

# READING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GOVERNANCE AND PUBLIC RELATIONS REGARDING TWO PARADIGMS

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## ABSTRACT

In this study, the concepts of culture, public relations and governance as well as the relationship among them have been studied with regard to the critical theory. How concepts are read and perceived determine how they are signified and known; and what is known about them defines how they are perceived. What we perceive and internalize build our social practices. In Bourdieu's terms, the power struggles that are waged for the purpose transforming and maintaining the social world are, in fact, the struggles for protecting or transforming the categories enabling the perception of this world. Such categories spread by means of the media by being conveyed into public discourses. Public sphere is the name of the struggle over this categorization. Therefore, this meaning formation process is also important. Being one of the effective categories for the arrangement or structuring of a society, the function and practices of the governance concept, which differentiates in two paradigms have been interpreted with respect to the relationship between public relations and culture within the frame of this study. The interaction between governance and public relations along with the functions they assume will be discussed by employing the dialectic laws that the two paradigms originate, namely Hegel's idealist dialectic and Marx's materialistic dialectic. In the same way, how the meanings and functions of public relations and governance are perceived and used in the context of different readings will be discussed.

**Keywords:** *governance, paradigm, public relations, culture, public sphere*

## ÖZET

Bu çalışmada kültür, halkla ilişkiler ve yönetim kavramları ve bunlar arasındaki ilişki, pozitif kuram ve eleştirel kuram bağlamında ele alınmıştır. Kavramların nasıl okunduğu ya da algılandığı, onların nasıl anlamlandırıldığını ve bilindiğini, onlar hakkında bilinenler ise, nasıl algılandığını belirler. Algıladıklarımız ve içselleştirdiklerimiz, toplumsal pratiklerimizi meydana getirir. Bourdieu'nun deyimiyile, Toplumsal dünyayı dönüştürmek ya da korumak adına girilen iktidar mücadeleleri bu dünyanın algılanmasını sağlayan kategorileri koruma ya da dönüştürme mücadelesidir. Bu çeşit kategoriler kamusal söylemler içine aktararak medya aracılığıyla yayılırlar. Kamusal alan bu kategorileşme üzerine yapılan mücadelenin ismidir. Dolayısıyla bu anlamlandırma süreci de önemlidir. Bu çalışma kapsamında toplumun düzenlenişi ya da yapılandırılmasında etkin kategorilerden biri olan yönetim kavramının iki farklı paradigma içinde farklılaşan işlev ve uygulamaları, halkla ilişkiler ve kültür ilişkisi bağlamında irdelenmiştir. Yönetişim ve halkla ilişkiler arasındaki etkileşim ve yüklenicileri işlevler, iki farklı paradigmaya kaynaklık eden diyalektik yasalardan yararlanılarak tartışılacaktır. Bunlar; Hegel'in idealist diyalektiği ve Marx'ın maddeci diyalektiğidir. Halkla ilişkiler ve yönetişimin anlam ve işlevlerinin, farklı okumalar bağlamında nasıl algılandıkları ve kullanıldıkları irdelenecektir.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** *yönetişim, paradigma, halkla ilişkiler, culture, kamusal alan*

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## **Introduction**

Culture constitutes the ideas and modes of thought that are made public to the self and others through various forms of externalization, including the mass media. This leads to social distribution of the ways in which the collective cultural inventory of meanings and meaningful external forms spread over a population and its social relationships. As Grunig's emphasis, 'Culture shapes public relations and public relations help change culture.' By directing the public policy, public relations shapes the society. Public relations culturally strengthens present values or shapes the new ones through persuasion instead of obligation. Culture is related to public relations activities. Culture has direct and indirect effects on the public relations practices. The relationship and interaction among public relations, culture and governance differentiate with respect to different paradigms and dialectic discourses that source them. While public relations is considered to be a means regarding its theme, function and usage in the idealist, dialectic and functionalist approach, its criticized in the contradictory approach, as Habermas indicated, due to the fact that it sometimes tend to realize social engineering in the name of the dominant powers by deteriorating the public sphere.

As a concept stemming from globalization, the practice of governance in the social domain necessitates that the institutions in a society should first exercise governance among themselves through public relations. Governance, which is practiced negatively or positively in institutions or in societies, influences the cultural aspects of societies too. As Hodges indicated, the cultural characteristics of the public relations practitioners working in different institutitons is also important for shaping this culture. Exercising governance requires the implementation of the aspects it constitutes (such as openness, transparency etc.) into the political and social infrastructure of a society in both micro and macro meanings through public relations.

In this study, the concepts of culture, public relations and governance as well the relationship among them is analyzed with regard to the positive and critical theories. How concepts are read or perceived determines how they are attributed meanings and known; and what is known about them ascertains how they are perceived. What we perceive and internalize form our social practices. "It is not possible to understand our daily activities without analyzing more extensive social and cultural formations that shape as well as frame the means, medium, rules and sources of everything we do" (Bahaskar qtd. in Deacon, qtd. in Tekinalp,

2006: 33). The views that 'it is the social structures that prepare the conditions and sources of our social practices as well as limit them' and also 'there is a mutual and active relationship between our practices and general structures' are based upon critical realism and positive approaches. In fact, both approaches display a realistic philosophical view. "Therefore, there are social and cultural structures that shape the action preferences of individuals; however individuals are not conscious of that fact that they demonstrate these preferences as a result of the respective structures. Positive approach does not attempt to conceptualize the relation of these structures with action preferences, but considers its affect as a one-way process. Nevertheless, it cannot explain how actions both change and also act as subjects of change" (Fiske qtd in Deacon, qtd. in Tekinalp and Uzun, 2006: 34).

In the critical approach, rather than the elements constructing the system, social and cultural structures as well as their relation with social practices are studied. In Bourdieu's words, the power struggles waged in the name of transforming and protecting the social world is, in fact, the struggle of transforming and protecting the categories enabling the perception of this world. These kinds of categories spread through the media by being transfreed in public discourses. In the samw way, the public sphere is the name of the struggle carried on over this categorization. Therefore, such a meaning formation process is also important.

Although globalization is associated with shaping societies in the desired direction, it functions with the intervention of multi-national capital. According to which narrative form public relations is structured as the transmitter of ideological discourses, displays its democratric and ethical position pertaining to commercial and public services

Public discourse is regulated through cultural forms. It also performs the function of meaning formation with regard to its extensive role in regulating and structuring societies. Verstraeten indiacates the categories or the levels of ideology used in the perception of social reality as well as the definition and justification of a particular worldview rather than denotation and connotation levels. These categories encourage the internalization of the structures of social space and also accept the social world given. Effective meaning formation on cognitive and ideological locates the audience and target groups as the participatants of the public sphere (Verstraeten, 2002: 364, 365).

In the frame of this study, being one of the effective categories in the regulation and construction of a society, the functions and applications of the governance concept differentiated in two different paradigms have been studied with respect to the relation between public relations and culture. The interaction between governance and public relations as well as the functions they assume will be discussed with the employment of dialectic laws sourcing the two paradigms, that is Hegel's idealist dialectic and Marx's materialist dialectic. How the meanings and functions of public relations and governance are perceived and used in the context of different readings will also be analyzed.

### **1. The Role of Public Relations In the Implementation of Governance In The Functionalist Approach**

The expression of the 'the role of PR in the implementation of governance' refers to the functionalist approach. When governance is read according to this approach, it indicates harmony, managing and making decisions together. Indeed, as a term, governance ' "derives from the Greek 'kybean' and 'kybernetes' which means to 'to steer' and 'pilot or helmsman' respectively...The process of governance is the process whereby an organization or society steers itself, and the dynamics of communication and control are central to that process (Rosel qtd in Rosenan, 1997: 146). Good governance is the utilization of economic, political and administrative authority in governing a country in all levels. In good governance; justice, tolerance, sharing and confidence formation are very important. Meaning to manage together, governance indicates the decisions made by the public and private institutions together with all citizens. In this type of management, everybody can express his or her opinions freely without feeling any fear and encountering interference. Governance poses transparency, frankness, accountability, participation, effectiveness, commitment to law and social responsibility. This situation necessitates that everybody should be conscious of his or her rights and responsibilities and claim them."Governance is...a system of rule that is independent on inter subjective meanings as on formally sanctioned constitution and charters." In other words, "governance is a system of rule that works only if it is accepted by the majority..., whereas governments can function even in the face of widespread opposition to their policies. In this sense, governance is always effective in performing the function necessary to systemic persistence, else it is not conceived to exist (since instead of referring to ineffective governance, one speaks of anarchy or

chaos” (Rosenau, 2000: 4-5, qtd in Görpe and Mengü, 2007: 1). In order to achieve governance, individuals should know and understand each other. Governance necessitates the formation of consciousness of society in the minds of individuals.

Public relations plays a significant role in enabling individuals, public and private institutions and non-governmental organization to maintain strong and appropriate relations with each other. By sustaining the positive communication with the internal and external target groups, public relations aims to direct them towards desired attitudes and actions. Hence, it uses one of the methods, namely informing, persuasion, defence or dialogue. However, persuasion and defence methods seem to have assumed a one-way and pragmatic approach. When considered within the scope of democratic conception, public relations is a communication and management process that can be applied in a democratic society proposing mutual benefits. With various propaganda techniques, public relations tries to affect the decision-making processes of the public and change the places of power centres. The function of public relations is to realize improvement in all fields through informing and create a chance or development when necessary. Thus, “although the starting point of communication, which is the essence of public relations, is to provide information, due to the importance of influencing the views and opinions, public relations process is directly related to persuasive communication” (Peltekoğlu, 1998: 143).

The areas of function of public relations include various national and international private and government institutions, such as foundations, societies, several non-governmental organizations, education institutions, hospitals, banks etc. Furthermore, public relations is both an ideological means and also a process of discourse formation. Public relations structures the ideal discourse which is suitable for its function and transfers it through codes by repeating it. Therefore, it creates awareness and raises consciousness about an issue in the target group. In other words, public relations is to create consent and approval over the target group. According to Althusser, ideological domination is structured within ideological instruments. “It arises in a formation which is basically functioning as a nomination or reference mechanism and which is experienced as embedded in rituals in ideological instruments. This is the formation process of the ideological subject. Ideology names and identifies subjects; through the practices in those rituals, subjects realize their own positions with various activities, such as worshipping, voting, defending

their country etc. According to Althusser, the opinions of a subject are his or her material actions in the material practices arranged according to the rules of the ritual defining the ideological instrument that the views of this subject stems from" (Üşür, 1997: 45). Considering the fact that ideologies arise from needs, it can be said that public relations determines the needs as well.

Social role and values of public relations help make the problem clear. According to White, public relations practitioners define their social role in four points, namely pragmatic, conservative, radical, and idealist. The practitioners who assume the pragmatic social role give more importance to social responsibility and the ethical values of the institution that is in the position of a customer. They believe that each customer has the right of representation in the market formed by the ideas. Therefore, public relations practitioners identify themselves with lawyers. Here, the purpose is to take care of the interests and objectives of the customers (Grunig and Grunig: 1996). Besides, in this role, public relations practitioners do not aim at creating an atmosphere providing frankness, transparency and accountability of the management. They only try to convince the internal and external masses with respect to the applications. In addition to all these, they assume a defensive role.

The practitioners who assume a conservative role think that their task is to consider the privilege and interests of the politically powerful ones. At this point, there is also an asymmetric approach. Conservative practitioners believe that their role is to protect the capitalist system against the government, non-governmental organizations, unions and the socialists. On the other hand, the practitioners who take on a radical social role generally represent the firms that require change in society. According to this worldview, society is a system that knowledge and information form power and impact; thus, change is realized. Public relations contributes asymmetrically to social change by providing the information that will be used in public discussions, by establishing ties among different groups and by bringing the sources together that will provide solutions to social problems (Grunig and Grunig: 1996: 12). According to the practitioners who assume the pragmatic, conservative and radical roles, it is crucial for an institution to reach its goals without the interference of the external and internal public. Those who take up the idealist role; on the other hand, defend that the controversies among the institution, the employees and the public should be solved and the objectives should be acceptable for both sides. With idealist social role, public relations contributes to the

strengthening of both the institutions and the public. The problematic of right and wrong is ascertained according to dialogue, discussion and compromise.

If we want to apply governance in all areas effectively, a responsibility and contribution culture including the leaders and citizens in a society should be created. In the same way, all individuals should have complete information about the desired objective. With regard to our topic, all individuals should ask themselves these questions: Do I know governance? What am I supposed to do to achieve it? What do I need and what is my responsibility here? The responsibility culture created at different levels, such as private sector, government institutions, non-governmental organizations and individuals can be an effective means towards good governance. The responsibility of securing the active participation of the employees to decision-making process in an institution, informing them sufficiently about the issues and details and creating an atmosphere of tolerance and confidence that enabling the employees to express their opinions freely belongs to public relations. While realizing it, the means that should be employed according to the principles of governance depends on the role and the model that the practitioner assumes.

What is important here is the role of public relations practitioners as uniting and inclusive mediators and problem-solvers. With regard to governance, secrecy and esotericism should not be allowed. Increasing the motivation among employees and shaping the corporate culture according to the requisites of governance as well as making the employees to adopt it are the responsibilities of this unit. Motivation of employees is closely related to the increase in their productivity. Improvement of work atmosphere and working conditions is really a must. One of the most important functions of public relations units is to provide an easy and natural flow of information among all levels from top to bottom and function as a unifying and conciliatory mediator in human relations. Stronger individuals or groups in society determine the roles, types, purposes and styles of discourse. They also control the dialogues that they have with the ones who depend on them. Similarly they can decide about who the participants and receivers of the discourses will be. This situation is one of the notable obstacles to governance because in governance, equal distribution of power is considered. In addition, equal distribution of power necessitates the consideration of mutual interests rather than individual ones. Here, public relations should adopt the idealist approach instead of the pragmatic one. Public relations in functionalist approach has

the position of a means enabling the applicability of governance which is attributed a positive meaning within the context of this paradigm.

Public relations is uniting, organizing, leading and conciliatory. These are also the factors necessary for fulfilling governance. Communication obstacles in state institutions usually arise from two main reasons: those originating from individuals and those related to external causes. When a "source" or "sender" does not mind the requirements of the "receiver(s)," it becomes rather difficult to convey the desired message. Centralization and hierarchical order makes the inferiors to obey the rules rather than encouraging them to creativity. Employees tend to hide behind regulations and avoid responsibility. Public relations should determine the need of employees correctly.

Public relations should inform the individuals about the institutions as well as their practices, set dialogues among the institutions and make sure that these dialogues are open to the participation of the public. Good governance has created a new citizenship consciousness. Thus, people are supposed to be concerned and questioning with regard to the events they encounter. Besides, individuals feel responsibility for these events. What maintains this sense and consciousness of responsibility is the willingness created by governance. Exercising and sustaining social power necessitates an ideological frame. This frame is created through communication and discourse that is male-dominated. Public relations can accomplish these functions by establishing a relationship among the private sector, government institutions, state and society. It can also assume a conciliatory task without allowing any contradictions and conflicts over interests among individuals and institutions. Moreover, public relations may convey the demands and expectations of the public to the state institutions related to economy and production, and monitor them.

The two important factors in application of governance are leadership and culture that reflects the identity of institutions or societies. Culture is the combination of the beliefs, expectations and values that are shared by the employees in an institution or the members of a society. Leaders assume the most important role for the construction, adoption and continuation of the behaviors forming the cultural notion. Today, leadership cannot be considered apart from culture, vision, mission, creativity and participating management. The concept of culture has a synergic significance in leadership. Culture can be used in association with some concepts, such as ideology, spirit, style, image, identity, climate, vision and mission. Culture is explained with all methods employed to



reach a goal. With its role to set the borders, culture enriches the feeling of identity by accentuating the differences. In the same way, it enables individuals to have stronger ties around common values while determining the rules and limits (Mengü and Çomak, 2007).

Regulating the human activities and relations that take place by means of groups and institutions, public relations helps discard the contradictions discords in interactions. The purpose of public relations is to prepare the due interaction areas to meet the expectations. In order to direct the masses by persuading them, their expectations should be known and the necessary measures should be taken accordingly. The expectations of man from life and the future are an important part of his ideology (Kongar, 2000: 369). The way that public relations performs its functions is closely related to which roles and strategies have been assumed in public relations practices. Public relations ought to have the power to maintain coordination among units and eliminate conflicts and discrepancies. In fact, public relations is supposed to be uniting, regulatory, advisory and conciliatory. These aspects are also the necessary elements for the accomplishment of governance. As it can be seen from all these explanations, governance is introduced as a concept aiming equal and collective participation in decision-making processes on both the institutional as well as social levels within the context of functionalist approach. On the other hand, public relations is considered as a useful means of communication in the application of governance.

## **2. Governance Concept in Contradictory Approach and the Use of Public Relations**

Formation of public relations in capitalism has begun and extended through the spread of colonialism in social and public spheres, encouragement for emigration, incitement to wars and vote hunting. Edward Bernays wrote a book in 1928, called *Propaganda*, about public relations practices. In that book, Bernays points out that like the bodies held under strict discipline in an army, public mind can be kept in discipline as well. The techniques to discipline brains are used by the intelligent minority to guarantee that the masses remain in the right way. We can do it today too...Bernay's book reflecting views is the fundamental source for public relations industry" (Chomsky, 1997 qtd. in Erdoğan, 2006: 63). The theme of public relations reflects the ways and relations of material production along with the consciousness structured accordingly as well as the cognition, the system of values and lifestyle created by this production.

In other words, it is the consent creation techniques exercised according to dominant production relations. As a consciousness structuring ideological means, public relations influences language and introduces new concepts to the system or just excludes them by transforming the language. It also provides new significations for the already known concepts. According to critical contradictory approach, governance is one of these concepts.

Impression management signifies that people use communication deliberately and strategically to create desired impressions of themselves. In interaction with others, a person uses communication to manage other people's impressions of himself or herself (Goffman, 1959, p. 4). This communication may be divided in two parts; a part that is relatively easy for the individual to manipulate at will, verbal communication, and a part that is more unconscious and difficult to control, non-verbal communication. The audience check upon the validity of what is said in words and what is expressed by other means. Thus, a fundamental asymmetry is demonstrated in the communication process, the individual being aware of only one stream of communication, the others of both (Goffman, 1959). Different positions towards the impression that is communicated may be taken: an individual may be sincere, believe in the impression, or be cynical about it. We also can expect to find natural movement back and forth between cynicism and sincerity (Johansson 2007: 276)

Within the frame of its function, public relations impression management applies an asymmetric communication model pertain in to the masses. Considered as a more positive model, symmetric public relations practices; on the other hand, leads to discussions around the remarks of some critics, such as L'tang's question: "for whom and to whom, it is symmetrical?" The meaning attributed to governance concept in globalization process is supposed to be misleading. This hypothesis stems from the ways of transfer of mutual purposes, emotions and thoughts of the parties with different potentials, who are involved in communication. Meaning is a social and cultural partnership between the sender and the receiver, therefore a mutual agreement ( over language, religion, rituals, traditions, codes, symbols,etc) should be considered here. However such a partnership has been substituted with a concealed negligence along with globalization. The public relations of governance has

caused governance to be interpreted differently in minds. As necessitated by the contradictory approach, governance rearranges the division relations of capitalist power. The domain and participation level of the actors who influence or who are supposed to influence the state mechanisms are equipped with a legal concept. Governance is the power model of the capital shaped through globalization within the international scale. This model is shaped according to the way that the state structure is connected to international centers. The organizations, such as the World Bank and IMF, manifest the class aspect of administration. In addition governance can be regarded as the power model of the transition period from the social state to the market society.

Neo-liberal doctrines demanded by globalization are imposed to several countries. It is being homogenized politically, economically and culturally. Here the structural conformity programs should be noted. The opinions of individuals about privatization, the regulation, destruction of traditional solidarity mechanisms and tax are not asked. For instance the term of regulation is also a deception. Although the meaning of the term indicates reconstruction, most of the rules remain unchanged. The decision about who determines the rules in a country can also be laid down with the consent of all members of the concerned group. Thus the social pressure coming from the group will guarantee that nobody demands more than he or she deserves (George qtd. in Çomak and Mengü, 2005: 590).

The 21<sup>st</sup> century is the period when multinationalism is practiced and popular culture has exceeded the national borders. Contrary to Huntington's discourse, the fundamental hypotheses about human relations that keep people together as well as the beliefs and values that are related to different cultural contexts are influenced by this situation. According to Hodges (2006), in order to understand the potential of public relations to "serve the society," the industry has to develop a contextual frame that will enable a research on the duality between public relations and culture.

"Culture shapes public relations and public relations help change culture" (Grunig ve Grunig, 2003, qtd in Hodges qtd in Görpe and Mengü, 2007: 2). By directing the public policy, public relations shapes the society. Public relations culturally strengthens present values or shapes the new ones through persuasion instead of obligation. As Fox stated the purpose of this industry is to control the minds of the public because the most important threat encountered is the public mind. Democratic discourse of public relations gains meaning when it is used for the benefit of society

and also when it serves to care the rights of individuals and society instead of the interests of the capital. Public relations intending to create and develop a nation indicates that public relations and strategic communications are not the domains of solely profit-making organizations. On the contrary, public relations can be used by any groups or organizations that intend to cement relations with the target publics, make changes in these relations and also maintain and establish relationships (Taylor, 2000, qtd in Hodges, 2006, qtd in Görpe and Mengü, 2007: 2). By getting out of the continuous interest shown to the nature of the profession, public relations should be interested in who is doing what along with for whom and how it is done (Stevens, 1998, qtd. in Hodges, 2006, qtd in Görpe and Mengü, 2007: 83). Culture is related to public relations activities. Corporate culture has direct and indirect effects on the public relations practices of an organization. Those who have the dominant power in an organization also determine the key element in the environment of that organization and show these elements as targets for communication.

While global public relations applies totally the same program to two or more markets, international public relations applies different programs to multiple markets according to their geography and culture, which is called 'cultural relativism'. Therefore, different public relations should be applied according to the culture and social conditions of each society. Different presentations to different needs, different uses of language and discourse, disappearance of a single perspective and the creation of new facts and values are considered. In the developing countries, the media and the government are more important for organizations than the public. Culture has been a topic of the media. Images and facts are interwoven. Depending on the public relations practices, four public relations models were historically tested in India, Greece and Taiwan by Grunig, Sriramesh, Huang ve Lyra in 1995 (Holtzhausen and Peter, 2003: 309). As a result of this test, two more models were introduced. Of these models, "personal effect model" is used when public relations practitioners want to get into contact and develop relations with important people and this model is like lobbying in the US. The other one, namely "cultural interpretive model" is applied when public relations practitioners interpret local cultures for multinational companies. Cutlip and Turner (1958: 58) begin the chapter called "Opinion and Public Opinion" with a sentence quoted from Grunig: public opinion is concept that should be encountered, comprehended and considered. In order to understand the potential of public relations as a

cultural mediation activity, we should consider the characteristics of persons in the positions pertaining to the circulation of culture and also how their aptitudes affect the nature of the activities they perform. Regarding the relationship between public relations and the other elements of society, the meta-rhetoric approach of social structuralism should be taken into consideration. Social structuralism is mainly related to the processes and effects over individuals' understanding, explaining and defining the world they live in (Daymon ve Holloway 2002, qtd. In Hodges, 2006, qtd in Görpe and Mengü, 2007: 6). From the professional point of view, social structuralist research is related to the values of practitioners pertaining to the best practice as well as their visions, successes and perceptions. Public relations creates the discourse in culture. Therefore, the values we have, ascertain the action we take in the name of public relations. According to Hodges, apart from the characteristics of practitioners, the meanings, values and hypotheses in the professional culture have a great importance in the process of reaching and establishing relations with the publics. This concept, which can be defined as public relations practitioner culture, can help understand better the contribution of public relations practitioners to the development of national culture. "Apart from the views, concepts, values and professional suppositions of the practitioners, public relations practitioner culture is: a habitat (habitus) including professional experiences and identities that direct their actions. These factors develop with professional socialization as well as larger social and cultural effects...culture is in the center of cultural mediation and in the center of this culture are the practitioners themselves and their habitat" (Hodges, 2006 qtd. in Görpe and Mengü, 2007: 7). Vergin (2004) states that in developed societies, it is impossible to seize the political power without taking control of the cultural power. Ideology, used as a synonym for culture, is related to the formation and defense of values as well as beliefs. The values of a society; on the other hand, are the conspicuous or hidden ideals shared by individuals. Values exhibit the policy of a society. In the same way, as a part of culture, norms determine the important features in a society along with the actions of individuals. Norms, values and symbols help legalize the political power system of a society (Mengü and Çomak, 2007: 8).

Governance is a discourse and consciousness formation. This discourse and consciousness is formed through the political and social culture of a society as well as the power relations it is involved in, its customs and traditions and the mutual relations with the close vicinity. The variation in

existence of individuals in social life is two-dimensional: group and grid. Group refers to the extent to which an individual is incorporated into bounded units. The greater the incorporation is, the more individual choice is subject to group determination. Grid denotes the degree to which an individual's life is circumscribed by externally imposed prescriptions. The more binding and extensive the scope of the prescription gets, the less of life that is open to individual negotiation (Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky, 2005:150). Grid- group theory works by taking the two dimensions group membership (weak or strong) and grid aspects (few or many rules) shows the 4 ways of life or political cultures. These are: hierarchical, fatalist, egalitarian and individualist. Yönetişim yalnızca egalitarian ve bireyci toplumlarda değil, hiyerarşik ve fatalist toplumlarda da sisteme uyum sağlanması ve iktidarı meşrulaştırması adına uygulanmaktadır. "When public relations practitioners deploy successful discourse, the resulting discursive change may achieve hegemonic (Gramsci, 1971) status; in that it becomes so pervasive that it is perceived as common sense. For example, Public relations played a major role in the shift from a Keynesian to a neo-liberal economic hegemony and in the accompanying ideological shift in western societies during the last decades of the 20 th century (Hall and Jacques, 1989 qtd in Motion, 2007: 266). The important thing here is the discourses and associated practices came to be accepted as true or legitimate and become objects for thought via the diffusion power-knowledge throughout society.

Globalization may bring certain limitations to cultural and economic equality among countries within the context of the nation state. Considering globalization again several values including also the philosophy of life are reproduced and introduced to the public in concordance with globalization by the companies and institutions. Hence, the cultural values of the nation state and the life styles of individuals undergo a transformation accordingly. Even if governance has the due power to eliminate bureaucracy, it appears as a power trying to remove the obstacles in front of globalization and, in a sense, bureaucracy. Here, individuals are obliged to adopt governance as an objective. Consequently the idea of conformity precedes equal participation.

## **Conclusion**

In this study, governance and public relation concepts and the relationship between them have been studied with regard to two paradigms. The laws forming the basis of these paradigms are the laws of

Hegel's idealist dialectic and Marx's materialist dialectic. Although globalization is associated with structuring societies in the desired direction, it anyhow fulfills its function with the collaboration of multinational capital.

According to which narrative forms public relations, as the conveyor of ideological discourse, is structured, displays its democratic and ethical position with regard to commercial and public services. Public discourse is arranged through cultural forms. Considering its extensive role in the regulation or structuring of societies, it also fulfills the meaning formation function. Rather than connotation denotation levels, Verstraeten points out the categories or the levels of ideology that are used in the perception of social reality and thus help define and legitimize a particular worldview. These categories encourage the internalization of the structures of social space and acceptance of the social world as given.

Effective signification on cognitive and ideological levels locates the audience or target groups as the participatory citizens of the public sphere (Verstraeten, 2002: 364, 365). Being transferred into public discourses, these kinds of categories spread by means of the media. The public sphere is the name of the struggle waged over this categorization. Therefore this signification process is also important. Thought as one of the effective categories in the regulation or structuring of a society, the governance concept along with its functions and applications differentiating in two paradigms have been discussed with respect to the relationship between public relations and culture in this study. The style and discourse of public relations in a society are determined by the economy of that society. Economic structure affects the political and cultural structures too. As a culture, public relations is the whole of the mental attitudes and intellectual attempts.

Today the media, which has a monopoly position, acts as the moderator of globalization. Implementation of governance in real sense also depends on the mediation and the quality of its function. In the frame of governance model, the state seems to be stuck in its own capacity in the international level; however, it has been turned to a means that is linked to the markets in the international level. Therefore, the obligation for a state to be integrated to the global market has been determined by the content of governance in the conditions of globalization.

The aspects of the domain of public relations, including mutuality, feedback, transparency, honesty and impartiality, are the indicators of democratic discourse. Democracy represents collective consciousness of

the public. In democracy, different interests are really represented, the preferences are real and there is participation. Nevertheless, "in 1956, Robert Dahl claimed that modern industrial states are governed with polyarchy as well as different coalitions of powerful interest groups rather than democracy...The complementary of the theories grounding democracy on the elites and class dominance and considering democracy suspiciously as it may easily lead to the hegemony of the riff raff is the conservative tradition, extending from Plato to Burk (Marshall, 1999: 141). The reality of democracy has been questioned with regard to the will power of society for collective decision-making and the power elites. By whom and with what purpose the democracy is used also explains the way public relations is practiced. At this point, public relations is criticized for being the democracy of only the private sector and profit. According to Mills (1974: 416), liberal theorists interpret the power system in a society for themselves. Based on the political role of the community called "*the public*," the decisions taken by the state and administration along with the private sector, and leading to important consequences are justified by being displayed as if they were taken for the public benefit; in the same way, the formal declarations are made in the name of the public. Within the frame of democratic conception, the public has the opportunity of freethinking and discussion. The individuals in the institutions of a democratic society directly take part in the decisions taken. This aspect indicates that the decisions are taken in the name of the public.

Reading governance and public relations according to different dialectic laws will help us understand the different practices of these concepts in different societies as well as which means are used in these practices and the reasons for that. The objective reality pertaining to the purpose for using the concepts existing in a society can gain an explanatory characteristic with the dialectic method. The laws of the dialectic movement are the initial reasons for the existence and development of everything. As the dialectic laws are general, everything fits these generalizations. However, not everything has the same characteristics and they have not happened at the same time. Things realize the dialectic movement in different ways. Dialectic movements in societies take place differently as well. Social reality has its own laws in its intrinsic structure. These laws re-produce the existing social reality along with its components and also signify them according to their own functions.



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