NEW PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

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ABSTRACT
The new instruments of public diplomacy are deepening and diversifying in the contemporary world. Today, the range of phenomena that could be used as new tools of public diplomacy has grown. Some of the new instruments in the new millennium could be highlighted as diaspora, international conferences, scholarships, journals, advertorials, towering personalities, sport, dominant culture, relations with Intergovernmental institutions, focus on international civil society groups, news agencies, social media tools, cultural centers, universal kitchen, music and exchange programs, in addition to the older ones.The number of these public diplomacy tools that is updatedin this research is 37 as seen in the figure. Old public diplomacy tools are not easy to reshape or create such as organizing diaspora, flouring your language, kitchen or culture. But majority of the new public diplomacy tools could be created in a mid or short term such as establishing university chairs, television channels, communicating social media groups, organizing frequent international conferences, publishing journals, initiating quality movies and serials and establishing good relations with the international NGOs, CSGs and think-tanks. All of those instruments need money, but this should be perceived as soft power investment.
Keywords: Public Diplomacy, Global Image, Soft Power, New Public Relations, Public Diplomacy Tools.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the post-Cold War era, approaches and components of soft power are growing in popularity and importance. Public diplomacy is one of the most important components of known soft power. The United Kingdom was the first power to use it in the 19th century. The use of public diplomacy accelerated during the world wars and times of peace. During the First World War, the United Kingdom created the Ministry of Propaganda to legitimize and justify its distant wars.

The result of its efforts was very satisfactory especially in the Middle East and Africa. After World War II, it created the Institute of Public Relations. Today, almost all the great powers use public diplomacy as an instrument alongside intelligence, the foreign and the interior ministries. New studies emphasize that public diplomacy has developed well over the past two decades and that it is no longer an isolated activity with one meaning but a dynamic and open enterprise. This means that the new public diplomacy focuses not only on providing information and on use of other appropriate tools directly or indirectly by contemporary governments, but also gathering information and feedback from target audiences to understand the level of success of the government policy. The objective of government work is to verify the effectiveness of the public diplomacy tools and adjust them based on the results of the feedback.

2. TRANSFORMATIVE APPROACHES ON THE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

After the cold war, divided world has diminished and all world became reachable by the governments but also rising international actors, non-governmental actors, think tanks, civil society groups. In this kind of soft power competition world, few countries have advantages if they have potentially dominant culture, prepared projects, planned targets and invested tools. New public diplomacy, today, is taking the governments out, reaching to the foreign people, and trying to affect them according to home country's long-term plans like Wiseman and Geoffrey claim almost same thing in their book "Isolate or Engage: Adversarial States, US Foreign Policy and Public Diplomacy" (2015). They argue that the United States should compensate its limited diplomatic relations with antagonistic states by engaging with the public in those countries through public diplomacy. Kim argues in his article titled "Public Relations and Public Diplomacy in Cultural and Educational Exchange Programs" (2016), that the national image of the United States has been continuously eroded around the world. Anti-Americanism has been one of the US main diplomatic concerns for three decades. After the shock of 9/11, the US government revisited its public diplomacy. For example, funding for the Fulbright program has increased dramatically, especially for the Arab people to reshape a positive American image.

Jacquie L'Etang (1998), in her article "State Propaganda and Bureaucratic Intelligence", points out how in the UK bureaucracy, intelligence, public diplomacy and propaganda have aligned and work together around the world. Ayhan (2019) in his taxonomy article, "The Boundaries of Public Diplomacy and Non-state Actors", argues that there is no agreed definition and limits of PD. The ambiguity of the concept has caused confusion and prevents the consolidation of PD as an academic field. He reviewed 160 articles and books on PD and concluded that taxonomy reduces the PD characteristics in state-centered, neo-statist, non-traditional, society-centered, and accommodating. It identifies the limits of public diplomacy with clear and consistent core criteria and positions the PD within the broader discipline of international relations.

Jia and Li, (2020) propose the concept of public diplomacy network to study the effect of China's public diplomacy on Twitter. In addition,Huang and Wang (2020) claim that despite the state's monopoly on the media, it has failed in the field of public diplomacy and that its media remain focused on traditional means of propaganda. Social media cannot be ignored anymore in today's

borderless world. In "Going for the jugular in public diplomacy: How adversarial publics using social media are challenging state legitimacy" (2016), Zaharnaa and Uysal argue that nations view other nations as their main competitors in public diplomacy. Nowadays, states apply relationship management and follow public diplomacy techniques that mostly target foreign audiences. The article explains this relational dynamic between states and global publics.

Yang, Klyueva and Taylor (2012) favor a multidimensional approach to understanding Chinese public diplomacy efforts in the Libyan crisis. They are interested in image building and relationship management suggesting the analysis of semantic networks in public diplomacy research and revealing the linguistic relationships and shared meaning that manifest in the content of journalistic coverage of the People's Daily on the Libyan crisis. China has increased its public diplomacy by using international broadcasting and cultural diplomacy, sponsoring museum exhibitions, building Chinese language schools and establishing Confucius institutes around the world. It spends billions of dollars promoting the idea of a global multipolar system based on the values it prose and where it will be a power.

White and Radic (2014) conducted comparative research on public relations, applied it to communicating with their audiences, and enjoyed a higher level of democratization. In addition, they made better use of communication tools and benefit from public diplomacy and messaging strategies. They found that these countries had done better.

Researchers have developed theoretical frameworks and concepts used in public relations and public diplomacy dramatically over the past 20 years.As examples, wecan cite Fitzpatrick (2007, 2010), L'Etang(2009) Signitzer (2008), Szondi (2009), Wang (2006), and Zaharna (2010). In rhetoric, public diplomacy as a process of communication, strategic dialogic and relationship building is closely related to global public relations. Fitzpatrick and Vanc (2012) have illustrated the theoretical interconnections between public relations and public diplomacy.Also, Golan and Viatchaninova (2013) analyze the use of infomercials as a tool for direct communication with readers of The Washington Post and The Times of India. Their study introduces the concept of government social responsibility (GSR) and discusses its role in public diplomacy between government and foreign citizens.Pamment (2014) points out that although public diplomacy and national brands consolidated their place in academic discourse at the start of the 21st century, the evaluation of these activities has not received the same level of attention. When describing how campaigns are evaluated, researchers tend to make assumptions based on an initiative's objectives or results rather than on reliable empirical data on its results. Questions of public diplomacy and evaluation practices are intertwined in complex organizational and power structures that generate pragmatic responses to both the "problem of influence" and the communication of results. Using the concept of articulation, Pamment describes a framework for interpreting evaluation practices from a contextualized perspective, which captures how and why soft power practices take certain forms.

Simons (2014) focuses on the public diplomacy of non-Western countries in his article entitled "Russian Public Diplomacy in the 21st Century". According to Simons, the use of soft power as exercised by Russia differs from that of Nye. He shows how Russia engages foreign audiences,

states, IGOs and NGOs, deploying different means and methods of communication and adapting them to the level of persuasion necessary to achieve the goals of its public diplomacy.In their article, "Towards a Model of NGO Media Diplomacy in the Internet Age: A Case Study of Washington Profile", Zhang and Swartz (2009) examine NGOs as new tools and actors. They claim that NGOs are more efficient and reliable than states in public opinion. Their qualitative research explores the values, perceived effectiveness, and factors that affect the efficacy of international information services focused on the public diplomacy of US-based NGOs. They conducted semi-structured interviews and concluded that independent NGOs are more objective than the state in public opinion.

In his article "An Integrated Approach to Public Diplomacy", Golan (2013) emphasizes the global commitment of governments, NGOs and other social actors to align public diplomacy and foreign policy. He offers a model of new public US diplomacy where soft power programs such as educational programs, cultural exchanges, and language-training programs occupy the center of actions.

Vysotskyi and Vysotska (2020) confirm that public diplomacy technologies are means to influence the thinking and behavior of political leaders and ordinary people in other countries. The technologies of public diplomacy are the main source of support and legitimacy for the cultural, economic and geostrategic interests of any country. The main objective of public diplomacy technologies is no longer winning hearts and minds, but establishing institutional channels of lobbying for the protection of the state national interests.

According to Amirbek and Ydyrys, (2014), "Education and soft power: Analysis as an instrument of foreign policy", education has been the main tool of public diplomacy over the past three decades and the number of countries that consider it a tool to promote their national interests is constantly increasing. More specifically, the great powers began to pay special attention and importance to the use of education as an effective tool and as a source of soft power. In addition, a well-established national education system can create a favorable and positive global image on the international stage at the state and public level.

In "Public Policy and Soft Power" Joseph Nye (2008) defines soft power, cultural resources, values and policies, as the ability to affect others to achieve desired results through attraction rather than through coercion. With "Get Smart - Combining Hard and Soft Power" (2009), Nye further clarified his thinking by proposing the simultaneous use of hard and soft capabilities for the application of successful public diplomacy.Hayden Book, Public Diplomacy in Global Contexts. (2012), studies Joseph Nye's concept of "soft power" to examine the effectiveness of public diplomacy and strategic communication. It compares the culture, foreign policy, communication technologies and national interests of four countries to identify similarities and differences in their strategies for international influence.

In a case study, Leonard (2002) identifies three incremental stages of communication and connection in British public diplomacy. First, a daily communication where the context of domestic dynamics is presented.Second, strategic communication, which is a holistic approach in promoting different aspects of the socialization and management of British society. Building on

the first two steps, the third step is to develop and consolidate personal relationships with key decision makers. Building such relationships depends on gaining great trust, creating a neutral and secure environment. Examples of these are scholarships, seminars, student exchanges, training and conferences. All of these types of communication try to build and engage the community of the receiving state to be attracted to the other state.

3. NEW HYPOTHETICAL PERSPECTIVES

According to Joseph Nye, there are three ways to exercise power: coercion, payment and attraction. Therefore, soft power is the ability to achieve desired results using attraction. The main components of a state's soft power include culture, values, and politics, if they are attractive and inclusiveto entice the public of the other countries, rather than their governments. (Nye, 2009) He also points out that soft power cannot be the solution to all problems. For example, the North Korean leader enjoys watching Hollywood movies, but is not ready to adhere to American values and policies.

According to Fitzpatrick, public diplomacy focuses on winning the hearts and minds of foreign citizens (2010). Nye's approach emphasizes the need to move from classic intergovernmental diplomacy to the "government-to-citizen" approach. This understanding gives different perspectives, new components and tools in PD. According to some researchers, propose to distinguish the DP and the new public diplomacy (NPD). According to them, NPD is a two-way approach and "an instrument used by states and their dependents as well as non-state actors to understand the attitudes and behaviors of different cultures in order to build and manage relationships and to influence the thoughts and to mobilize actions to advance their interests" (Ayhan, 2019). It is not just about propaganda or classic public diplomacy, but also measuring global public opinion through the mediums like polls.
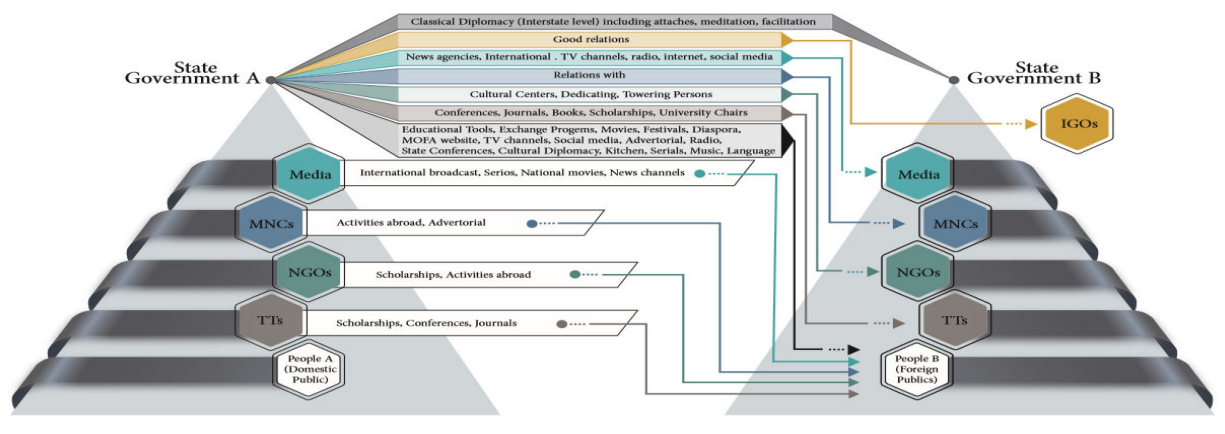
The novelty of this study is to have enriched the theory of public diplomacy by adding new actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil society groups (CSG), think tanks (TT), multinational companies (MNC), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and the media. This capacity building also includes contacts between these actors and the people of countries targeted by public diplomacy exercised by the government. The second important articulation is to add more tools in the hands of the government to influence the targeted people. These are the manipulation of the diaspora, the potential dominant culture, television programs, more social media tools, cultural centers, news agencies and international TV channels in addition to the classic known PD tools.

The constructivist school argues that NGOs play a very crucial role (Fatemeh et al, 192) in changing the current discourses in the international arena, by influencing ideas, norms, beliefs, and in turn the national interests about their neighbors (Ayhan, 2019, 66). It is also claimed that NGOs are the new and stronger actors in public diplomacy because they are more reliable, credible, and trustworthy compare to state or semi-state news agencies and channels. (Zhang and Swartz, 2009)

Nye arguesthat public diplomacy's target should be enlarged to the other actors. According to him, governments should compete for credibility with different alternatives including media, MNCs, NGOs, IGOs, and networks of scientific communities (Nye, 2008, p. 100) which were named as TTs in this study. Especially in the post-cold war era, MNCs turn into semi-governmental actors –aimed at the provision of public goods and contribution to society. Today, MNCs use different political economy activities, but can also include other activities for some other targets. (Weber and Larsson, 2017) Now, MNCs are directed at the host country's key stakeholders and are aimed at participating in decision-making processes on relevant socio-political issues and building relationships to gain corporate legitimacy. (Ingenhoff and Marschlich, 2019: 358) In addition, national MNCs can play as voluntarily or honorary diplomats in the host countries, because "their representatives and brands directly touch the lives of far more people than the government representatives do" (Nye, 2008, p. 105).

IGOs have gradually become key players in international relations and public diplomacy, especially in the post-Cold War era. For this reason, it is essential to recognize their place of choice within the concert of nations. In 2020, 30 years after the end of the Cold War, the United Nations, the only global IGO par excellence, has become the main platform for debate and negotiation (Yenigun, 2015) and the main legitimate creator of international standards.

The hypothetical approach of this study is based on the following understanding(as seen in figure 1): in the new post-Cold War era, government A can use several tools to influence the citizens of country B. Some of these tools are: culture, food music, language, technology, international TV and radio channels (such as CNN, BBC, France 24, Russia Today - RT, TRT World), the power of the diaspora, social media tools, the infomercial, exchange programs (professors, students, Socrates, Erasmus, etc.), educational tools (universities, academic branches and franchises), films (Hollywood, Bollywood, Anime) and international festivals. In addition to these, cultural centers, conferences, school journals, magazines, books, public and private scholarships, university chairs (Jean Monnet, Sultan Qaboos).

Figure 1: NewRhetorical Public Diplomacy Instruments and Actors (Creation: Yenigun)

Education is one of the most important public diplomacy techniques as a soft power tool. Only a developed education system can become one of the major competitive advantages of the modern state in the "global competition for minds" and attract the most talented foreign students. Successful foreign students who along with learning the language will gradually become acquainted with the achievements of science and culture of the host country. Then, when they come back with the host country's acquired knowledge and personal relations, they are expected to become effective transmitters of the language and culture of the country where they had studied (Amirbek&Ydyrys, 2014, p. 515). That is why many ambitiously developing states, such as Brazil, India, and China pay special attention to modernize and internationalize their national education systems (Nye, 2008, p. 94). Thus, the countries such as China, Germany, Russia, the US, Turkey, and several developed European countries have put into force a variety of high education programs for competent and promising young people from around the world. Bhutto, Morsi, Saakashvili, Masako are some of them played important roles as heads of state or government in their countries after coming back from their American universities graduation (Amirbek&Ydyrys, 2014, p. 515).

Advertorial is one of the new types of public diplomacy as an arm of "government social responsibility" (Golan, 2013, 404) like cultural and educational exchanges, press agency, and foreign aid and international broadcasting. For example, Russia targeted Indian and American publics in 2011 and started to publish in two elite newspapers, Washington Post and Times of India. Within a year, the Russian government paid and published 203 news in the Washington Post and 100 times in the Times of India. The main target was giving the message of "Russia was a dependable ally to the US and India" (Golan, 2013, 404) and it was succeeded in accordance with the feedback surveys. As a result, advertising is an undeniable public diplomacy tool in the indirect hand of states. Even it could be a propaganda tool during wartime. (L'Etang, 1998: 426)

News agencies are very important tools of public diplomacy. All the states now have their own news agencies. However, the most important is how those agencies collect information from around the world (L'Etang, 1998: 425). It is true that only very few agencies, among them Reuters, Associated Press, Agence France-Presse and United Press Associations, carry most of the news to the news agencies. Today, Reuters is the biggest indirect tool in England's hands and now the world's second-largest news agency with over two thousand offices around the world to justify its foreign affairs with the world and its dependencies. (UNESCO, 2013)

Social media are new phenomena that surpass traditional media in terms of popularity and use, especially among younger generations (Zaharnaa and Uysal, 2016). Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, LinkedIn, Pinterest, TikTok, WhatsApp, LINE, YouTube, are the main tools and very influential among young people. In many Western societies, social media are used for election rallies. In addition, these tools are also used on the international scene in the service of public diplomacy. (Park and Lim, 2014)

According to Nye (2008, p. 106), military and military attachés can play an important role in generating soft power in public diplomacy. The military has a wide range of officer exchanges, joint drilling, joint training and specific assistance programs with other countries in peacetime. For example, the Pentagon's military and training programs include various sessions on democracy and human rights as well as military training. These courses show the soft democratic power of the United States in the eyes of world public opinion as a tool of public diplomacy.

Culture and popular culture are among the most important tools of public diplomacy in the world. It encompasses education, literature and art with great impact on the elites and the masses. (Nye, 2008, p. 96) American culture, British fantastic movies, Indian dances, and Turkish love television series have spread around the world. Therefore, the culture of the dominant countries is spreading around the world and creating a natural sphere of influence for these countries. Cuisine as a subcultural element plays an important role in public diplomacy. The American fast food industry represented by McDonald's, Subway and TGI Friday, Starbucks, Pizza Hut, Burger King, etc. is not only easy food to grab, it's also bearer of an American way of life and culinary culture around the world. Music is not just a subcultural element, but also a tool of public diplomacy in today's globalized world. While public diplomacy "wins hearts," English music in particular has already won the hearts of younger generations not only in the Middle East but also around the world. English is the unwritten official language of diplomacy and that of the hegemonic power of the contemporary international system. English is by far the most dominant language used in social media in an increasingly globalized world. Language is more than a means of communication; it is a culture, a style of thought and a mentality, according to sociologists.

4. CONCLUSION

Diplomatic tools have been changing and deepening dramatically in the new world era. Although classic diplomacy keeps its importance, new public diplomacy rising rigidly and challenging classic diplomacy as a soft power instrument in the new millennium. The divided world has diminished, the computer era changed everything, social media became a weapon, and reaching other people became very normal, useful, legal, and open. Public diplomacy maybe is the most important soft power instrument anymore, because winning hearts and minds could change the other states' policies, in accordance with your desire by pulling the other peoples to your planned/targeted point(s). Hegemon power (US), great powers (Russia, France, China, and the UK), and challengers to be great power (Turkey, Brazil, and India) have already focused on new public diplomacy and have been using new tools in the last decade.

Mostly classic public diplomacy and soft power instruments need long-term preparation, historical background and not easy to change in a short term such as organizing diaspora abroad, exporting dominant kitchen/food culture to the world, impacts of local music on the world publics, flourishing your own language to the region or world. However, some of them could be arranged in a short term within the education area, for example, establishing good relations with the NGOs, CSGs, TTs, arranging agreements with the universities and TTs. on the student and

faculty exchange programs, providing full-scholarship for the futuristic volunteer ambassadors, frequent international conferences and seminars in the targeted society, publishing books in/for the targeted society, establishing some cultural centers in the host countries, and publishing advertorial in the targeted society. Establishing university chairs, and creating new journals to praise the home country are also very useful short-term new public diplomacy tools in the hand of the states.

Some of the new public diplomacy tools need midterm policies and planning at least for a decade. For example, establishing International television channels and especially news agencies, affecting social media via, host countries, NGOs, and TTs, exporting high-quality movies and serials, establishing glocalized (globalized + localized) radios and television channels in the targeted country need good plans, well implementations and perfect sustaining projects.

Certainly, all of the above-mentioned instruments need money. Nevertheless, those expenses should not be seen as spending but should be perceived as cultural, political, and international investments. In the mid and long term, they will be paid back to the home country from the targeted society. Powerful countries, midsize and small powers will be reshaped in accordance with their attached importance to the new public diplomacy tools as the most important soft power component in the coming decades of the new millennium.

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