

# PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR FOREIGN POLICY ANALYSIS\* \*\*

## Dış Politika Analizinde Yeni Bir Analiz Çerçevesi Olarak Kamu Diplomasisi

**Muharrem EKŞİ\*\*\***

### **Abstract**

*This study introduces public diplomacy as a new framework for Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA). The conceptual framework of public diplomacy was built on four main concepts including public opinion, civil society, soft power and diplomacy. Methodologically, public diplomacy offers social values, cultures and foreign policies of states as a new analysis instrument. Ontologically, it is different from the conventional FPA as it gives priority to social actors and public opinion in foreign policy. Public diplomacy combines the level of analysis in conventional FPA and the unit of analysis to be state-individual (society) giving diplomacy a social aspect. Public diplomacy causes a paradigmatic change by including social-cultural elements in addition to bring new instruments and methods to the conventional field of foreign policy.*

**Keywords:** Foreign Policy Analysis, Public Diplomacy, Soft Power, Public Opinion, Civil Society.

### **Özet**

*Bu araştırmada kamu diplomasisi, Dış Politika Analizi (DPA)'ne yeni bir analiz çerçevesi olarak sunulmaktadır. 21. yüzyıl küresel siyasetinde sadece diplomatik ilişkiler, jeopolitik ve güç faktörlerinin incelenmesi yetersiz kalmaktadır. Araştırma kamu diplomasisi; kamuoyu, sivil toplum, yumuşak güç ve diplomasi olarak dört ana kavram üzerinden inşa edilmiştir. Bu yaklaşım metodolojik olarak toplumsal değerleri, kültürleri ve devletlerin dış politikalarını yeni analiz aracı olarak değerlendirmiştir. Kamu diplomasisinin toplumsal aktörlere ve kamuoyuna öncelik vermesiyle klasik DPA'dan ayrıldığı, analiz düzeyi ile birimlerin devlet-toplum olarak birleşmesiyle de diplomasinin sosyalleştiği tezi ileri sürülmüştür. Yeni araç ve yöntemler getirmenin yanında, toplumsal-kültürel öğelerin de katılarak paradigmatic değişime yol açtığı savunulmuştur.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Dış Politika Analizi, Kamu Diplomasisi, Yumuşak Güç, Kamuoyu, Sivil Toplum.

---

\* Submission Date: 21.10.2017;

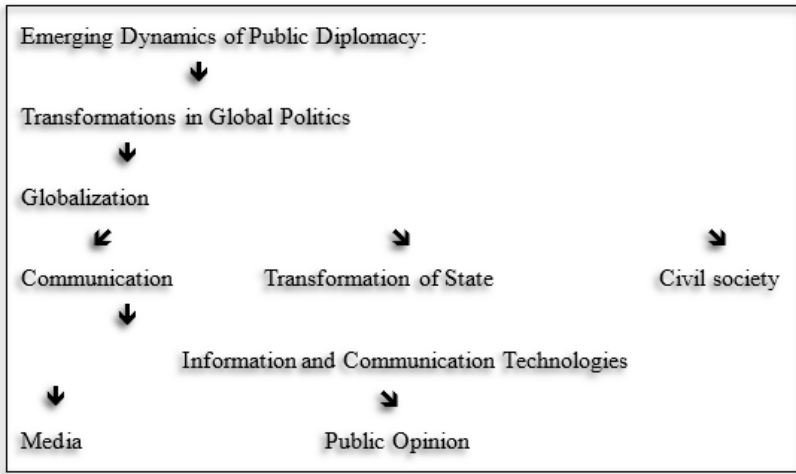
Commission Date: 29.11.2017

\*\* This article was presented in the 4th International Relations Congress, Akdeniz University on May 26, 2017

\*\*\* Asst. Prof., Department of International Relations, Kırklareli University, eksimuharrem@gmail.com

## Introduction: The Dynamics of Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy emerged as one of the most important reflections in the field of diplomacy of the transformations in the global politics for nearly 30 years in the past. The turning point of the transformations in global politics matches to the Post-Cold War period. With the end of the Cold War in 1990s, the two-pole structure of the international systems also ended and the globalization powers started to deeply transform the global politics. The information and communication powers of globalization created a new policy by changing the language, instruments, discourse and mechanism of politics. In addition, globalization also transformed the state and put it into a new reorganization process. In the process of globalization, states were pushed to seek for legitimacy since democracy and democratization were popular at least by discourse<sup>1</sup>. States started to give importance to the support of their public to find legitimacy to their foreign policies.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the globalization dynamics made societies a political subject and thus the importance, influence and role of media and public opinion in politics started to increase.



1 Rudra Sil-Cheng Chen, "State Legitimacy and the (In)significance of Democracy in Post-Communist Russia", *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol: 56, No: 3, May 2004, p. 348.

2 Stuart N. Soroka, "Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy", *Press/Politics*, Vol: 8, No: 1, p. 28.

In this context, the emergence and prominence of public diplomacy was influenced by two fundamental factors that developed within the framework of the globalization dynamics: First, one is the fact that the social aspect in global politics is gaining more and more importance. This means that societies become political subjects and thus states are more sensitive to the demands and expectations of societies. In parallel to this, there is a process where the importance and influence of media and public opinion in foreign policy are increasing.<sup>3</sup>

The second one is the fact that the communication aspect is becoming more effective in global politics. This means that information and communication technologies affect and transform politics.<sup>4</sup> Thus, states first lost their monopoly and controls on information. Not individuals have the possibility to reach information through the new communication technologies and even the production and distribution of information have become individualized. In other words, individuals now get the news instantly as well as they are able to create and disseminate news like a media organization.

Furthermore, the increase of the use of information and communication technologies in politics brought the transformation of politics in its entail. States started to use new information and communication technologies to reach out their citizens. However, the powers of individuals and public opinion to influence politics and state policies increased while, paradoxically, states improved their capabilities to influence individuals and public opinion. In this sense, states developed public diplomacy as a tool and policy to influence their public opinion.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, states developed public diplomacy to adapt to the transformations in the field of diplomacy. This way the powers of globalization, i.e. information-communication technologies and public

---

3 Chanan Naveh, "The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Theoretical Framework", *Conflict & Communication Online*, Vol: 1, No: 2, 2002, p. 10.

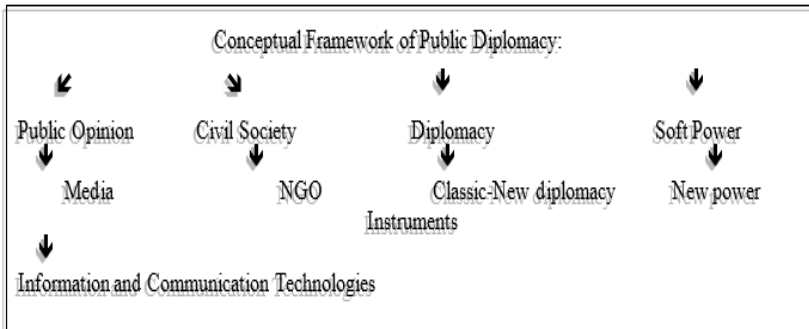
4 Daniel R. McCarthy, *Power, Information Technology and International Relations Theory: The Power and Politics of US Foreign Policy and Internet*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2015, p. 1-2.

5 Amelia Arsenault, "Public Diplomacy 2.0", Philip Seib, ed., *Toward A New Public Diplomacy: Redirecting U.S. Foreign Policy*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2009, p. 136.

opinion-civil society, brought out the public diplomacy. These two facts also determined the conceptual framework of public diplomacy. The concepts of public opinion, civil society, diplomacy and soft power not only determine the conceptual framework of public diplomacy but also provide a new unique definition of public diplomacy. Accordingly, public diplomacy is a new art of diplomacy based upon public opinion and civil society implemented through soft power instruments.

## Conceptual Framework of Public Diplomacy

Conceptual framework of public diplomacy consists of four concepts such as public opinion, civil society, soft power and diplomacy. These concepts constitute conceptual framework of public diplomacy as well as a new framework for public diplomacy analysis in the Foreign Policy Analysis.



## The concept of Public Opinion

The public opinion phenomenon is an old concept dating back to the period of Enlightenment.<sup>6</sup> Starting from John Locke, thinkers emphasized the power of public opinion in their works. Likewise, Hegel interpreted the public opinion to be an immense element of power. On the other hand, the influence and importance of public opinion in global politics increased in parallel to the development of communication technologies. The public diplomacy was first defined in 1960s in modern sense with respect to the influence of the mass

6 Edward L. Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, Liveright Publishing Corporation, New York, 1961, p. 16.

communication technologies. After that, with the influence of the Internet in 1990s, the importance of public opinion increased ever than before. In addition, the globalization phenomenon in the same years had an effect to increase the importance of public opinion.

In parallel to the increase of public diplomacy in global politics, states developed public diplomacy as the conventional diplomacy was insufficient. This new art of diplomacy, called as public diplomacy, is centered around public opinion as its name resembles. In this respect, it could be argued that public diplomacy emerged and developed as an art of diplomacy towards public opinion. Likewise, the principal premise of public diplomacy is to ensure public support and to earn the public capital. States implement the public diplomacy policy as they feel the need for public support to provide legitimacy to their policies. Furthermore, with the public diplomacy, states implement strategies to mark their policies to their public opinion like companies. In this context, it can be argued that a new, customer oriented diplomatic order is emerging. States tend to perform their diplomatic initiatives and policies before the media to ensure public support to their policies and this creates the digital diplomacy version of the public diplomacy.<sup>7</sup> Today, almost all state leaders have the inclination to use social media to explain their policies. Mass communication instruments and social media are getting more importance as the most significant instrument for states to reach out their public opinion and people instantly and easily.

Public diplomacy, which is the engagement and talk of states with their public opinion and people, is a kind of relations of states with peoples.<sup>8</sup> The current public diplomacy studies define the former public diplomacy as state-to-public and the new public diplomacy as public-to-public.<sup>9</sup> It can be argued that a new diplomatic order emerged in the new public diplomacy directly based upon the relations between

---

7 Matthew A. Baum-Philip B. K. Potter, "The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis", *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol: 11, 2008, p. 41.

8 Kathy R. Fitzpatrick, *The Future of U.S. Public Diplomacy: An Uncertain Fate*, Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2010, p. 2.

9 Nancy Snow, "Rethinking Public Diplomacy", Nancy Snow-Philip M. Taylor, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, Routledge, London and New York, 2009, p. 6.

the peoples even eliminating the state actor. In this sense, it is possible to talk about a separate process where the traditional international relations start to transform inter-public/inter-communal relations.

Public diplomacy, belonging to the new diplomatic order, addresses to the new non-state actors instead of state, which is the main and unique actor of the conventional diplomacy. The addressees of the new diplomacy are the individuals, public opinions and peoples as the prime target audience of the public diplomacy. Thus, the public diplomacy reduced the traditional diplomacy that used to be unique to elites and officially accredited diplomats, to individuals and society. Therefore, a new diplomacy is developing where citizens are directly involved instead of the conventional diplomacy formed and implemented by elites. This makes diplomacy democratized on one hand and customized on the other. In other words, the actors of diplomacy diversify and augment with more public involvement in diplomacy. With this respect, the actors of the new diplomatic order are diversified. Beyond that, public diplomacy relates conventional diplomacy to individuals and peoples, and thus creates an individual-oriented diplomacy style. As it will be discussed later in more details, this individual oriented structure of public diplomacy provides FPA with an analysis framework based on individuals.

## The Concept of Civil Society

The concept of civil society was used in the ages of Ancient Greece and Rome. Its use in the current meaning started in the end of the 18th century.<sup>10</sup> This study is based on the definition of the concept of civil society within the framework of public diplomacy by Mary Kaldor who described it to be a network created by civil citizens who supervise states, discuss policies and create public pressure.<sup>11</sup> The civil society actors are considered to be the NGOs, universities, think tanks, strategy centers, cultural institutes, trade and professional organizations and chambers, human rights organizations, environmental organizations,

---

10 John Keane, *Sivil Toplum ve Devlet: Avrupa'da Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, Yedi Kıta Yay., Ankara, 2004, p. 64.

11 Mary Kaldor, "Küresel Sivil Toplum", David Held, Anthony McGrew, ed., *Küresel Dönüşümler: Büyük Küreselleşme Tartışması*, Phoenix Yayınevi, Ankara 2008, p. 664.

aid organizations, multinational corporations, businessmen, lobbies, journalists, researchers, scholars, teachers of literature, celebrities, artists, musicians, opinion leaders and individuals who are all non-state actors.

The importance and influence of civil society in the global politics increased due to two preeminent facts, like in the concept of public opinion. First, the fact that a new form of society such as the network society and information society was formed by the development in communication technologies increased the importance and influence of civil society in global politics. In addition, the collapse of Soviets and the end of the Cold War period since 1990s caused the re-structuration of the new international system on the basis of civil society which was the second paramount fact that increased the importance and effect of civil society. The re-organization of the international system on the basis of civil society means that politics and transformations will be done over civil society. Likewise, the transformation of the post-Soviet countries that emerged with the collapse of the Soviets was done over the civil society.<sup>12</sup> In addition, this means that these societies would become a political subject. This way, states had to respond to the demands and expectations of societies. In other words, states can ensure legitimacy by getting the support of civil society to their policies.

Civil society and non-state actors take several roles including bringing the foreign policies of states into question and particularly presenting them to media and public opinion. Thus, the civil society actors disclose diplomacy and serve the function of bringing politics to street, media and public opinion.<sup>13</sup> In addition, the civil society actors have the roles of creating public sensitivity, frame policy issues in the media, agenda-setting, lobbying and norm producer and diffuser. On the other hand, the civil society actors bring the new matters into the field of diplomacy that are neglected by the states and defined as low politics issues including human rights, environment and food issues. In addition, they participate in diplomacy negotiations, to prepare

---

12 Sarah L. Henderson, "Civil Society in Russia: State-Society Relations in the Post-Yeltsin Era", *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol: 58, No: 3, May/June 2011, p. 12.

13 Shaun Riordan, "Dialogue-based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?", Jan Melissen, ed., *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York 2005, p. 184.

and submit draft text as observers in the meetings of international organizations. Therefore, they become the actors of global policy. Civil society actors turn diplomacy first to state-to-public and then to public-to-public. Thus, civil society diplomacy and even citizen diplomacy develops.<sup>14</sup>

In conclusion, the participation of civil society actors in the field of diplomacy makes diplomacy a multi-actor and multi-voiced phenomenon. It is even probable that diplomacy becomes civilian, social and private.

## The Concept of Soft Power

The conceptualization of soft power was first done in 1990 by Harvard University Professor Joseph Nye. Nye first defined the concept in his article “Soft Power” in the *Foreign Affairs*<sup>15</sup> in 1990 and then conceptualized it in its work “Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power”.<sup>16</sup> In this context, the background of soft power concept is related to the foreign policy of the US. In other words, the concept was developed for the US foreign policy and hegemony. Nye argued that it would not be sufficient for the US to maintain its hegemony by hard power, and that it needed to give prominence to soft power additionally.<sup>17</sup> This is the context where the concept of soft power emerged.

Nye developed the soft power concept as an analytical instrument rather than a theory. For Nye, soft power is based on three sources including culture, political values and foreign policy. Agenda-setting, framing, persuasion and attraction are described to be the ways of behaviors of soft power.<sup>18</sup> Nye defined soft power as ensuring the

---

14 Sherry Mueller, “The Nexus of U.S. Public Diplomacy and Citizen Diplomacy, Nancy Snow-Philip M. Taylor, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, Routledge, London and New York 2009, p. 102.

15 Joseph S. Nye, “Soft Power”, *Foreign Policy*, No: 80, Twentieth Anniversary, (Autumn 1990), p. 164.

16 Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Bound To Lead: The Changing Nature Of American Power*, Basic Books, New York 1990.

17 *Ibid.* p. 191.

18 Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *The Future of Power*, Public Affairs, New York 2011, p. 90.



others accept what you want without hard power and forcing. In this framework, it is understood that Nye was inspired from the hegemony concept of Gramsci when developing his soft power concept. Likewise, the hegemony concept of Gramsci consists of force and consent. It can be argued that Nye developed the soft power concept first over the consent aspect of the hegemony concept. However, hegemony takes place by the combined use of both hard power and soft power. It can be suggested that Nye conceptualized the hegemony concept of Gramsci again in 2007 as *smart power* by combining soft power and hard power.<sup>19</sup>

Initially, Nye attempted to explain the operational mechanism of soft power ontologically as the attraction in the interpersonal relations.<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, this attraction mechanism among individuals would work among the states according to the same operational mechanism like taking as example, taking as model and being admired. However, Nye later on discovered the public diplomacy as the main operational mechanism of soft power. Nye argued in 2004 that soft power operates with the instruments and methods of public diplomacy and joined these concepts together. In other words, he wedded the soft power concept and public diplomacy. Consequently, the public diplomacy is a soft power diplomacy that mobilizes and implements the sources of soft power. Hence, Nye reduced the public diplomacy to an instrument of diplomacy that implements the sources of soft power. However, soft power consists of only a part of sources and instruments implemented in public diplomacy. Similarly, it cannot either be defined as cultural diplomacy when culture, another source of soft power, is used. From a wider perspective, public diplomacy is a new art of diplomacy that contains cultural diplomacy by the culture and art events and that uses the soft power sources at the same time.

---

19 Richard L. Armitage-Joseph S. Nye Jr., *A Smarter, More Secure America: Report of CSIS Commission on Smart Power*, CSIS, Washington D.C. 2007.

20 Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *The Future of Power*, p. 91.

## The Concept of Diplomacy

To begin with, there is a need of explanation for the word “diplomacy”, as it is a mumpsimus confused by the concepts of international relations and foreign policy. International relations is the name of a discipline and it also means international politics. Foreign policy is the policies of states and their goals and objectives in foreign policy. Diplomacy is a tool of states to realize their foreign policies. Diplomacy is the instrument to turn the foreign policy goals and objectives into practice and policy by several instruments and methods. Concisely, diplomacy is the implementation of foreign policy.

Being defined as such, diplomacy undergoes a radical transformation since 1990s. Particularly, mass communication instruments in 1960s and the communication and information technologies in 1990s, peculiarly the Internet, caused deep transformation in diplomacy, distinctively the phenomenon of globalization. According the Harold Nicolson, a well-known author of diplomacy, the conventional classic diplomacy was an art carried out secretly by diplomats.<sup>21</sup> In this sense, the traditional diplomacy was an art serving the function of representation among states, art of negotiation, art of settlement and bargaining relations.

However, the conventional diplomacy as the tool of carrying out interstate relations in the 21st century changed in parallel to the transformation of global politics and thus to the shifting diplomatic order, creating a new art of diplomacy. Notably, the global politics where the modern states emerging as of Westphalia operate are no more a relation between states but turned to global relations. Hence, state lost its unique monopoly position in the transforming global politics and non-state actors were involved in global politics. Consequently, the actors of diplomacy started to include civilian actors in addition to states. On the other hand, the military-security issues, which are the main agenda of conventional diplomacy, started to include new topics such as human rights, minority rights, environmental issues,

---

21 Sir Harold Nicolson, *Diplomacy*, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, Washington D.C. 1988, p. 56.

global warming, climate change, hybrid warfare,<sup>22</sup> energy issue, food issue, terrorism, organized crime, smuggling, drug trade and human trafficking etc.

For that reason, diplomacy has expanded with respect to topics so that it cannot be left merely to diplomats and got deepened by the inclusion of new actors. With the incorporation of civil actors to diplomacy, it has become civil, private and even individualized. On the other hand, the addition of civil non-state actors to the field of diplomacy made the elitist aspect of the conventional diplomacy more democratic. The inclusion of new agenda to the sphere of diplomacy created new diplomacy types such as trade diplomacy, media diplomacy (TV diplomacy), Internet diplomacy (social media diplomacy) and NGO diplomacy. Diplomacy underwent such a radical transformation and it not only created new diplomacy types but also added a new framework for analysis to the conventional foreign policy analysis.

## A New Framework for Foreign Policy Analysis

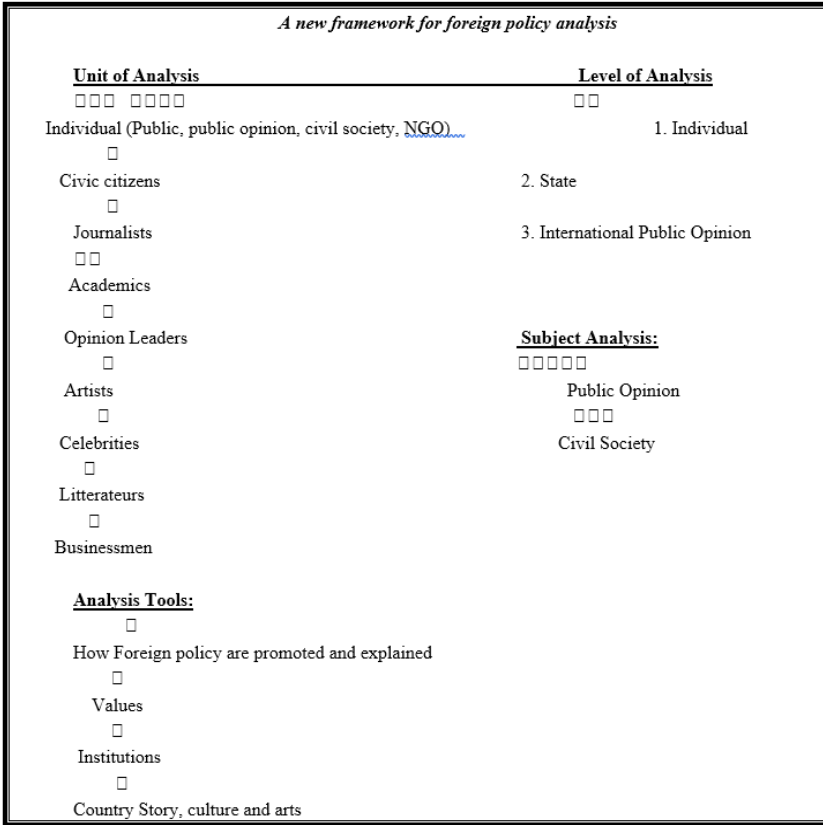
The historical background of public diplomacy is based upon two definitions of Edmund A. Gullion, the dean of Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and a former diplomat of USA, in 1965 with the present modern meaning:

“Public diplomacy...deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications.”<sup>23</sup>

---

22 Mehmet Seyfettin Erol-Şafak Oğuz, “Hybrid Warfare Studies and Russia’s Example in Crimea”, *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, Cilt: 9, Sayı: 17, Kış 2015, s. 262.

23 Edmund A. Gullion, “What is Public Diplomacy?”, *The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy*, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Murrow/Diplomacy>, (Date of Accession : 17.11.2017).



Accordingly, public diplomacy emerged as a new field in the implementation process of foreign policy.<sup>24</sup> As conceptualized above, the conceptual framework of the public diplomacy consists of the concepts of public opinion, civil society, soft power and diplomacy. Based on this framework, public diplomacy includes public opinion, civil society, non-state civil actors and the implementation of soft power instruments in diplomacy. Public diplomacy with regard to the concept of public opinion is related to how a state explains its policies to the public and how it attempts to get their support. The fundamental premise of public diplomacy is the policy of states to ensure public support through public diplomacy. More specifically, public diplomacy is the art of winning hearts and minds.

24 Eytan Gilboa, "Searching for A Theory of Public Diplomacy", *Annals AAPSS*, Vol: 616, March 2008, p. 57.

Over again, based on the conceptual framework, the essential concepts of public diplomacy can be listed to be public opinion, media, social media, civil society, soft power, attractive power, cultural power, social power, communicational power and diplomacy. And the types of public diplomacy are cultural diplomacy, digital diplomacy, foreign aid diplomacy, humanitarian diplomacy, diaspora diplomacy and religious diplomacy. It includes cultural diplomacy through cultural activities and is distinguished as digital diplomacy through the Internet means. Public diplomacy includes the diaspora diplomacy as the policy of countries for the cognate and related communities abroad and the religious diplomacy by engagement to religious communities. Foreign aid and humanitarian diplomacy includes the policies of states to build approval, sympathy and positive perception of other countries by providing foreign development assistance.

The new methods brought by the public diplomacy into the field of diplomacy are perception management, image management, framing, agenda-setting, nation-branding, marketing and advertisement.<sup>25</sup> The new instruments brought by the public diplomacy to the sphere of diplomacy are TV, radio, press, newspapers, and journals as the mass communication means; and social media, web blogs and social networks as the Internet means. In this context, the analysis instruments of public diplomacy are the societal-cultural values, policies, countries story, foreign policy itself and its way of launching, and state agencies. In this context, public diplomacy means the introduction of a distinct unit of analysis and level of analysis to the foreign policy analysis. As the unit of analysis and level of public diplomacy includes individuals, state and society, it can be argued that it presents the synthesis of the approaches of the international relations theories to foreign policy analysis in an integral and combining framework. Hence the public diplomacy takes the individual as the unit of analysis, the foreign policy analysis includes journalists, academicians, opinion leaders, businessmen, artists, and celebrities etc.<sup>26</sup>

More specifically, the individual analysis unit of public diplomacy brings perception, thought and ideas to the foreign policy analysis. In

---

25 Muharrem Ekşi, *Kamu Diplomasisi ve AK Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*, Siyasal Kitabevi, Ankara 2014, p. 102.

26 Eytan Gilboa, *op.cit.* p. 59.

addition, the second level of analysis involves peoples, social classes, civil society and actors, NGOs, religious groups, congregations and public opinion within foreign policy analysis. Thirdly, the public diplomacy foreign policy analysis as the state unit involves public opinion, pressure and interest groups. On the other hand, public diplomacy combines state and people based upon these two units of analysis and level of analysis. Public diplomacy is the diplomacy of states against people, i.e. state-to-public and therefore includes the relations of state with people in an integral manner. Furthermore, public diplomacy goes beyond that and holds a new dimension also including public-to-public relations. This way, public diplomacy combined the trio of state-society-individual at the level of analysis and thus expanded the foreign policy analysis. In other words, public diplomacy made the foreign policy analysis multi-level. This naturally makes the foreign policy analysis multi-factorial. On the other hand, it can be argued that the public diplomacy presents or combines the synthesis of the trio of individual-state-society as the levels and units of analysis and the realism, liberalism and constructivism of international relations theories.

The analysis subject of the public diplomacy involves the way of perception of the state policies by peoples and public opinion. In addition, it includes how states ensure the support of people and public opinion and how they explain their policies to them. In short, the subject of public diplomacy consists of peoples, public opinion, individuals, civil society, international society and NGOs. In this context, public diplomacy contains the foreign policy formation of the state, the implementation process and even the decision-making process of foreign policy.<sup>27</sup>For instance, states consider how they would ensure the support of peoples and public opinion when they formulate their policies as well as they add the public diplomacy policy to the formation of foreign policy.

Public diplomacy brought new expansions to the foreign policy analysis with respect to the subjects focused: Accordingly, how are

---

27 Manuel Castells, "The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance", *Annals AAPSS*, Vol: 616, March 2008, p. 57.

foreign policy and countries perceived in the minds of people? How can public support to foreign policies be ensured? How can civil society support to foreign policy be ensured and how can diplomacy be conducted over NGOs? How is the country story explained in an attractive manner to produce soft power? How are attractive country images constructed? How is a cooperation between public opinion-civil society ensured to realize foreign policies? How are the foreign policy discourses in media built, how can the discourse be controlled? How are the news management and topics framing done? How is agenda determined? How can people be communicated through public diplomacy? Questions like that are the leading issues focused by public diplomacy? The focused subjects are the analysis frameworks. Although there are unique subjects of focus by public diplomacy, the uncertain limits appear to be a great deficiency.

In this context, public diplomacy presents a wider analysis framework by expanding the power struggle and geopolitical issues of the conventional foreign policy analysis. When conducting the conventional foreign policy analysis, the subjects that are addressed are usually the relations between states, power relations, particularly the hard power relations, real politics and geopolitics. However, public diplomacy analysis deals with state-public relations, relations between people, state-civil society relations, soft power, cultural power, social power, and communication power and geocultural relations instead of geopolitics. Particularly, public diplomacy is distinguished from the conventional foreign policy as it considers the non-state actors, individuals, peoples as diplomacy counterpart and even operator. This way, it presents a new framework for foreign policy analysis.

Therefore, public diplomacy provides a contribution to the conventional foreign policy analysis with respect to unit of analysis, level of analysis and instruments. In addition, it brought thematic expansions with respect to the subject of focus. Furthermore, public diplomacy provides methodological expansions to the conventional foreign policy analysis. Basically, public diplomacy gives prominence ontologically to the social civil actors and societal-cultural elements<sup>28</sup>

---

28 Mehmet Seyfettin Erol, "11 Eylül Sonrası Türk Dış Politikasında Vizyon Arayışları ve 'Dört Tarz-ı Siyaset'", *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, Cilt: 1, Sayı: 1, Kış 2007, s. 41.

in foreign policy. Similarly, public diplomacy focuses on geocultural aspect and soft power, socio-cultural and communication power instead of hard power relations and geopolitics. In this context, public diplomacy is ontologically the instrumentalization of soft power, social power and communication power, instrumentalization of cultural power and cultural relations, the policy of creating country image, wining public capital, a policy of guiding and managing public opinion, narrative of attractive story, launching and marketing foreign policy.

## Conclusion

Public diplomacy has emerged since 1960s, and particularly since 1990s, as a product of the transformations of global politics. Public diplomacy was created by public opinion and civil society phenomenon particularly including the mass communication means and the Internet, communication and information technologies. In this sense, the first main argument of this research is that the conceptual framework of public diplomacy consists of the concepts of public opinion, civil society, soft power and diplomacy. Secondly, a unique definition was developed for public diplomacy based on this conceptual framework. Accordingly, public diplomacy is the art of diplomacy implemented through civil society-based and public-oriented soft power instruments. Therefore, an original conceptual definition was brought to the public diplomacy defined mainly according to the functions and instruments with more than 150 versions in the literature.<sup>29</sup>

Thirdly, it has been argued that public diplomacy did not only bring a new kind of diplomacy instruments and methods to the field of diplomacy but also presented a new framework for foreign policy analysis. Accordingly, public diplomacy brought a wide analysis spectrum to the leader-oriented individual analysis of the foreign policy analysis as an individual-based unit of analysis including civil individuals, citizens, journalists, academicians, businessmen, opinion leaders and artists. It was argued that public diplomacy brought a more integral dimension including individual, state and international public opinion to the level of analysis for the conventional foreign policy

---

29 Muharrem Ekşi, 2014, p. 232.



consisting of state, individual and system. Moreover, it was argued that public diplomacy brought civil society and public opinion as a new analysis subject in addition to state that is the analysis subject of the conventional foreign policy.

As analysis instruments, it was claimed that public diplomacy introduced not the foreign policy itself but how it is launched and promoted, its values, perceptions, institutions and country story in addition to the foreign policies of countries, their foreign policy goals and objectives of the conventional foreign policy analysis. On the other hand, the conventional foreign policy analysis usually focuses on power struggle among states and on geopolitics while the focus point of public diplomacy shifts from geopolitics to geoculture and it becomes state-to-public relations and public-to-public relations rather than interstate relations. In short, it was argued that public diplomacy presented a new framework for the conventional foreign policy analysis to.

## References

ARMITAGE, Richard L.-Joseph S. Nye, *A Smarter, More Secure America: Report of CSIS Commission on Smart Power*, CSIS, Washington D.C. 2007.

ARSENAULT, Amelia, “Public Diplomacy 2.0”, Philip Seib ed., *Toward A New Public Diplomacy: Redirecting U.S. Foreign Policy*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2009, pp.135-153.

BAUM, Matthew A.- Philip B. K. Potter, “The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis”, *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol: 11, 2008, pp. 39-65.

BERNAYS, Edward L., *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, Liveright Publishing Corporation, New York 1961.

CASTELLS, Manuel, “The New Public Sphere: Global Civil Society, Communication Networks, and Global Governance”, *Annals AAPSS*, Vol: 616, March 2008, pp. 78-93.

EKŞİ, Muharrem, *Kamu Diplomasisi ve Ak Parti Dönemi Türk Dış Politikası*, Siyasal Kitabevi, Ankara 2014.

EROL, Mehmet Seyfettin, “11 Eylül Sonrası Türk Dış Politikasında Vizyon Arayışları ve “Dört Tarz-ı Siyaset”, *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, Cilt: 1, Sayı: 1, Kış 2007, ss. 33-55.

EROL, Mehmet Seyfettin-Şafak Oğuz, “Hybrid Warfare Studies and Russia’s Example in Crimea”, *Gazi Akademik Bakış*, Cilt: 9, Sayı: 17, Kış 2015, ss. 261-277.

FITZPATRIK, Kathy R., *The Future of U.S. Public Diplomacy: An Uncertain Fate*, Brill, Leiden, Boston 2010.

GILBOA, Eytan, “Searching for A Theory of Public Diplomacy”, *Annals, AAPSS*, Vol: 616, March 2008, pp. 55-77.

GULLION, Edmund A., “What is Public Diplomacy?”, *The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy*, Tufts University, <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/Murrow/Diplomacy>, (Date of Accession : 17.11.2017).

HENDERSON, Sarah L., “Civil Society in Russia: State-Society Relations in the Post-Yeltsin Era”, *Problems of Post-Communism*, Vol: 58, No: 3, May/June 2011, pp. 11-27.

KALDOR, Mary, “Küresel Sivil Toplum”, David Held-Anthony McGrew, ed., *Küresel Dönüşümler: Büyük Küreselleşme Tartışması*, Phoenix Yayınevi, Ankara 2008.

KEANE, John, *Sivil Toplum ve Devlet: Avrupa’da Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, Yedi Kıta Yay., Ankara 2004.

MCCARTHY, Daniel R., *Power, Information Technology and International Relations Theory: The Power and Politics of US Foreign Policy and Internet*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2015.

MUELLER, Sherry, “The Nexus of U.S. Public Diplomacy and Citizen Diplomacy”, Nancy Snow-Philip M. Taylor, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, Routledge, London and New York, 2009, pp. 101-107.

NAVEH, Chanan, “The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Theoretical Framework”, *Conflict & Communication Online*, Vol: 1, No: 2, 2002, pp. 1-14.

NICOLSON, Sir Harold, *Diplomacy*, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, Washington D.C., 1988.

NYE, Joseph S., *Bound To Lead: The Changing Nature Of American Power*, Basic Books, New York, 1990.

NYE, Joseph S., “Soft Power”, *Foreign Policy*, No: 80, Twentieth Anniversary, Autumn 1990, pp. 153-171.

NYE, Joseph S., *The Future of Power*, Public Affairs, New York, 2011.

RIORDAN, Shaun, “Dialogue-based Public Diplomacy: A New Foreign Policy Paradigm?”, Jan Melissen, ed., *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2005, pp. 180-195.

SIL, Rudra-Cheng Chen, “State Legitimacy and the (In) significance of Democracy in Post-Communist Russia”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol: 56, No: 3, May 2004, pp. 347-368.

SNOW, Nancy, “Rethinking Public Diplomacy”, in Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor, *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, Routledge, London and New York, 2009, pp. 3-11.

SOROKA, Stuart N., “Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy”, *Press/Politics*, Vol: 8, No: 1, pp. 27-48.