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## The Role of Cultural Power and Its Influence on Global Developments

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### Abstract

The study of the culture power in international politics is very complicated and difficult matter because it has been less explicitly used in the analyses and theorizing of cultural elements, hence the role of culture like political, security and economic factors, is not apparent in the theory of international relations. Many researchers have found that it is not possible to achieve the depth of the relations between nations only by relying on the pure political and economic factors. They prescribe to focus on cultural issues and special attention to the field of culture in order to achieve a realistic cognition of international relations. What doubles the importance of the issue, is the design of some new theories and new intellectual schools, and its effect on global politics. Including, the theory of the clash of civilizations, the dialogue of civilizations, cultural fluidity and postmodernist attitude towards the category of identity and culture, that each of them in some way recommends a particular action framework, according to its noetic framework. Hence, the fundamental question is that: What is the role of culture (soft power) in foreign policy and what impact does it have on global changes and developments trend? In response to this, the hypothesis is raised in such a way (trying to produce, procure and persuade values, attitudes, and trends and common attitudes lead to achieve cultural power and, as a result, facilitate the achievement of the national goals and interests of the countries, and promote the foreign policy of the countries and, on the other hand, the use of cultural power, creates a culture of resistance in the field of global politics.

**Keywords:** Communications, Global developments, Diplomacy, Foreign policy, Global policy, Culture, Cultural power, Soft power.

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## **I. Introduction: Concepts**

### **A. Diplomacy**

The term of diplomacy has different meanings in various fields of political sciences and international relations and has been defined based on the various views and dimensions. Aladpush and Tootoonchian in the book *Diplomat and Diplomacy* while presenting forty-six definitions of the terms of diplomacy, including the device of controlling and managing foreign affairs, political negotiation, foreign policy, technology of communication with other countries, rules of inter-state relations, political science, etc., each of these definitions, expresses the aspects of diplomacy, but they accept the practice of guiding relations between states through official representatives (Aladpush & Tootoonchian, 1993, p.4).

Hans J. Morgenthau considers diplomacy as the art of relating the components of national power in the most effective way with that group of international conditions features, that are directly associated with national interests. In his perspective, diplomacy is responsible for developing and implementing the foreign policy of the country at all levels, is the thoughtful brain of national power; as the national spirit is its soul. He believes that diplomacy, as the most important factor combines the national power and other determining factors of national power such as geographical status, self-sufficiency in resources and raw materials, industrial production, military readiness and population as a coherent set and gives them direction and weight (Morgenthau, 2005, pp.246-247).

Morgenthau considers that diplomacy has four fundamental tasks:

- 1) Determining the goals of a country, given its actual and potential power
- 2) Meeting the goals of other states and their actual and potential power
- 3) Determining the rate of compatibility these various goals
- 4) Using appropriate tools to achieve their goals (Morgenthau, 2005, p.846).

Considering the given definitions, if diplomacy function is considered in the field of common relations among the countries, diplomacy can be also seen with a communicational approach. With this approach in diplomacy, diplomacy can be defined as managing the relations of countries with each other and other international actors; these actors are the groups, organizations, and people, besides states use diplomacy as an information system to state and defend the interests and declare threats and ultimatums. In fact, diplomacy is a contacting duct and channel for declaring the positions, collecting information or persuading or convincing a country to support the positions of another country (Ashna, 2005, p.228).

By this attitude, diplomacy seeks persuasion and satisfaction in the scope of its goals. It is obvious, although, the scholars image other goals for diplomacy such as the initial goal for any kind of diplomacy, maintaining and safeguarding is the most important and fundamental interest of the country, means security and independence. Nevertheless, economic, business interests and preservation of the life and property of national citizens in foreign countries are also considered as the major goals of diplomacy. Moreover, modern diplomacy follows missions such as promoting the culture and lifestyle of own country, thereby provides mutual understanding and perception by obtaining dignity and credibility for national values and recognition it to others (Kazemi, 2007, p.38).

### **B. Diplomacy features**

The first feature is the growing popularity of multilateral dialogue on foreign policy, that is international politics, which was previously dedicated to the court or state or the maximum parliament, was expanded

to the media level and dialogue on foreign policy was transferred from the rooms with closed doors to the open doors of media.

The second feature is the development of diplomatic activity to cultural and educational fields. Diplomacy was previously limited to policy and economy fields. The issue of culture and media emerged in the field of diplomacy itself in the 20th century.

The developments of recent decades in the field of international relations indicate the importance of culture category in achieving the goals and improving the relations among the states so that today, cultural unions have been formed globally to resolve the international challenges and conflicts and the governments and nations to be converged.

Hence; acquiring international credibility and influence in public thoughts or access to soft power are among the important and yet unexplained goals of diplomacy of the countries in the field of international politics which is followed through different methods and mechanisms in any country in accordance with the situation, status, facilities, opportunities and cultural capacities of countries. Culture is a mild language that can be a backbone and support official relations among the states and also prevent violent crises in international relations. Hence; the states seek to consolidate their culture cognitive foundations and generalize the values, knowledge and produced attitudes beyond their own geographical boundaries to have one of power tools alongside political and military power (hard power) and align the public thoughts of people around the world with their interests and goals using cultural persuasion mechanism instead of use of force.

On the one hand, culture, as a driving engine of development, underlies the movements of societies and economic, social and political behavior patterns, that its role as an alternative paradigm has gradually become important through undermining the ideological challenges. Hence, various cultural theories emerged aiming to explain and interpret the position of culture in domestic and foreign policy as well as on the world level (Tohidfam, 2003, p.45).

Main presumptions of cultural theories are that human behavior and actions in a social dynamic and active life and establishing the relationship with others are affected by cultural tendencies and social relations paradigms.

These theories seek to identify the fields, formation process and appearance of our behavioral patterns, values, beliefs, and preferences in social life, so it is believed that human political behavior can be identified through this (Thompson et al., 1990, pp.1-5).

This type of attitude towards politics (cultural policy) has particular practical and theoretical requirements including it causes that policy is defined not only exclusive to the level and phenomenon that called state but also as a phenomenon in all social relations, manifestations and institutions and also considering policy as a cultural sensitivity instead of an institutionalized activity and the belief that everything is cultural, therefore; social discipline is always created, disagreed and reproduced through culture (Tajik, 2005, p.44). On this basis, the rough face of politics and power is softened using cultural methods and tools and cultural infrastructures cause to organize political activities in the level of domestic and international policy.

Theorization and critical analysis of culture, civilization and its cultural products in the contemporary era have created a wide literature from various perspectives that factors such as extensive immigration and cultural communications, mixing culture with politics, economy, expansion of satellite and communicational channels with the role of media in promoting cultural products and the emergence of culture various forms doubled the necessity of cultural studies to the extent that expansion of culture globalization wave brought some resistances by subcultures.

This important matter caused that the relationship between culture and different fields including power and politics is revealed in international level and to be interested by the researchers of international relations and international policy. Even a relatively new concept is coined to show the balance between “hard power” and “soft power”; namely “smart power” (see Al-Mulla, 2017, p.91).

### **C. The concept of culture**

Culture is one of the words that has many definitions due to the diversity and plurality of attitudes and approaches towards it. Everyone has proposed a particular definition according to his attitudes towards the subject. So, some of the definitions are mentioned to eliminate this chaos in concept. Some people believe that culture is an organized complex of norms, values, and rules. Sir Edward Tyler believes that culture is a set of knowledge, beliefs, arts, ethics, rules, customs and any ability and habit that is acquired by the human as a member of society (Bashiryah: 2000, pp.8-9). Culture in the broad sense encompasses all the products of mankind that are against processes and products of nature. Some consider the two terms of culture and civilization as one, while others discriminate between them (Rocher, 1988, p.120). The definition of Raymond Williams about culture is also noticeable. According to him culture is defined as “a public process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development and evolutionary and as a particular lifestyle of particular people or a particular time or generally as the products of intellectual, artistic activities. This definition seems to include whole philosophy, thought, art and intellectual creativity of an era or country as well as customs, habits, and rituals of different tribes, literature, and arts (Rocher, 1988, p.9). Therefore; what is considered by culture in this study, is a particular definition of it that includes software section of a civilization, that involves a set of knowledge, beliefs, values, norms, attitudes, customs, that are acquired by human consciously or unconsciously.

### **D. Soft power**

Culture is basically called as soft power in common international policy tradition and custom. What it is obvious and understood from the content of scholars’ words, in explaining soft power, is that soft power is the product and outcome of positive imagination, self-justifying presentation, acquiring credibility in national and international public thoughts, the indirect influence power with satisfaction on others etc. so that today, this interpretation of power is used against hard, military power and facilities which is somehow accompanied by physical violence and force. Therefore; it can be said that soft power is the ability to form others’ preferences and its type is persuasion while the rough face of hard power is forcing and obliging. Joseph Nye, one of the pioneers of discussing soft power, in the book titled as “The Application of Soft Power”, believes that soft power is the special attention to occupying mental space of another country through attraction and also a country achieves soft power when it is able to use information and wisdom to finish conflicting subjects and draw the conflicts to take advantages of them (Nye, 2003, p.10).

Soft power also includes rational issues and public values and its target is first foreign public thought and then domestic one. So, it can be said that soft power is the behavior of visible but intangible attraction. Whether in soft or cultural power, it is invested in the mentalities and attraction is used to create sharing between values and all demands. From this perspective, soft power is called to those capabilities and abilities, that affects the resources and behaviors of other countries indirectly using the tools such as ideal culture or ethical values. Therefore, according to Nye, “soft power (cultural power) is applied at the time when a country makes other ones want whatever it wants”. The ability to affect what other countries want is related to the intangible resources such as culture, ideology, and institutions (Schiller, 1998, p.100).

### **E. The factors of creating cultural power (soft power)**

Some of the factors that create or strengthen soft power, are promotion of language and literature, propagating ideals and excellent values, ideological status, appropriate and wide diplomatic relationship, cultural relations and exchanges, presentation of a desired image of self, appropriate using of information and culture along diplomatic objectives, designing and adopting accepted policies and strategies, removing negative historical mentalities, acquiring progressed scientific position and technologies, high economic capability, the power of forming and controlling public thoughts, the power of influencing on beliefs and attitudes, having worldwide news channels and the power of producing and distributing various media products to countries and influencing on international media (Nye, 2003, p.45). Also good behavior and adopting acceptable positions in dealing with international crises, presentation of humanitarian services, observing human rights standards, supporting green movements and environment, participation in peace movements and peace-keeping forces, formation of friendship associations with different countries, wide presence in cultural societies and cultural consultations broadly are effective in creating and strengthening cultural power. Some of international relations authors have mentioned other effective factors on producing and strengthening soft and hard power which are geographical status (climate, extent of territory, geopolitical status, population and human resources), industrial capacity, communications, scientific talents, inventions, initiatives, administrative and governmental organization, ideology and social ethics, information and level of knowledge, leadership wisdom and national spirit (Kazemi, 1990, p.138).

It can be generally said that of features and checks of soft power is its popularity and informality. In other words, soft power can produce a compatible dialogue with the public at the time when it doesn't require hard power and can produce local, regional and transnational dialogue and give its message to the public thoughts of the world without limitations and orders of hard power. It is worth mentioning that the power that is achieved in this way, shouldn't be taken mistakenly instead of populism and producing dialogue vulgarly but soft power (cultural power) means specializing and rationalizing the field of power in all areas (Moshfegh, 2008, p.4).

### **II. The relationship between culture and policy in area of international system**

The relationship between culture and policy had been ignored for a long time. In fact, culture has a political aspect as well because culture is hidden behind all individual and social actions and as it affects social behavior, it has important effects on the political behavior (Naghizadeh, 2003, p.6). However, many years lasted to raise the way of relationship between policy and culture and their effectiveness on each other in the field of international relations and it was only within seventy and eighty decades of 20th century, that some of the experts in international relations noticed that culture basically affects the behavior and actions in foreign policy and international relations of countries in the world of politics. This matter led to form a new branch of science and knowledge as "sociology of international relations" to study the effect of culture and politics on political behaviors in international relations area and global politics (Naghizadeh, 2003, p.7). Hence; some researchers such as Raymond Aron, Marcel Merrill, Stanley Hoffman and others tried to raise and examine some hypotheses about the effect of the mood of nations and the role of national and cultural norms and values and this subject was gradually welcomed by the researchers of international relations.

Some of culture field researchers believe that the effect of culture and mood of tribes and nations as well as the effective way of national culture not only affect foreign policy and international relations but also on the way of war and defense. These theories conclude that all nations have their own style and culture even infighting that is in the way of fighting, developing a strategy, a particular method of each tribe and

nation is different from other culture. Stanley Hoffman believes that the culture and mood of any nation is effective on their political behavior in a global politics area. He follows this attitude through an example of Americans' political behavior in the world. He believes that the main reason for Americans' intervention in global issues is rooted in culture because they feel a responsibility in global issues. They see themselves on an island, where no danger threatens them, and there are some people drowning around them, who need their help. Therefore, Americans' intervention isn't because of malice but it is a part of their political nature. They feel morally responsible for participating political global issues and consider this intervention as a kindness for the nations of the world (Naghizadeh, 2003, p.8). So today, we can see that culture has drawn the attention of politicians. It doesn't mean that politicians are always cultural people but it means that the culture is known both as the tools of politics and as a desired social issue, that the task of the state is promotion and improving it (Tarasebi, 2003, p.172).

The dominance of realistic approaches on the studies of international policy and its emphasis on external realities has been prevented deeper studies of global issues and subjects. Under these circumstances, the area of culture and identity, that examines the internal and deep epistemic layers has been ignored because major global issues are explained and interpreted in the framework of economic, political and security interests but most of the times, the impressions, cognitions, and evaluations that emerge through tangible economic, political and security forms, arise from a set of values, norms, and beliefs. It seems that little attention has been given to identifying and cultural aspects in the process of theorizing and analyzing global issues and as the result, cultural and normative aspects of actors' behavioral patterns have been neglected. So it seems till public norms have not been replaced with particular cultural attitudes, the rational choice of diplomacy can be considered as a cover for normative and value conflicts in international policy. Now, some new theories have paid attention to the culture, that in this case we find that culture not only isn't forgotten part of international relations but also basically, without attention to cultural infrastructures and the elements such as value, norm, fiction and ideology, a theory cannot be raised. On this basis, in most cases, the theorists without mentioning particular culture and ideologies interpret and explain global policy unconsciously based on this variable (Ghavam, 2005, p.291).

### **III. The culture and foreign policy behavior**

Culture is basically transferred from a generation to generation as a set of norms, customs, moralities, and beliefs through sociability. The studies of political culture indicate the impact of culture on politics and vice versa.

In next step, these studies analyze the relationship between culture and foreign policy. For instance, the researchers such as Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1980, p.35) have defined political culture as a particular distribution of directional patterns towards political issues among the members of a society. Political subjects here can include institutions, structures as well as political roles and behaviors. Under such circumstances, while uniformity of directions is less noticed, most of the attentions are given to reflecting the traditions, values, moralities, customs and cultural beliefs in foreign policy.

The relationship between cultural variables and assumptions and foreign policy can be studied through three methods. Firstly, it includes the beliefs and myths, which are related to historical experiences of people in a country and their leaders as well as the attitude that they have towards the current role and position and their country in the world. The second relationship is associated with the images and impressions of scientific and political elites and even public towards other nations, countries and other actors of foreign policy such as international institutions and finally the third cultural case relates to the customs and habits as well as attitudes towards problem-solving generally and dealing with international conflicts particularly (Ghavam, 2005, p.291).

Therefore, abovementioned cases indicate the way of the relationship between cultural assumptions with the foreign policy of the countries, that seems the smart diplomats and politicians have a special attention to this face of power that is cultural power and its role in the formation of perceptions and impressions. In many cases, behavioral patterns of states emerged in international policy through foreign policy, given the normative and cultural features and considering the rate of enjoying rate of required capabilities and abilities, get various complicated forms as ascendancy, tolerance, collaboration, self-sufficiency, reconciliation etc. On this basis, the countries and states have various diplomatic languages and method in their interactions with each other. As the result, normative exchanges and common and non-common chapters of values specify the diplomatic position of states in international policy. The importance of the relationship between culture, foreign policy, and international policy is doubled when we want to address the comparative foreign policies, because attention to normative, value and mythical issues can contribute the perception in categorizing governments' foreign policy as pragmatic, ideological, Islamic, Christian, democratic, pluralist and so on. Because under these conditions, the cultural effects and features on foreign policy and its reflection in behavioral interactions and political units with each other can give a clearer image in international policy. The imaginations and impressions that states have from cultural and normative assumptions of various societies can be different according to the owners of that culture because the correct perception of a country's culture can be effective on the interaction with it in foreign policy.

#### **IV. International culture and foreign policy**

International culture means the public norms and values that have been accepted by the international community over time and has particular functions. The manifestation of this culture can be seen in the framework of international regimes performances and in form of norms, rules, obligations and international conventions. What makes this culture richer includes the common norms and values among the societies which reflect through the system of countries' foreign policy in international interactions and exchanges (Ghavam, 2005; p.123).

Therefore, the foreign policy system of countries tries to convert its internal norms and values that make the identity of its society, to the global norms and values and gradually share the global culture. In this case, due to the manifestation of internal cultural values in global culture, the goals can be followed more easily and cheaply. Generally, three main tasks can be imagined for foreign policy system in the field of foreign policy and its relationship way with soft power:

1) Promoting the rate of political legitimacy in the attitudes of international public thoughts, system legitimacy is rooted in its internal mechanisms but political units should be careful of their political behaviors in a global level and reactions of other countries towards their political decisions. Today, we see international institutions with cultural concerns such as providing peace and security, protecting human rights, women rights and strengthening weak countries. By increasing such governmental and non-governmental international institutions, any country should behave so that increase its legitimacy in human rights through interacting these centers and institutions. Therefore, one of the important tasks of foreign policy system of countries is promoting the level of their legitimacy internationally.

2) Acquiring International Prestige: Another task of the foreign policy system of each country, acquiring prestige, dignity, validity, and prestige on the international scene, which itself causes to increase the strength and power of a country's soft power. In this meaning, the position and status of a country in the global system is effective in promoting national goals and interests of that country.

3) Public thoughts management: public thoughts management is another task of foreign policy in the framework of soft power. Public diplomacy is a part that can manage the public thoughts by adopting soft

methods without violence. Public diplomacy includes the programs such as publishing books, producing movies and documentaries, radio and TV programs and broadcast them to common international languages and holding international congresses to make close the ideas, thoughts, opinions, and policies in a global area. These components are often conducted in the framework of soft power mechanisms without any hard power mechanisms, that it seems that its governmental authority to be foreign policy system of the countries.

## **V. The components of cultural power in foreign policy analysis**

As it was mentioned, several factors are effective in creating soft powers of the countries that each one promotes the credit and status of a country in international policy area and global system without hard power tools and components.

### **A. Culture and the system of values**

A major part of the producing factors or strengthening factors of soft power in a political unit is related to culture area and the system of values and cultural norms such as language and literature, ideological and religious status, excellent and humanistic values, moralities, power of influencing of beliefs and attitudes and generally national manner and nature, national spirit, national beliefs and values, that all of them are placed in the category of culture. Now that soft power means the ability to attract others without force or money, and since culture is considered as the most important soft power resource, the country's soft power (cultural power) position and status can be evaluated given the rate of its cultural assumptions; abilities and attractions because the culture of a country can be a source of attraction for other countries. What doubles the importance of this subject is that since culture includes a system of values, norms, beliefs, and morality, these cultural assumptions and values determine the preferences and priorities system for individual and social life and, on one hand, the foreign policy system of countries acts majorly based on cultural preferences and priorities at the time of decision making. As a result, the rate of existing potential in cultural assumptions can create a particular attraction in public thought of the world, through which foreign policy system can easily follow and achieve its goals without applying force and with the lowest cost.

For example, ideal liberal values of the West or ideal Islamic political values in Islamic countries can attract or dispose of for other political units. The important thing is the rate of alignment between political ideals of a country with the international community as well as the rate of capabilities of these political values in making international legal regimes that to what extent it has been able to globalize its ideals and turn them to international rules and obligations.

### **B. The legitimacy of political system**

Political legitimacy is very effective in creating and strengthening the soft power of the countries. As the political legitimacy of a country increases in the world public thought, the rate of international collaborations will be developed appropriately because political units identify the goals and profits of a country only through mutual cultural collaborations and exchanges. The rate of public participation in elections, decision-making, and demonstrations indicates the legitimacy rate and level of a political system which significantly affects public thought of the world and as the result causes to increase the more communication in the global area.



### **C. Political values and ideals**

Another component, producing or strengthening soft power of a country, is the attraction of political values and ideals of a country. This matter can be effective in the presentation a positive and ideal image of a country in the level of world public thoughts. Generally, political ideals of a country can attract or dispose others towards it.

Now, given the raised theoretical discussions, the position and role of culture in global policy is analyzed that this issue is examined that whether the values and norms in global policy have the pivotal and focal position or is it placed in marginal situation? To answer this question, there are different attitudes. Some like realists in the field of theory and practice believe that culture has no particular position in the foreign policy of the countries and global policy. This attitude can be seen in the works of realists such as Hans J. Morgenthau (2005) while new attitudes and theories promote the position of culture and its effect on making theory and practice and believe that culture has a pivotal role in forming political behaviors, decision making in national and international policy. Theories such as structuralism, cultural hegemony, critical school, and postmodern theories are among serious fans of cultural attitudes in global policy. From this perspective, some people consider culture as a kind of divergence in global policy and believe that due to the effect of political actions and behaviors of actors of different cultural norms and values, convergence in the international system is very difficult because resistance is formed only by culture while it often diverges in the economy area. Therefore, it can be said that in the contemporary world, culture didn't have a particular position in the theory and thought area and placed in the margin. Because the global policy was security-oriented and majorly realistic and neo-realistic theories were considered while within recent decades, culture has gained a particular position. Whether discourse dominant on global politics is cultural discourse, and new interactions and relationships in world politics have cultural roots.

Today, international relations area is strictly affected by identity and cultural factors. Hence; cultural relationships and exchanges, as well as the attempt for protecting identity, have allocated a particular position in the theoretical discussion as well as practice area to the extent that converting identity protection is not only the agenda of foreign policy and strategic studies but also is majorly arising from the wave, its practice scope is international and global.

From this perspective, it can be said that getting power and producing power in the new world follow different patterns compared to the previous era. Although it has been formed in a global level based on military and hard power and it still has dominant, through the developments after the Second World War and especially since 1970s created in thought and practice area, it enters new variables in the global policy and the area of international relations in order to produce, apply power and obtaining the influence.

Focusing on the role of ideas and identity and in general culture in international relations area can be seen in the works of structuralism school. Works of people such as Michael Barnett and others about Middle East from structuralism perspective are noticeable.

For example, Raymond A. Hinnebusch in the book "The International Politics of the Middle East" shows that how Pan-Arabism flow declined and Islam achieved a similar international or supernational position (Hinnebusch, 2005, p.638). In other words, although, we observed Pan-Arabism and Islamism in the Middle East and even the world in 20th century, but in the 21st century, the ethnic and religious identities affect the thoughts of 20th century and as a new variable has been caused to create new theories in various fields especially global issues.

## **VI. Cultural power during Cold War**

Generally, in the past and during Cold War, the dialogue dominating international policy had been security-oriented that noticed various security approaches and most of the theories. During Cold War, cultural differences, compared to a global geopolitical battle between the bipolar system of America and former Soviet, was in the second rank and both blocks have presented their models to be chosen by the world. So the contrary block to be considered “other” in any direction; as the result, the cultural works, books, and theories in this section are few. Therefore, it can be said that culture and as a result, cultural power had a marginal role in intellectual and political developments in the global policy area and most of the countries used to rely on their hard power in their exchanges and conflicts to advance their national interests and goals. As this aspect of power dominated domestic policy of the countries, consequently, the country that had more materialistic tools and power in the global policy could change persuasion of particle powers and always used to show off their military power and follow their imperialistic goals.

## **VII. The role of culture in global policy after Cold War**

After the Cold War, the role of cultural conflicts, that was invisible and hidden before, was appeared. The nations struggled with each other locally but there was a wider tension between global and national forces. The culture of West was the dominant power in the process of globalization so that it seemed to try to equalize the human experience. This issue caused to raise cultural conflicts and contracts. Also, the end of Cold War witnessed fundamental changes of forces that were determining the global policies. The victory of the West also accelerated the revolution of information and communication technology. Changing models of global and national policy made cultural perception more necessary. As the result, we observed the cultural dialogue gradually in global policy, in which the culture and soft power got the pivotal role, whether, in cultural dialogue, the interactions and relationships among the countries have cultural root and cultural theories can explain and justify the political behaviors and action in international policy. Raising the theories such as Fukuyama’s thesis of *The End of the History* (1992) and Huntington’s *The Clash of Civilizations Theory* (1996) enhanced the position and role of culture and soft power in global interactions. In this period, given the military dominance of liberal capitalist system, new world order is being discussed and formed. The rate of hidden cultural influence in new hegemony is unique. This hegemony challenged the culture and social order of many societies and on the contrary, some resistances appeared in culture by some countries with rich culture and civilization. This motivated new conflicts of soft power in the world scale, requiring particular tools and facilities. What Fukuyama called liberal idea, a mixture of liberal democracy and market economy, in the thesis of the end of history was at the end of political and social development history (Baylis and Smith, 2004, p.1029). This idea has been also challenged by the researchers.

## **VIII. Clash of Civilizations Theory and formation of new literature in the world policy**

Clash of Civilizations Theory that was presented by Samuel Huntington in 1993 first as a paper, with the title of “Clash of Civilizations” and then in another book presented a new paradigm, in which culture and ultimately civilization determine the models of international collaboration and conflict. He believes that the civilizations that determine the global policy are Western, Confucius, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic, Orthodox, Latin America and probably African civilizations (Baylis and Smith, 2004, p.1035). Hence, the level of analysis in Huntington’s attitude was civilized and this theory was rapidly expanded in scientific and academic meetings. According to him, the end of Cold War was the beginning of a new era, since which the non-Westerns weren’t disabled receptors of West power but they will be as the developers of

international system structure and global policies. Creation of civilized policy in the international system is as four long-term procedures including:

- 1) Relative decline of West,
- 2) Asian economic boom and cultural confidence arising from that so that it seems that China to turn to the biggest power in the human history in the future,
- 3) Population explosion in Muslim world and following that Islamic revival trend,
- 4) The effects of globalization and expansion of communicational technologies.

These four forms raised new world order. What strengths new policy, in this area, is reviving the values and culture. This important issue increases awareness of people about cultural differences. Since the existing beliefs and values in the western culture has widely failed, the societies with rich culture and civilization tried to search for their cultural descends. Socialism and nationalism were replaced with Islamism, Hinduism and Russia-orientation. Western civilization defined liberal democracy as the global one but its main components such as rationalism, secularism, pluralism, democracy and human rights, the western form, wasn't that much attractive for Islamic, Chinese, Hindu, Buda and Orthodox cultures. According to Huntington, the hegemony of West has been challenged by two powerful non-Western powers: one is Islamic civilization and the other is Chinese or Confucius civilization, the issue was gradually considered by the decision makers and policymakers of the West. Hence; some resistances formed against West and the attempts of West for introducing and promoting democracy and its own interpretation of human rights were discussed as the new forms of imperialism. Although this theory had many opponents in the West and East, many of important global issues and existing crises can be analyzed in this framework. The noticeable point here is that although the clash of civilizations theory may not retell the whole global story after the Cold War it can be said that new words were entered in global issues and new theoretical literature was formed in international policy. Issues such as culture, values, norms, attitudes, symbols, identities and generally the position of soft power or cultural power in the world history were promoted so that most of the international conflicts can be explained and analyzed today given these theories.

#### **IX. The effect of cultural power on the process of global developments after September 11<sup>th</sup>**

Joseph S. Nye, the prominent researcher of international relations, who used soft power in the late 1980s, published the book "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" in 2004. In this book, he has investigated the ideas and arguments related to soft power in the context of America's foreign policy formation after the attacks of September 11th and especially Iraq war. According to Nye, success in global policies requires soft power along with hard power. Therefore, the countries succeed in this field that are adequately focused on this application of soft power because soft power is the ability of a country for achieving its goals and interests through attractions, not force and punishment, which it seems that this attraction to be arising from political ideas and culture and the policies of a political section in the international system. Since the main actor and leaders of these developments is foreign policy of the USA, investigating its foreign policy indicates the importance of cultural (soft) power in evolving new developments.

One of the structuralism promises is returning the domestic policy and culture to the international relations area. It is tried in this process to investigate culture, policy and domestic society proportions, related to the identity and behavior of the state in global policy. Based on this approach, any kind of government's identity in global policy is somehow the output of social performances, forming the identity inside. Thus, identity policy inside provides some facilities as well as limitations for identity and behaviors

of government abroad. Hence; the government needs to legitimate extracted authority, affecting its identity abroad through a kind of national identity inside (Wendt, 1999, p.35). Therefore, one of the major coordinates of structuralism theory is attention to the cultural and normative structures besides materialistic element so that even in these conditions, the assumptions make meaningful the materialistic elements of power such as weapons, land, and demography meaningful and the norms have a major role in the formation of interests. What important here is the extent of contradiction between domestic and international norms. Thus, structuralism theory is a framework for perceiving these normative conflicts between values, domestic and foreign norms that makes obliged the foreign policy system to approach these norms and turn them to a common culture in order to create friendly interactions and relationships in the global scale and level.

America's soft power in recent years is based on the influence of this country on the minds of people in the world through media. News media of America have a significant influence on most of the world points. Radio and TV programs as well as movies of this country, especially Hollywood, form a part of America's media empire. High education is the other source of America's soft power. Almost there is eager to study in Harvard, California, Stanford universities in almost all around the world. Also has the rate of foreign students' registration, the rate of winners of Nobel Prize, the rate of publishing scientific and research books and papers and many other educational and research factors as a source of soft power, affecting the decisions and applying power on authority. The third section of soft power resources of the USA is technology. Communication and information technology of America, that there is a part of that in using windows operating system, somehow changes the taste of users and is responsible for publishing the American values and tastes. Also, in the field of sport, food industries and ... America has required tools and facilities. Therefore, it seems that America has the highest rate of soft power resources and facilities to publish American values but obtained changes in attractiveness of the USA and the effect of these changes on political achievements have been caused the emergence of anti-America in the world which has led to the dominance of hard power and its related tools in foreign policy of America and despite potential resources for creating America's attraction in the global scale, its attractiveness has been reduced to the great extent following wide invasions in Iraq and Afghanistan.

September 11th is considered as a new chapter in international relations and global policy so that it created a new evolutionary context for a new dialogue in the foreign policy of political sections. Among the important effects of September 11th is new security boundary based on identity and culture. In other words, in continuing and completing Huntingtonian Thinking of the Civil War, new boundary is determined by values and norms so that identity is in the context of this boundary.

Hence, Middle East became the gravity center of big powers' foreign policy especially America after September 11th incident because America has found its identity values in conflict with the values and norms of people in this region. The USA tried to publish and promote liberal values and norms to create liberal order in the world. On this basis, fighting terrorism became an excuse and vital necessary at the top of its programs. The goal of America by creating liberal order is identity engineering of the world policy especially in the Middle East along with its values and norms. Now, given the meaning-oriented and constructivist perspective in the world policy, it can be figured out that the USA, relying on September 11th incident, provided required semantic opportunity structure through joining fundamental dialogue of America's foreign policy identity in order to create liberal order and followed its national goals in the world level by raising terrorism phenomena as "other".

The developments after September 11th indicate that identity policy is considered as the basis of the difference between the behaviors of countries and actors and based on identity forms and value frameworks, behavioral patterns in the foreign policy of political sections are internationally formed. For example, what is considered as fighting terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism in America's foreign policy

by neoconservatives and considered some of the Islamic movements as “other” is, in fact, reflecting the liberal norms and values that somehow cannot tolerate the expansion of Islamic values. Therefore, America could create new boundaries between itself and others after the developments of September 11th. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union and communism used to be considered as “other” in the foreign policy of America and it rebuilt its identity by the help of this “other” but after the Cold War and Soviet collapse, the USA faced a kind of identity and meaning crisis for defining itself. In his studies, Huntington has analyzed major problems of America based on the signs of lack of identity. He says that doing any complex is formed based on the existence of other. Hence; he has considered the main necessity of America’s national security (after September 11th) as confrontation (Huntington, 1997, p18-19). Therefore, the clash of civilization theory has become a kind of identification for foreign policy system of America. What important is the new policy is culture, values, and norms, making a soft power of a country. After September 11th, America identified a new form of threats. They believe new forms of threats or the new form of Cold War have been created that America has to fight it to survive. Hence, the incident of September 11th turned terrorism to the gravity center of America’s foreign policy and a kind of identification for America’s foreign policy.

One of the effects of September 11th on the international environment is entering identity dialogue and making it security in all around the world because this incident challenged liberal values and norms. Hence; a well-known phrase of Bush, “in fighting terrorism, others are either with us or against us”, is somehow arising from identity attitude to the policy of America (Sajadpur, 2002, Policy Magazine). On this basis, fighting with Middle East terrorism became the focus of America’s foreign policy at the beginning of the third millennium. What doubles the importance of Middle East is the existence of identity values and norms, dominating this region which is severely opposed to liberal values of America. So Americans think of the main development in intellectual and value structures of big Middle East and try to create liberal order in this region. This liberal order is implemented in the framework of American values with the framework of fighting terrorism because the order in the international scene is formed in the framework of normative, value and ideological contents and superior actors of the international system are majorly forming the order. Superior actors of the international system believe that international behaviors of actors are affected by their identity and ideas to the great extent. According to Alexander Wendt, international behavior reflects the process of socializing. So if the social environment can be created based on equal values then the behaviors will be also aligned and will be led to the promotion of liberal values in which value bed of international policies formation will be integrated (Wendt, 2005, pp.248-468).

Therefore, after September 11<sup>th</sup>, the Americans found an opportunity to globalize their identity components or American lifestyle with all its values by the help of materialistic resources of power. They try to legitimate liberalism thought through the process of democratizing the various regions of the world, especially Middle East.

Therefore, the process of developments from the beginning of third millennium up to now indicates the effect of cultural power in the field of decision making and applying power in the territory of global policy. The effect and appliance of cultural power on the process of world developments created two major consequences. One of them is the formation of resistance culture in global system and the other cultural diplomacy and media as the most important tools of applying soft power, will be briefly explained.

#### **A. Formation of resistance culture, the consequence of applying cultural power in global policy**

Since Western civilization announced other cultures and civilization of the world as “other” to get its identity to overcome meaning and identity crises, conflicting with for many years, this issue created resistance culture in the world affecting global policy field. A subject about “Asian values” began in Asia

and commercial and governmental elites put the liberal idea on top of it and argued that individualism and pluralism actually deny economic success. Even in the USA, the voice of Protestant fundamentalists against a secular government, liberal policy, and abortion were noticed and some resistances were formed (Baylis and Smith, 2004, p.1032). The most resistances in the Muslim world was created by some Islamic countries, in facing with Western civilization and culture. It was tried to prevent publishing news, movies, music tapes and expansion of Western norms, symbols, and values through prohibiting satellite TVs in Iran and some other Islamic countries; hence gradually, we observed the appearance of wave of new Islamism with various forms in the global policy which seriously challenged international system structure and applications. Also, crises, new rules, and new fighting mechanisms appeared in global policy that all were consequences of resistance culture formation against hegemony and west dominance in cultural and value fields. Some people are trying to analyze the attack of America to Iraq and Afghanistan in this framework. They believe that the presence of America in the Middle East is because of publishing liberal thoughts such as democracy, human rights, defending women rights and fighting terrorism. This important issue can be analyzed from different perspectives and show that there is an authentic relationship between hard and soft power so that both serve hegemony and global dominance. The West tries to gain soft power in order to create its hegemony with persuasion and satisfaction by soft tools through culture field and otherwise globalize its dominance with hard tools. Therefore, the West follows two faces of power through cultural hegemony (in form of soft power and dominance (hard power)).

Globalized culture is a multi-cultural system. Although this system was formed in the West, several aspects affected it. In fact, the liberal idea is somehow multi-cultural. An endless attempt of global and local capitalists for entertaining people and selling goods has a pivotal role in cultural eclecticism, especially in clothes, art, movies, TV, food etc. Globalization created common resources and the world didn't seem equal.

Ethnic and religious cultures beside globalized culture continued their life and many resistances were formed opposing it all over the world. Multicultural environments created multi identities. So existing cultural symbols affected the profits of some people, living based on those cultures. More importantly, cultural diversity tends to gradually form its patchwork identities, leading to identity and meaning crisis. Therefore, identity and culture became the main concern of theorists of global policies because culture specifies the identity of society and person.

According to structuralism, political actions and behaviors of the person and society are categorized based on the identity and culture of that society. Making identity in each country is different. For example, in a country that religious culture has a particular richness, religious identity will be the basis for forming political actions and behaviors of that country in domestic and foreign policy because religion has still main effect on the culture and as the result, globalization can be said that has promoted multi-cultural perspectives all over the world which is followed by important consequences in the cultural field of global policy.

In the cultural field, the policy of any country resists against global culture, especially liberal culture, that has expanded its dominance and hegemony in the world, is introduced as an anti-global revolution, traditional, anti-human and anti-development. Resistance against democracy and liberal culture is considered as the hostility towards West and since Western civilization as exploiter and having moral crisis used to be criticized due to its promiscuity culture and liberal capitalism, opposition to globalizing it was considered shortsighted to the great extent. This issue affected global policy. Western governments tried to continue fighting with the cultures and civilizations, which have particular richness, with soft tools of power to have hard and soft tools of power. Western countries titled by "cultural revolution" tried to dominate the cultural teachings of Eastern nations such as Islamic world by their culture and civilization and make them accept the Western cultural and normative teachings because the final goal was

globalizing Western values through soft and hard mechanisms of power, through which they could continue their dominance on the world.

### **B. Cultural diplomacy and media, the most important tools of applying soft power in global policy**

Some modern fields were created to eliminate the conflicts among states and nations peacefully and diplomacy was replaced with forcing, as a sensible solution by developing international relations and increasing international and regional collaborations and interactions. International policy, despite its development and evolution, still hasn't been able to completely resolve the oldest problem of international relations or war, the main concern of nations and governments over history, and bring peace and security. Hence; diplomacy, peaceful method of solving international conflicts, had been always faced chance so that by increasing the interactions and exchanges between nations and governments on one hand and increasing the level of political awareness internationally and growing public thoughts, the application of diplomatic methods has been increased. It is clear that experience of developments and revolutions in international system has been tangibly transformed and along with it, the tools, functions, and behaviors of diplomacy have been also affected by fundamental changes through developing the nature of diplomacy and diplomatic relations, passing the time (Kazemi, 1991, p.23), because diplomatic relations in the framework of old tradition aren't only the goals of policy and the necessity of economic, cultural, scientific and technical collaborations have created new tools and attitudes in diplomacy field. Therefore, cultural diplomacy has a particular place in international relations these days. According to some of the scholars, increasing and facilitating intercultural communications is the most important task of diplomacy in the new era (Russett & Starr, 2002, p. 209).

What has doubled the importance of this subject and promoted the speed of this important issue in global scale is the presence of media and new communicational systems. Given the theory of structuralism, the role is played by media these days in making global thoughts and publishing cultural norms and values, cannot be denied. Hence; the role of institutions and media in producing and distributing norms and attitudes is very important. The governments have basically various impressions from cultural and value proportion in international policy that might be different according to the owners of that culture. By international culture, the values and norms are meant that are accepted over time by the international community and have particular performance. This culture expression can be looked for in the framework of international regimes' performance and in the form of international norms, regulations, rules, and conventions (Ghavam, 2007, p.123).

Since the norms, attitudes and moral teachings are important in measuring and evaluating international behaviors patterns, so lack of required moral standards in global scale leads to several misunderstandings and conflicts in different forms. Although it is the output of various sources and particular cultural and epistemic principles, arising from cultural structure of any country, that each one has its particular political actions, behaviors and principles, they cannot be easily justified in the relationships of power between governments in global policy. Although diplomacy operates inside cultural and normative spaces and environment has also value aspect, diplomacy historians have practically considered cultural explanations as the next priority of importance, to the advantage of power and profits. Many of conscious politicians have been aware of cultural values and their role in the formation of perceptions and interpretations. Those national elements, noticed in the study of international policymaking, are usually the ones which operate as institutions in the political system. Political culture is formed of three components of political values, attitudes, and behaviors in the countries. Political values are people's direction towards political process; by political behavior, a method is meant, during which the people and groups use their values and attitudes in very rich statuses.

In many cases, the behavioral patterns of governments in global policy were manifested through foreign policy and the methods of explaining national profits in international policy, given the normative and cultural features and the rate of enjoying capabilities, get various complicated forms as ascendancy, tolerance, collaboration, non-reconciliation. Therefore, given the cultural and normative features, the governments should be expected to have various diplomatic languages in their interactions with others in global policy. In another word, they should follow a kind of cultural diplomacy with particular literature. In this type of diplomatic relations, the rate of normative exchanges and common and uncommon values determine the diplomatic status of governments in global policy. So emphasizing on normative, value, mystical teachings may contribute understanding foreign policy of governments in global issues as pragmatic, Islamic ideology, Christian, democratic, pluralism and ... On this basis, cultural features and works of any country in its foreign policy and its reflection in the behavioral interaction of global policy can propose the clearer image of that society's cultural content, manifesting through diplomatic relations such as cultural diplomacy. National natural, national spirit, the quality of government and society as well as the quality of diplomacy are of the qualitative factors of national power, that cultural diplomacy can be said to be thinking brain of national power as the national spirit is its soul.

It seems that if diplomacy vision power, especially cultural one is reduced or its judicial power to be damaged, the scores of geographical position, self-adequacy, industrial productions, military readiness and generally hard face of power won't be significantly effective. What develops cultural productions on the global scale are media and new communicational technologies. The media are the important tools in cultural diplomacy. For example, enjoying huge media facilities by America given their special various works in cultural diplomacy have been followed by a very important role in supplying soft power in these countries so that the effects of superior role of America in global education is strengthened and intensified with the dominance of mass media of America. Although the wide shadow of American culture sometimes leads to offensive reactions, this element of soft power in America is a powerful and non-threatening weapon in the attempt for dominating the hearts and minds of foreign elites. Cultural diplomacy is effective when it isn't a part of an explicit advertisement program and if American government was supposed to organize social effects of foreigners' education in this country based on their adaptation explicitly, these effects would have vanished (Milles, 2004, p.219). Cultural power is determined by the rate of its influence. The rate of culture power and authority can be determined based on two important criteria; the number of committed members to dominant values as well as the rate of commitment to dominant values. Following that, strong culture specifies that the agreement among people is in noticing culture beliefs and values.

If there is a satisfaction and agreement about existing values and beliefs, that culture is strong otherwise it is weak. This important task is done by countries through active cultural diplomacy with the help of media. Therefore, cultural diplomacy and media are considered two important tools of applying soft power in global policy. It has to be investigated that culture power is under what circumstances in the period of globalization. Since the clear feature of globalization is expanding communications and formation of the virtual world, the role and importance of media should be noticed in culture power or disability. In this period, one of the most important events is the compactness of time, space. This effect is beyond the media. The power of affecting by media has become more than past and as the result, the culture that makes itself adapting with new conditions more and better and using its facilities, is the more effective actor and will gain more power internationally. The interaction between soft and hard power seems to be able to lead to development and influence of both faces of power; in other words, other components of power such as economic, political and military power can be very effective on developing and influencing cultural power in a political section internationally.



## **X. Conclusion**

The authors tried to investigate the way of cultural power and foreign policy given the analytical components of cultural power at the beginning of this paper, after operationally defining some of the concepts. Then the position of cultural power in global policy during Cold War was noted and after that we concluded that the discourse dominated on International Politics during the Cold War had been the security-oriented and cultural power used to be marginal but after the Cold War, cultural discourse got a particular position and led to new literature in global policy. In the following, the role and effect of cultural power was studied on the process of global developments, especially after September 11th and we concluded that the dominance of this subject in global policy was followed by two major consequences; one, the formation of resistance culture in global policy and the other cultural diplomacy and media as the most important tools of applying soft power (cultural) in global policy have a significant effect on advancing national goals of countries. Accordingly, it must be acknowledged that cultural development and the transformation of any culture is among the necessary and needed affairs for survival and the durability of a cultural system. For the sake of what has been said, is not religionism, old-fashioned orientation, and being static; but it must also be noted that cultural development should be measured by indigenous criteria and indices and these indigenous indices can be derived from the rich Islamic and Iranian culture.

However, the realities of Iran and the challenges, it faces in this way, shouldn't be ignored. Iran society faces several challenges in the process of cultural development that can be divided in two general categories:

- a) Those challenges which are intracultural and called as lack of culture dynamicity
- b) Foreign challenges, called as cultural invasion

Cultural development requires unity of opinion and practice in the domestic arena, shown in the form of national unity. The weakness of national unity is one of barriers to cultural development because weakness of national unity undermines the national establishment and minimizes the identity and capacity of being present against various cultures, claiming top identity and capacity building. Lack of correct performance of communicational tools and mass media to neutralize the barriers of cultural development is followed by negative consequences of deterrence. The danger of political and cultural marginalization will result in cultural challenges, that will lead the culture towards cultural fraction and identity, political weakness and reducing participation will advance to the extent that "silent majority" will be discussed, which is opposed to cultural goals of Islamic revolution and cultural development.

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