

TALLINN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY  
Tallinn School of Economics and Business Administration  
Department of International Relations  
Centre for Asia-Pacific Studies

Beyza Sohtorikoğlu

**PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN  
TURKEY: GOALS, FEATURES AND PROSPECTS**

Bachelor's Thesis

Supervisor: Lecturer Vlad Vernygora

Tallinn 2016

I declare I have written the bachelor's thesis independently.

All works and major viewpoints of the other authors, data from other sources of literature and elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

Beyza Sohtorikoğlu

.....

(Signature, date)

Student's code: 130232TASB

Student's e-mail address: beyzasohtorik@hotmail.com

Supervisor Lecturer Vlad Vernygora:

The thesis conforms to the requirements set for the bachelor's thesis

.....

(Signature, date)

Chairman of defense committee:

Permitted to defense

.....

(Title, name, signature, date)

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## **ABSTRACT**

Public Diplomacy is a newly emerged phenomenon in political science-related discourse. It is crucial for today's international relations and our understanding of the discipline due to the influence of recent technological developments on individuals, publics and states. The phenomenon is known as a means of Soft Power usage and, in its generally accepted description, Public Diplomacy is a convincing power that influences foreign publics' opinion. The aim for influencing foreign publics is to be obtaining beneficial political outcomes and giving a direction to global arena according to one's interest. Moreover, Public Diplomacy-related actions mostly depend on communication and this brings mutuality to the participating parties and as a result; ultimately, it offers a more peaceful realm of politics.

The factor that the European Union is one of the most prominent global actors and successful users of Public Diplomacy mechanisms makes the supranational entity an interesting case-study in the context of this research. This paper specifically focuses on the strategic communication of the European Union with the Turkish public. The Republic of Turkey is a key element in the European Union's prospective enlargement policies, and the country's sizable population differentiate themselves from a typical European image. This paper claims that should the European Union's Public Diplomacy initiatives improve their effectiveness among Turkish public, it can lead to a mutually beneficial outcome of cooperation between the two sides.

This study is an attempt to identify the goals of the European Union and features of its Public Diplomacy actions in Turkey. In order to examine the degree of success of these initiatives in a given frame, a survey method is used, that contributes to this paper's observational methodological nature.

**Keywords:** Public Diplomacy, the European Union, Turkey, Soft Power, EUEAS

## INTRODUCTION

The enlargements of the European Union (EU) and its policy on neighborhood as a means of soft power usage are supposed to strengthen the EU's position globally. Strong enlargement policies and visionary politics of the entity have brought in numerous new Member States in a relatively short segment of the time. Mutual relations of the members are desirable for the candidate countries. From this perspective, Turkey – as a candidate-country – has a considerably unique process in terms of EU integration, commencing from 1959 (EUCE 2008, 1). More specifically, the Turkish state has formally applied to join to the political entity in 1987 and was officially declared as an eligible candidate-country one decade later, with the accession negotiations being opened in 2005 (EUCE 2008, 4).

Over the years, the EU has been exercising its unique Public Diplomacy (PD) initiatives in the process of ‘communicating’ with its neighborhood as well as the candidate-countries standing in the line and waiting and working to get closer to for the accession ‘green light’. Indeed, the ultimate success of PD-related initiatives, in general, is connected with the persuasion power of the political entity. In literature, the phenomenon of PD has got a distinctly non-passive connotation, being understood as “a political instrument [...] used by states, associations of states and non-state actors to *understand*<sup>1</sup> cultures, attitudes, and behavior; *build and manage* relationships; and *influence* opinions and actions to advance interests and values” (Gregory 274, 2008).

The EU, as one of the global geo-political actors, is following its own logic in the foreign policy making process. In 2009, the Lisbon Treaty (Article 13a) has given a new phase of the EU foreign relations by establishing a new structure called European Union External Action Service (EUEAS). The new body was made responsible for enlargement, neighboring policy issues, as well as other foreign diplomatic relations. This new body can be seen as a response of the EU to the most recent developments of soft power usage, emphasizing the importance of PD actions in political practices and social science terminology. Each recipient of the political messages has its unique features and needs to have a strategic communication responding its perceptions and

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<sup>1</sup> Here and further, the italic is the author's.

specialties. Here, we have to take the importance of PD actions into account. These implications are important since they help to persuade foreign publics' opinions, to build a beneficial communication and to obtain political mutuality. Analyzing the PD-linked actions of EU is the core element of this study. In the case of Turkey-EU relations, the former is a sizeable country with some different characteristics to follow a systematic communication. Therefore, it is worthwhile to examine the goals of the EU in the neighborhood and in particular in Turkey.

Turkey is “a very important global partner of the EU” (Mogherini 2016). Its regional role, new migration flows, stance in the international arena as a NATO member and its military power are the only first elements of a continuing list. The interests and concerns of the EU regarding the region would shape the goals of foreign relations with Turkey, accordingly it would influence the implications of public diplomacy there. Presumably, due to its location, history and traditions, Turkey would need to have a more specific way of explaining the context with its westernization process. In this sense, framing the Turkish state and public is important, because they are subjects of the EU communication strategies. This would help to read and comment issues related to Turkey in a more precise way. It is not enough to put Turkey in the group of Middle East countries since it does not have particular specialties belonging to this group. As it was mentioned, ‘westernization’ is an important phenomenon in order to see Turkey’s European side. In addition, as a secular country, it has implied strict state politics; even it has faced cultural clashes. By the combination of these different norms, the country could provide a political and strategic communication ground between the EU and the Middle East region as it is a good neighboring.

Turkey, by the beginning of its Republic life, has always followed Europe-friendly politics and policies since the country’s initial goal was set as “taking a place among developed countries as one of the balancing power” (Atatürk 1933) during its establishment process. More on Atatürk’s vision in regards of Turkey’s understanding of the county’s European civilization-bound prospective future (that eventually became a reality), the founder of the Republic once stated the following (1927):

*In the face of knowledge, science, and of the whole extent of radiant civilization, I cannot accept the presence in Turkey's civilized community of people primitive enough to seek material and spiritual benefits in the guidance of sheiks. The Turkish republic cannot be a country of sheiks,*

*dervishes, and disciples. The best, the truest order is the order of civilization. To be a man it is enough to carry out the requirements of civilization.*

In order to achieve this and other goals, reforms are implied under the name of ‘westernization’ during the first years of the post-Lausanne Republic and this was also followed by state policy reforms such as separation of powers, judicial and alphabetical change. By these reforms, Turkish government and public had met a new way of politics and social, cultural life. In this way, Turkish public has become open to what is coming from Western side of the world by the help of state policies. Even further Turkey at the level of public has started to sense a belonging to Europe and call itself as ‘western people’. There are still ongoing discussions on this topic, which has many different layers and perspectives, to be analyzed in further research. This needs to be seen from the European side for reaching healthy commentaries for the improvement of Turkey on the way of accession.

Once the image of two elements set (the EU and Turkey), the communication between these two political parties could be described more concretely in the public diplomacy sphere. There are specifically six different subtopics set in the EU Communication Strategy paper which is prepared by Turkish authorities related to agendas of EU-Turkey relations (EUCS 2010). These subtopics are namely culture, art, business, foreign trade, tourism and education. The subtopics make it easier to see the strategic communication directions between the EU and Turkey. It is important to distinguish the opportunities in order to mold the perception of public in Turkey on EU and Turkey’s EU accession process. **This study aims to portray the goals of the EU’s PD initiatives in the context of Turkey, arguing that the effectiveness of the EU-originated PD initiatives could, with necessity, improve mutually beneficial cooperation between the two sides.**

In order to examine the actions in a logical structure, it is important to see the agenda that EU External Service is following. Thus, it can be seen how the implications are done and what are the features of public diplomacy. In the end, how is the EU perceived by Turkish people? By answering this question, it can be seen whether the intended outcome of the EU’s PD initiated actions has been achieved or to what extent it has been achieved.

From this perspective, a look at the accession process starting in 1997 and EU politics towards Turkey is essential for framing EU-Turkey political communication. This paper also

offers a contextual look at Turkey as a strategic partner to the EU with its core state values shaped around secularism and westernization. This provides a complimentary perspective on the Turkey-EU relations.

In particular, the EU PD actions on young educated people will be taken as the narrower scale case of this paper and will be analyzed whether Turkish public receives communication strategies implied by the EU as it is intended. Accordingly, it will be seen that EU public diplomacies in the field of education are successful or not and in more depth to what extent they are successful. How Turkish young people perceive the EU? Is that so due to the aims of the EU? In order to see the perception of Turkish public, a survey was conducted targeting Turkish students divided into three groups. One of the groups consist of students who are studying in the EU; the second group are of students who are studying at Turkey-based higher education institutions (these two groups are to be assessed in the different layers of PD modes); and the third group will include people who have not participated in the EU educational projects. Their perceptions will be assessed and later, effectiveness of PD initiated activities will be discussed.

While there are many EU-related researches on PD, there is a need for more detailed and wider scope of researches in the context of Turkey. It is necessary since Turkish public is a sizeable portion of prospective 'listeners' of the EU-originated messages. Furthermore, it is one of the candidates that has different social norms and cultural values in public life. This paper aims to build a bridge between EU and Turkey in the field of PD.

This study, in the first section, will offer a background of the phenomenon of PD in general. It will also portray why the EU emphasizes public diplomacy related actions in general and how the EU applies PD in its foreign relations. In the following section PD related actions of the EU will be analyzed in the context of Turkey. This section will also include a survey for observing the opinion of students. It will help to examine whether the aims of PD related actions implied by the EU are successful or failed, or to what extent they are successful. And it will be concluded on whether or not PD is offering prospects for the future EU-Turkey relations, while placing the conclusion in the context of this paper's thesis.



# 1. GENERIC FEATURES OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The power of frank relations at the level of states is positively influential in the sense of perceiving one's opinion in international relations. Most of the political actors are communicating and exchanging the ideas customarily. Lying on that, this section attempts to design a framework on PD concept. This relatively new concept in political science has some disagreements or different perspectives on its boundaries and its description. The works of different scholars will be traced in order to build a clear understanding of PD in this study.

## 1.1. Soft Power and Public Diplomacy

The term 'soft power' was firstly used in the political literature during 1990s. Joseph Nye mentioned it in *Bound to Lead*, after it had been used as "*an alternative to the propaganda*" (Gregory 2008, 275). The propaganda was used for influencing citizens' opinions in favor of governments or political views. In the late history, propaganda had not been connoted with the positive images, it was solely used to get interest of some certain political classes or governments. Conceptually, 'soft power' arises from the discourse on power's changing nature. The need for a more concrete definition of power has resulted in classifying it into three groups: hard, soft and smart power. The information age today has brought new circumstances to politics, as well as socialization of citizens and publics in the globe scope. Having information has become a source of power. Soft power can be understood as power of persuasion of one's thoughts that helps to get desired results on a certain issue. This is not that perceived one would not obtain any positive outcome; rather cooperation on the agreed agenda would bring benefits for the both politically engaged parties. As Nye (2004, xii) noted that "[w]inning the peace is harder than winning a war, and soft power is essential to winning the peace". Therefore, soft power and its implications are essential to today's world politics.

The answer for the question of 'How soft power and PD are related?' lies under Nye's classification of power in a global information age as it is shown in *Figure 1* (Nye 2004, 31). In this table, soft power is seen as one of three types of power. Its currencies are given as value,

culture, policies and institutions. Soft power is implemented on the state level as government policies, which is basically public diplomacy in the terms of foreign policies. According to (Gilboa 2008, 61), “[p]ublic diplomacy is presented as an official policy translating soft power resources into action”. So, PD can be seen as one of the essential means of soft power usage.

	Behaviors	Primary Currencies	Government Policies
Military Power	coercion deterrence protection	threats force	coercive diplomacy war alliance
Economic Power	inducement coercion	payments sanctions	aid bribes sanctions
Soft Power	attraction agenda setting	values culture policies institutions	public diplomacy bilateral and multilateral diplomacy

Three Types of Power

Figure 1. Three Types of Power

Source: Nye 2004, 31

As many scholars, like Nye and Gregory, agree that the importance of soft power as a form of political communication and power, is better understood during the Cold War times. In order to eliminate polarization, imposing the contrast action has given positive results on a political level. This turn point has helped to see that the PD phenomenon is distinguished from public relations, and different from public information, which is only used by autonomies as controlled media means. It is also different from public propaganda. It is discussed that PD is needed to be put in a well-defined ontological framework, since there are different variables and factors included (Gilboa 2008, 56).

## 1.2. Definition and Scope of Public Diplomacy

While at present there are plenty of different explanations and narratives on PD in, there is not a common agreement on the boundaries and linkages with several phenomenon like soft power and public relations. However, there is a more common agreement on the concept in last decade.

There were some views in 1990s that do not see public diplomacy as a separated academic field, but rather closer to related fields and argued that it could be counted under their name. For instance, Signitzer and Coombs agreed that PD could be emerged with Public Relations (PR) conceptually, because this concept was using similar methodologies and models to Public Relations. Another similar view to that was the Gruning's model, which had four dimensions upon first introduction of the theory. The dimensions were *press agency*, *public information*, *two-way asymmetrical* and *two-way symmetrical*. The third dimension was used as basis to PD in his theory since it reflected strategic communicational dimension. In further studies, these dimensions were revised and reconstructed by himself and later by Seong-Hun Yun due to need for further development and eliminating inconsistencies (Gilboa 2008, 65-66). The necessity of building a separate field for PD is also mentioned by some scholars, “[a] *focus on relationship building at every level is what can and should separate public diplomacy from propaganda, lobbying, and public relations*” (Cowan, Arsenault 2008, 11). The different levels of the concept will be explained in the next section.

PD can be narrated as the continuation of cultural diplomacy in a way, but it has some distinguished features and this separates them. It is not solely public relations, because they have different aims and objectives, nor completely foreign diplomacy of a country. Rather, it is one aspect of foreign policy. Furthermore, globalization and development of communication technologies offered a new realm that opinion of foreign publics can be shaped by the actions related to public diplomacy phenomenon.

In this theoretical framework PD can be described as a convincing tool in a way that builds the social version of political interests and beliefs of one party among foreign publics. This helps to introduce political tendencies and goals of one state to the other publics.

It also provides a base to communication in a positive way since efficient diplomacy depends on knowing the audience. It is important because in order to be appealing to others, the ideas should be told by the terminology that is used by the public. Otherwise, it is not easily understood since it is a different *cultural language*. This also can be understood like that a political perception is naturally constructed within a state as a continuation of local social environment and accepted values. But from the perspective of foreign publics it may not be naturally understandable since different publics have different social norms and values. At this point, public policy actions help to transform the notions between different publics in the favor of state politics. It plays a role as a translating tool of terms and norms between publics as well as between politics and social environment.

Moreover, it creates positive images of the states at the international arena, known as national branding in the political science literature. The EU is one of the greatest examples of the public diplomacy usage, not only introducing itself to others, but also conducting various communication methods for its audiences: foreign publics.

In the field of PD, audiences are the foreign publics, which the state or the political entity– the EU in this study– has been interacting at the political level. The answer of ‘Why political elites are communicating with other publics?’ underlines the phenomenon of globalization. On the other hand, there is a facilitation of communication on all the levels and between all the levels by International Broadcasting, social media usage and development of information communication technologies. Although PD accepts foreign publics as audiences, there is a critic for the user of PD. This is their tendency to imply activities for elite sections of the public. This is because not everyone has the same influence on the political elites. Influencing elites is also necessary, but it is not enough to get efficient results on a larger scale. Pure communication with the elites would only bring familiarization of the elites of interacting states that is a small portion of the entire population of the countries. Thus, actions cannot influence the base and the majority. This is explained as *Elitist bias* in Rasmussen’s words (Rasmussen 2008, 6).

### 1.3. Layers and Elements of the Concept

In a more engaged world in recent years, there have been talks on the usage of PD and plenty of detailed studies have been made on the features and classification of PD in the last decade. Different models and concepts are established for explaining the phenomenon, and also there are different opinions on the sources that PD used. In order to draw a clear image of public diplomacy in this study, the phenomenon will be based on three-layered sphere of Cull and Arsenault. These are namely monologue, dialogue and collaboration. These layers are distinguished according to the role of communicators (Cowan, Arsenault 2008, 12):

*Each mode of public diplomacy has particular advantages for particular situations, and those concerned with the subject should think about the best times and places to use each, either by itself or in combination. Context is, of course, critical. Each “layer” of public diplomacy is heavily contingent on the needs of the moment, the characteristics of the communicator and the target audience, and the conditions of their interaction.*

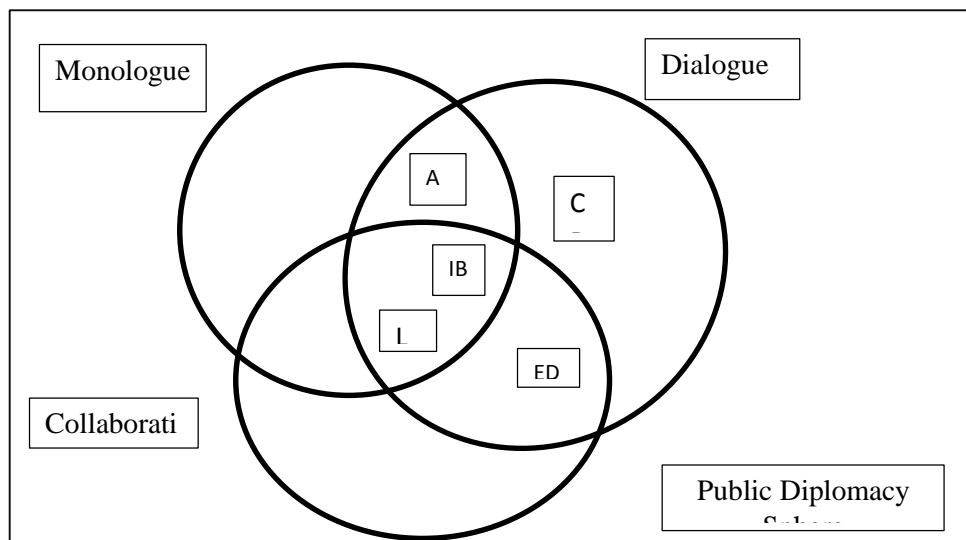
Cowan and Arsenault classify PD according to the context of communicating elements and all three layers are necessary to use in its suitable framework. For obtaining intended outcome and perceive one's opinion, *monologue* through an opinion molding speech given by a political actor could be more beneficial than a dialogue based communication, because *dialogue* is giving space for negotiations. And *collaboration* is slightly different in its nature since the audience group itself is contributing political communication for the sake of the communicator. This kind of communication takes place during business forums and common projects designed with the foreign publics.

Another prominent work on the PD offers a different approach by making a different taxonomy. The term PD in his study separated *into five different elements; listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and international broadcasting (IB)* (Cull 2008, 32). In this context, it can be said that Listening is the first step in order to have a strategic communication. Listening is a learning process about the features of targeted audience group. This also could be seen as an effort for understanding culture, attitude and behavior of the engaged group (Gregory et al.). This process provides information to portray the context of

communication. As the second step, perceiving others on the one's opinion is called as advocacy. Exchange diplomacy is slightly different from cultural diplomacy with the feature of reciprocity. It is a mutual cultural relation between two different states, this is more like sharing visions (Cull 2008, 32-33).

Cultural diplomacy actually has a long tradition through the history, it was used by different states, monarchies and kingdoms. It means creating a perception that other publics accept and even admire one's culture and its specialties. As an example, the influence of language could be brought out on an international level. Today, English language is used dominantly in international relations, before WWI it was French language. Language dominance, accordingly cultural influence, is parallel with political dominance.

Although there are different classifications on PD features, elements of these two studies are quite consistent with each other. The elements of PD by Cull can be placed on different layers of PD easily. Monologue kind of communication is lately moved to the transnational level by the help of International Broadcasting. That means persuasion power of political actors has been spread beyond the borders and become beneficial for PD actions in the sense of monologue.



AD: Advocacy, L: Listening, IB: International Broadcasting, ED: Exchange Diplomacy, CD: Cultural Diplomacy

Figure 2. Three Layered Public Diplomacy Sphere with five Elements

Source: Compiled by the author

Listening is basic of any kind of communication. It is the first step through monologue layer and it takes place on each layer in order to respond appropriately and follow a strategic way of communication. Monologue is a layer where advocacy is generally used. This is the very first stage of introducing one's opinion on an issue and perceiving the audiences on the justness of the opinion. International Broadcasting is quite wide spread and accessible by everyone and because of that that it is beneficial to use it on each layer. Cultural diplomacy has two different agents from which one transfers culture and the other one receives. So, this mostly takes place on the dialogue level. Since exchange diplomacy and the third layer Collaboration have the same feature that is reciprocity, they are usually combined.

#### **1.4. Usage of Public Diplomacy by Political Actors**

Strategic communication is particularly important in order to convince other global actors on an idea for getting the profitable outcomes in the context of foreign affairs. Influencing foreign publics, who are one of the main elements of states, is necessary in this sense, especially in a globalized world in which publics are communicating with each other on a daily basis. Molding opinions by speeches, written and visual media tools is an important routine of political actions by states and governments.

The systematic application of this new phenomenon besides hard power is quite advantageous for obtaining the interest of the states and for a more stabilized international atmosphere. It can be said that in most cases, using soft power is more beneficial in a more integrated world today since the aim is maintaining peace. Looking at politically powerful countries like the US, the EU Member States and China could prove that they are the most successful applicants of soft power and PD usage in global scale. Especially, there are many works on US Public Diplomacy since it is one of the main contributors in this field.

In case of the EU, its integration process is a unique one in the late history. Economic and social success is desirable for many other countries and political entities as the result of successful implications of soft power. It also proves that more cooperation brings peace and prosperity. In a way, integration also brings more integration and this political process becomes a cyclic move. However, it is generally accepted that the EU lacks to manage a common hard power initiative as a union. Since it is difficult to agree upon the authority, language and decision making issues on an active military unit. Accordingly, it can be said that the EU needs to substitute this dispute by soft power usage. This is why the EU tends to use soft power tools more efficient. Nye sees the EU as *the closest competitor the United States in soft power resources* (Nye 2004, 75).

The EU uses PD concept practically, because it needs that from two aspects. The first cause is its nature, it consists of member states and this helps to build a common point of view. The second aspect is balancing power usage in the global arena. The power that political entities have does not solely have to be hard power, but exposure and usage of power should be conducted in a smart way as it is in the case of the EU. Ernest Wilson III defines Smart power as recognizing distinct features of Hard and Soft Power, later combining them in an efficient way regarding the context of affairs (Cowan, Cull 2008, 302). Public diplomacy -as one of the instruments of Soft Power- and public diplomacy related phenomenon are crucial to its global stance.

One of the strengths of EU diplomacy agendas is that they revolve around the normative framework and principles of the Union. Thus, it also becomes the speaker of its core values by the actions (Melissen 2005, 131). The implications of PD are mainly shaped according to the foreign relations agenda of EU. Three main objectives are related to neighborhood, enlargement and integration policies. PD actions are done by supporting *EU centers, think tanks* and *research institutes* (About the European External Action Service 2016). Three mentioned audience groups require different consideration of policies. However, there are programs like Erasmus that has multiple dimensions for different audiences.



## 2. EUROPEAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY ACTIVITIES IN TURKEY

This section will have a specific look at PD-linked actions of the EU in the context of Turkey. The structural explanations, which are made in the previous section, will be used in order to explain the goals of practical examples and some of the practices will be outspoken namely.

### 2.1. Goals

By Lisbon Treaty, EEAS has taken the mission of conducting foreign affairs of the EU. In the new structure, the goals of foreign relations in general are explained as four points; *support stability, promote human rights and democracy, seek to spread prosperity, and support the enforcement of the rule of law and good governance* (About the European External Action Service, 2016). This structural unit has plenty of subtopics to progress relations on the professional level despite it does not specially outline PD among the subtopics. This can be interpreted as PD is applicable to each area of policy. For this reason, it is a communication based concept and can be related to all topics the EU is dealing with. PD uses the advantage of communication technologies on a political level. Foreign public is more reachable by more independent means of communications and new communication patterns across different audiences. Thus, it is easier *winning the hearts and minds of foreign publics* and public diplomacy can be related to any topic which is under foreign policy agendas.

It is important to translate the political language of the EU to the social language of Turkish public by PD agenda in order to pursue foreign diplomacy goals in a facilitated way. The goals of EU public diplomacy firstly can be taken from a larger picture which is EU Enlargement Strategy, but in the micro level, there are no specifically prepared agendas for Turkey. The EU centers are classified as public diplomacy initiatives in the recipient countries. Although, there is not an EU center currently related to PD actions in Turkey. Also, it is hard to find a common network for PD related research institutes and think tanks in this specific context. However, the general programs related to public diplomacy are also implemented in Turkey by the union. Also, member states are actively using cultural diplomacy and international broadcasting elements.

The foreign diplomacy goals of the EU towards Turkey can be classified under the Enlargement Strategy. There are several main topics mentioned in various reports that are investigated in detail by the EU Commission. The accession process successfully depends on the fulfillment of the expectations from Turkey as these fundamentals requirements are valid for all candidates. As a result, democracy culture will be embedded into the Turkish society and political elites. This in a way will change the perception of Turkish public on the political actions and will provide a closer understanding to the EU.

The cooperation goals of the EU towards Turkey are mentioned in the Enlargement Strategy Turkey Report. These are highlighted as stabilizing the internal and regional security, cooperation on energy, developing further economic ties and as an emergent topic refugee negotiations are emphasized (EUC 2015, 4). Various concerns have also been mentioned in the Turkey strategy paper. Main concerns are related to freedom of speech, the irrelevant law-making process and shortcomings of transparency, security issues, Dilemma of Cyprus and refugee crisis management (Turkey Report, 2015). These concerns are expected to be eliminated through a prospective political cooperation between the two parties. However, development of civil society is also mentioned and the cooperation between a high number of Turkish Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and EU counterparts has been shown as an example (EUC 2015, 10).

A very specific representative of EUEAS is the Delegation of the EU to Turkey and it is the main source of information and activities. This responsible body is also closely related with PD activities. It has contacts with variety of state actors, public, think tanks and CSO's in Turkey. The goals of the EU in this sense mostly lie on the idea that; Turkey as a candidate country needs to develop on several issues and the EU does not only say that, but also assist along the process. This is explicitly explained by the Delegation as following (Community Programmes, 2016):

*With the prospect of Enlargement of the European Union, in order to better prepare the candidate countries for adoption of *acquis communautaire* and for accession in the Union, in the Agenda 2000 (July 1997), the European Commission proposed the progressive opening-up to the candidate countries of a broad range of Community programmes.*

This is made by financial support and community projects. The nationwide projects funded by the EU are the main source of PD linked activities in Turkey. These activities, projects and programs will be explained in the next chapters in more detail.

Despite of incompleteness of an overall PD project towards Turkey, the EU contributes the progress of Turkey in the area of science, research and education by related projects on the way of accession generously. It contributes civil society development support, as well. (Turkey Report 2015, 75-80). Turkey's promising development in these areas, compared to other state issues, helps to be in the cooperation with other EU members. The cooperation in these areas could also be counted as supporter of the success of the EU's PD in Turkey. These projects are not specifically designed for Turkish audiences, but also appealing to them. As an example to that, the Erasmus+ Programme might be shown. The engagement of the Turkish public by this educational program is maintained among young population and Turkey is fully participating in the program (Turkey Report 2015, 75).

## **2.2. Turkey as the Audience of the European Union Public Diplomacy**

### **Related Actions**

In order to understand why the EU should impose PD-related activities on Turkey, it is necessary to indicate the specialties of the audience. Turkey can be described as a bridge country between Asia and Europe rather than being solely a Middle Eastern country. Outstanding internal dynamics of the country consist of secularism, westernization and having a religious majority with different religious minority groups. All these named notions are making the country profile unique and they should be read carefully in political and social sense for getting the desired outcomes from the communication.

By the end of Ottoman Empire, Turkey had been flourishing for two decades in a sense of being a modern republic country which can respond to political issues and problems efficiently. This progress caused sharp changes, because last three centuries of Ottoman Empire, especially last century of it brought so many unsolved problems economically, politically and socially. As a bridge country between old and new Turkey, it has always had a dilemma of implementing European or Eastern sense of policy and strategies. Obviously, there has been Western kind of reforms within the Turkish territory since the last period of Ottoman Empire. These reforms were

implemented at different levels of state; public and ruling class. One of the big steps towards the West is coming back to the history stage as a Republic.

The nature of the country has shaped by the foundation of the republic. Strictly imposed reforms by the state to the public have changed the face of the country distinctly. Since its goals are set as *'being one of the balancing power among the contemporary world countries'*, Turkey has followed Western friendly approach at that level of politics. The reflection of that could also be seen in social affairs of the country and actually this is a beneficial fact for EU public diplomacy agendas. Upon a closer look at Turkish history, it cannot be said that the country has developed gradually. Unexpected drawbacks have taken the country one step back. When the responsible supervisory of the country could evaluate the situations nicely, Turkey has gained a regional power which indirectly effects its place in the global arena. This is an indirect effect, but points out a crucial agenda on the way of becoming a 'balancing' one among world leading countries.

Today, the evolving process of Turkey has not ended yet. Being a candidate country for the EU shows that. Concerns are varied on different issues and carrying on agendas for the fulfillment of expectations would secure the way for the country towards its republic goals. From another perspective, strong military power, developing economy, NATO and G-20 membership are positive values for Turkey and offers a key partnership regarding regional stability (Turkey visit underlines joint action on EU external relations 2016).

It is understandable that the combination of secularism, westernization reforms and a religious majority of the population in the country brings a quite difficult equation to the political level of EU-Turkey relations. The engagement of the societies and prominence of European values in this cooperation would offer new realms of collaboration, security and prosperity.

### **2.3. Monologue Examples**

Monologue layer of PD has a closer stance to other related fields like PR and Nation Branding since it is a one-street communication. In the case of Turkey, this is more likely to introduce the EU in an appealing way to the public and has strong ties with broadcasting and media sector. In the accession process, there is also the dimension of official channels of the European Union for presenting the ideas as unity, as well as member states. These official channels are mostly speeches and visits of EU officials and also the works of EU delegation to Turkey. Additionally, official broadcasting channels and publishing are counted in this group.

One of the International Broadcasting agents of the EU in Turkey is *Euronews* from a pan-European perspective. It has been launched in 2010, and become one of the European voice in Turkey. Also, the news agencies of some member states are available in Turkish language as *Sky Turk*, the Turkish language version of Sky News.

The recent visits, by the EU officials to Turkey, have been about the negotiations on the refugee issue. However, speeches are including important messages for the Turkish public. The loss of hope to get in the EU, due to recent unpleasant political actions in Turkey, was again prevented by one of the last visits of the EU officials. The January 2016 visit of High Representative of Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini carries important messages for the Turkish public since she pointed out the importance of the collaboration in her speech. Another important name of the series of Refugee visits to Turkey is President Donald Tusk.

### **2.4. Dialogue Examples**

Dialogue kind of PD action includes wider scope of works compared to monologue. Monologue is a one-way communication and has limitations, although it is the first step of PD. It should be supported by further activities of various organizations, projects and institutions on dialogue level. Contrasting to monologue level, all European countries do not have to follow a

certain united agenda of the EU. There can be quite different activities in social life. Language courses, cultural activities, introductory projects and educational institutions are included in the dialogue group of activities. There are individual efforts of member states in Turkey in order to create an attractive image.

On the layer of public diplomacy, schools from European countries like French, German and Italian, can be given as an outstanding instance. There is a phenomenon called French *écoles* (as examples, Galatasaray High School, Saint Benoit High School) and German schools (as an example, Istanbul High School) at the level of secondary school education. These schools have always been perceived as high level schools and mostly the children of the country elites had have their education there. It is hard to get in these schools through national exams, in addition to it being expensive. And also it is kind of a closed world for the outsiders of these schools. The students going to these kind of schools tend to be a more marginalized sect of the country and they usually continue their education abroad or in successful universities of Turkey. Accordingly they are mostly employed in leading companies and businesses. This is an example of a cultural diplomacy element in terms of PD.

Another example would be language and cultural institutions. British Council has an active role for teaching English and spreading English culture in Turkey. It already explains its goals as being a cultural initiative (Cull 2008, 33).

## **2.5. Collaboration Examples**

Educational projects designed by the EU – such as Erasmus, Erasmus+, Jean Monnet Programme – have a multidimensional nature. These programs are aiming at different outcomes according to implication zone. They are useful for a more integrated Europe socially in the context of EU. On the enlargement process, these programs are helping to share cultural, social values and educational perspectives in the context of Turkey. As Nye notes public diplomacy is two-street which not only includes mere talking but also listening. On this layer, the audience has also an active role.

The EU funded projects form the basis of the collaboration between European and Turkish public. The supported Community Programmes by the EU namely are Youth in Action, Life Learning Programme, Comenius, Erasmus, Leonardo da Vinci, Grundtvig, Transversal and Jean Monnet Programmes (Information Note on the Community Programmes 2016, 1).

These projects are designed for raising awareness on the European values and especially appealing to the youth and people in the educational institutions. The participating Turkish citizens would also benefit from that as a candidate country. These are important collaborative activities to educate the youth. In Youth in Action programme, more than 140,000 young people participated from Turkey in 2004-2009. The mobility is supported by Erasmus and more than 100,000 people had an exchange experience during 2004-2009 between Turkey and the EU. (Information Note on the Community Programmes 2016, 2-5).

### 3. SURVEY

In this section of the paper, the EU perception among Turkish people will be examined by a survey method. It will be conducted in a defined group of people and the results will be analyzed on the three layers; monologue, dialogue and collaboration. The survey findings will be given together with explanations.

#### 3.1. Justification of the Method

The experimental methods are generally avoided in International Relations (IR) due to the question of how to imply micro level studies on a larger scale. It is not often preferable due to the discussions and not a usual method for students to conduct researches and also for the consumers of IR. However, there was a shift on that perspective after 2000s; the change of understanding is seen as a result of the new knowledge on the experimental methods and their recent contributions to IR. Actually rare usage of these methods can create misconceptions on their *potential value* (Hyde 2015, 404). Connecting theoretical population into the practice by the experimental methods-survey in this paper- helps to have a high rate of external validity. This is the shift today which makes IR more connected to social practices (Hyde 2015, 410).

The words of Hyde justify the method of survey in this study: “*Testing the existence and manipulability of so-called audience costs is one area in which experimental methods have already provided important causal leverage in evaluating the empirical implications of existing theories and in adjudicating among competing hypotheses where observational research has fallen short.*” (Hyde 2015, 410). In the field of PD, the most appropriate method for testing the perception of the public is directly asking from the public itself; this is the survey method in International Relations. Although there is skepticism that it is hard to establish the causality between the survey and the concept, these suspicions are eliminated by the nature of public diplomacy studies. The concept is related to the audiences and their perceptions.

PD as an IR concept has macro level sides; one of them is the influence of audience-public- on the political elites. On the other hand, the different audiences require specific



communication strategies depending on social norms of a target public. This specific communication, between communicator; a state's political elites and recipient; a foreign public, already narrows down the realm of the context. The survey applied among the specific audiences would be useful to see their perception clearly.

### **3.2. Objective of the Survey**

The aim of the survey is to gather data on the perception of Turkish young people about the EU whether or not they find the EU attractive at the political and social area. And accordingly to see if the PD activities work as it is intended in Turkey. The second aim is that if the perception of the EU is molded in favor of the union on the way of Turkey's accession process. Due to limitations of the paper, the survey has been conducted among a defined group of people with similar social backgrounds. This is also important to obtain valid results of gathering data.

The survey findings are to be analyzed explicitly on three layers of PD. This is because on these layers participation of the individuals will be distinguished by the questions. Monologue does not include the participation of the audience, so this layer consists of people who have not participated any EU related projects.

The individuals who are participating in the survey will be chosen among people who are continuing their studies or at least holding an undergraduate degree and citizens of Turkey. The reason for this is being sure that individuals are aware of the EU properly and perhaps has had a chance to participate in the EU's PD related activities. The survey will be divided into three different groups in order to examine the activities of the EU on the different layers of PD. The second group of individuals will be consisting of individuals who have taken part in activities or projects of the EU in Turkey. Their answers will be measured on the dialogue layer. The third group of individuals will be chosen among people who are living in the boundaries of European Union. This is because to be sure that, these people are participating in an EU project or activity currently and also interconnected to both the Turkey and the EU. Thus, perception of this group can be measured on the level of collaboration.

### 3.3. Findings

The survey consists of 8 questions and had a total of 67 participants. The first question will specify whether the participant holds an undergraduate degree or not. The next two questions are used for placing the respondents on the different layers of PD related actions. According to 8 negative responses on the first questions, the respondents do not have an undergraduate degree and do not fit into the defined groups. These survey papers were taken out of the analysis.

In order to place the respondents on the layers, the second and the third questions are assessed. Positive responses to the second question of ‘*Are you currently participating in an educational project (i.e. Erasmus, Erasmus+, Jean Monnet Programme etc.) in the territory of EU?*’ has been placed as the respondents of collaboration layer. Because, these people actively engaging with the EU related projects and European publics. The number of these responses are 12.

A negative answer for the second question and positive answer for the third question of ‘*Have you ever attended any EU related (i.e. Erasmus, Erasmus+, one of the European languages courses, social works etc.) projects?*’ has shown that the respondents are on the dialogue level and their number is 19. A negative answer for the second and the third questions shows that the person did not participate actively in an EU related program, so, these 23 respondents are placed on the monologue layer. In order to be able to observe the different numbers of the responses related to the EU perception, all numbers are presented in percentages. After defining the groups with the first three questions, the answers of the last four questions are used to compare the perceptions of the audiences that are at different layers.

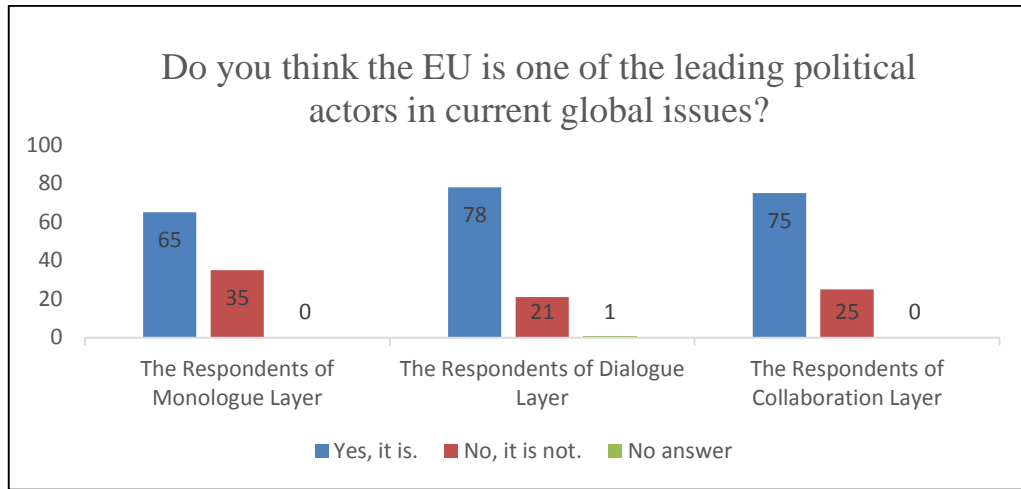


Figure 3. Question 4: Do you think the EU is one of the leading political actors in the current global issues?

Source: Compiled by the author.

The EU is one of the leading political entities in the global arena and in Turkish news outlets, EU related issues are always popular. When it comes to the perception on different layers, it is seen that as the positive answers are increasing, also the engagement of the individuals are increased. It can be said that the aim of placing the EU in the global context is successfully managed by the help of PD-linked engagement.

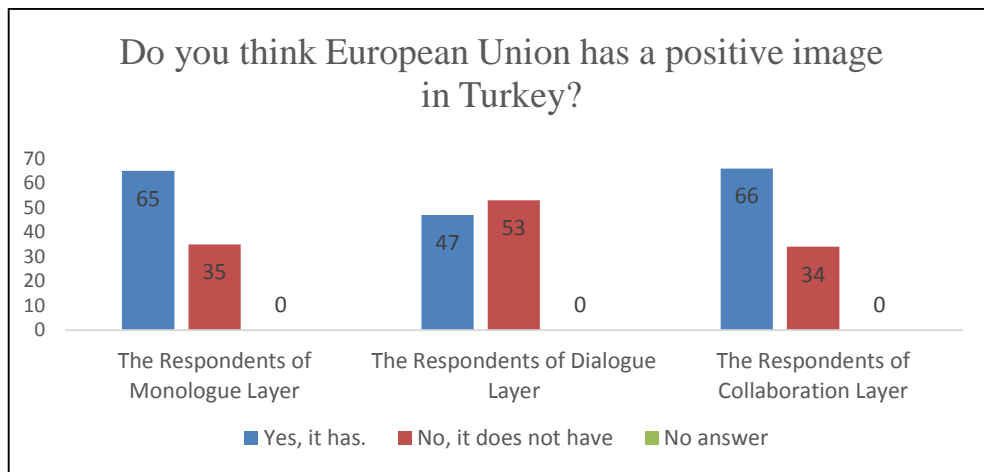


Figure 4. Question 5: Do you think the EU has a positive image in Turkey?

Source: Compiled by the author.

This question aims to observe a more specific perception of the audiences. Interestingly, the positive answers in this figure do not depend on the level of engagement with the EU. The Monologue and Collaboration levels are having similar stance on the positive image of the EU. When the questions 4 and 5 are compared, it is seen that there is a more positive image of the EU in the global context, the ratio of positive answers are declined when it is marrow down to the Turkish context. This is an important nuance to note that there might be an assessment of the public that the EU is not doing good Turkey related issues as well as it does in the global arena, or towards other foreign publics.

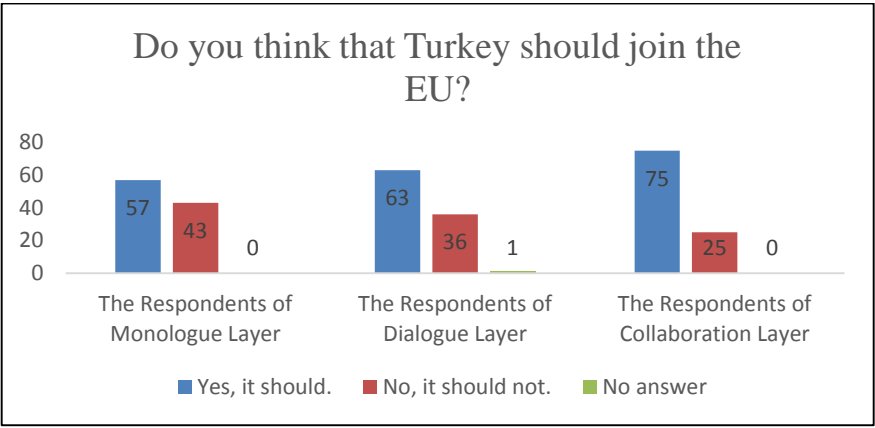


Figure 5. Question 6: Do you think that Turkey should join the EU?

Source: Compiled by the author.

In this table, the perception of the EU image is investigated in a narrower context; in Turkey’s accession process. It is seen that in *Figure 5*, the positive image of the EU does not drastically increase by the increase of the public engagement as the figure 4 displays. The concerns of Turkish people regarding the social norms might arise because of experiencing a social life in the EU. It also may arise from the extension of the accession process of Turkey. The public might think there is an inefficiency linked to the EU-Turkey relations, so, this could be increasing the concerns.

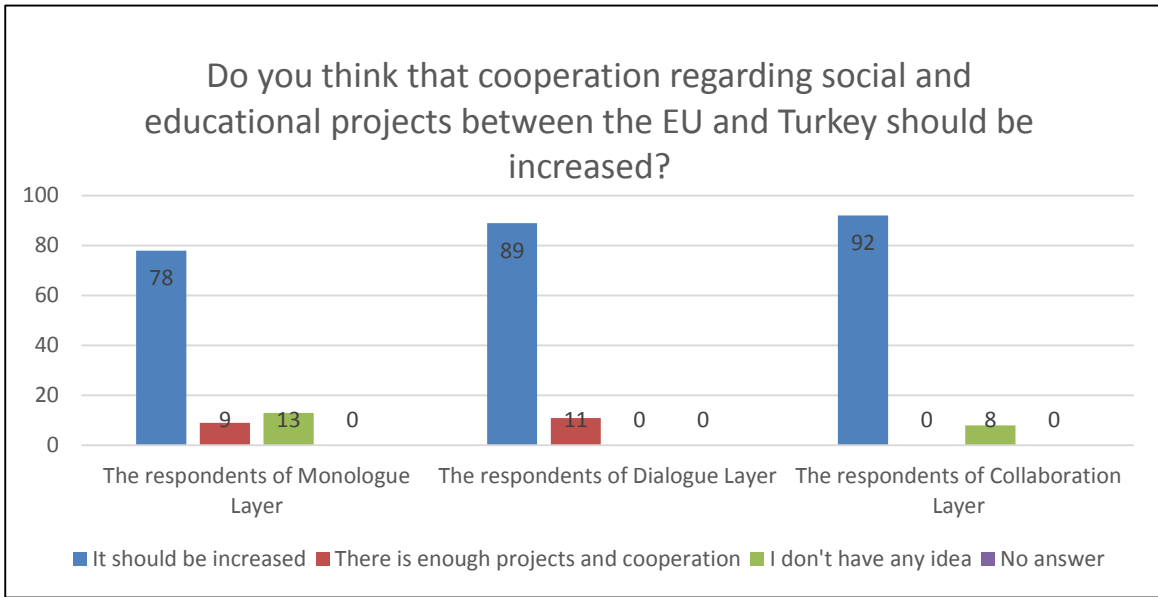


Figure 6. Question 7: Do you think that cooperation regarding social and educational projects between the EU and Turkey should be increased?

Source 6: Compiled by the author.

The further cooperation expectations are quite high, the positive response rate is higher than 50%. Also, when the layers are compared, it is seen in *Figure 6* that, when they, as the target audience of PD-related actions, are engaged more, they are willing to learn more about the communicator.

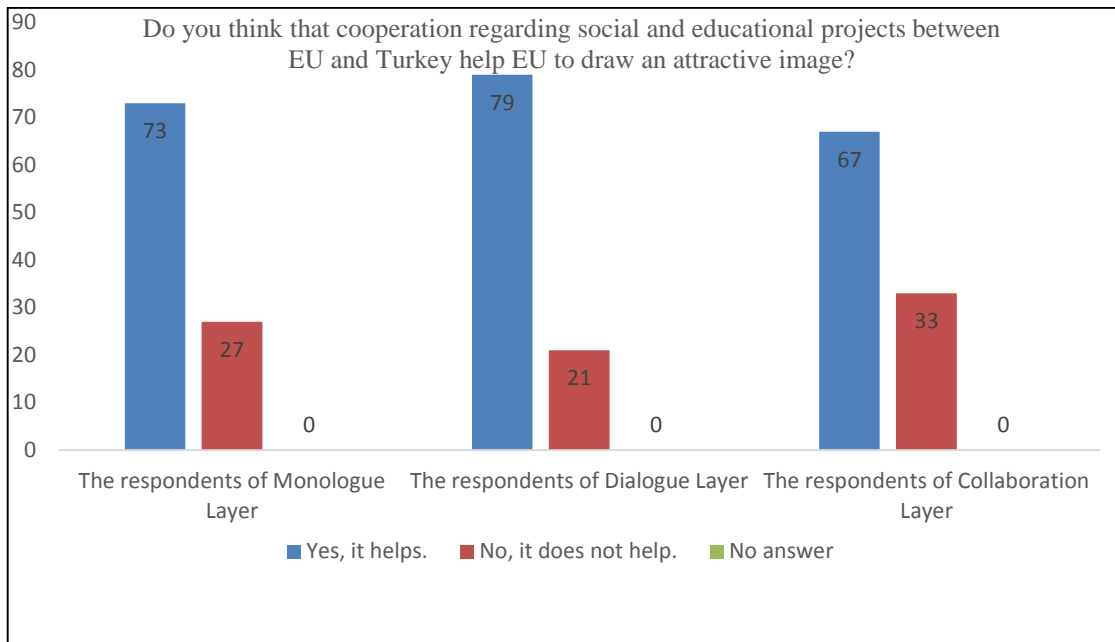


Figure 7. Question 8: Do you think that cooperation regarding social and educational projects between EU and Turkey help EU to draw an attractive image?

Source: Compiled by the author.

This question is actually quite crucial on the overall issue since it includes elements of PD and it asks the feedback directly from the audiences. It is again seen here that there is a potential for a more engagement.

This survey is conducted in a limited scope and can be improved in order to get more homogeneous reflections from the Turkish audience. However, this is a snapshot of the political implications in the practical social life. It indicates the sampling frame of the relations between the goals and the results.

## CONCLUSION

Limited specific agendas on the public level have been found rather than applying general PD activities at Turkey, which are set by the EU. There are more specific bilateral country engagements – EU Member States and Turkey – in the sense of PD. This shows that the EU as a supranational political actor is communicating with political elites in Turkey, but there are shortcomings of PD-related agendas, and the EU's power of persuasion is not used efficiently. The EU could apply more relevant public diplomacy agendas for the Turkish public. The further offers regarding the engagement of the Turkish audience would be responded positively.

This status quo can be also counted as a result of the discussions on Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). Members are having different visions about Turkey and this created the complexity of managing public diplomacy towards it. Member states individually engage with the Turkish public, especially on the dialogue level. If the idea is that the EU pursues a communication with the Turkish public in order to perceive their opinion in favor of the Union, they can accordingly influence Turkish state political actions by a united vision (Gilboa 2008, 59).

The EU should communicate with the public itself more and use the opportunity of being respected by the Turkish public as a leading political union in the global arena. It would be more beneficial to have also a more detailed common agenda followed as the Union towards Turkey. The survey results show that Turkish public is willing to participate in further projects of the EU. The positive approach of the public could become an advantage to use on the political level, which is accession process of Turkey.

Moreover, it can be said that, perhaps, Turkey itself should impose PD related actions towards Europe. In order to convince European publics that Turkey can be integrated in the union successfully and will be an upholder of prominent European values (Müftüler-Baç 2008, 202). There are plenty of works in Turkish diplomacy field that argues public diplomacy initiatives should be active for the goodness of the EU accession.

The perception of people is positive on the position of the EU in the global arena. It can be said that informing the audience is efficiently managed. The examples like respect to the EU as a political actor and the interest on the EU products in Turkish market can be also shown as proof to that.

Other than common projects of the EU on the second and the third layer of the concept, the public diplomacy actions are found several attempts but not enough due to lack of the consideration of the Turkish audience specifically. The dynamics such as ‘a secular state with Muslim majority’, ‘westernization state diplomacy’ would need to have some unique features of public diplomacy. The westernization process actually prepares a base for the union’s PD linked activities. Moreover, being aware of such dynamics of Turkey would help to implement effective communication strategy in order to get the intended response from the Turkish public. So, rather than focusing on cultural differences, producing projects in order to collaborate would be beneficial for regional stability and relations with Turkey (Cowan, Arsenault 2008, 25). If Turkey is a candidate and is in the process of accession, that means the Turkish public and European public are aimed to be integrated in the end of the process.

Furthermore, the contribution of EU public diplomacy activities to Turkish civil society has shown that there is a potential that is not efficiently activated yet. The EU can obtain a more efficient development process from Turkish civil society through PD linked initiatives. A more active participation in democracy is needed by Turkish public in order to embed a democracy culture within Turkey. Thus, Turkey could stand closer to a transparent democracy which is necessary on the way of accession to the EU. Improving democracy culture in Turkey is important to both parties, EU and Turkey, as strategic partners in the sense of accession process. EU as an advocate of European values, like human rights, can support Turkey by the implications of PD.



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# **APPENDICES**

## **APPENDIX 1. SURVEY QUESTIONS**

### **SURVEY**

This survey is designed to be taken only by Turkish citizens. Thank you for the consideration!

1) Do you hold an undergraduate degree or do you continue your undergraduate studies?

YES, I DO.

NO, I DO NOT.

2) Are you currently participating in an educational project (i.e. Erasmus, Erasmus +, Jean Monnet Program etc.) in the territory of EU?

YES, I AM.

NO, I AM NOT.

3) Have you ever attended any EU related (i.e. Erasmus, Erasmus +, one of the European languages courses, social works etc.) projects?

YES, I HAVE.

NO, I HAVE NOT.

4) Do you think EU is one of the leading political actors in current global issues?

YES, I DO.

NO, I DO NOT.

5) Do you think European Union has a positive image in Turkey?

YES, IT HAS.

NO, IT DOES NOT HAVE.

6) Do you think that Turkey should join EU?

YES, IT SHOULD.

NO, IT SHOULD NOT.

7) Do you think that cooperation regarding social and educational projects between EU and Turkey should be increased?

IT SHOULD BE INCREASED.

THERE IS ENOUGH PROJECTS AND COOPERATION.

I DO NOT HAVE ANY IDEA.

8) Do you think that cooperation regarding social and educational projects between EU and Turkey help EU to draw an attractive image?

YES, IT HELPS.

NO, IT DOES NOT HELP.