter how right a country is in any foreign problem, it will seem unfair if it cannot make other countries accept this right. The most effective lever in this field,

beyond other classical diplomacy tools, is public diplomacy, which countries have given great importance in recent years (Iskit and Dural, 2015: 158).

Although public diplomacy is not a concept with a very old history, it is defined as the modern form of propaganda by some thinkers. The concept of public diplomacy was first used in the literature by Edmund Gullion in 1965 (Sancar, 2012: 79).

Although public diplomacy activities date back to the seventeenth century, it is possible to see its application since the First World War. In 1917, President W. Wilson established an institution called Committee on Public Information and a journalist named George Creel was appointed to head this institution. The purpose of the organization, which will be called the "Creel Committee" from now on, is to make the missions of the USA in the war known and recognized in the international arena (Arpacioğlu, 2012: 24). However, it is possible to see concrete applications in this field mostly during the Cold War period. The rivalry between the West and the socialist countries and the policies of persuading other peoples can be shown as the foundations of public diplomacy. However, since the practices of this period were a one-sided communication process and practices carried out by the government, it is possible to call the practices of this period propaganda rather than public diplomacy. However, the USA, which has important studies on issues such as public diplomacy and soft power, preferred to use public diplomacy instead of propaganda. In this way, the USA has seen fit to come up with a clean and new concept.

There are three main reasons why the concept of public diplomacy was accepted under this name in the USA during the Cold War period. First, the US did not want to call its own practices propaganda and psychological warfare. He thought that using the concept of public diplomacy would better emphasize its difference from the practices of the USSR. Secondly, the introduction of a highly respected concept such as diplomacy within the duties of the National Information Agency (USIA), which is the international communication structure of the USA and continued its existence from 1953 to 1999, was welcomed. Third, public diplomacy has revealed a single concept for international public opinion. This paved the way for the centralization of tasks to be realized within this framework (Yılmaz, 2012: 17).

The most important reason underlying public diplomacy activities after the Second World War is the developments in the field of communication. Especially after the communication revolution, technologies such as radio, television, fax, and then the internet quickly entered the lives of ordinary people, and on this occasion, a development, an event, in any part of the world, could instantly spread to the entire surface of the world (Bostancı, 2012: 40). Since the 20th century, the method of acquiring the peoples has acquired new qualifications according to various technological developments in parallel with the diplomatic activities. The telegraph in the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, tape recordings in the 1979 Iranian Revolution, and the role played by fax machines in the 1989 revolutions

(TV played a minor role) have been replaced by the internet or social media today (Yılmaz, 2012: 18). With the telegraph, communication between ambassadors and governments became easier and diplomacy began to be carried out faster. In this way, the difficulties in communication that lasted for days and weeks were overcome. However, during the Cold War years, the main actor was the radio. Thanks to the radio waves, especially the USA made its propaganda intensely felt in Eastern European countries. Among the organizations broadcasting radio for the Eastern Bloc were Voice of America (VOA), which was established with the support of the USIA, and Radio Free Europe (RFE), which was established with the support of the CIA, and RadioLiberty (RFE-RL). During the Cold War, the US government-supported broadcasts were reaching half of the Soviet population and 70-80% of Eastern Europe every week (Yılmaz, 2013: 327).

With the invention of satellite broadcasts and television, the possibility of reaching other peoples and conveying their own values and ideas to them has increased. Television and satellite broadcasts have been used as important public diplomacy actors. The most important example in this regard is undoubtedly the famous Hollywood films of the USA. Hollywood and diplomacy have worked together in many ways for their mutual benefit. The US State Department has worked to facilitate the export of films. The White House, the Office of War Information (OWI), and even the CIA have mobilized Hollywood to export special-themed films (Cull, 2010: 257).

The use of the internet since the 1990s brought a new era for public diplomacy. As it is known, people meeting on social networks over the Internet can even cause big movements such as the Arab Spring. Carrying out public diplomacy activities on the Internet, especially on Facebook and Twitter, is both fast and economical. Thanks to social media tools, ideas are transmitted through websites to geographies that do not even have roads, and an interaction process occurs in these networks. This led to the emergence of a new type of public diplomacy called "public diplomacy 2.0".

Today, public diplomacy tools and methods are no longer limited to these factors, but they constitute a wide scale from universities to media, from global companies to international publications, from scholarships to exchange projects.

4. A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Public diplomacy is to create a center of attraction for the people of other countries through strategic communication of a government, and to engage the people of other countries with policies that provide positive impact. Public diplomacy differs from traditional diplomacy models as it envisages a process of interaction with other nations. By creating public opinion in other countries, it aims to manipulate the perceptions of those societies.

The activities that the states create based on their interest, opportunity, threat and potential threat-based assessments and that they carry out in order to influence the public opinion of other countries are called public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is done in order to support traditional

diplomacy activities carried out from state to state. Public diplomacy, which is carried out by states and institutions acting on their behalf, is carried out for non-governmental actors and public opinions, not the governments of other countries, unlike traditional diplomacy (Doğan, 2012: 13). In Hans Tuch's words, public diplomacy is a communication process that aims to explain the thoughts, national goals and ideals of its own nation, its institutions, culture and current policies to foreign peoples (1990: 92).

Thanks to public diplomacy, governments can more accurately explain their policies to different nations. In this way, they can prevent information pollution and prejudices. If a two-way public relations model is adopted in this communication process, the source of negative thoughts of foreign peoples can be learned. Thus, a relationship based on "sincerity and trust" can be built, taking into account their wishes and desires. Of course, the way to achieve this is through transparency. With the principle of transparency, which is one of the most important features of democratic states, accurate information is given to different peoples and there is no doubt in their minds. A public diplomacy in which the principle of transparency is ignored will never have the quality of public diplomacy, it will not go beyond propaganda, and above all, it will build distrust. According to the US State Department, the purpose of public diplomacy is to inform, attract and influence foreign actors. At the same time, it also aims to establish a relationship of trust in which certain policies and social issues can be managed in the context of mutual respect and understanding (Başar, 2011: 6).

As can be understood from all these definitions, public diplomacy is to adopt the national interests of a country to other nations with various communication policies, to shape the image of the country, to manage perceptions, to engage other peoples by providing the circulation of correct information.

5. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TECHNIQUES

Public diplomacy activities cover all the components that make up the public. Persons and institutions that make up the public and affect the society directly or indirectly with their decisions and actions are the primary targets of public diplomacy activities.

Public diplomacy is generally carried out in four stages. The primary aim is to create awareness in the targeted audiences. At this stage, it is necessary to provide reliable information flow to the public through various sources. This information is communicated to the public within the framework of a predetermined strategy. It helps to be perceived as desired. The second stage is the arousing stage. At this stage, the target audience makes an effort to learn more about the policies. After sharing and adopting comprehensive information with the target audience, the third stage, the transition to advocacy, takes place. The supporters won in the third stage target audience ensure that the determined policy is spread to wider audiences, and thus the fourth and final stage is passed.

If we need to examine the public diplomacy techniques more systematically, it is possible to categorize them in five parts like "listening, defense/defense, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and lobbying".

Listening is one of the most important elements of an active public diplomacy. If you want others to adopt your ideals as their own, you must first gather information about the target audience. The most important way to gather information is to listen to that society. According to Le Bon, who states that listening is of great importance for influencing the masses, in order to convince the masses, it is necessary to first understand the emotions they feed and appear to agree with these feelings. Afterwards, it is necessary to try to change these feelings through some suggestive dreams with a primitive connotation, to know to return when necessary, and to always sense the aroused feelings (Le Bon, 1997: 101) From this point of view, the most important prerequisite for creating perception is listening. One of the most important differences between public diplomacy and propaganda is listening. It is impossible to listen to different peoples and enter their hearts without knowing their problems, the situation they are in, their way of perceiving the world, and without engaging in a symmetrical communication process with them. Listening is also important for building trust. At the first stage, the thoughts and opinions of the society should be followed by listening to the target audience and conducting various public opinion surveys, and it should be announced that they are not indifferent to that society. According to Cull, public diplomacy begins with listening. Public diplomacy, which has to go in parallel with the country's policies, should not only appeal to the people in the country, but also to all people (other peoples). Public diplomacy, which requires creativity, is a responsibility that everyone should bear (Mengü and Yıldırım, 2012: 92).

Another technique that is important in public diplomacy is defense. This stage consists of any or all of the public diplomacy actors transmitting a certain policy or idea in a way that will be imprinted in the memory of the target audience. Although it is mostly carried out through media and information offices, embassies and consulates, different actors can also take important roles in the defense phase. With this technique, government policies are announced to the public and all kinds of information are conveyed to the society, whose listening activity has been carried out before, in order to create positive impressions on the target audience. Countries make their decisions based on different concerns and priorities. For example, a country may target another country against its own interests. The target country can be global or regional powers and neighboring countries. In other words, countries that will be greatly affected by the savings of other countries on themselves can first apply public diplomacy against countries that may have effects on them. Thus, they try to control this effect. This would be a public diplomacy activity with a defense perspective (Doğan, 2012: 18). As the most important example of defensive public diplomacy, the activities carried out by Turkey on the Armenian issue every year, especially in the USA and France, can be cited.

Cultural diplomacy, which is another public diplomacy technique, is a technique that many countries, especially the USA, England, China, France, Canada, Spain, Japan, focus on. When cultural diplomacy is mentioned, the individual or society comes to mind directly. It is the human being who produces, carries and sustains culture. Therefore, cultural diplomacy is a human-to-human activity. The role of the state here is limited to pre-disclosure and guidance. Providing its citizens with a sense of belonging and identity to be proud of is the greatest contribution the state can make to cultural diplomacy. In this context, the level of human development is decisive for an effective cultural diplomacy. In a country where education, health and cultural life are high, the loyalty of citizens to their state and their own identity are equally high (Purtaş, 2013: 5). On the other hand, there is a need for the partnership of the public and civil society on cultural diplomacy. Schneider emphasizes that the public and private sectors should develop a holistic strategy for cultural exchange and cultural diplomacy. According to him, cultural diplomacy will be successful if the necessary funds are provided. The British Council is a successful example in this respect (Schneider, 2009). American Political Scientist Cummings defines cultural diplomacy as the mutual sharing of ideas, knowledge, values, tradition and culture. Cultural diplomacy means all kinds of human exchanges (Cummings, 2003: 1). In cultural diplomacy, language is the most important tool in sharing all these partnerships, and the long-term results of cultural diplomacy depend on language. In terms of public diplomacy, exporting culture will bring intimacy and rapprochement to other peoples by showing their own culture attractive. Because it is easier to manage the perceptions of people with a common ground. Large societies are reached through institutions such as the British Council (England), Alliances Frances (France), Cervantes Institute (Spain), Yunus Emre Institute (Turkey), which have cultural exchange programs on cultural diplomacy, and the cultural interaction network for public diplomacy is increased.

Exchange diplomacy in public diplomacy is the attempt of an actor to send its citizens to foreign countries for a study or cultural interaction process, and in turn, to manage the international ground by accepting people from foreign countries (Demir, 2012: 78). Young people, who will be the future of the target society, will be invited through exchange programs, and they will continue their education here, learn the language, and get to know the culture of the country they come from. The most beneficial aspect of cultural exchange programs is that they help to erase prejudices and build relationships. In addition, it is possible to establish and develop warmer and closer relations in many fields with the dialogues experienced during the relations established in this way (Arı, 2006: 391).

Lobbying is not a different process from public diplomacy and is generally put forward with a professional approach (Bağış, 2013: 72). Lobbying is defending your own claims, arguments and facts in the international arena with the right methods and tools. So it is convincing, influencing and convincing people in decision-making mechanisms (Özkan, 2009). Additionally, Arı defines “lobby” as follows: Lobbying is an activity of influencing decision makers to adopt and implement certain

policies. They may be acting on behalf of a group, a company or a foreign country (Ari, 2009: 156). In the USA, the birthplace of lobbying, the word lobbyist was first used in 1839. In Washington DC, these activities are carried out in different ways by over 120,000 lobbyists and over 8,000 companies (with an annual budget of over \$5 billion). The most active and prominent lobby groups are the Jewish lobby and the Armenian lobby. In lobbying activities in the USA, these principles work very professionally to protect their international interests in America. Israel and Armenia are among the countries that use lobbying activities most intensively. We can interpret lobbying as a strategy of influencing and directing decision-making processes. What is desired with this strategy is to make a change in a political issue or to prevent possible change decisions. In other words, lobbies are engaged in professional activities for political and social interests. In addition to influencing decision making, lobbying also has a broader promotional purpose by creating a positive image. In this respect, lobbying activities can also be defined as a public relations practice. Lobbying has become an important factor in decision-making processes, especially with globalization dominating the whole world (<http://kamudiplomasasi.org/pdf/lobiciliktulayyilmaz.pdf>).

Although listening, defense, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and lobbying are important techniques of public diplomacy, different techniques can be mentioned apart from these sub-titles. The reason for this is that public diplomacy cannot be carried out by acting with the same methods and principles for every country.

CONCLUSION

With the phenomenon of globalization, interstate borders have lost their importance compared to the past. On the other hand, some cultures (and countries) that claim to be universal have focused on foreign policy models that go beyond traditional diplomatic methods in order to manipulate the increasingly complex international relations conjuncture in their own interests. Traditional diplomacy is a foreign policy method that regulates and builds interstate relations and resolves conflicts. However, traditional diplomacy is often insufficient in determining the complex international relations of our age, in which individualism comes to the fore. Because traditional diplomacy consists of the development of interstate relations and its reflection in foreign policy. However, in our age, many actors, from individuals to non-governmental organizations and even multinational companies, have become important factors in determining the foreign policy of states and increasing their international prestige. All these developments have led to the replacement of the traditional diplomacy model by public diplomacy.

Public diplomacy requires engagement with different peoples by using various tools and actors beyond traditional diplomacy methods. Public diplomacy, which causes a paradigm shift in diplomacy with this aspect, is a strategic communication method that a government uses to tell its ideals, ideas, culture, political system, national goals, in short, its own story to other peoples. Countries aim to

expand their areas of attraction by influencing the peoples of other countries, non-governmental organizations or international organizations with their public diplomacy activities. In order to achieve this, they benefit from various public diplomacy techniques, tools and actors.

In this study, a detailed conceptual framework has been tried to be drawn to the phenomenon of public diplomacy. In order to understand public diplomacy, first of all, the concept of soft power has been introduced in detail. Then, the conceptual framework of public diplomacy was drawn. Another issue mentioned in the study was public diplomacy techniques.

Public diplomacy techniques were examined in five basic categories as listening, defense, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and lobbying, and examples were given. The study has been prepared to present a purely conceptual framework. One of the suggestions of this study can be considered as a more in-depth examination of the conceptual dimension of public diplomacy by researchers working on public diplomacy.

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