

T.C. KOCAELI UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS AND PUBLICITY
PUBLIC RELATIONS AND PUBLICITY PROGRAM

**TURKEY'S DIGITAL DIPLOMACY APPROACH AND IMAGE
PORTRAYAL TO AFRICAN COUNTRIES**

MASTER'S THESIS

MUSSA ABDULLA AMEIR

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ABSTRACT

TURKEY'S DIGITAL DIPLOMACY APPROACH AND IMAGE PORTRAYAL TO AFRICAN COUNTRIES

It is claimed that social media has been changing drastically and gaining popularity in diplomatic communication. This trend has changed how diplomats engage with their foreign public in the place where they are located. Twitter, in particular, is seen as the main tool which is utilized by diplomatic actors to reach their audiences. Currently, Turkey has shown purposeful and meaningful efforts to embrace Twitter as a new tool of public diplomacy to fulfil its diplomatic missions. Based on this claim, the aim of this study was to analyze the effectiveness of Turkish digital diplomacy approaches and image portrayal to African countries. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were used to analyze data collected from 10 twitter accounts of Turkish embassies stationed in Africa from November 2019 to March 2020. The results show that although the average engagement across the continent is fairly high, the frequency of day to day posting by the embassies is low. This means that Turkish embassies in Africa are not using social media to their full potential to maintain a good relationship with the countries and effectively increase a visibility of a country image. Besides, Turkish embassies portray Turkey as friendly, the most generous and diplomatic country.

Key Words: Public diplomacy, social media, image portrayal, Turkish digital diplomacy

ÖZET

“TÜRKİYE’DE AFRIKA ÜLKELERİNE YÖNELİK DİJİTAL DİPLOMASİ VE İMAJ OLUŞTURMA: TÜRK ELÇİLERİ ÖRNEĞİ.

Sosyal medyanın büyük ölçüde değiştiği ve diplomatik iletişimde popülerlik kazandığı iddia edilmektedir. Bu eğilim, diplomatların bulundukları yerlerde yabancı kamuoyuyla etkileşim kurma şeklini değiştirmeye başlamıştır. Özellikle Twitter, diplomatik aktörlerin izleyicilerine ulaşabilmek için kullandıkları ana araç olarak görülmektedir. İddialara göre bu çalışmanın amacı, Türk dijital diplomasi yaklaşımlarının ve Afrika ülkelerine yönelik imaj tasvirinin etkinliğinin incelenmesidir. Afrika'da bulunan Türk büyükelçiliklerinin kullandıkları 10 adet twitter hesabının 2019 yılı Kasım ayından 2020 yılı Mart ayına kadar toplanan verilerini analiz etmek için hem nicel hem de nitel bilgiler kullanılmıştır. Sonuçlara bakıldığında kıta genelinde ortalama angajman oldukça yüksek olmasına rağmen, büyükelçilikler tarafından günlük paylaşım yapılma sıklığının düşük olduğu görülmektedir. Bu durum, Afrika'daki Türk büyükelçiliklerinin ülkelerle iyi ilişkiler sürdürebilmek ve ülke imajının görünürlüğünü etkili bir şekilde arttırmak için sosyal medyayı tüm potansiyelleriyle kullanamadığı anlamı taşımaktadır. Ayrıca, Türk büyükelçilikleri Türkiye'yi tanımlarken bir dost, diplomatik ve en cömert ülke olarak göstermektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kamu diplomasisi, Sosyal medya, İmaj gösterme, Türk dijital diplomasisi

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INTRODUCTION

American scholar Alvin Toffler in his book of “The third wave” he described three mega changes of the civil society in the human history which had pushed out the old system of life and forced the society to adopt the new ones. Toffler had mentioned the first wave was brought by Agrarian revolution which crept slowly in Europe and then it spread out to other parts of the world. Notably, this revolution was characterized by the utilization of technology in agriculture. The second wave occurred during the industrial revolution in the eighteenth century. The industrial revolution replaced old ways of life and introduced the new system which took time to be accepted as a new system of life. And today the world witnesses the third wave of the social change which is characterized by an advance level of information technology. Scholars have also coined this period as “information age” due to the high development of information technology which has become part and parcel of our daily life (Alvin Toffler, 1980).

The invention of the internet and social media, in general, was another remarkable revolution in this information age. It has taken this advancement of information to the highest level which was never thought before. It has brought about drastic changes in all aspects of life including economy, business, culture, education, politics, military technology, and public diplomacy. The internet has been challenging different scholars from various fields to conduct research. These studies aimed at assessing impacts of the internet in general to their respective professions and finding the best ways of integrating the internet to the daily practice of the field while minimizing the negative effects that are brought by the internet. Furthermore, the internet paved away to the emergences of many new concepts which would not exist before, these including digital diplomacy.

Digital diplomacy is currently coined and conceptualized term as a form of public diplomacy. It refers to “the growing uses of Information and Communication Technologies and social media platforms in the conduct of Public Diplomacy” (Hayden, 2012). In other words, digital diplomacy is the utilization of internet websites and different social media platforms, such as Twitter and Facebook, by a nation to communicate with foreign populaces in a non-costly manner (Adesina 2017). It is argued

that digitalization of public diplomacy has fundamentally changed the practice of diplomacy and how diplomatic actors communicate and engage with populaces of foreign countries that they represent with the traditional aim of the diplomacy of creating a good relationship, polishing the image of their countries, increasing their external influences, and spreading out their ideologies. Notably Facebook and Twitter particularly are credited as best and effective channels which diplomatic representatives such as embassies can easily communicate to sections of the local population that have previously been hard to engage. (Collins and Kristina, 2017).

Public diplomacy scholars have claimed that the involvement of social media platform into the practice of diplomacy may create a new form of diplomatic communication which allows the diplomatic practitioners to create and maintain the long-term relationships with foreign public stationed in different countries. Since social media by its origin has a power raging from creating social interaction, facilitating win-win communication between actors and the public of the foreign country to creating dialogue. This is opposed to traditional public diplomatic practices which were attributed by monologue (Kampf et al. 2015).

On the contrary, “Country image can be defined as the mental interpretation of a country's inhabitants, products, culture and national symbols” (Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999, p. 525), while Brijs et al. (2011) defined the Country image as “represents all that a consumer attaches to a country and its inhabitants (and not to its products)”. Szondi (2008) when he was exploring the potential relationship between Public Diplomacy and Nation branding, he stated that, according to the recent practices of Public diplomacy, it can no longer be defined as the effort of one Government to influence other Government but rather Government as a key player plus other country representatives' efforts to influence foreign Public to create a good image and promoting national interest. This has become more realistic after the invention of social media.

Turkey's engagement in Africa rooted from Ottoman Empire, Turkey's republic under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to the current era of Justice and Development Party (AKP). It is claimed that Turkey-African diplomatic relations in both

eras of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey's republic focused mostly to North Africa countries such as Egypt and Morocco rather than Sub-Saharan countries. However, in 2003 there was an ideological shift of Turkish government during the era of Justice and Development Party (AKP) which led the redirection of country's foreign policy from the Western-centered to the more diversified one. This opened the new chapter of Turkey-African diplomatic relationship, followed by the establishment of different embassies in African to strengthen its diplomatic tie with Sub-Saharan African countries (Ozkan and Akgun, 2011).

Turkey has been actively engaging with the foreign public through different ways such as cultural diplomacy projects, development aid, student exchanges and scholarships programs and conventional media. In the same important, the country has adopted a social media platform to speak to the foreign public of different countries. This is evidenced by different state representatives including embassies stationed in different countries (Ozkan and Akgun, 2011). Turkish embassies and other representatives like a business, religion, humanitarian, economic and individuals in Africa like other embassies and representatives of the other countries are embracing social media such as Facebook and Twitter to communicate with the foreign public to gain influence, penetrate their ideologies, promoting a good relationship and more important is a portrayal of good image of the country.

CHAPTER ONE

1 . PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

1.1 CONCEPT OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The practice of public diplomacy as an official communication of the government of one nation targeting the public of the foreign nation is nearly as old as Diplomacy itself. This is to say that the activities like image creation, propaganda, cultural portrayal, and other activities that currently can be labelled as public communication date back to many years during the formation of the states (Melissen, 2005:3).

Ottoman Empire which was among the largest and longest-lasting empire which used both soft power and hard power to rule the empire which spread into three different continents. The application of hard and high capacity of attractions through the fair ruling, political influence, cultural and religious opportunities provided enabled the empire to reign for a long period of between late thirteenth to early seventieth century (Çevik and Seib 2015:44).

French government after being defeated in the Franco-Prussian war started to deploy public diplomacy strategy to rebrand its image. The French used efforts of portraying its culture beyond its borders as the main component of French diplomacy of that time. A couple of years later other European countries like Italy and Germany also followed the projection of its culture abroad to influence the populace of other nation (Nye, 2008; 96).

Nye (2008:96) narrates that, during the atmosphere of the First World War 1 before and even after the war, European nations like Germany and Britain deployed soft power strategies to get the support of other nations. The governments established special offices of propaganda aimed at shaping both local and foreign public's opinion. Since the USA did not join the war for the first time and was identifying it's self as a neutral state which

neither supported triple Alliance nor Entente, Germany and Britain struggled to conduct propaganda competitively aimed at creating a favourable image in the American public opinion.

On the other side, in 1917, President Woodrow Wilson established a special committee of public information. The committee was chaired by George Creel who was an investigative journalist and then government official. The committee was formulated to shape and influence the public opinion to support the US in the First World War inside and outside of the country (Zaharna, 2010:74).

The invention of Radio in the 1920s doubled the power of the governments to engage with the foreign public through foreign language broadcasting. For example in the 1930s, fascist and communist competed to promote a good reputation of their countries inside and outside of the country while Nazi in Germany preferred the uses of film for the propagation of its ideology. While in America foreign information office (AFI) and voice of America established in 1942 to simplify communication with the foreign public (Zaharna, 2010:74, Nye, 2008:97 & Hans 1990:9).

This trend developed tremendously with the development of information technology, increasing the knowledge doubled with a high demand for speaking out with foreign public to gain support. For example in the second world, every big country struggled to brand its nation. During the cold war, there was a massive competition of promoting culture and ideologies to the world. It was this period where evidenced with the high uses of film, pamphlets, training exchange programs, and TV adverts to make the attraction of the foreign public (Nye 2008:98).

On top of that, public diplomacy had been around years even if it did not have academic recognition and so was not official understood as an independent profession or discipline. More often than not public diplomacy was referred to as propaganda which sounded more of manipulation (Hans, 1990:3). However, in 1965 the term public diplomacy was first coined and applied to the process of international information and cultural relations by Edmund Gullion, a retired American diplomat turned the dean of

the Fletcher school of diplomacy at Tufts University in the United States of America. Since then, the government realized that tradition diplomacy can no longer manage foreign relation alone, Public diplomacy was largely dominated by the USA in all time to replace propaganda which had a negative connotation to maintain a good relationship with foreign countries (Hans, 1990:3). Then Edmond (1965) defined public diplomacy as “the role of the press and other media in international affairs, cultivation by governments of public opinion, the non-governmental interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another, and the impact of these transnational processes on the formulation of policy and the conduct of foreign affairs” (Hans, 1990:8).

Before that, in 1963, Edward R. Murrow, who was an American broadcast journalist and war correspondent defined the public diplomacy as an engagement not only with foreign governments, but mainly with non-governmental organizations, and individual and portraying the views of both sides. (Leonard et al, 2002:1). Governments use public diplomacy as a tool to organize three main soft powers’ resources including values, culture and policies. These resources are used to contact and attract populace of other nation rather than just a Government. Public diplomacy is used to influence the foreign public through cultural attraction, broadcasting, and regulating exchanges and so on (Nye 2008:79).

Similarly, Hans defines public diplomacy as “public diplomacy as a government's process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and current policies (Hans, 1990:3) ”. He then supplements that public diplomacy is an attempt by the official government to educate the external communication environment in which US foreign policy is applied to reduce the degree of misunderstanding and perceptions errors between the US and other countries” (Hans, 2010 as cited in Gurgu, and Cociuban, 2016:2). The government expose their goals and national interest to a foreign public in several ways, such as cultural and educational exchange programs, international programs, visits and conferences, the training of

journalists and foreign academics, as well as publications (Gurgu, and Cociuban, 2016:2).

1.1.1 The dimension of public diplomacy

Leonard et al (2002:12-18) describe three main dimensions of good public diplomacy which should be considered in engaging with the foreign public.

The first one is instant communication. The government official always should disseminate important information regularly to both internal and external publics. This information should state thoroughly about the policy decisions made by the government officials to the local and foreign populace. More importantly, the special attention is put on what is said to press and how is said.

The second one is strategic communication. This involves persuasive communication (Public relations and advertising) or political campaign strategies to achieve the goal. The campaigns usually are conducted to strengthen the central theme and government foreign policy and making sure that the message gets well understood by the public holistically.

The third dimension of public diplomacy is creating and maintaining last long relationships. The sustainable and memorable rapport is done through exchanges programs, scholarships, educational and cultural conferences, seminars, and press which play a very unique role. For example in America, there are so many cultural camps and academic and training exchanging programs have been sponsored by the government to teach American culture and the language to the foreigners. The other nations have adopted the same programs such as Turkey, which is through its scholarship attract thousands of the students from all continents each year to study in the country. Apart from the scholarship, there many cultural and academic conferences are sponsored by the government to sustain the relationships with key individuals.

1.1.2 Principles of public diplomacy

The practices of public diplomacy include other disciplines such as persuasive communication. The persuasive communication is used to make the attraction of the country's foreign policy in the foreign country (Ross, 2003 as cited in Gurgu & Cociuban, 2016:8). Christopher Ross, who was the USA ambassador in Algeria and Syria and also senior advisor of the State Department supplements that, public diplomacy is mandated to inform, engage, and influence the foreign populace. Therefore, to meet these three goals, international communications of the country must align with a major set of seven principles of public diplomacy:

Firstly, there must be good coordination between policy advocacy and public diplomacy activities. Public diplomacy activities may vary based on time and places or nature of the audiences. The most important thing is all activities should be directly designed to boost the national interest of the nation and fulfil its international responsibility. In other words, the main duty is to get the national policies well understood by the foreign audiences the way they are and not the way other people say.

Secondly, there must be sound reasons and rationale which abide by the basic culture and values of the nation that want to make the attraction of its policy to the foreign public.

Third, there must be effective communication. The messages must be truthful, credible, and effectively tailored to fit the multiple and very much scattered public. Above all, the messages must be straight with no ambiguity. In short, a country must always tell what it means and mean what it tells the public.

The fourth principle backs the third one that messages must be consistently tailored just to fit specific audiences. The messages must be as many as possible to serve the diverse public regarding their ideologies, faith, values, and language. This can be successfully determined through conducting audience research and feedback provided

by audiences coupled with a thorough understanding of the culture and values of the audiences.

The fifth principle, a nation must use the advantage of multiple media existence to make its messages reach a large number of people easily and within a very short period. Both International and local TV, newspaper, radio, and social media must be used accordingly to get the message across people of different ages and lifestyles where most of the time determine the difference in the media choice.

The sixth principle, a nation must cooperate with different partners to reach the audiences. The state must work together with different organizations such as humanitarian organizations, the private sector, patriot Diasporas to strengthen the state's power. On top of that, these partners can help to add credibility of the messages particularly when it is dismissed from the state official websites.

The last principle is building trust and mutual understanding through a strong commitment to dialogue and other exchanging programs. The state must not only listen to the world but also must establish forum and dialogue that bring representatives of the foreign public with the certain states actors on the same table of discussion. This helps to clear the messages that were wrongly interpreted.

1.1.3 Components/ core practices of public diplomacy

Cull (2009:19-24) in his study entitled "Public diplomacy: the lessons from the past" he has remarked the constituent elements of the public diplomacy. These components are often employed by the big powers under different circumstances to manage the international environment. While the overall aim to deploy these elements is to encourage a favourable image of their countries in the international sphere.

- **Listening:** Here, the public diplomacy actors listen, and data is collected about foreign public to get their opinions. The data shows how a country is portrayed and determines how well the country policies are understood by the foreign public. This

has been a traditional practice that diplomatic actors use to monitor the international environment. This enables them to understand the impact of the efforts which are done for further engagement.

- **Advocacy:** Advocacy in public diplomacy is stated as an actor's plan to control the international environment by applying persuasive communication strategies to promote their policies and ideas to the foreign public. Advocacy in public diplomacy includes embassy press relations, informational work, and sometimes even advertising and formal campaign.

- **Cultural Diplomacy:** Cull (2009:13) defines cultural diplomacy as an actor's efforts of transmission a national culture to abroad. These efforts are taken purposely to make cultural resources and achievement to be well known and appreciated in abroad. Culture is a dimension of public diplomacy which plays a vital role in facilitating a good relationship with the foreign public. It organizes the establishment of schools, language centers abroad and sponsoring cultural agencies to attract the foreign public.

- **Exchange Diplomacy:** This involves sending the citizens to overseas and reciprocally receiving foreign citizens from abroad for a certain period of studying or acculturation. The citizens are sent to abroad to represent their countries and tell the foreign public how beautiful their country is. In this same cause, foreign citizens are given chance some through a scholarship to learn how wonderful a certain country is. This practice is defined or interpreted as a tendency of promoting mutual relationship among the citizens of two countries. Exchange diplomacy often overlaps with cultural activities but also it is for advocacy.

- **International Broadcasting (News):** This encompasses the uses of information and communication technology such as radio, television, and internet. The Internet nowadays plays a major role in the flow of information and sometimes even radio and televisions work through the internet. The international broadcasting often overlaps all other public diplomacy functions such as listening, advocacy and acculturation. The governments fundraise the international broadcasting media example BBC, CNN, and Al Jazeera to support their mission. International broadcasting (through

the use of BBC) has been a common element of British public diplomacy. International broadcasting is not new in the public diplomacy practice as state-funded news. Much earlier Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250) distributed a newsletter about his court's activities around neighbouring capitals.

- **Psychological Warfare (PW):** Cull (2009:23) claims that PW does not relate directly to Public diplomacy thus why many scholars do not consider it in the discussion of Public Diplomacy. However, for the interest of his study consider Psychological warfare along sides with other elements of Public Diplomacy as a field which relates to Public Diplomacy activities. In the context of Public diplomacy Cull (2009:23) defined Psychological Warfare as an actor's use of communication to accomplish a certain goal during wartime, often with the public of the enemy. The objective can be discouraging the enemy to step back from resisting or encouraging the surrender of the enemy. This process sometimes can be defined as white propaganda where the intention is not concealed.

Besides, Since Gullion introduced the concept of public diplomacy, there are so many lessons to learn from its practices of different countries. Cull (2010:12-15) in his study called "Public diplomacy: "Seven lessons for its future from its past" presented different lessons that today's public diplomats can easily draw to strengthen the practices.

- ✓ **Public diplomacy starts with listening:** Many of the actors in the practising public diplomacy, they start with speaking directly with foreign public without a clear understanding the nature of the foreign public and that is a mistake. Best public diplomacy starts with listening; regularly gathering information and opinion of the foreign public and analyze it. The result will give the road map of how to engage with foreign populace. A country which fails to listen and ignoring foreign public opinion can be in trouble while engaging with the foreign populace. Cull emphasizes that if the listening must be done, then it must be done genuinely otherwise it may backfire. For example USA under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Karen Hughes conducted "listening tour" in the Middle East but the aftermath of the tour was poor image overshadowed positive. This is because of many people in the regions

considered as an attempt of defending the American way of life. Today, listening can be easily done by monitoring blogs to see what is written about the country.

✓ **Public diplomacy must be linked to policy:** The golden rule of Public diplomacy is “What is important is not what is said, but what is done”. A solid policy is very important. The country with a good reputation as a result of sound policy will increase its power in the world. The most important relationship in the structure of public diplomacy is tying together listening and policymaking and that, the foreign public opinion must be considered in the development of foreign policy.

✓ **Public diplomacy is not a matter of domestic consumption:** One of the most important problems facing public diplomacy today is that many governments conduct Public diplomacy to impress local public rather than international public. These governments want to show their people that all they do is to educate the foreign public and correct the mistakes of ‘ignorant foreigners’ and not otherwise. So Public diplomacy is used as propaganda to get accepted by local audiences.

✓ **Effective public diplomacy requires credibility but has some implications:** Gaining credibility in foreign public has never been easy work. It cannot be achieved by only doing certain activities regularly. But what matters the most is; how you do it persistently and intellectually. The main challenge is ways of winning peoples heart while gaining credibility varies from one element to another. For example in international broadcasting, the credibility is achieved when the broadcasters are abode by journalistic ethics and are perceived to be out of political and politician influence. The example here is said to be BBC which seems to balance the news of both good and bad news during the first and second war. This provided respect and good reputation to Britain. In contrast, in listening and advocacy, credibility is achieved when they align with foreign policy. This gives a power to diplomats to talk with authority. The incompatibility of public diplomacy's components causes difficulty in organizing a solid structure to manage the work effectively.

✓ **Sometimes the most reliable voice is not one's voice:** Most of the times the governments want to centralize public diplomacy activities from their willingness to demonstrate that they are effective, regardless of whether they are eligible to make progress on an issue they wish to help. However, historically Cull shows a government's voice sometimes cannot be incredible to speak to the foreign public. Some of the most influential tactics of public diplomacy are when the government decides to step back and empowers others to tell the story. For example, before the USA to join in the First World War, from the beginning the USA announced itself as a neutral nation which supported neither of the two antagonistic groups. Therefore Britain used public diplomacy for assisting American journalists to cover the war from London.

✓ **Public diplomacy is not always 'about you:** Public diplomacy is concerned with the development of foreign policy. However, it is not true that always public diplomacy activities should be directed to cultivating the image of the country. Sometimes public diplomacy is designed to regulate the overall development of the international environment or to strengthen the internal voices of a foreign public. For example, Wilton Park is an international forum which organizes more than 50 events within the UK and abroad. The forum brings together representatives from different part of the world to discuss issues related to international security, prosperity, and justice out of the UK context.

✓ **Public diplomacy is everyone's job:** Citizen Diplomats and international organizations play a very big role in the development of public diplomacy of a certain country especially after the invention of the Internet. However, the government remains to be a key player in the development of policies and strategies. In public diplomacy, one of the most important examples of success in the last half-century is Germany and France agreement of 1963. It promotes the very close relationship between the citizens of both countries especial through cultural and student exchanges programs.

1.2 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND RELATED CONCEPT

1.2.1 Public diplomacy and soft power

The concept of “soft power” was coined by Joseph Nye in 1980s. He then has defined Soft power as “the ability to influence others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment” (Nye, 2008:94). This is can successfully be done by influencing the other nation through reasonable, and convincing arguments and policies. Credibility and capability of convincing and attraction are the attributes of soft power. Since these attributes give the legitimacy to use the power (Kalin, 2011:4). Soft power is not government-oriented, and it is not controlled by only one organization except in communist state like China. In the communist system, a party takes the power of everything including important sectors like media. Therefore the exercise of soft power also is under the control of the party (Fan, 2008:7).

Kurlantzick (2006:1) classified soft power into two groups (high and low soft power). In High soft power, the target audiences are elites who can analyze things critically. While in low soft power target audiences are the general public. In this regard, it is so hard to analyze and measure the soft power. The impact of soft power is indirect and often takes long time process to produce the desired result. Unlike hard power is visible, straight, and directly exercised and the impacts are openly seen within a short period of operation (Nye, 2004:20). The relevance and effectiveness of soft power are always detected through the feedback of the target audiences such as the change of the perception and attitudes toward a certain country. This is equal to say that soft power is generally based on the assumption “to get others to want what you want”. Thereby is not clear to determine the achievement of soft power in reality as cannot be tested (Nye, 2004:20).

The soft power of any nation related with the application of three resources: “its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority)” (Nye, 2008:96). A culture which involves the set of practices

and as the main identity of the society, is playing a unique and vital role in the country's soft power. The culture has manifestations which commonly differentiate between high and low culture: high culture includes literature, education and art which usually targeted to elites. While mass entertainment is considered a popular culture (Nye, 2008:96).

Talking about relationship exists between public diplomacy and soft power is that Soft power is a broad concept and is the general goal of a state which strives to achieve through the attractions. While Public diplomacy is a tool of soft power which is used by different nations with a purpose of achieving foreign policy through attraction rather than using hard power such as military forces and coercion (Cull, 2009:16).

Public diplomacy is associated with a long history in the era of the cold war. It has been used as a tool of promoting a state's soft power during and even after the cold war. Public diplomacy also is a potent tool of the so-called Smart power which is referred to a combination of both hard and soft power used by a country to get people what it wants. However, the actors of smart public diplomacy must be aware of the roles of credibility, self-criticism, and civil society in achieving a country's soft power (Nye, 2008:94).

The relationship between soft power and public diplomacy can be determined and well understood in the distinction between the power measured in the attitude and behavioral outcomes versus power measured in terms of resources. Handling relationship with the foreign public, in international politics, the resources that a country uses to generate soft power must be rooted in large from the values of its culture.

On the other hand, public diplomacy is the tool which a state uses to mobilize the resources to speak out and attract foreign publics rather than their governments. The government uses public diplomacy to attract potential resources of soft power through broadcasting, organizing exchange programs, facilitating cultural export, diplomacy, education, arts, visual media, film, poetry, literature, architecture, economic cooperation, international companies and non-government organizations, higher education (universities, research centers.), science and technology (Kalin, 2011:5). Kalin goes on by saying that one of the most important factors which pave a way for a country to

achieve soft power is its good political system which promotes liberty, human right, Justice, and democracy. Nye also warns that if the contents of the nation's policies, values and culture are not attractive, public diplomacy employed to promote them cannot generate a desired soft power. For instances producing and exporting Hollywood films with full of nude pictures to conservatives Muslims, the majority of countries can generate dislikes rather than soft power.

In the context of new public diplomacy, the relationship is emphasized in both relationships between national and international diplomatic actors and the relationship between the diplomatic actors and foreign public. Soft power is like New Public diplomacy is also resulted in a new understanding of international relations (Melissen, 2005:8).

Nye (2004) in his book called "Soft power the means to success in world politics" warns that the country which is exercising public diplomacy as the key tool for the soft power should be aware of the limits or challenges which are related to soft power. Firstly, over-reliance of hard power like direct military intervention or uses of threat and coercion may reduce the influence of soft power. Secondly, soft power depends on the free will of the receivers who can approve the state's foreign policies without force. Thirdly, soft power is likely to be practiced in democratic ways and not autocracy in which the only person or group of people in the final decision-maker. Fourthly, soft power is normally achieved through specific goals than the general goals of the country. Fifthly government control should be limited. The government should not control the activities of an individual and non-government organization who very important actors in foreign public relations. Lastly, domestic, and public opinions change according to the periodical changes in the state's policies. So the opinion polls about soft power are not always the same but they change through time and space. However, effort should be done to influence local and foreign public opinions as public opinions are the central significance to the generating of soft power (Kalin, 2011:8).

1.2.2 Public diplomacy and propaganda

The historic debate on the relationship between Propaganda and Public diplomacy is still alive. It is very often for many scholars of international relation studies to discuss the relationship exist between these two terms in their studies. Since the birth of the term Public diplomacy, it has often been related and identified with propaganda. Even now the distinction between public diplomacy and propaganda is not clear among the scholars (Misyuk, 2013:2). Some of the scholars they went even far by stating that the phrase “public diplomacy” is not a new phenomenon it has been used so often as a euphemism of the pre-existing concept of propaganda. Even journalists have depicted public diplomacy as a crude method to deliver messages that fact is not a priority (Leonard, 2002:9). Furthermore, it is also claimed that the modernized version of white propaganda which used to influence public opinion is just euphemism for propaganda as a country which practices cannot call it propaganda because of the negative connotation it has (Misyuk, 2013:2).

On the other side, Nye (2008:101) commented that the sceptics who simply consider public diplomacy as a euphemism for propaganda misunderstood the concept. Public diplomacy has to be judged beyond propaganda. Public diplomacy is more than conducting public relations campaigns, disseminating information, and building a positive image of a country. But public diplomacy is also about creating last ending relationships that also create a good environment for government policies and creating awareness of a country's values, culture, and policies.

On the other hand, while for a long time the term propaganda had been referred as an evil, manipulative and fabrication which always targets the subconscious part of the audiences, the term “public diplomacy” coined as an antonym of Propaganda (Gurgu & Cociuban 2016:2). The term “public diplomacy” was first coined by Edmund Gullion in 1965 as the process of cultural and international relation. Then the term was full embraced immediately in the USA. Since America needed the term to distinguish between its democratic information practices and those of propaganda and psychological

warfare of soviet. On the other hand, America gave the term status of diplomatic relations (Cull, 2009:18).

The former director of US Agency for news Edward Murrow described public diplomacy as practices which abide with the principle of "truthfulness", unlike propaganda which based on lies. "The truth is the best propaganda and lies – the greatest evil. To be credible, we must be honest" (Gurgu & Cociuban 2016:2). The common difference between public diplomacy and propaganda, propaganda is primarily based on the manipulation of information and this is done through disinformation and distortion of the truth. Secondly, propaganda always tries to present the fact selectively and is a one-sided flow of information. Furthermore, propaganda tries to control the attention of the audiences from only one source and presents one-sided information (Misyuk, 2013:1).

John Robert Kelly discussed three models of public diplomacy which are related to three major approaches which are "information, influences and engagement" of the foreign public. The main debate in the second one (influence) which is related to propagandistic communication aimed at influence public opinion in the form of persuasion and manipulation of the audiences. It is needless to say that, as propaganda, public diplomacy is about to influence but at the same time public diplomacy is unlike propaganda as it encourages two ways mutual influence through direct or indirect engagement with the foreign public. On the other words, public diplomacy ponders its publics as active participants who can comment on anything presented in the ground (Misyuk, 2013:1). Public diplomacy is a two-way street is the same to propaganda as is aimed at persuading audiences what to think but unlike propaganda, public diplomacy listens to the public what people say (Melissen, 2005:18).

In this new information age which characterized by the uses of the internet, propaganda is not an effective way in foreign relations as people have much access to different sources of information. Also, the audiences who used to be passive are actives now, they can comment on everything. Therefore to use Public diplomacy along with

propaganda methods not only fails to influence but may undermine soft power (Nye, 2008:108).

1.2.3 Public diplomacy and nation branding

Anholt who is considered as founder and pioneer of term Nation branding, he defined Nation branding as “campaigns carried out by governments in an attempt to raise the profile, improve the standing, enhance knowledge about or generate admiration for their country by foreign audiences” (Anholt, 2007:15). Nation branding is about combining and blending techniques of branding and marketing communications to form or reshape opinion of the foreign public. Nation branding application resembles so much with advertising process which involves awareness, attraction, and preference (Fan, 2008:17). Fan also adds that nation branding consists of three components which sometimes can be referred to three sub-brands: economic brand, political and cultural brand. These three brands are blended and interplayed toward achieving the overall goal of promoting a country’s image (Fan, 2008:18).

The relationship between Public diplomacy and Nation branding raises hot debate among the scholars of the related field. Szondi (2008:4) in his paper about the similarities and differences between public diplomacy and nation branding, he has identified five different views from different scholars showing the relationship exists between these two concepts:

- Public diplomacy and nation branding are the same concepts as the ultimate goal of both are to promote an image of a country through promoting culture and values.
- Public diplomacy and nation branding are distinct since they have different goals, strategies, tools, and actors. For example, nation branding is based on one-way model of communication where the communicator (s) has full controls of the message while giving very little and limited space for interaction with the audiences. The ultimate goal of nation branding is to promote the preferable image of a country. While public diplomacy is largely two ways communication aimed at creating dialogue

among actors and foreign public. This is done intentionally to promote mutual understanding and strengthen the relation exists.

- They are distinct but overlapping concepts. This view is also supported by Professor Jan Melissen (2005:20) in his most cited book in the current academic work of public diplomacy “The New Public Diplomacy-Soft Power in International Relation”. He states that the two are not just synonyms but their common characteristics they both share. For example, he claims that the difference is that nation branding is so ambitious, holistic approach and it needs much more effort to achieve the goal. However, he concludes that nation branding and public diplomacy are “sisters under the skin”

- Nation branding is part of public diplomacy. This notion is so limited in the literature reviews but is more vivid in the practice where each nation emphasized public diplomacy and nation branding is less considered. In the view nation branding is only part of public diplomacy which to reach the foreign public.

- Public diplomacy is part of nation branding. This is the most popular view which is supported by many scholars. Lewis (2003) as cited in Szondi (2008:25) he has written that public diplomacy is only nation branding strategy of politicians. In the same way, Fan (2008:20), describes that public diplomacy is a subset of nation branding that based on the political brand of a country, while nation branding forming and reshaping international opinions of a nation as a whole. Nation branding covers overall policy while public diplomacy is just about foreign policy communication dimension (Anholt, 2007:88).

On top of that, due to the rapid advancement of information technology is not easy to predict the future. Is hard to conclude which model among the five on the relationship between public diplomacy and nation branding how is going to dominate the future. However, treating nation brand as part of public diplomacy or another way around may reduce a concept to be used to its potential. Instead, the best way is recommended to intersect the concepts to reach the general goal of a country (Szondi, 2008:33).

In the context of the internet, the invention of the internet and its application in promoting a country's image makes these two concepts even closer than ever before. For

example, now scholars are talking about a new coined term “Selfie diplomacy” which means the use of digital diplomacy for the nation branding purpose. The marriage between nation branding and digital diplomacy which is brought by the uses of the internet to promote the country may rise like a new paradigm in the relationship of these two terms (Graan, 2016:20).

1.2.4 Public diplomacy and public relations

There is long time debate between public relation and public diplomacy scholars; there are some scholars consider public diplomacy as part of public relation activities, for example, Snow and Taylor (2009:9) in his *Routledge Public Diplomacy Handbook* says that “public diplomacy’s roots are in the persuasion industries of PR, marketing, and advertising”. She further describes that public diplomacy largely depends on personal influence and relationship models of communication which make it to be close to PR practices. Signitzer and Coombs were among the first who started to support this view by saying that public relation knowledge could be used to support the way “nation-states, countries or societies manage their communicative relationships with their foreign publics” (Signitzer and Coombs, 1992:2).

On the other hand, some scholar’s support that public diplomacy is larger than PR and that PR has more things to learn from public diplomacy .for example Macnamara (2012:8), in his research, he found that there are unique features which are only found in public diplomacy. These features include “interpersonal communication, techniques for addressing relational power imbalances, formal protocols for resolving conflicts, negotiation skills, recognition and acceptance and plurality in interests and views, and a long-term focus” therefore Macnamara (2012:11), suggests that public relations profession has got things to learn especially for the PR practitioners who work in the global companies. This is because public diplomacy practitioners have long time of experiences in the international environment. Moreover in his study entitled “Corporate and organizational diplomacy: an alternative paradigm to PR”, he has described six concepts or principles of new public diplomacy as identified by Riordan. These concepts can essentially inform theories and the daily practice of Public relations.

On top of that, Macnamara (2012:8), articulates that public diplomacy and PR have similarities and differences which have been discussed by different scholars including Nye (2010), Snow and Taylor (2009), and Riordan (2003). These similarities and differences are shown in the following tables:

Table 1. Shared concepts and principles of public diplomacy and public relations

Shared public diplomacy and public relations characteristics
Recognizes a need to understand the environment (gained through intelligence, monitoring, Environmental scanning, etc.)
Viewed as strategic communication
Prioritizes cultivation of relationships
Sees dialogue as a core activity
Deals with a diversity of interests and sometimes conflicts
Deals with multiple groups of “political actors”, “social collectives”, “publics”, and “stakeholders”
including government and organizations

Sources: Macnamara, J. (2012:8). Corporate and organizational diplomacy: an alternative paradigm to PR. *Journal of Communication Management*, 16(3), 312-325.

Table 2. Differences between public diplomacy and dominant public relations models

Public diplomacy	Public relation
Prioritizes interpersonal communication, Supported by strategic-mediated communication	Relies mostly on mediated communication except in the personal influence mode
Operates in and recognises an environment of competing interests, tensions, and conflict as the “norm” of human relations rather than breakdowns – including recognition that some disparate interests and conflicts maybe irreconcilable (i.e. agonistic)	Sees conflict as a “breakdown” of communication and/or relationships and views symmetry as a necessary goal
Maintains ongoing dialogue at all cost (except in war) – even in the face of complete disagreement and hostility. This is facilitated by patience and the following features	Maintains dialogue while consensus/ concurrence/win-win symmetrical resolution is possible but, if not, sees “withdrawal from dialogue” (Grunig, 2001, p. 16) and “no deal” as ethical (Hon and Grunig, 1999)
Develops and prioritizes negotiation skills Primarily focuses on communication skills	Primarily focuses on communication skills
Establishes mechanisms for dealing with disparities in power (e.g. powerful nations may agree to one vote in international negotiations despite size; agree to work through arbitration bodies such as the UN, etc.)	Has no effective mechanisms for dealing with disparities in power; relies on organizations pursuing “enlightened self-interest” and the moral values of practitioners
Establishes and follows protocols for dealing with conflict and hostility including diplomatic etiquette and reciprocal arrangements such as return visits, equal size delegations, and turn to take and equal time in discussions and negotiations	Has no formal protocols for dealing with conflict; relies on “professional values” (Grunig, 2000)

Sources: Macnamara, J. (2012). Corporate and organizational diplomacy: an alternative paradigm to PR. *Journal of Communication Management*, 16(3), 312-325.

The advancement of information technology which led to the rise of new public diplomacy and then digital diplomacy has made public diplomacy to be similar to public relations. Both new public diplomacy and public relations are used to create a favourable image, promote goodwill and information exchange through dialogue (Melissen, 2011:21). Besides, Signitzer and Coombs (1992:4) recommend that public relations and public diplomacy are similar since they share similar goals and methodologies; also they utilize the same tools to fulfil their goals. Signitzer and Wamser (2006:8) argue that both PR and public diplomacy are used by organization or state for strategic communicative functions for engagement through information distribution, advocacy and creating sustainable relations.

1.3 THE CONCEPT OF THE NEW PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The “new public diplomacy” is a new term which was coined in recent years. And since the coining of the term, it has been discussed in scholarly academic works to describe public diplomacy in the information age but with different interpretations. (Vickers 2004:11) defines new public diplomacy as “a blurring of traditional distinctions between international and domestic information activities, between public and traditional diplomacy and between cultural diplomacy, marketing and news management.” This means the new public diplomacy combines traditional public diplomacy where the government develop different policies to influence foreign publics and public affairs where the government policies to inform/influence its public and image management.

The new public diplomacy is no longer restricted to informing, conducting promotion campaigns and direct governmental contacts with the foreign populace. It is also about building sustainable rapport with civil societies and actors in other countries. Moreover, public diplomacy of today should water down good networks between non-governmental entities inside and outside the country (Gregory, 2008:284) Also, Muhammad (2016:5) adds that Diplomatic communication is no longer regarded as government-centred communication from the government to the public of the foreign country, rather is an interaction which includes government's communication with ordinary citizens in both domestic and foreign countries. This is revealed at the end of

the 20th and beginning of the 21st century where the development of the internet and social media led to the digitalization of public diplomacy. The internet has given the powerless, power, and voiceless, voice platform to present their opinions of what is going on in the world, wherein past was impossible.

The advancement of information and communication has brought about many changes to different sectors. This change goes parallel to the development of globalization of trade, monetary and political change which allow the ordinary people to take a part in international relations. For example today, the citizens of a certain nation can have direct communication of other countries. This change has convinced the scholars of public diplomacy and related field to research to know to what extent has public diplomacy practices changed in this era of information (Yun and Toth, 2009:496).

In their study entitled “Future Sociological Public Diplomacy and the Role of Public Relations: Evolution of Public Diplomacy” Yun and Toth (2009:496) identify two main perspectives of the different scholars over public diplomacy activities and how is practised currently in the age of information; that are realism and liberalism.

From the **Realism** (tradition public diplomacy) point of view, Public diplomacy is the state-based communication aim at engaging and influencing the foreign public to support the national interest beyond its border. In this view of public diplomacy, consider the state as the only actor in engaging with the foreign public, like developing foreign policy and implementation. On the other hand, the concept of **liberalism** (new public diplomacy) doesn't consider a state as an only actor in Public diplomacy rather as an important key player in influencing and engaging with the foreign public. In other words, the perception of liberalism recognizes other actors; including individuals and different organizations that operate their activities in the foreign country (Yun and Toth, 2009:496-7)

1.3.1 Changes in new public diplomacy

On the other hand, Cull (2009:13-14) in his book title "Public diplomacy: a lesson from the Past" mentioned different changes in the practice of the new public diplomacy these include: firstly, the public diplomacy actors (NGOs and individual citizens) have drastically increased in the practice of public diplomacy and their role is very well noted. Secondly, the advancement of communication and information technology has led to the change of strategies and mechanism in the practice of public diplomacy. It has also given new channels used to communicate with the global world. Along with that this advancement of communication and information of technologies have reduced the formerly boundary between the domestic and international news spheres. For example, the news which is directed to the foreign public can also reach the local ones and the other way around.

Fourthly, to make new public diplomacy different from the concept of propaganda. Public diplomacy today is explicitly related to the concept of marketing in one side especially place and nation branding and on the other side, the concept developed from network communication theory. Thereby, this has resulted in a new term of public diplomacy to be considered as a language of prestige with special status and the international image has paved a way to talk of 'soft power' and 'branding'.

Lastly but not least, the New Public Diplomacy has changed the communication model of one - many such as actor-to-people. But today's communication is many- many communications which often emphasis mutual agreement. While the international actors playing a role as organizer and facilitator of communication to take place. On the other side, this model discourages the old communication nature which based on a top-down messaging. At the same time, the new model encourages interaction to create a good relationship. The relationships must not only be between the actor and foreign public but also would be signed between two audiences: foreign to each other, whose communication the actor always wants to facilitate (Cull, 2009:14).

From these changes make the work easy to differentiate between the old public diplomacy and the new public diplomacy. However, according to the Cull the prime aim which is managing the international environment remains consistent as it is shown in the chart below:

Table 3. The Old Public Diplomacy and the New

Dominant Characteristics	Old PD	New PD
1) Identity of international	actor State	State and non-state
2) Tech. environment	Short wave radio Print newspapers Land-line telephones	Satellite, Internet, real-time news Mobile telephones
3) Media environment	A clear line between domestic and international news sphere	The blurring of domestic and international news Sphere.
4) Source of approach	An outgrowth of political advocacy & propaganda theory	An outgrowth of corporate branding & network theory
5) Terminology	“International image” “Prestige”	“Soft power” “Nation Brand”
6) Structure of role	Top-down, actor to foreign peoples	Horizontal, facilitated by actor
7) Nature of role	Targeted messaging	Relationship-building
8) Overall aim	The management of the international environment	The management of the international environment

Source: Cull, N. J. (2009:15). *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*. Figueroa Press, Los Angeles, s.

1.4 DIGITAL DIPLOMACY

The technological impact can be determined on how is used. This is to say that technology itself can neither create nor destroy relationships; rather, it is how the technology is utilized can influence organization-public relationships" (Hocking & Melissen, 2015). Technological innovations like the internet have given practitioners the new ways of reaching out to foreign publics and have had wide-reaching effects on international communication and thereby, on public diplomacy.

Digital Diplomacy was first introduced by Wilson Dizard in 2001, since then it started to grab the attention of the international diplomatic communities as up growing tool that enriches Public Diplomacy efforts (Muhammad, 2016:5). Undoubtedly many scholars agreed that the story of digital diplomacy can be traced back to the USA at the beginning of the 21st century. All of the scholars were referring Hillary Clinton who was the secretary of the state to the ways she used to reshape the foreign policies' strategies of the state department to copy with the development of information and communication technology (Adesina, 2017:6). During her tenure as secretary of the state department of the USA, Clinton emphasized the utilization of social media in the most programs which were run by the state department. In her word, she articulated that she wanted to effectively use social media platform to "reach beyond traditional government-to-government relations and engage directly with people around the world" (Bjola and Holmes, 2015:52).

On the other hand, Ben Scott who was Innovation former Advisor to the United State Secretary of State department Hillary Clinton identifies three hints of digital diplomacy:

- Public diplomacy involves effectively use of social media and other online platforms to engage with the public daily.
- Creating the knowledge in technology policy and understanding the how online platform affect the national development in general such as mobilization of a political movement.

- Consequences on development policy and how the online platform can be used accordingly to promote economy worldwide (Adesina, 20017:6).

Since the adoption of social media by the USA, many countries in Europe followed. Different countries like France and Sweden and the United Kingdom started to use social media officially as an integral part of public diplomacy practices. In Asia, India was leading in a list to adopt social media where the ministry of External affair started to post in 2010. In Africa, this opportunity has not well grasped yet. The uses of social media continued to be adopted also by different embassies and consulates to facilitate the interactions (Bjola and Holmes, 2015:114).

Digital diplomacy is currently coined and conceptualized term as a form of public diplomacy. It refers to “the growing uses of Information and Communication Technologies and social media platforms in the conduct of Public Diplomacy” (Hayden, 2012:50). In other words, digital diplomacy is the utilization of internet websites and different social media platforms, such as Twitter and Facebook, by a nation to communicate with foreign populaces in a non-costly manner (Adesina 2017:2).

It is argued that digitalization of public diplomacy has fundamentally changed the practice of diplomacy and how diplomatic actors communicate and engage with populaces of foreign countries that they represent with the traditional aim of the diplomacy of creating a good relationship, polishing the image of their countries, increasing their external influences, and spreading out their ideologies. Notably Twitter and Facebook particularly are credited as best and effective channels which diplomatic representatives such as embassies can easily communicate to sections of the local population that have previously been hard to engage. (Collins and Bekenova, 2017:17).

Public diplomacy scholars have claimed that the involvement of social media platform into the practice of diplomacy may create a new form of diplomatic communication which allows the diplomatic practitioners to create and maintain the long-term relationships with foreign public stationed in different countries. Since social media by its origin has a power raging from creating social interaction, facilitating win-

win communication between actors and the public of the foreign country to creating dialogue, this is opposed to traditional public diplomatic practices which were attributed by monologue (Kampf et al. 2015;7).

These changes which brought by the invention of social media caused a debate amongst the scholars of public diplomacy. In the debate, the main question is social media is whether a game-changer (revolution) or is an only additional tool of public diplomacy which facilitate interaction between public diplomacy actors and public or simply a tool facilitating the already established behavioral patterns (evolution) (Collins and Bekenova, 2018:1).

- **The revolutionary** considers that social media has changed and reshaped the practices of Public diplomacy because of the great importance of new communication channels for diplomacy; for example, the scholars who support this perspective, they point out major changes brought by social media such as firstly a key player in public diplomacy is no longer only government-oriented, but the social media has empowered organizations and individual to participate in public diplomacy. Secondly, the nature of communication has changed from one way to two ways mode of communication. Thirdly, rising of dialogues on social media which facilitate the interaction among the actors and public (Collins and Bekenova, 2018:1-3). Also, Payne and Sevin (2011:4) added that social media also led to the rise of grassroots public diplomacy whereby the citizens of one country directly engage with citizens of the other nations with aim of creating a good image of their country.

- **The evolutionary**, the scholars of this perspective argue that communication technologies and social media are only a relatively minor addition to the modus operandi of traditional diplomacy. So social media or communication technology, in general, did not change the whole practices of diplomacy. For example, the scholars who support this point of view refuted that social media does not create dialogue but rather it provides a platform for the dialogue since there is no clear evidence from the current studies about social media which prove clearly that it has the power to create a

dialogue rather many researchers show their doubts over the dialogue on social media (Collins and Bekenova, 2018:1-4).

In all, no matter how you define digital diplomacy as Game changer or an additional feature or channel, considering many countries embracing digital communication, and many studies describing their significances, it can simply be claimed that digital diplomacy is no longer an optional practice if its whether you decide to use it or not but rather has become a part and parcel competency across the world as far as public diplomacy is concerned (Sevin, 2018:17).

1.4.1 Advantage of digital diplomacy

Digital diplomacy has many advantages. This can be easily seen through the way ministries of foreign affairs of different countries, embassies and consulate, international organization and individual actors embraced social media to communicate with millions of people worldwide. The following are among those advantages:

One of the most important of digital diplomacy is its power to foster two-way communication. Social media provide a chance for direct interaction between a public and the actors of diplomacy which is good for last long relationship (Hocking and Melissen, 2015:18). One-way communication where only the government and its agencies control the information is outdated. Today the citizens want to have participated through dialogues which are possible on social media. In two-way communication not only the actors send the message to the public but also give a chance to know the reaction of the public, their needs and their opinions about different policies, values, and culture of a country(Sevin & Payne, 2011:7).

The digital revolution enables foreign ministries and embassies to engage with the millions of people worldwide, in real-time and under very low cost (Bjola, 2018:3). With the advancement of technology and social media, today's foreign offices and other actors no longer need to travel for the distant nation to speak to the foreign public for conducting a meeting or awareness programs. Many projects and campaign can be accomplished on

social media with very minimum cost and within a short time. This means the offices do not spend money anymore for transportation and accommodation Organizing events instead that money can be allocated to the activities (Verrekia, 2017:23).

Digital diplomacy led to the rise of citizen diplomacy. An ordinary citizen or group of a citizen can also engage in sending the message to his or her country. Before the internet, there was no possibility of the citizen to involve public diplomacy. But today the individual citizen plays a big role in promoting national image. This can be well seen through Turkeyfe.org – Turkey's online coffeehouse. This was a group of graduates who began with the belief that Turkey has the potential to be very well known worldwide. In 2010, four young professionals found a website, www.Turkeyfe.org, to help inform the international public about turkey and its potentials. The goal of the project was to give a room for Turkish and foreigners to share their experience about turkey (Sevin et al, 2011:9).

Another advantage of digital diplomacy is it promotes the sense of transparency. Nowadays people share everything of social media about their life and what is going in society. This desire triggered the public to want to know what is going in their government. As a result forces the diplomats to share their information with the public including the activities that are run either by the foreign ministry or another organization (Melissen and Hocking, 2015:25). This very important as they make public to be satisfied by feeling that they involved in the national discussion. For example, Donald Trump always tweets to inform the public on what is going in his office. This is very important as research has found out that personalized message produces a positive impact on audiences and resulting high level of attention to the message (Strauß et al, 2015:4).

Digital diplomacy also helps to promote democracy and human right. The government and international organization reach the audience directly without the mediation of local institution and opinion leaders. This has given the chance to the audiences to interact with the government directly (Manor and Segev, 2015:17). The practice of public diplomacy in the digital age has become more public because awareness of democracy has increased and public demands to be involved in the

discussion about local and foreign affairs. This is made possible through social media where the ministries of foreign affairs conduct dialogue online with the foreign public (Bollier, 2003).

Digital diplomacy led to the rise in the concept of domestic digital diplomacy (DDD), which is defined as the state use of digital social network sites to support their foreign policy. Robert Putnam identifies two levels of conceptualized diplomatic negotiations which normally collide to each other in the practices (Bjola and Manor 2019). These levels are national and international policies. The government always struggle to adopt the policies which are favourable to the domestic publics while at the same time minimize the possible negative impacts of the international image. In the age of the internet, digital diplomacy can be employed to take advantage of the citizen to support foreign policies and diplomatic treaties (Bjola and Manor 2019). For example, in their recent paper, Bjola and Manor (2018) have shown how the Obama administration used social media to gain support from American public over the Iran Nuclear agreement which eventually led the agreement.

Lastly but no list, digital diplomacy paved away to the rise of term selfie diplomacy. Selfie is the uses of digital diplomacy for nation branding (Manor and Segev, 2015:8). Recently, almost countries through their agents like ministries of foreign affairs and embassies have embraced the uses of social media such as Facebook and Twitter. The goal of frequently using these social media is to promote their foreign policy, values, and culture as a way to manage a country's image through digital diplomacy (Manor and Segev, 2015:15).

Apart from these advantages brought by social media in the public diplomacy profession, digital diplomacy cannot replace traditional handshaking diplomacy. Hence a holistic approach perspective should be applied by combining both social media and traditional diplomacy of handshaking. For example, social media can be good at delivering the message on time and reach many people. On the contrary relationship building and strategy, planning can be well achieved under professional diplomatic conducts (Bjola and Jiang, 2015:29).

1.4.2 Challenges of digital diplomacy

Apart from all benefits brought by digital diplomacy, there are still some challenges of adopting digital diplomacy. Some of those challenges are as follow:

There are some scholars who argue that social media does not create dialogue, but it provides a platform for the dialogue. Since there is no clear evidence from the current studies about social media which prove clearly that it has the power to create a dialogue rather many researchers show their doubts over the dialogue on social media (Collins and Bekenova, 2018:2). On the other side, some of the current research conducted show that social media are largely used to disseminate information. Most of the public diplomacy actors use social media as a channel to disseminate information to the audiences. Social media are much less used to engage with the public through two-dialogue. However, some of the interactive features such audiences' comments, like and reposting is taking place at least help the embassies to know the opinion of the audiences to readjust their tactics of engagement (Bjola and Jiang, 2015:29).

Another challenge is digital diplomacy has blurred the demarcation existed between the foreign and domestics affairs. Traditionally the foreign ministries and diplomats were only responsible for communicating with the foreign public. It was very hard for foreign communication to be accessed by local citizens. The digitalization of public diplomacy has caused the interaction of foreign and domestic communication. For example, the information for the local citizens can be accessed by the foreign public and another way around. With the revolution of the internet is not easy to separate information for only foreign public. In one side this can be an opportunity as the local public can support foreign policy achievements. But on another side when opposition occurs may bring negative impact to the foreign relation effect. A good example is when First lady Michelle Obama in 2014 shared the hashtag "Bring back Our Girls" In the campaign to free 270 Nigerian schoolgirls kidnapped by Boko Haram. Within hours later the counterattack campaign was run with the hashtag "Bring Back Your Brone" showing opposition of Obama administration of the drone strikes in the foreign countries.

The rise of digital diplomacy reduced the power of the state as the main actors of public diplomacy. It is so difficult to control and regulate social media and some of the scholars said even the attempt of controlling it doesn't work out (Zaharna and Rugh, 2012:2). Ross who was the former senior advisor for innovation to the United States Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, when he was talking to CNN News made a statement that this period high advancement of social media is a terrible time in attempting to control the public online. Unlikely before the foreign ministries were struggling to control the news media like CNN and BBC. But nowadays, foreign ministries are overpowered by the social media revolution (Ross, 2012).

Another challenge is the lack of enough knowledge of how to use social media effectively. Some of the official and diplomatic actors cannot gain influence through interactive, transparency and personal presentation to the audiences (Strauß et al, 2015:10). For example (Verrekia, 2017:24) researched to examine communication strategies used by Western countries on social media. But surprisingly the results were disappointing. The results show that most diplomatic actors do not interact with their audiences more frequently and most of the time they interact with an only limited group of stakeholders. The results show that the state and their representatives fail to grab this opportunity of social media to its full potential. Further studies show some of the leaders have got a chance to be ranked on the top people have many followers for example former Ambassador Djalal of Indonesia in United States was followed by many people, but he was less influential compare to other ambassadors with fewer followers. This means Ambassador Djalal was not tweeting in a way that can increase the interaction and promoting his personality.

In addition to other challenge is cybersecurity. Digital diplomacy faces a very difficult challenge of security to share information online. Many people sometimes worry to share information on social media as can be easily misused to damage their image rather than building. For example, an account can be hacked by people and misuse it and sometimes also information can leak and unveil the curtain of the privacy (Verrekia, 2017:25). For example, the USA was a victim of information leak when WikiLeaks

released confidential foreign policy files in the public and make people have accesses of it. The file had been shared between embassies and the DOS, and then the information about the foreign policy about the leaders and different countries (Adesina, 2017). Moreover, there is an issue of anonymity on social media which limit the necessity of face-to-face communication, so some people interact on social media with a fake account registered by using the other names which are theirs. The ability to be anonymous gives room for people to attack other people online and cause mischief since they cannot be caught (Verrekia, 2017:26).

Last but not least, digital diplomacy has also changed the roles of diplomats. Before the digitalization of public diplomacy, the main task of diplomats is to represent the country beyond the borders of a country. So once the diplomats accomplish a task assigned prepared a full report about what he did when he was abroad (Verrekia, 2017:23). So the news he presented in his report was considered as very valuable since they were new and fresh. This made diplomats have high status and were very important people who had full control of the information of his/her station of work. But today in the digital age, this is not the case; everything has changed as diplomats nowadays compete with journalists and ordinary citizens, a competition that diplomats never win. Ordinary can tell the world everything before you tell them. This shift has made the government and officials at headquarter to understand what is going on in their embassies and has a chance to adjust them. However, Verrekia recommended that this challenge can be solved for somehow if the diplomats will be smart and quick to copy with these changes. For example, instead of only gathering information, they should analyze that information in a way to make it news and valuable (Verrekia, 2017:29).

CHAPTER TWO

2 . COUNTRY IMAGE

2.1 CONCEPT OF COUNTRY IMAGE

The portrayal of a country's image to attract the local and foreigners particularly is not a new phenomenon. Since the 20th century, the different government started to realize the power and significance of image cultivation. Since then the governments struggle to craft and perfect their country's' image to attract people from different countries. The competition of image construction was witnessed in the era of the cold war between capitalist and socialist countries. The major objective of this competition was to attract other countries to join in their groups (Nye, 2008:9899).

Today, the image portrayal has become a very crucial and central component of a government agenda (Ndoye, 2009:3). In the globalized world which characterized by the revolution of communication, image construction has become an ever-serious practice of a government which serves dual function at the same time. Its normal tendency of a government and politicians to rely on a notional image for gaining domestic support and promote national influence in the international sphere. Furthermore, in the current days, the image portrayal is considered to be more significant as a country tend to incorporate in the global market and international affairs to enhance a country's status in the international arena (Leah & Chitty, 2009:1). In this case, various countries are currently ranked and compared in regard with political stability, international policies, and the influence of their culture, economic performance and morality of the nation which together form a country image (Buhrmann and Ingenhoff, 2015:2).

Image is a multidimensional term that can be defined differently in the divergent field of profession. In recent years, the term image has become a relatively common

subject discussed in various speciality literature including social science disciplines such as sociology, psychology, philosophy, marketing and public and international relations' studies. There is no universally accepted single definition and hence is often defined based on respective context. Thereby, most works of literature avoid providing a specific and precise definition of image rather, it's only described generally by the context (Cotîrlea, 2015:3).

However, according to the Cambridge dictionary, it defines image "as an idea, especially a mental picture, of what something or someone is like". On the other hand, Wunenburger defines the image as "concrete representation, sensitive to material or ideal object, present or absent from the perceptual point of view, which allows it to be recognized, known, and understood (Cotîrlea, 2015:3).

The country image is a cause and impact of the social and psychological process together with economic, political, and cultural effects. Since then, the study of a country image encompasses a wide range of social science field (Manheim & Mlbritton, 1984:656). He further goes on saying that this has resulted in the existence of multiple divergent definitions of this concept about particular context or dimension. Besides, many definitions provided in different literature on a country image, its needless say that country image is sometimes deemed as a small concept while others consider it as a broad concept, stating country image as an umbrella concept. More interesting, the studies of a country image can be extinguished in at least four perspectives of political science, business studies, social psychology, and communication science (Buhrmann and Ingenhoff, 2015:4).

A country image can be defined as "overall image that is constituted by variables like peculiar products, economic and political development, historical events and relationships, traditions, level of industrialization and technological development" (Bannister – Saunders 1978: 562)) "an image of a nation constitutes the totality of attributes that a person recognizes (or imagines) when he contemplates that nation". (Kunczik, 1990 quoted in Tarasheva, 2014:12). He goes on by claiming that the image of a nation can be analyzed in the three social and psychological components.

Firstly, a cognitive component- this is about the knowledge that people have over the nation in other words people rate the country image based on what they know about a country. Secondly, an effective component is about how people feel about the country rather what they know. This is to say that some people like or dislike a certain country without a knowledge of that country. Lastly an action component, this relates to the real behavior of the country (Tarasheva, 2014:12-13).

2.2 MEASURING THE COUNTRY IMAGE

The studies that measure the image of the country have been carried out since the 1930s and 40s. Since the image of a country is both caused and affected by social, psychological factors together with cultural, economic, and political situations, the works of literature of country image studies also differ in measuring the country image-based in four different perspectives; business studies, social psychology, political science, and communication science perspective (Buhmann, 2016: 29-35).

Business studies: the studies in this area conducted to measure the image of the country concerning customers' consumption behavior. Different other subfields of marketing are also included here such as national brands (nation branding) and country of origin (country origin) and brand positioning.

Social psychology: In terms of social psychology, country images are analyzed in terms of individual, cognitive, emotional and behavior. There are two sub-fields in this field as inter-group relations and collective identity research. The concept of country image and self-image (country identity) have been developed.

a) In the relations between groups, country images focus on their political actions, motivations, and abilities. The perceived quality of the relationship between countries usually in an integral part of an image, for example, the concept of "enemy country image and all country image". In general, studies related to intergroup relations are quite similar to marketing research as they mainly focus on affective and emotional components that may affect how people behave and perceive another group. Lastly, the

focus on the human traits only without other nonhuman dimensions like background and landscapes of a country.

b) In collective identity research, country identity can be defined as the image of its citizens. The studies focus on analyzing the identity of a nation or country as single unity different from other forms of collective identity. Common awareness among citizens who share a common identity and show an understanding of a country as a unique community with specific content.

Political science research: here the research focusses on examining country image based on an international affair, political identity and behavior. The concepts of country image, country identity, reputation and brand concept are common analyzed in the subfield of political anthropology and international relations.

a) International relations, here the analysis is done in the subfield of public diplomacy and international communication aimed at increasing the good reputation of the country and public opinion among the foreign public. A positive country image and reputation are used as the means of building general understanding in the international system. The central focus is the country image can create soft power that can attract other nation. Besides, it is highly recommended that analyses should also include various target groups like elites, politicians, diplomatic actors, and journalists.

b) Political anthropology, this area is predominantly relating to building and bringing a differentiated understanding of the country as national assets. Some of the scholars have developed the approach of examining ethnographic features for example the occupancy of a distinct 'homeland', common myths and a shared history and the existence of a single economy. Currently, this approach is mainly used to analyze and interpret the branding of nations and collective identity research as a political ideology.

Communication Sciences: Country image from a communication science perspective, research is done by examining personal, organizational, and mass media as a discursive phenomenon in communication. The structure of these studies based on international communication, media and to some extent on organizational communication and communication management. It emphasizes the main role of media

events such as the Olympic Games in promotion of country image and shaping public opinion of a foreign public.

Nimmo and Savage that Image is "a human construct imposed on an array of perceived attributes projected by an object, event, or person". The definition points out two concepts of image, the "perceived image" which is public relations work on to influence favourable attitude toward the foreign public and "projected image" this is the image of the country which portrayed by the media (can be positive or negative). Here public relations personnel and policymakers always work to change the negatives attitudes (Manheim & Mlbritton, 1984:645).

2.3 PERCEIVED IMAGES OF OTHER NATIONS

The perceived image of a country can be stated as the pictures of the country that people have in their head based on social psychology (Leah & Chitty, 2009:1). In the same way, Lippmann describes an image as the picture that people have in their mind. He goes on saying that people always define first before they see. This means people always create their picture in the mind and then relate that picture with the external world. In other words, the responses given by people over a certain situation or event are relating to the previous experiences that people have on the pictures they have already drawn before (Lippmann, 1922:62).

Peoples' perception over the image of a country is primarily based on two major factors: the stereotype and also individual experiences. Stereotypes are the 'sets of traits attributed to the members of social groups'. They are our projections upon the world based on our values, positions, and rights (Lippmann, 1922:12). Lippmann goes on saying that most of the time people are told about many things before they see them, and they imagine things before experiencing them. Further more without education or experience these preconceptions automatically govern the whole process of perception (Lippmann, 1922:62). Ethnocentrism, which is brought by social categorization and bias among the groups is the main cause of this stereotype (Perlman & Cozby, 1981 cited in Leah & Chitty, 2009:2). Ethnocentric biases determine the behavior and the nature of the

relationships among the groups. The cultural symbols of a country together with ideologies and relationship with other nation or groups might be the reason a country to be labelled as a centre of everything and the source of superiority. This reason makes a country with such outlooks feel superior and treat others as inferior (Leah & Chitty, 2009:2).

Table 4. Images of other nations as a function of goal compatibility, relative status, and relative power (Alexander et al. 2005:4).

Relationship pattern of other	nation Image of other nation	Potential Action
Goal compatibility Status equal Power equal	Ally	Cooperation
Goal incompatibility Status equal Power equal	Enemy	Attack or conflict
Goal incompatibility Status lower Power lower	Dependent	Control or exploitation
Goal incompatibility Status Lower Power higher	Barbarian	Potential invader
Goal incompatibility Status higher Power higher	Imperialist	Sabotage

Table 4 shows perceived structural relations among the nations as a result of images and the relative strategic responses. Alexander and Levin assume that image or stereotype that a nation perceives of the other country may determine kind of relationship and its strategic responses toward that specific country. There are structural features of perceived relationship that resulting in the associated image: goal compatibility, relative power, and relative cultural status. These three criteria determine the opportunity or threat of the nation (Alexander et al, 2005:3). Moreover, the evaluation which based on these three features of structural relations automatically will determine the type of image

of a country that can be described as an enemy, barbarian, imperialist, dependent and enemy (Leah & Chitty, 2009:2). There is a clear connection of relationship between images of one nation and other nation's strategic policy and actions and the other way around (Herrmann & Fischerkeller, 1995 as cited in Alexander et al, 2005:5). The policy and potential actions toward a perceived country can be cooperation, attack, or conflict, control or exploitation, potential invader, and Sabotage (Leah & Chitty, 2009:6).

2.4 PROJECTED MEDIA IMAGES OF OTHER NATIONS.

The image and beliefs that people have in their mind about a certain country are greatly shaped and developed by mass media (Leah & Chitty, 2009:3). The image that peoples hold from an individual's cognitive system will only become visible when they are communicated. Kunczik, (1997:8) supplements that Mass media play a big role in shaping and communicating the image of the countries. Media is the key competitors of international image shapers(Galtung & Ruge, 1965:3) Cohen further describes that "most of us gather our impressions of our countries and societies from the media" (Saleem, 2007:6). "There can be no doubt that the mass media influence the way a country's people form their images of the people and governments of other countries because it is the mass media that disseminate the greater part of the information about foreign countries" (Kunczik, 1997:16). Therefore, in the evaluation of a country image, it's compulsory to consider the important dimension of the projected media image of the other country (Leah & Chitty, 2009:3).

The image of a country in media is examined by the language used in the dissemination of the message to the audience. This may include analysis of language level and figure of speech such as words, phrase, metaphors, sentences, and adjectives. The analysis of the language determines the side of the message if it supports or opposes the country's government policies on different domestic and international issues (Hanan, 2006 as cited in Saleem, 2007:7). Moreover, media's stereotypes, organizational ideology, corporate and government influence, among other factors, help to create and reinforce nation's image in media coverage (Hanan, 2006 as cited in Saleem, 2007:7). Further, most of the preconceived ideas about a country are upheld and pass-through

generation after generation, thereby the events of the past still play a role in determining the current image of the country (Kunczik, 1997:6). Therefore, a country's image in the media perspective can be defined as "a representation of a country's positive or negative standing in media, in terms of historical, political, economic, military, diplomatic and religious context" (Hanan, 2006, as cited in Saleem, 2007:7).

Some scholars have conducted different studies to examine the creativity and effectiveness of image manipulation from public relations practices' point of view which always take advantage of the media to set agenda with aim of changing image of a country. The results show that Public relations personnel and firms play a vital role through the use of media to build a positive image of the country. This is done successfully through propaganda, mostly through the promotion of pseudo-events, public relations global campaigns and International advertising (Kunczik, 1997:21). Therefore, Country reputation is multiple personal attitudes about a certain nation which is developed by strategic communication process through the media (Thiessen and Ingenhoff, 2011:6).

2.5 AN INTEGRATIVE MODEL OF THE COUNTRY IMAGE

An integrative model of the country image is the model, which was developed by Buhmann and Ingenhoff, (2015:6) in the perspective of communication particularly in the subfield of public relations. The model was developed under the combination of three basic concepts: the concept of national identity developed by Smith (1987), the second one is Attitude theory developed by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) and the model of a reputation as a multidimensional construct by Buhmann, 2016:43).

2.5.1 National identity as a basic framework

Social identity theory tries to differentiate between individual/personal and social identity. It first based on individual unique features and characteristics (self-concept); but then this self-concept of an individual is derived from the recognition and knowledge values and emotional meanings form his membership in a social group or group of

identification (Tajfel, 1981 cited in Bar-Tal et al, 2009:357). This is to say, there are two processes where identity is automatically developed. The first one is **cognitive** which includes categorizing and attaching of an individual to a certain group (s) and following the values and emotional meaning of such a group. The second one is **motivational** which is a tendency of a group to distinguish with other group(s). As result, one prefers ideology, norms, values, and behavior of his or her group to another external group (s) (David & Bar-Tal, 2009:357). This results in a systematic preference for the norms, values, and behaviors of one's group over those of external groups. Therefore national identity can be defined as collective or unified kind of self-conception as individuals very often shape themselves to adopt the same concept which is aligned with their country. This results in the identification of certain groups with similar characteristics, values, and norms (Boon Cou, 2014:34).

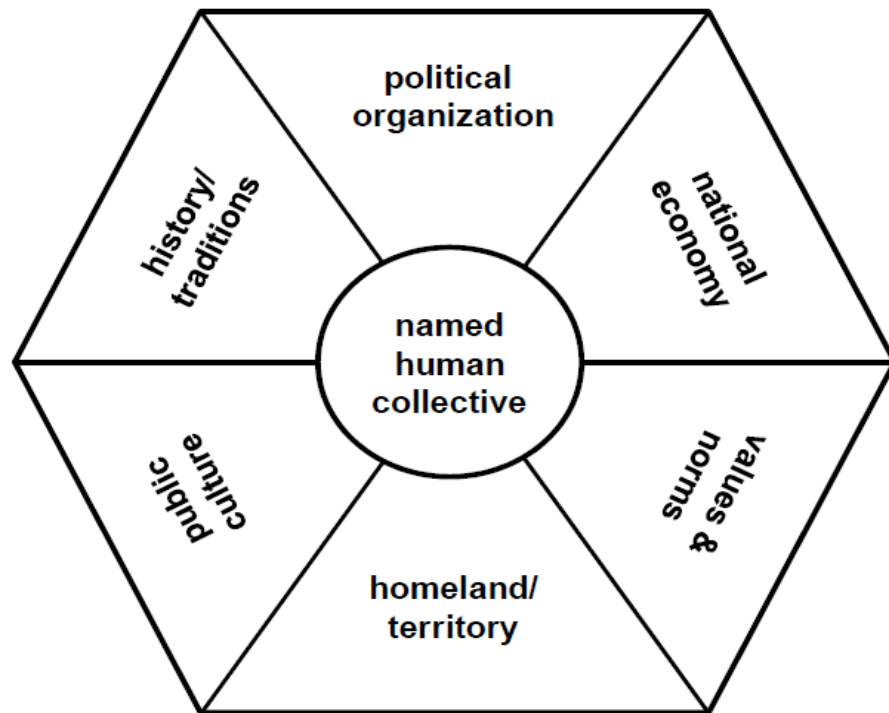
There is a variation of one collective unity to another. This also exactly applies the same to a nation as a matter of the fact that every nation has its own sets of content that identify a country abroad and locally (David & Bar-Tal 2009:360). country Smith's (1991) as cited in Buhmann (2016:43) defines the concept of national identity as a nation with human collective consisting of six comprehensive features: a distinct territory or 'homeland', a common history and traditions, a domestic economy, a public culture, a set of common norms and values as well as a sovereign political organization or state (see Figure 2). These features together draw a picture of a certain country which can easily be recognized and distinguished with other countries (David & Bar-Tal 2009:374).

2.5.2 Country image as attitude

Attitude can be defined as "attitudes are a person's enduring favourable or unfavourable evaluations, emotional feeling, or pro or con action tendencies regarding some object or data" (Boone & Kurtz, 1995). The country image is the conceived attitudes correspondence toward a country. Image is a full picture that is cultivated by attitudes towards the perceived attributes (Hakala and lemetyinen, 2013, Buhmann 2016). This means the attitude towards a country's territory, its history and traditions, its domestic economy, public culture, norms and values as well as its political organization.

Thereby, it is possible to use an integrative model image of a country to conduct comparative analyses of country self-image (country identity) and the image of the country as perceived by external populaces.

Figure 1. Attributes of a country (based on Smith 1991 cited by Buhmann 2016:45)

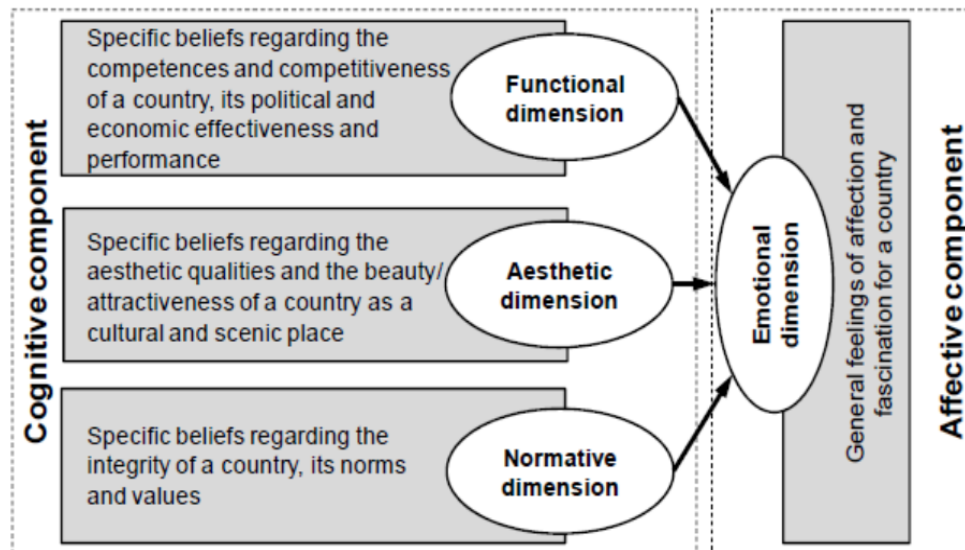


In the theory of reasoned of action (Ajzen, Fishbein 1980; Fishbein, Ajzen 1975), it explains the attitude toward country image into two ways: beliefs (cognitive components) and emotions (affective components). While in the cognitive components involved specific analyses of different attributes of the image of a country as an object such as values and norms and political organization. Effective components are only dealing with only general assessment as appealing to emotion (sympathy). This is to the image of the country is about: (1) what stakeholders' know (they think, they know) based on various attributes of the country and (2) how people feel about the county (Buhmann 2016:60).

2.5.3 Model of a reputation as a multidimensional construct

In distinguishing the two components of the image of the country (Ingenhoff & Buhmann et al, 2015:7) refer to the current model of corporate reputation (Ingenhoff, Sommer 2007; Eisenegger, Imhof 2008). According to this model, each attribute is evaluated based on individuals' beliefs about its functional qualities (abilities, competences, and success), its normative qualities (integrity) as well as its emotional qualities (emotional appeal and fascination). Also while referring to the definition of Smith's (1991), Ingenhoff & Buhmann 2015:6 & Buhmann, (2016) conceptualize their model by classifying all cognitive image dimensions as with this conceptual model, they specify all cognitive image dimensions by referring to the country attributes as defined based on Smith's theory.

Figure 2. The 4D Model of the country image.



Source: Buhmann and Ingenhoff (2015:7).

The functional country image dimensions. It includes belief based on competences and competitiveness of a country as compared between two country features of the national economy and political coordination. The dimensions cover specific evaluation based on the national economy, national businesses, educational

system, the competitiveness of services and product and its labour market, competences, and efficiency of the political system and also nation's performance and technology. **The normative country image dimension.** This dimension consists of beliefs regarding the uprightness of a country. It is looked in the relation to the country features of norms and values. The evaluation includes both social and environmental accountability of a country.

The aesthetic country image dimension, which consists of beliefs based on the quality and attractiveness of a country. It is considered as the centre of culture and beautiful place. The evaluation is done regarding the attractiveness of the traditional culture and customs as well as the beauty of topography. **The last one is the emotional country image dimension.** This just covers the elements of effective and appreciations of a country. It includes general feelings of emotional appeals and appreciation of the country.

On top of that, in regard with the application of the integrated model of a country which was developed based on three concepts of national identity, image as attitude, and three-dimensional reputation, Buhmann, (2016:19) defines the country image as "a subjective stakeholder attitude towards a nation and its state, comprising specific beliefs and general feelings in a functional, a normative, an aesthetic and an emotional dimension".

2.6 THE INTERRELATION OF THE COUNTRY IMAGE WITH REPUTATION, BRAND, AND IDENTITY

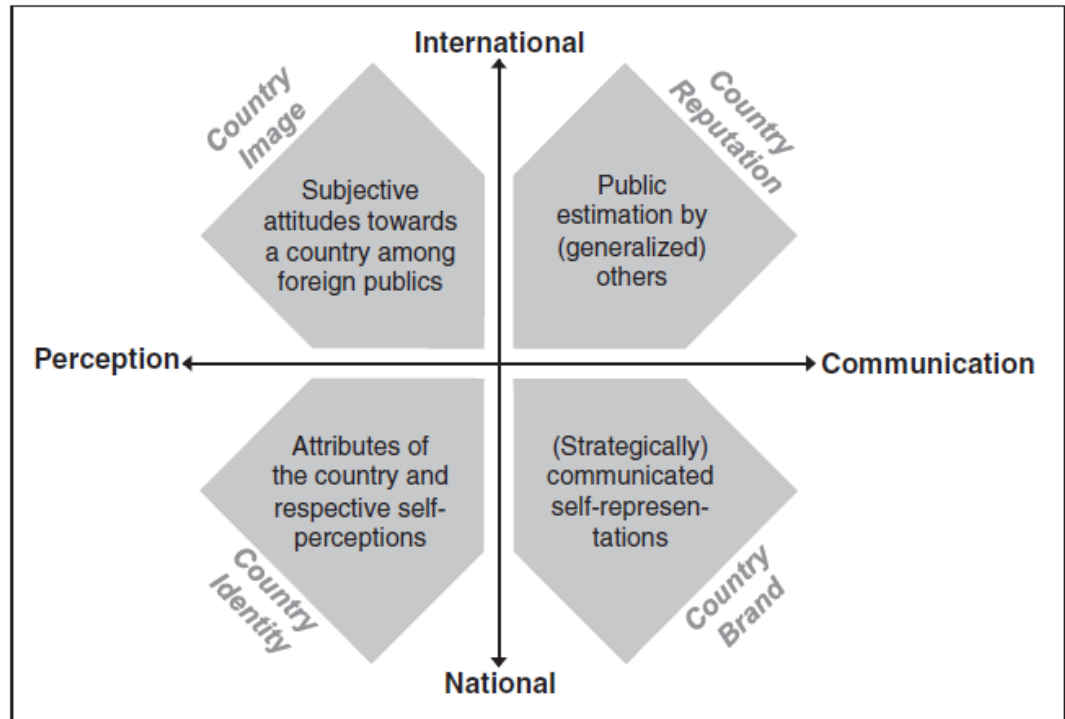
The term country image, country reputation, country identity and country brand (nation brand) are very common concepts in the field of social science, these include business studies, psychology, sociology, and communication. These are four different concepts which are closely interrelated one another. In systemizing these closely related concepts, Buhmann (2015:41) developed a framework which coordinates them by drawing a line of demarcation and also interrelation. With the perspective of communication, these four concepts can be systemized in two fundamental lines by

distinguishing between (a) "the primal perspective" and (b) "the constitutive process" highlighting the demarcation and interrelation among all four concepts.

Nimmo and Savage that Image is "a human construct imposed on an array of perceived attributes projected by an object, event, or person" (Manheim & Mlbritton, 1984:645). With the interest of this study, the word "object" interpreted as a country. The perception about the image of the country can be self-conception (the citizen of the country) and the outside perception (foreign public). Therefore, there is a difference between country image and country identity (Cou, 2014:34). While the country image is the perception that exists and attributed by the foreign populace, country identity is a collective identity (self-perception) based on an individual level who is a citizen of that country (Cou, 2014:34). Apart from the differences, the structure and construct of both image and identity are interrelated since the national identity is partly negotiated by external opinions, likewise image of the country is also partly negotiated by national identity (Rusciano, 2003:1 and Buhmann and Ingenhoff, 2015:14).

In the other hand, the image which communicated is very important as it contributes to the formation of the reputation of the country (Rusciano, 2003:4). In the communication management perspective, reputation can be defined as collectivity or multiple cognitive representations, or image, about an organization in stakeholders' mind (Gruning, 2006:3). Also, Fombrun, (1996) described reputation as an all-embracing estimation of stakeholders toward a certain organization (Buhmann and Ingenhoff, 2015:7). Un Yang et al (2008) add that reputation refers to the aggregate of many images about the organization as it might have many images. Whereas image is just an attitude or perception of individuals (Buhmann and Ingenhoff, 2015:8).

Figure 2. A coordinative framework of country image, reputation, brand, and identity. (Buhmann, 2016:40)



Therefore, a country reputation is the combination of multiple individual attitudes about a country triggered and enhanced by the communication process in the information age (Thiessen and Ingenhoff, 2011:12). Hence, country reputation develops in the global sphere when the evaluation of a country is communicated particularly through media (Buhmann and Ingenhoff, 2015:4).

A brand is a name, term, sign, symbol or design, or a combination of these intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or a group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competitors' (Kotler and Armstrong, 2013 as cited in Buhmann and Ingenhoff, 2015:2). The brand is purposely crafted strategically as self-presentation. However, some of the scholars often distinguish between the brand which is communicated by the organization and the brand which is perceived by target audiences (Buhmann, 2016:40).

A country brand can be defined as "a network of associations in the consumers' mind based on the visual, verbal, and behavioral expression of a place, which is embodied through the aims, communication, values, and the general culture of the place's stakeholders and the overall place design" (Braun & Zenker, 2010:3). A country brand is referred to as a product of strategic communication designed by a country to describe itself. In this perspective, it closely related to the country identity, which involves consistent self-representation (Buhmann, 2015:41).

Pike and Page comment that there are two basic constructs on country branding: brand identity and image. Brand identity is a choice that "represents the vision of how the destination should be perceived in the marketplace, intending to achieve differentiation (Same and Maria, 2014) Brand image always refers to how the country is and how it wants to be seen. While the image reflects the attitude of the public toward the country; an image can either match with reality or identity, as well as image very often varies from one person to another. Further, the third element in branding theory is brand positioning (Pike & Page, 2014:27). Brand positioning is the process of promoting the conformity between brand identity and brand image. Ideally, a country brand is productive merely when there is a correspondence of image and identity promoted (Same and Maria, 2014:5).

In nutshell "image of a nation is what its people recognize and maintain as most central, enduring and distinctive about their nation. Reputation, on the other hand, is a form of feedback received from the outside world concerning the credibility of the nation's identity claims. Thus, nation branding is understood to be a tool for both image and reputation management" (Kaneva, 2011:3). Finally, branding fills up a gap between what a country is ("identity"), what foreign public perceive it ("image") and how the country needs to be identified in abroad (it's "brand" or desired reputation) (Hospers, 2004:6).

2.7 NATIONAL BRANDING AND IMAGE PROMOTION

According to the American Marketing Association (AMA), a brand is a ‘name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or a combination of them, intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competition’. Nevertheless, a nation is far different from the product in an original and practical sense. Unlike product or services, a nation brand comprises and incorporate an inclusive variety of components or factors and associations (Fan, 2006:3). He then went on by mentioning the following factors and associations which are comprised of nation brand:

- Place – geography, tourist attractions.
- Natural resources, local products.
- People – race, ethnic groups.
- History.
- Culture.
- Language.
- Political and economic systems.
- Social institutions.
- Infrastructure.
- Famous persons (the face).
- Picture or image.

Nation branding concerns a country's whole image, ranging from historical political, economic to cultural dimensions. Besides, this concept is based on a national level, multidimensional and context dependent. As branding does not produce any physical traits of the product, rather it only aimed at affecting the targeted audience's perception (Fan, 2006:6). Thereby, Fan (2006:6-7) adds that, for the case of nation brand, an understanding of current public perception is always pivotal as their assessment regarding the nation can be based upon the following factors:

- Personal experience, e.g. visiting the country.
- Education or knowledge.
- Prior use or ownership of a product made in that country.
- The depiction of the country through media channels.
- Stereotypes, etc.

Country image apart from serving as brand names, countries can sometimes serve as products as well. This is because a good image can compete in the market of the tourism sector, industries (factories), international businesses and talented people. To have a positive image, a country should strategically invest in branding (Kotler & Gartner, 2002:53).

Kotler & Gartner (2002:53) mentioned the following strategic management approach national branding and country image promotion.

- Countries have to conduct a SWOT analysis to determine their main strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats.
- The Countries then should select historical events, some industries, basic companies, personalities, and natural features for basing branding and telling a story.
- Then Countries should develop umbrella concepts that can cover and be constituent with all its distinctive branding activities. These can be a country of pleasure, quality, security, honesty or progress, or any other crucial concepts.
- The country then allocates financial support to each branding activities believed to have a potentially large impact.
- Then the country controls the export products by making ensure that the country is exporting of product is reliable with a high level of performance.

2.8 TOOLS USED FOR PROMOTING A COUNTRY IMAGE

Countries use several different tools to promote themselves as a brand and for a strong image. These include logos, slogans, tags, and websites. Besides, the material and moral values of the country are also among these tools. When these tools mentioned are

well used to promote a positive country image, can damage the image of the country instead. However, the primary channels of these vehicles are press, airline and travel magazines, television, and internet (Fan, 2006: 8).

On the other hand, Özer (2019:14-15) mentioned the following channels that can be used to promote the image of the country.

- **Advertisement:** Advertising, in all visual, audio, and written media, posters, brochures and many other are effective in providing information and create an impression about that country. It is one of the most effective tools for communication.
- **Art events:** these include literature books, cinema films, series, music, exhibitions, fairs events, festivals, international competitions, and awards are very important vehicles in publicizing the name of the country.
- **Economic instruments:** economic development of the country and international collaborations in economic activities with other countries lead to positive image formation.
- **Political tools:** here involves; Lobbying activities, diplomatic relations, effective solutions to international political crises serve effectively in the promotion of a country image.
- **Stories:** Stories are effective in creating interest and curiosity towards the country as a means of creating images that will make them attractive about countries.
- **History, culture, and traditions:** the country's deep-rooted history, works, structures, museums, traditional cuisines, lifestyles of people and entertainment areas have been important to attract the image of the country.
- **Scientific activities:** these include international congresses, researches, taking part in international scientific activities, scientific studies, and its publication in international journals is effective in creating an image.
- **Symbols, visual images, and slogans:** Symbols are meaningful, catchy and provide strong messages to the audience. Symbols are easy to be remembered rather than plain messages. These also are true for the slogans and other visual images.

- **Firms and brands:** good partnerships of national firms with international firms play a significant role in publicizing the country image outside of the homeland. International companies which operate in foreign countries can represent the country with the brands they have announced abroad positively. This is through shaping foreign public's attitudes towards the country and its products and services.

- **Media:** the national media currently is one of the most important channels to shape the perceptions of the country abroad. For this reason, the media takes its place in the most important position as the gateway of the country to the world.

Özer (2019:29) in her study about a country image summarized that Country images are formed by mental images caused by different factors. It is formed by Personal ideas and information about a country. When these images are negative create negative results, it has consequences against the country. At the same, time the perception of the image is good it creates a good atmosphere to the respective country. On the other hand, image management is more than crucial to develop the image of a country in a good way by shaping public perceptions. Having a negative perception toward a certain country can cause the following result:

- It brings negative attitudes about the country and its people
- Linking the quality attributed to the country with the products of the country
- It directly affects the tourism sector
- The weakening of the country's reputation
- Low investment values in the country

Possible results about the image of the country, which has a positive perception, are as follows:

- Positive attitude towards the country and its people
- Increasing the uses of country products
- The increasing of the number of tourists coming to the country

- High country reputation
- Increases investments in the country

2.9 DIGITAL DIPLOMACY AND COUNTRY IMAGE.

Different studies have revealed that the uses of social media such as Twitter and Facebook in diplomatic communication to engage with the foreign public has drastically increased. The social media plays a vital role in influencing the perception and so an image of the country among the target audiences (Sevin &Ingenhoff, 2018:3). The audience very often develops their perception based on what is being communicated by the government and other actors of diplomacy on the different social media platform, through its history, cultural identity, natural landscape and through the actions taken by a country in the international arena (Kaneva, 2011:7). Sevim (2017:17) supplements that messages which are strategically crafted and communicated actors through a digital platform such as Facebook and Twitter can influence a nation's visual and verbal impression and identifying some behaviors over others". Thereby, the digital interaction with the foreign public has a tremendous impact on the way a country is perceived (Sevin, 2017:17).

On the other side, digital diplomacy has come up as a unique and strong tool of framing country's identity through the way various events, issues, and the country itself, in general, are portrayed in communication (Manor, 2015 as cited in Basha, 2017:24). Basha further explains that digital diplomacy is an instrument which is used for image building and engaging with respective audiences at a convenient time.

In the same accord, Sevin (2017:18) in his study of digital diplomacy as a communication crisis shows that digital diplomacy is a very powerful tool in restoring a tarnished or unfavorable image of the country. He claims after the failed military coup attempt in 2016, one year later the Turkish government through the ministry of foreign affair took the solid step to tell about the story while restoring the country's image. This was done successfully by optimum uses of various social media accounts and websites

to influence the perception of foreign and even some of the local public about the event and even the measures taken by the government to restore the normal peaceful situation.

Apart from the efforts which are taken by foreign ministries worldwide to take advantage of digital diplomacy to portray the favourable image and good reputation of a country, there are still tons of challenges they face. Some of those are challenges are gape in access to and literacy in ICT infrastructure, the newness of the field, shortage of skilled manpower, the existence of a long chain of bureaucratic. Finance challenge, culture, and scarcities of training facilities (Basha, 2017:39).

2.10 THE ROLE OF NATIONAL IMAGES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The role of national image in international relations can be well explained in the light of three phenomena. Through the power theory, public diplomacy practices and social psychological perspective and business perspective (Leah & Chitty, 2009:4).

'Power is the ability to influence the behaviors of others to get the outcomes one wants' (Nye, 2004:2). He further goes on saying that there are three types of power soft power and hard power. While hard power involves the application of direct military coercion, soft power seeks to influence the public through the attraction. And lastly, smart power involves the application of both hard and soft power to get the desired outcomes.

Leonard claims that Soft power is the common practices nowadays which seek to attract people through the promotion of national culture, political values and foreign policy which appeals to the targeted countries. National image is part of a country's soft power. Scholars consider a country's image as a product that has the power to create a favourable environment for the public and the country, however, it can indeed generate unfavorable environment as well to the public and a country in general (Nye, 2004:3).

The nation's reputation can politically and economically be an asset or a liability. Positive reputation helps countries to attain foreign goals, attract overseas investment,

tourists, and education. Whereas images of nations in permanent crisis or showing economic unreliability, can discourage investment, cause future crises, even military conflicts (Kunczik, 1997; Boulding, 1958). Media portrayal of a country, whether positive or negative, can affect the general public views and subsequently change cross-national personal associations, public opinion regarding foreign policy, or the practice of public diplomacy (Smith; Bartels; Mannheim; Peffley & Hurwitz, as cited in Brewer et al., 2003).

The image of a country and reputation can be either an asset or liability of the country's economy and political stability. This is to say that the good image helps a country to fulfil the foreign policy objectives, attracting tourist, education foreign investment. In contrast, a country with an unfavorable image such unending crisis, political instability and economic unreliability can cause lacking foreign investment, economic crises and political instability and military conflict (Kunczik, 1997:10). Besides, the media portrayal of the image whether negative or positive play the big role in shaping the general views about the country and subsequently the practice of public policy (Smith; Bartels; Mannheim; Peffley & Hurwitz, as cited in Leah & Chitty, 2009:4).

Public diplomacy is used as a tool for promoting soft power in the promotion of a favourable country image. The Australian Senate Foreign Affairs, Defense and Trade Committee describes public diplomacy activities are run purposely develop a national status and realize its objective by developing conception and shaping the favourable public opinion which appeals the national image. The committee further claims that in contrast to traditional diplomacy, public diplomacy's activities are not only designed to affect opinion leaders in foreign countries but also the general public to implement a country's foreign policy (Leah & Chitty, 2009:4).

In political science, country images are researched mostly in the subfield of international relations perspective. The power of an image is measured by general assumptions in the social science which states that 'if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences' (Thomas, 1928 as cited in Leah & Chitty, 2009:5). In other words, an individual's perception, and cognitive analysis of information about an event

will automatically influence and shape his/her behavior. From the international perspective, image is the 'subjective knowledge of the world which governs people's behavior' (Boulding, 1956 as cited in Leah & Chitty, 2009:7).

Image of a country comprises components/elements: cognitive attributes (knowledge of the nation), affective attributes (the liking or disliking of the nation), and action attributes (the responses to the nation) (Scott, 1965 as cited in Leah & Chitty, 2009:5). However, the most effective aspect is effective as it has the ability of attraction in the international system (Nye, 2004:5). This means that the perceptions of a country A over a country B will influence the behavior, policies of country A toward country B and even will determine the kind of relationship of the two countries. Furthermore, a country with good reputation ensures common understanding in the international system (Wang 2006 as cited in Leah & Chitty, 2009:4) and it increases political action ability of the country (Vickers, 2004).

CHAPTER THREE

3 . TURKEY'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY BACKGROUNG AND TURKEY- AFRICAN RELATIONS.

3.1 HISTORY OF TURKISH PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The Ottoman Empire was among the largest and long-lasting empire in world history. It was also the most powerful political structure in the world from late thirteen century to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The uses of hard and soft power as far as time and influence are concerned managed to reign for six consecutive centuries between thirteen and early twenties century (Çevik and Seib, 2015:44). Many diplomatic activities and communications strategies conducted in the effort of improving the relationship with neighboring countries of Asia, Europe, and North Africa. Also in the last decades, the empire extended its influence even to America (Yurdusev, 2004:30). . For instance when a heavy flood-hit America in 1889 resulting nearly two thousand dead and many other became homeless, Ottoman Empire was the one to support the United States with humanitarian aid. This action was purposefully conducted to improve the image of the empire as a tool of soft power (Çevik and Seib, 2015:51).

The major shift of ottoman diplomacy from depending more on hard power to soft power took place in the 1800s, after the emerging of Russia and western European state-nations which surpassed the ottoman technologically, economically, and even military. This gradually weakened the political influence of the Ottoman Empire in the international arena. Hence, in this situation, the exercise of diplomacy was very essentials more than ever for the Ottoman Empire. The situation forced the Ottoman to use negotiation and attraction rather than using military forces (Davison, 1963:28).

The establishment of the Ministry of foreign affairs in 1836, played a vital role in the ottoman transformation when it comes to international affairs. The ministry now became the ottoman statecraft which worked to maintain good relations and gain

influence in diplomatic ways. Since the empire started to lose the influence of hard power, the ottoman had to play according to the international rules and negotiations. And this was evident when ottoman defeated intimidating Russian armies in 1774, 1812 and 1829 and enabling the Russian army to cross the Balkans and reach as far as Burgas, Aydos, Varna, and even threatening Edirne (Gürpınar, 2014:57).

The Ottoman deep concern of exercising public diplomacy and image and reputation management started during the reign of Abdulhamid 2. The Ottoman realized that the best ways for their survival are through image repairing and attractions. Their strategies based on two objectives. First one to counterattack the negative image projection of ottoman done by international media as a dangerous empire based on shedding peoples' blood. The second goal was the projection of a positive image. Here the empire made sure it grasped any obtained opportunity of international media coverage to build a favourable image. For stance, it provided financial and medical aid to both Russia and Japan after the Russo-Japanese war. Another example the Ottoman helped the victims of a forest fire in the united states (Çevik and Seib, 2015:49).

In the effort of image and reputation management, ottoman worked with international press such as newspapers and journals to change foreign public opinion over The Ottoman Empire. First, the Ottoman learned how to get their stories published in the European newspapers in favoring their government. Furthermore, Abdülhamid II had established a bureau in the Yıldız Palace to monitor foreign press coverage, at the same time the Ministry of Foreign Affairs played its role for acting when necessary. Apart from the newspapers and journals, Ottoman did the same in the monitoring of the theatre. The ottoman representative abroad made sure that even in the theatre, Ottoman is not insulted and portrayed unfavorably (Gürpınar, 2014:147).

The sultan Abdulhamid II was also active in media relations, for example, established good media relations with foreign media correspondents in Istanbul. For example in 1878, he awarded three of seven French correspondents in Istanbul. Then he continued to monitor news coverage personally (Gürpınar, 2014:148)

On the other hand, Abdülhamid II travelled abroad to participate in different international events to make sure that the Ottoman is represented in the international arena. The Ottoman made sure to take appearance in almost all international fairs from World Exposition in London in 1850, Barcelona fair of 1888, the 1889 Paris Exposition, the Chicago Columbian Exhibition of 1893, and many other fairs in a different part of the world. The goal was first to represent the Ottoman Empire as the leader of the Islamic world and also as a member of the modern and civilized community (Çevik and Seib, 2015:51).

In 1923 just after the Second World War, marked the end of the Ottoman Empire after the six years of its reign. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire led the formulation of the new state of the Republic of Turkey in the very heartland of the Ottoman Empire. The nationalists led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk took the leadership to introduce lots of reforms which touched all sectors such as political, economic, and even social matters. Feros Ahmad claims that Turkey did not just rise from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire rather it was made in the image of the Kemalist elite who won the struggle against foreign invaders and old regime (Ahmad, 1993:8).

The formation of the secular state doubled with other reforms aimed at establishing a new national identity which is far different from that of Ottomans. The Republican elite worked toward nation-building and promotion of nationalism which based on ethnicity as a main component of nation and discouraging the role of Islam as a symbol and main component of Turkish identity (Sekar, 2007:4). Instead, Atatürk ran the country under the belief that saw the west as the compelling future of Turkey and the successful path of the development and modernizations (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016:1). Yet, with many reforms and refusal of Ottoman culture, Turkey inherited some of the basic features from Ottomans which later had created the problem referred to as "problem of identity" (Aydin 1992:5).

In the first period of transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey, public diplomacy's activities were very limited as it was not the priority and at the heart of the Kemalist republic. Kemalists sought to build a strong nation with a well-identified

boundary of the homeland. This was further emphasized by the principle of the Atatürk which states that *“peace at home, peace in the world”* (Aydin, 2003:26). This motto guided the approach of international politics which made Turkey not to interfere with the developments and welfare of the other countries and expected the same kind of treatment in return (Gürpınar, 2014:255). Turkey was inclined to dissociate itself from all possessions in the area of Balkan and Arab world which became under British and French domination. Hence in the Arab world, there was not a country with the well-identified government to engage with. However, Turkey foreign policy initiatives were active in engaging with Balkan Entente after signing the agreement in 1934 to strengthen good mutual neighborhood and avoid conflict.

Generally, Atatürk and his successors believed in moderately isolationist policy and political pragmatic and international balance. Thereby, Turkey foreign policy of that time focused on national security since there was a perception that the country is surrounded by the enemies who could attack them as great powers were plotting to divide Turkish territory.

In nutshell, from 1923 to 1945, diplomatic scholars describe Turkey's foreign policy as cautious, realistic, and generally aimed at the preservation of the status quo and hard-won victory of 1923. Moreover, in this period of the single-party system, key players were Republican People's Party, bureaucratic elite and military who played the role of public affairs and foreign relations. Public opinion, civil society organizations, Academic environment and the business world were rarely incorporated. So the structure automatically limited the international communications while the only messages sent to foreign public stressed the new Turkey's identity which far different from that of Ottoman (Çevik and Seib, 2015:55).

After the end of the second world, the new shift of the world order occurred which made Turkey to be closed to USA and western block hence there was a need of a multi-party system which was common both in Europe and America. After the introduction of a multiparty system in 1946 and the first general election under the multi-party system conducted in 1950. The Democratic Party won the election and Adnan Menderes became

the prime minister. In his leadership, Turkey became a full member of NATO and also entered in an agreement to form a central treaty organization with Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, and UK (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016:1).

This naturally pushed Turkey to international communication efforts to consolidate the relationship with western block and as an ally of the United States. Furthermore, Turkey started to incorporate with the world capitalist system not only in the economic field but also in the scope of foreign policy and defence as a member of NATO. This was one of the major violations of Kemalists principle of cautious neutralism (Çevik and Seib, 2015:56).

The end of the cold war stepped up the realization of Turkey soft power elements including fostering democratization process, liberalism and finally speed up the utilization of public diplomacy strategies (Çevik and Seib, 2015:53). Following the collapse and disintegration of the Soviet Union gave the chance to Turkey to open up to Balkan states which formerly were under the Soviet Union. However, the disintegration of the Soviet Union to Turkey had a lukewarm attitude or was a mixed blessing to Turkey (Aydin 1992:18). The collapse of the Soviet Union in one side brought Turkey closer to its fellow six independent states among Muslim Turkic speakers, hence was an advantage to Turkey, socially, economically, and politically. But on the other side emerging of new six states which share borders with Turkey increased the level of tension, risk, and threat to the regional security. This is because of the borders, economic difficulties, nationalism and more importantly competition on political influence among outsiders (Eksi, 2017:7).

Apart from that, the United States invasion to Iraq was another advantage to Turkey as it opened the clear road to take the leadership of the region. Between 1989 and 1993, Turgut Özal who was the president of Turkey was celebrated for his visionary massive role in taking the risks of revising the foreign policy directions to improve the relations with Balkan states and western block (Çevik and Seib, 2015:56).

As not enough Ozal turned to the Arab world and sought to revive the relationship something previous Government failed to sustain. In this period, Turkey also wanted to be integrated with the European system which meant that Western European reactions to its internal and foreign policies become even more crucial and influential than ever to Turkey in the 1990s. As a result of these efforts plus geopolitically important location naturally made Turkey enter into global balance of power which directly affected its foreign policy. So the environment forced Turkish foreign policymaking to consider its position and standing in the world hence public diplomacy was much more essential (Aydin 1992:18).

3.2 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DURING THE JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT PARTY (JDP) OR THE AKP (TRANSLATED AS; ADALET VE KALKINMA PARTISI OR AK PARTISI) PERIOD.

The government of The Justice and Development Party (JDP), when entered into the office, started to take actions toward diversification of Turkish foreign policy and as well as demonstrating the soft power elements to strengthen Turkey's influence on Central Asia, Balkans, Caucasus, Middle East, Central Asia and later Africa. These changes were made immediately to meet the JDP leaders' desire to become a regional power and the leader of the Middle East and Muslim world (Ekşi and Erol, 2018)

On the other hand, Turkey also reshaped its foreign policy by declining the use of threat and force and instead started to use diplomacy, dialogue, international law as well as promoting democracy, human right, and institutionalization.

To achieve the goal, the concept of soft power for the first time was introduced in Turkish politics which also meant the beginning of professionalized public diplomacy efforts through the diversification of foreign policy and strategizing public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy to cope with the growing international role of the country (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016:5 & Cevik, 2019:7). Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in 2010, in his article titled "Turkey as an Emerging Power," he claimed that emerging powers must increase revolutionized efforts toward increasing modern public diplomacy

strategies that can shed the light on the nation's successes, equivalent to those of well-established powers that hold a high position in the world order (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016:5).

In 2010 The Office of Public Diplomacy was established, followed by the Department of Public Diplomacy and the Department of Public Relations in 2011 and 2012 respectively at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This was a milestone to the development of professional public diplomacy in Turkey. The office brought new face in the practice of public diplomacy by coordinating public agencies and NGOs in their effort to promote Turkey globally and to increase its credibility and acceptance. The main goal of the office is to develop the country's groundbreaking foreign policy and a soft power approach toward foreign publics to ensure a precise and effective promotion and presentation of Turkey (Kalin, 2011:3).

Public diplomacy has three main functions under the Turkish context, ranging from legitimization process through training the civil servants about objective and practice of foreign policies, solving interstate and international problems, to branding the diplomatic institutions and country in general with aim of fostering a favourable image of the country and its institutions (Ozkan, 2013:11-12). On the contrary (Huijgh & Warlick, 2016:15) claim that Turkish public diplomacy based on conveying a new Turkish identity and showing its economic growth and commitment to democracy; and the second one is to increase international credibility, where at the same time enhance Turkey's regional leadership.

As far as digital diplomacy is concerned, Turkey considered being very successful over public diplomacy practices compared to other fellow emerging power. This is because of it's an intermestic public diplomacy approach which involves the blending of international and domestic policy. This is to say turkey's public diplomacy narratives based on its domestic achievements.

3.2.1 Turkish foreign policy under the Justices and Development Party (AKP)

General speaking, its open trust that, current Turkish public diplomacy is strongly grounded in the foreign policy processes (Kalin, 2011:5). From 2002, Turkey has started to reform its foreign policies based on new vision and mission, considering well-defined target audiences. While the general goal was to effectively use the advantages that Turkey has, ranging from geographical, cultural, and historical assets (Davutoğlu, 2007:3)

Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan appointed Ahmet Davutoğlu as Turkey's new Foreign Minister on May 1, 2009. Before that Davutoğlu served as chief adviser of Prime Minister of Erdogan from 2002 and as ambassador in 2003. Davutoğlu is celebrated as the intellectual architect of the AK Party's foreign policy who brought many reforms to the modernization of foreign policy and public diplomacy in general. He set a clear vision and the style of the new foreign policy structure and provided a good framework and supervision in its implementation (Aras, 2009:3).

As he was a minister of a foreign affair, Davutoğlu in 2009 started to put into practices its doctrine which guides Turkey engagement with other nations. The doctrine is called "Strategic Depth", it underlined the idea of social, economic interaction with neighboring countries where turkey played as a central part in the region unlike being peripheral in other regions such as Europe or the Middle East (Çevik and Seib, 2015:60).

Moreover, the doctrine of Strategic Depth in special significance emphasized on retrieving the Ottoman past, and its cultural and historical ties to the Balkans, the Middle East, and central Asia. These are considered as essential assets to make turkey a regional power and the leader of the Islamic world (Davutoğlu, 2007:1). The doctrine also recommended that turkey must counterbalance its relationship with western power by joining multiple alliances that would increase the freedom of action its influence not only the region but also worldwide. (Çevik and Seib, 2015:60). Lastly. Opening up on African countries is also a part of a new foreign policy vision (Davutoğlu, 2007:2). Davutoğlu

also came up with six principles which show the new directions of Turkey foreign policy and its framework of implementation.

- i. Establishing a balance between security and democracy
- ii. Following a zero-problems policy toward Turkey's neighbors
- iii. Developing relations with neighboring regions and beyond
- iv. Adherence to a multidimensional foreign policy
- v. A proactive foreign policy based on rhythmic diplomacy

In nutshell, The JDP policymakers in general, think tank and Davutoğlu, specifically as an architect of foreign policy define to the traditional Kemalist foreign policy as static, reactionary, and passive. Thereby the changes should take place to replace with modern, proactive, and active foreign policy which would comply with new world order and growing status of a country regionally and worldwide. Therefore these principles mainly encourage the significance of "face-to-face communication, leading with diplomatic efforts, and active participation in international organizations." (Çevik and Seib, 2015:60).

3.2.2 Turkey, identity and public diplomacy under the Justice and Development Party (AKP)

Turkey public diplomacy historically based on conveying a new national identity and branding and its economic and political development. Moreover, recently the country conducts public diplomacy to enhance international acceptance and gain credibility (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016:15). Professor Ibrahim Kalin who was the first coordinator of the Prime Ministry Public Diplomacy Coordinator ship and current presidential spokesperson commented that "We live in a day and age in which image shapes reality. The image of a country and its policies, the choice of keywords used in their analysis and the framework in which it is placed is more important than the objective reality of that country". He further adds that image is very important, but identity is ultimate important (Kalin, 2011:13). Nevertheless, at the end of the discussion, it's the choice of identity

and political point of view and policies that make a country step ahead through its identity.

The image of turkey was so controversial, which partly contributed by propaganda activities amplified by media, and the second part is due to incautious policies that previous governments followed in the past. "Extra-judicial killings, torture in prisons, following ill-advised policies on the Kurdish issue, human rights abuses, religious minorities, freedom of thought and belief" and alike kind of problems have increased very bad image of turkey locally and international (Kalin, 2011:13). The second dimension, Turkey has been perceived as a country which invaded Cyprus, killing Armenians, executing military operations of neighboring countries with an excuse of trying to defeat PKK (Çevik and Seib, 2015:198).

Therefore, new turkey narrative is based on creating a new image but more importantly to convey a new national identity that the country has currently embraced to avoid and iron out the problems which have a direct impact to the image of the country because of the past mistakes while strategizing plans to cleans a road of social and political future (Kalin 2011:8). In the other side of the Turkish narrative, it is trying to shed a light on economic and democratic achievement to gain credibility in the international arena which also means to reinforce its influence as a regional leader. This was followed by an economic boom from 2003 doubled by political stability which brought a positive impact to the local and international wise (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016:15).

The general identity of turkey conveyed by JDP party originates from the National Outlook tradition (Milli Görüş), which shows Islam as one of the very important components of Turkish tradition which is different from the previous ruling parties with strict secular identity. The Islamic identity conveyed by JDP leaders is more of global, neo-liberal and moderate Islam. This could not only transform the radical Islamic movements into moderate ones, but it also presented Turkey as a role model in the Muslim world. The general party's vision is to harmonize its Muslim identity with its conservative democratic approach. Hence it was easy to bring together conservative

Muslims and modernized republican under one roof. This gives a lesson that Islamic movements can be successfully achieved through a democratic process (Ekşi & EroL, 2018:4).

Turkey is deemed as a successful country to blend traditional Islamic-Ottoman culture with socio-economic modernization. This simultaneous relationship between tradition and modernity is balanced at the same time through the transformation of modernity under the umbrella of conservative values (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016:10). This made the image of the country to be a mixed attitude of both westerns as well as eastern elements simultaneously. The image that represents a country with full of democracy, a free-market economy, respect of human right, also in the other side, it portrays Muslim identity, family-oriented society, and preservation of traditional values (Kalin, 2011:16).

3.3 TURKEY'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY'S ACTORS

Turkey had gone through different periods and experienced ups and downs which defined the image of the country. The image which was full of controversy one side was caused by the bad records (human right abuses, Kurdish issues, Armenian issues, PKK, killings, torture and many more) and media propaganda in the other side. (Çevik and Seib, 2015:198). Since the JDP government got into power started to create new Turkish diplomacy where the primary aim was to tell the story about the new turkey to the international audiences, remove old fears, clear controversy, and create a new identity which is based on Turkish traditional values and culture in a modern way (Kalin, 2011:1). The economic growth and political stability in the mid-2000s led turkey to become a house power in the region. This made turkey take deliberate efforts to modify and strengthen its public diplomacy and soft power tools to create a positive image and good reputation. In 2010, Erdogan when he was Prime Minister in his article "Turkey as an Emerging Power" emphasized more efforts should be employed to strategies public diplomacy in a modern way to compete with big nations in the international arena (Cevik, 2016:3). Since then, Turkey has employed strategic communication to reach new social,

economic, and political imagination in portraying Turkey's story and a new identity. These have been implemented by the following public diplomacy actors.

3.3.1 The Office of Public Diplomacy (Kamu Diplomasisi Koordinatörlüğü – OPD)

This office was established in 2010 under the office of prime minister respectively at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ozkan, 2013:5) The office has the responsibility of (1) coordinating and cooperating with other agents of public diplomacy to ensure accurate presentation of turkey globally. (2) Enhancing turkey's credibility and reputation in the international arena. (3)To increase international activities or projects to gain visibility and influence public opinion (Sevin, 2012:2). While the main mission of the office is to develop a new foreign policy of the country and strategize soft power approaches to attract foreign populace.

The office has the vision to manage strategic communication to the different stakeholders based on Turkey's values and customs (Çevik and Seib, 2015:16). The office manager and take control of perception and promotions of several areas such as diplomacy, higher education, science, tourism, media, foreign aid, culture and arts, technology, and economy (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016:21). In general, the Office Public Diplomacy is structured into five sections: cultural studies, political communication, institutional studies, media, and project development (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016:21).

In general, The Office of Public Diplomacy conducts its activities in three major areas: (1) university programs which involve in engaging directly with local and international students, policymakers, journalists, academics, experts, and specialists, through conferences, workshops meeting and foreign policy promotion programs to discuss foreign policy and other public diplomacy related topics. The aim is to equip the students with a broad to understand Turkish foreign policy (Cevik, 2016:3). (2) Political communication activities here involve conducting a meeting abroad with researchers and experts and convince them and come and work in the countries. Also, promote exchange programs of the workers to share experiences and skills. Addition countries discuss the

challenges that face the countries in general and how to work together to overcome it, also some can enhance their relationship to bring mutual benefits. (3) Media promotion activities, the office works a lot to use media to manage the perception of the foreign public about Turkey. It also works to create and maintain a good relationship with an international journalist (Çevik and Seib, 2015:16).

Besides, the Office of Public Diplomacy manages different social media accounts to interact directly with foreign publics. It includes a Turkish Twitter account @BasbakanlikKDK, an English Twitter account @TROfficeofPD, an Arabic Twitter account @PDTurkeyArabic. A French Twitter account @DiploPubliqueTR. The office also has Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube accounts (Çevik and Seib, 2015:17).

3.3.2 The ministry of foreign affairs

This is the key player of Turkey public diplomacy. It has the responsibility of promotion of Turkey's interest in the international ground and also promoting the culture of the country abroad. The ministry collaborates with other organization and institutions in the promotion of Turkey's culture, history, and values. The focus also introduces to the world, Turkish literature, language, beliefs, sports, cuisine, scientific achievements, art, architecture, and archaeological assets. (Çevik and Seib, 2015:18). The minister uses cultural centres as its main tools to promote Turkish culture at the same time to ensure the understanding of other culture. The centres under the sponsorship of the ministry foreign affair also support Turkish diaspora abroad in their acculturation process in line with Turkish culture (Öner, 2013:6). The Ministry also organizes and sponsors different cultural events, Exhibitions, and festivals as a part of public diplomacy activities of the ministry. For example, Festivals have been organized in different countries in almost every year such as in Italy, the Netherlands, Japan, Germany, and South Korea just to mention. And all of these cultural events are conducted to overcome the misconceptions on Turkish culture and provide a clear understanding of culture, arts, belief, values, and historical heritage (Ekşi & EroL, 2018:15).

3.3.3 The Ministry of Culture and Tourism

The ministry is perceived as one of the most active and engaged actors in Turkey's public diplomacy, particularly in the cultural related areas. The ministry of culture and tourism apart from the ministry of foreign affairs, it plays a huge role in spreading and promoting Turkish culture beyond the country's border (Çevik and Seib, 2015:20). The ministry has been organizing and sponsoring several cultural events aimed at promoting the culture and tourism sector. For example, the London Turkish Film Festival which is conducted every year whereby cultural features, films and documentaries are displayed for the international audience (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016:9). Besides, the ministry has been conducting various campaigns aimed at attracting many visitors from all corners of the universe to visit turkey. For example “Go turkey” campaign with slogans “Home of” “Come See Turkey” both campaigns show different beautiful destinations, its culture, cuisine, and historical places. (Çevik and Seib, 2015:20). The ministry believes that the efforts of cultural exportation have played a role in the development of the tourism sector due to portrayal of several turkey's cultures, lifestyle, beautiful scenery (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016:26).

3.3.4 The Prime Ministry’s Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (Türk İşbirliği ve Koordinasyon Ajansı Başkanlığı - TİKA).

This is the state institution which was established after the cold war in 1992. TİKA is under the Prime Ministry is considered as one of the strong foreign policy agents whereby much of its efforts are obvious in Central Asia, Middle East, Caucasus, the Balkans and Africa such as conducting different cooperative and development projects (Öner, 2013:5). Before the adaption of Public diplomacy as an official foreign policy in the 2000s, Turkey started to implement soft power policy in the intuitional level under TİKA since the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 where the aim was to help

Balkans, Caucasia, and Central Asia to gain influence. Also, TİKA was aimed at reviving social, cultural, and historical bond existed before between Turkey and its neighbouring countries (Ekşİ & EroL, 2018:23).

Since the focus change of JDP government on foreign policy in the 2000s, TIKA also took the different shape and direction. For example, TIKA before used to put more focus on the Balkans, Caucasia, and Central Asia but currently expansions of JDP foreign policy towards the Middle East, Africa and Latin America has more increased. Upon these changes of directions, also the scope of activities increased including various sectors like economic infrastructure services, social infrastructure services, education, health, agriculture, population, and water, administrative and civilian infrastructure services (Huijgh and Warlick, 2016:9).

Besides, TIKA is well internationally pronounced and applauded as one of the tops in the map of countries which implement foreign aid and supporting humanitarian affairs. This gave Turkey special international prestige, recognition and outstanding image of aid providing country instead of aid receiving country. TIKA became a big name as a strong actor of turkey public diplomacy particularly in the diversification of Turkish foreign policy and providing the country's soft power. As result, TIKA's activities increased the soft of the country, perception, affection, and sympathy for Turkey and led turkey to be one of the influential and challenging actors in international affairs (Ekşi & EroL, 2018:24).

3.3.5 The Prime Ministry's Directorate General of Press and Information.

The main objective of the directorate is to create and maintain a good relationship with the media giving priority to the international media. This is to ensure accurate information is disseminated to the foreign public. The directorate also has a responsibility to plan and put into actions the activities of public diplomacy; this includes conducting press information and public education and promotion of foreign policy to the local and global media (Ekşi & EroL, 2018:25). The mission of the directorate is the promotion of the country and develop communication strategies. The directorate has been organizing seminars, meetings, and events to create a conducive environment for the dialogue and discussion. It is not enough, the entity produces different information booklet and pamphlets (Çevik and Seib, 2015:23).

3.3.6 The Prime Ministry's Presidency for Turks abroad and Related Communities.

Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) established on 6 April 2010, with a two-fold objective. Firstly, coordinating different activities for Turks living in abroad and secondly, providing a scholarship to international students from different countries under Türkiye Scholarship Program. Besides, the agency works to develop the services and activities carried out in these fields” (YTB, 2020). It has a vision of looking out Turkish who are living abroad in any country and bring them together to provide with moral and cultural support (Ekşİ & EroL, 2018:20).

The agency work on principles of finding solutions to the problems of Turkish communities in abroad and strengthen their bond with turkey to protect their cultural values to avoid cultural assimilations of the countries they live in. also, YTB organizes and sponsors different events which aimed at bringing Turkish diaspora together and celebrating alongside the hosting societies. This is to create a solid bridge of mutual understandings firstly among Turkish diaspora themselves and the societies that they live in. for example The Turkish diasporas' fiftieth anniversary of life in Europe was celebrated with numerous activities and events for the “Fifty Years of Migration” act as best examples of Turkey public diplomacy practices by constituting a great example of public Presidency for Turks Abroad (Çevik and Seib, 2015:23).

The Turkey Scholarship (Türkiye Burslar) is an educational exchange program with the main purpose of creating and improving mutual understanding with the different countries and also spreading Turkish culture far beyond its border as one of long-time tool of soft power. The scholarship programs of Turkey are believed to be the utmost significant cultural diplomacy agent in the institution (Kavala, 2016:13).

3.3.7 The Prime Ministry's Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD).

AFAD is responsible for providing humanitarian aid in the period of disaster and emergencies. The agent plays a notable role in Turkey's public diplomacy and as an important of the country soft power tool. Humanitarian aid is part and parcel of Turkey's new nation brand as a donor nation. AFAD works as an umbrella organization in Turkey as far as the disaster and emergence issues are concerned while collaborating with other organizations. AFAD has been reaching different countries with humanitarian aids during the time of disaster and emergence. For example, AFAD reached even the remotest countries with humanitarian aids such as Haiti, Japan, Chile, Myanmar, and many more other countries Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, and Syria. These efforts resulted in positive outputs in terms of Turkey's international global standing ranked as among front line countries in humanitarian assistance (Çevik and Seib, 2015:23).

3.3.8 The Turkish Radio and Television Association (TRT).

TRT is the state-controlled television and radio of Turkey. TRT was established and then reorganized like other international broadcasting such as CNN, BBC, or DW to increase the power and speed of Turkish mass communication channel and instrument of global politics specifically in the 2000s (Ekşi & EroL, 2018:25). TRT plays a big role to carry out activities of public diplomacy to the world. State uses TRT as an effective means of diplomatic leverage and as a weapon to gain support in international public opinion. Like other international broadcasting TRT is very essentials of public diplomacy and soft power tool as the source as a control of the medium of the message and even the content. The TRT is the voice of Turkey which is utilized not only for the promotion of foreign policy but also defending the interests of the country in the international arena as other big countries do. Besides, TRT is the face and image of Turkey which serves a function of creating a bridge between Turkey and the world by telling a story about their country, national culture and values and creating public opinions with the interest of the nation (Özkan, 2015:42).

3.4 TURKEY'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY'S STAKEHOLDERS AND TOOLS

On the other hand, public diplomacy is the tool which a state uses to mobilize the resources to speak out and attract foreign publics rather than their governments (Nye, 2008:95). On the other hand, in new public diplomacy does not consider a state as an only actor in Public diplomacy rather as an important key player in influencing and engaging with the foreign public plus other actors (tools) such as organizations, companies, university and even celebrities (Yun and Toth, 2009:496).

(Kalin, 2011:7) supplements that there are two major frameworks which always conduct public diplomacy activities: "State-to-public," and "public-to-public." While state-to public activities are directly organized by the government aimed at promoting state policies and activities through official tools. In public-to-public involve different stakeholders such as research centers, public opinion polls, NGOs, celebrities, associations, exchange programs, foundations, and universities. These stakeholders are very essentials in public diplomacy practices since state-centric public diplomacy can be ineffective because of financial, social capital and human resources challenges also the credibility is less (Lee and Ayhan, 2015:17).

Thereby, public diplomacy is more than the official communication of the state. This is also true to the Turkish public diplomacy practices which involve tones of stakeholders and tools such as Anadolu Agency, universities, NGOs, institutions, and many more others as follow.

3.4.1 Anadolu Agency.

Anadolu Agency is a Turkish Joint Stock Company which was established in 1925 when Atatürk appointed a close group of friends to make Anadolu Agency a news agency in the Western sense. Anadolu Agency gained autonomous status with such a structure that was not seen in Western countries at that time. Anadolu Agency was established to cover the news related to the Turkish war of independence. It was informing the local public about was going on inside the country and every step of the struggle plus the other

events which were happening outside the country (Anadolu agency, 2020:3:40pm). Currently, the newly founded agency has extended its wings by taking on the responsibility of informing the foreign audiences on what is going inside and outside turkey through different languages such as English, French Arabic just to mention. The goal is to shape public opinion in Turkey as one of Turkey public diplomacy tools (Çevik and Seib, 2015:27).

3.4.2 Yunus Emre Institute

The Yunus Emre Foundation was established in 2007 as a new tool of public diplomacy particularly, based on the promotion of culture, language, history, arts, and cultural values across the world. Yunus Emre Institute which has direct affiliation with Yunus Emre Foundation conduct different exchange programs with other countries and running different researches to promote the teaching of Turkish language, culture, history, and literature (Özkan, 2014: 41). At the same, it corporates with other institutions to conduct scientific studies and publications. Moreover, the Yunus Emre Institute organizes different activities such as academic meeting, stage performance, exhibition, workshop, movie screening, and art courses. This promotes Turkish culture and art around the globe and enhances cultural interaction and sharing (Çevik and Seib, 2015:27).

Yunus Emre Turkish Education and Teaching Centers (YETEC) is a part of Yunus Emre Institute which is responsible in conducting activities of teaching the Turkish language in different countries and also deepen the relationship and producing lecturers who are speaking in Turkish. These efforts are very crucial for the promotion not only Turkish culture but also increasing country soft power (Özkan, 2014: 41).

3.4.3 Nongovernmental Organizations and Think Thanks

Nongovernmental organizations and always thinks a critical role in public diplomacy and work as a pressure group to the Government. Turkish government through its actors work closely with different NGOs to promote public diplomacy through the

change of foreign public perception intentionally and unintentionally in their respective activities. Examples of these NGOs are Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB), the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association (TUSIAD), and cultural and artistic communities such as museums, foundations and the Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (IKSV) (Lee and Ayhan, 2015:59).

On the other hand, think tanks play an equally important role in conducting different studies and campaigns related to public diplomacy. It is even said that the most think tanks institutions are number ones in carrying out public diplomacy activities to both local and international public which help toward the promotion of Turkey's nation brand through their programs. These think tanks institutions are like; Foundation for Political, Economic, and Social Research (SETA) which conducts different studies locally, regionally, and international level. SETA helps publication of "Insight Turkey" and simplifying international connections. The other think tank institution is Turkey Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV). It is based in Istanbul it also contributes to Turkish public diplomacy through conducting various studies and programs of the international standards, inviting several experts to discuss different diplomatic issues. The other think tanks are the Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM) and Institute of Strategic Thinking (SDE). Despite the efforts taken by these think tanks institutions, there is a challenge of global absence and credibility among some of the institutions (Çevik and Seib, 2015:27-28).

3.4.4 Opinion Leaders and Celebrities

Celebrities and opinion leaders are so powerful in sending the message out and to be able to grab the attention of the audiences. There are times opinion leaders and celebrities can send the message more effectively than the governments. Opinion leaders of a country play a big contribution to represent their countries in the international arena and promoting the country soft power. Opinion leaders partake in the promotion of public diplomacy initiative and also giving opinions relating to the political issues. This parting in diplomacy and international issues in general of celebrities is described as a "celebrity diplomacy" (Çevik and Seib, 2015:31). Turkey has tons of celebrities inside and outside

the country who contribute to the country's soft power and the promotion of the country image. The list starts with artist, intellectuals, footballers, NBA players, scientist, producers, musicians, and list goes on who are recognized regional and internationals for the great success in their respective which led them to get world recognitions and even some of the world prestigious awards. For example, Nobel laureate in literature Orhan Pamuk and Nobel laureate in chemistry Aziz Sancar are prominent international names of Turkish heritage. Award-winning director Nuri Bilge Ceylan and Fatih Akın, world-renowned pianist Fazıl Say, business executive Muhtar Kent, Turkish-American celebrity doctor Mehmet Oz, and entrepreneur and founder of Chobani brand and Hamdi Ulukaya. Other is World-class football player Mesut Özil and NBA players Mehmet Okur, Hidayet Türkoğlu, and Cedi Osman. On the other hand, Turkish NBA player Enes Kanter, who is associated with the Gülenist network, and speaking up against the government and reduce the country's soft power. This shows that celebrity play a pivotal contribution in a country's soft power and image, but some time also can reduce the level of the soft power of a country (Çevik, 2019:15).

3.4.5 Universities and Schools

Universities are also tools of public diplomacy which mainly help in areas of conducting research and implementation of cultural diplomacy and conveying the message effectively. Research centres in the universities are providing support in conducting scientific research and producing analyses, reports, and different other publications. Apart from that, universities also organize and participate in different local and international conferences, workshops, seminars, and congresses which involve local and foreign participants to convey the message properly (Özkan, 2014: 38). On the other hand, schools are another element of Turkey's soft power. There are so tons of turkey's schools in different countries all over the world, even though those schools are following the law and system of the subjected countries, there is a chance of inserting Turkish language classes, cultural-artistic activities which is crucial in the exercise of cultural diplomacy (Çevik and Seib, 2015:31).

3.4.6 International Events

International events also are other tools of public diplomacy. International events are a good carrier of public diplomacy messages. These international events include international sports events, artistic festival, cultural, concert and competitions. The international events offer enough exposure of the country to the international public and hence it provides to create dialogues and disseminate public diplomacy messages (Çevik and Seib, 2015:35).

For example in the international sports events and matches which organized by different associations such as the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA) World Cup, the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) Champions League, and the Euro League are very crucial in the practice of sports diplomacy which provides a country with an opportunity to improve the relationship with different countries and also sometimes can promote the image of the respective country. For example, in 2002 world cup tournament the Turkish National Football Team won third place in the play-off match against South Korea. Also, Galatasaray Sports Club winning the UEFA Cup in 2000. Both these events any others provided enough exposure to Turkey. Also in the Armenian-Turkish match which was played in Armenia and attended by Abdullah Gül, the former president of the Republic of Turkey, played a role in the improving the relationship between the two countries (Ekşi & EroL, 2018:8).

On the other hand, international cultural and artistic events and exhibition play a vital role in the practice of cultural diplomacy such as an international event is the Miss World pageant where Azra Akın of Turkey who was crowned Miss World 2002. Another one is the Fire of Anatolia project which comprised different the dance troupes from different regions celebration country's heritage took to the stage at Eurovision in 2004, Formula 1 in 2005, and Universiade also in 2005, all of which were hosted by Turkey (Çevik and Seib, 2015:35).

3.4.7 National Brands

National brands play a vital role in country image and public diplomacy in general as a tool of public diplomacy of a country. The national brand promotes the country to the world indirectly, and it increases the reputation of the country. Turkey has been taken much effort to create and promote their national brands but still Turkey is not doing well in this context with only a few examples. For example, the nation-leading example of Turkey is Turkish Airlines (THY) which provided services to many countries worldwide. It also granted many international awards for example from 2009 to 2011, THY was selected the best airline in Europe and the same three years was awarded as the best airline in southern Europe. Apart from THY, another national brand with international awareness is in the sector of fashion such as Mavi, Vakko, Beymen and Ipekyol (Çevik and Seib, 2015:33).

3.4.8 Turkish series and soap opera

TV series and Soap Opera is one of the solid tools of soft power and public diplomacy which many developed countries including America have been using to promote their culture and technological advancement to increase their soft power. In the 90s and 2000s, Turkish TV series and soap opera started to gain fame and popularity beyond its border by attracting many people from different countries to watch. Since then Turkish TV series and soap opera became one of the major players in Turkey's non-governmental public diplomacy agents and important element of Turkey's soft power. Some of the popular Turkish soap opera are *Happy Family Journal*, *Lovebird*, and *Game of Silence* (Çevik, 2014:5). On the other hand, some of the very popular Turkish series include *Sultan*, *Vitamin Sensin* and *Resurrection-Ertugrul* which include an element of the Ottoman Empire is the Turkish and Muslim identity and it shows the tolerance and justice of Turks and Muslims to the Ottomans, the State which was comprised by different ethnic identities and lived together for centuries without any problem including Muslims, Jews, Christians, Turks, Greeks, and Bulgarians. Both Turkish TV soap opera and series contributed to the increasing of the soft power of the country and cultural diplomacy. As

they both portray Turkish culture, values, and religious elements of the country (Elitaş & Kir, 2019:20).

3.5 TURKEY'S DIGITAL DIPLOMACY

Turkey as other countries is utilizing the advantage of the social media presence to communicate with the foreign public in fewer expenses, timely and it reaches many people in a different part of the world at the same time. Turkey is using digital diplomacy as a new tool of soft power and public diplomacy which provides the actors with a platform to share their stories and engage with the foreign public directly without being edited by the gatekeepers. One of the earliest examples of Turkey's digital diplomacy is found in 2011 when Turkey's Washington ambassador Namık Tan first announced the news of releasing four American journalists who were in custody in Libya, the announcement also accompanied by the photos of the journalists (Aslan & Göksu, 2016:9).

Since then, the country operates several social media accounts ranging from Twitter, Facebook, Instagram to Youtube in different languages. Infact all Turkish foreign representatives have been using different social media accounts such as embassies, consulates and delegations. Turkey has been using social media very effectively in diplomatic communication. This is so evident in 2017 after the failed military coup attempt, Turkey conducted a big worldwide social media campaign using several official social media accounts to narrate its story accurately while restoring the image of the country which was tarnished by the news about the coup (Sevin, 2018:5).

Apart from the government, Non-government actors of public diplomacy (NGOs) are not left behind in the uses of social media to speak to global audiences. For example, almost all actors of public diplomacy have been active online such as YTB, TIKA, YEE just to mention few have social media ranging from Twitter, Instagram to Facebook (Köselerli, 2017:4). Also, Turkish political actors are very active in the uses of social media such as Abdullah Gül the former Turkey president, in office from 2007 to 2014, in 2013 Digital Diplomacy report, he was mentioned as the best leader in using

Instagram. As well as President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is one of the top world leaders who have many followers in his Twitter account (Aslan & Göksu, 2016:7-9).

Furthermore, celebrities and ordinary citizen can't be forgotten for their contributions in the promotion of turkey's image in their areas with the use of social media accounts. For example social media accounts of famous Turkish TV series celebrity Fatmagül which post different events happening to the world while connecting to Turkey (Vatanartiran, 20....:10). Another typical example of citizen diplomacy is the four Turkish graduate project of Turkayfe.org – Turkey's online coffeehouse which aimed to make Turkey known globally. They launched their website www.Turkayfe.org, aimed at promoting turkey by sharing a picture of different attractive places in Turkey and they also motivate people to come and visit Turkey through the stories of personal experience of different people who visited Turkey (Payne & Sevin, 2011:9).

3.6 AFRICAN-TURKEY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

The African continent can be pictured into faces based on geographical location and culture; while North African is considered as among the Middle East countries, Sub-Saharan Africa for a long time has been considered as far away land, full of problems, hunger, and civil war, absence of water, diseases, corruption, and extreme poverty. This is a picture that repeatedly shown by the global media which made many people including academia not to give any importance and attention in foreign policymaking to African, particularly Sub-Saharan countries. This is also true to some of the Turkish politicians, academia, columnists and opinion leaders and retired diplomats who criticized the official visit of African countries precisely Ethiopia and South Africa in 2005 made by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (the first Turkish Prime minister to visit Sub-Saharan countries). The critics based on assumption that the visit was to waste time and energy. However, currently, this notion over Sub-Saharan countries is decreasing as time goes by even among those of big critic (Özkan, 2014:4).

Turkey-African relations have a long and deep-rooted history since the early of Ottoman Empire. In this regard, African-Turkey relation can be divided into three

periods. The first period is during Ottoman Empire which had considerable relations with African up to 1923, and then during Republic of Turkey which had the lowest relations with African, if not at all from 1923 to 1998 and the period of DJP which is playing a unique role to strengthen the relations with African countries, Sub-Saharan in particular (Özkan & Akgün, 2011:7).

3.6.1 Turkey and African relations during the Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire started formal contact with African followed by officially relations since the 16th century (Uchehara, 2008:9). Based on attitude of north and sub-Saharan African, Ottoman Empire had considerable and notable relations with North African countries such as the countries like Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria which were under the rule of Ottoman Empire. This is due to the geographical presence of these countries and Islamic influence. Also in Sub-Saharan countries, the Ottoman Empire had partial rule over some countries such as Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, and even Niger and Chad (Kaya and Warner, 2012:3). This relation said to have been influencing by the presence of Islamic religion and the trade of gold and diamond which attracted the Ottoman Empire to start relations in the region (Uchehara, 2008:9). Ottoman Empire had established a military alliance with Kanem Burnu Emire which today is Northern Nigeria, Niger, and Chad and in 1575 Kanem Burnu Empire even signed a defense pact with the Ottoman State during the time of Sultan Murad III, in which the sultan supported military equipment and trainers to the region (Özkan & Akgün, 2011:7).

In southern Africa, ottoman had established relations with Cape of Good Hope (South Africa). Example in 1863 Ottoman Empire even sent Imam Abu Bakr Effendi to help the Muslim community in the region, thus why the south African community contributed to the construction of Hijaz railway campaign. Letter Effendi family members played a role in South African politics and even today the Effendi surname exists in South African and highly respected among the Muslim community. And in 1894 after the completion of the first mosque built by ottoman. The empire established the title of "Bey" as an Islamic community's leader and Mohammed Shitta Bey became a leader

whom his large family is known in Nigeria (Özkan & Akgün, 2011:7). In the eastern part of Africa, Ottoman Empire also had diplomatic relation with the sultanate of Zanzibar which ruled the eastern coast of Indian Ocean and even provided military support to avoid Portuguese invasion in the region (Uchehara, 2008:9).

3.6.2 Turkey- African relations during Turkey's republic

After the collapse of Ottoman Empire in 1923 and led the formation of Republic of Turkey in the same year, the relations between Turkey and African was at the lowest level if existed et al. this is due to the fact Turkey under the leadership of Atatürk wanted to focus more on the building of the nation. Also, the second reason is that by that time African countries were under European colonization, so it did not make relations with African countries while they were not political independence (Kaya and Warner, 2012:3). However, Turkey recognized African independence in the 1960s, but Turkey missed the opportunity to engage with African countries after independence. In 1970s Turkey tried to develop a plan to engage with African because of a problem with Cyprus and more importantly Turkey did not have the knowledge and interest over African (Özkan, 2014:6). On the hand, Turkey had little relations with North African countries especial during the cold war in align with the west. Turkey was supporting the USA in African matters in the United Nations, but it didn't any comprehensive plan of its own over African countries (Kaya and Warner, 2012:3).

3.6.3 Turkey-African relations during DJP party the early 2000s to the present.

Before the DJP party came to the power, the previous coalition government in 1998 came up with an action plan of reviving the longtime relations with African countries in a different approach. The plan was entitled "Opening up to Africa policy" as part of multidimensional foreign policy developed by Ismail Cem who was foreign minister of the time. This came, following EU's failure to consider Turkey as a candidate state for EU membership at its 1997 summit (Bilgic and Nascimento, 2014:1). The action plan was meant a road map toward economic, political, cultural, and social relations with

African countries. Many programs were proposed to be implemented such as education exchange and military training programs to improve mutual relations with Africans. However, this plan could not be implanted up to 2002 when DJP government came to the office this was due to lack of persistence of the coalition government and existence of some internal problems such as Kurdish problems and economic crisis (Rudincova, 2014).

When the DJP party came to the power in 2002, started to take serious actions and strategies toward opening up to the African continent. After 2002, Turkey started to attend the African summit as a guest country. Moreover, in 2003, the Turkish department of foreign trade was initiated to create trade relations with African countries. If it was enough, in 2005 Turkey announced as "The year of Africa" This then was followed with the official visit of Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Erdogan to Ethiopia and South Africa in March 2005 and marked it as first Turkey's Prime minister to visit the countries under the equator since the establishment of Republic of Turkey (Kaya and Warner, 2012:4). Also, in this year 2005, Turkey was given "observer status" in African Union and Turkey's embassy that was Addis Ababa in Ethiopia where there is an office of the Union was accredited as Turkey's representative office. Besides in 2008, Turkey became 'strategic partner' of the Union and the official member of the African Development Bank (Özkan & Akgün, 2011:11). In August of the same, there was a "Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit" in Istanbul, which was organized by Turkish President Abdullah Gül which was attended by high-level officials from 49 African countries. Apart from other things, Turkey requested support to be selected as Non-permanent of UN Security Council status which finally Turkey won it with almost all African votes (Bilgic and Nascimento, 2014:2). The followed year of the meeting embassies in 2009 – increasing the total number of Turkish resident embassies in Africa to 20 where currently there are more than that where the biggest embassy of Turkey in the world is in Mogadishu-Somalia. Since then, many meeting bilateral and regional meeting is being held carrying various agendas such as politics, economic, social, and military-related topic (Dahir, 2018:9).

3.7 TURKEY-AFRICAN RELATIONS' DIMENSIONS

Turkish-African relations started in the 1990s and it got more serious and stronger after 2005 during the DJP party's special strategies. "Opening to Africa Action Plan" was introduced officially to improve economic, political, and cultural relations between Turkey and African countries. In this regard Turkey-African relations based mainly on four dimensions in implanting Turkey's objectives of opening to African (Bilgic and Nascimento, 2014:2).

3.7.1 The political and strategic dimension

Turkey's geographical locations are very unique as the large country in the Afro-Eurasia territory which make Turkey possess multiple regional identities just like Germany, Iran, Egypt, and Russia. However, the more special thing about Turkey is being located in Asia and Europe but at the same time is close to African. Turkey in 2005 announced as yeas of Africa and this was followed by a special visit of Turkey's prime minister Recep Erdogan to South Africa and Ethiopia and opening Turkey's embassies in different African countries. Moreover, Turkey in this year was given as African union observer and became a member of the African development bank in 2008. In 2008 Turkey organized a Turkey-African relations summit where 49 African countries attended the in Istanbul. This summit followed by many other including bilateral and regional ones. The impact of these political ties played a great role during UN Security Council voting for a non-permanent member where 51 African counties out of 53 Voted for Turkey in 2008 (Sour, 2019:6).

3.7.2 Economic and trade dimensions

Turkeys' political engagement with African countries is highly motivated by economic and trade interest. Turkey opened up to African with aim of diversifying the economy from depending only traditional partners of EU and Russia and alike to more diversified trade to African countries which can provide with the market for the finished products, investment opportunity and resources. However, the presence of other

countries such as China, India, South Korea, Japan, and Iran in the continent trading with African countries for decades made Turkey be in stiff competitions as a newcomer (Özkan, 2014:8).

Currently, Turkey is among of the 20 most economically best countries in the world which hold 18th position just after Holland. It works to build a bridge with the African continent which has a population of more one billion, aiming to get market for their products. No wonder, Turkey-African trade volume has been mounting up from a total trade of about 4.5 billion dollars in 2003 to 26 billion dollars as Turkish export in 2020 (Sour, 2019:7).

Furthermore, Sour (2019:7-8) has added that Turkey has become one of the African development partner through different agents including.

a. Development and international cooperation agency (TIKA), this is a Turkish agency which coordinates and provides development assistance to different countries in Africa, Asia, and Europe. This assistance is through projects and activities.

b. Businessmen and industrialists confederation (TUSKON). This organization organizes annual meetings of businessmen and head of commerce chambers both in Turkey and Africa. For example, the meeting which was conducted in Istanbul in 2008 which was supported by Turkey's Trade Minister and foreign affair.

c. African Development Bank, this is the largest African financial institution where Turkey became a member since 2008 which give a chance to Turkey to contribute to the Bank capital while supporting Turkey's economic operation in the continent.

b. The Turkish-African Forum, a forum held periodically bringing together both Turkey and African representatives to discuss Turkey-African relations in different aspects.

On the other side of investment, Turkish investors found out over US\$500 million based on different sectors in Africa and the investment would exceed US\$4 billion in the

next five years. The Turkish investment in Africa includes chemicals, construction materials, textiles, industrial supplies, household utilities, automotive, trade and transportations. The Turkish investment is growing every day which is a benefit for both side of Africa and Turkish investors and Turkey in general (Uchehara: 2008:15).

3.7.3 Culture and Education

Turkey shares some historical cultural links with some African countries. While the most humanitarian players in Africa are Germany, Italy, France, UK, and others are related to the past colonization period, Turkey is only remembered for the Ottoman Empire which did not base on the colonization of the continent but rather maintaining state relations. In this regard, neither Africans consider Turkey as colonialists, not Turkey shows to take the imperial stance in Africa (Bilgic and Nascimento, 2014:2).

Turkey's presence in Africa can be felt through its culture, especially its language. Institute of Yunus Emre (YEF) plays a very vital role in the promotion of Turkish culture and Turkish language in African and worldwide in general. While on the other hand, Turkish Maarif foundation was established by the parliament in 2016 after the coup which failed to overtake the schools which were run by the FETO (Fethullah Terror Organization). Maarif Foundation is an important entity which is responsible for providing education in Africa. Apart from schools which are currently run by the Turkish government and non-government organization in Africa, also since 1991 Turkey has been providing different scholarship for African students and another part of the world (Dahir, 2018:14).

3.7.4 Development and humanitarian aid

Apart from political and economic relation, turkey also has been in the frontline in providing humanitarian aid and development assistance in Africa as humanitarian diplomacy which helps to increase the soft power of the country. Turkish humanitarian aid in Africa includes contributing to the Security Council (UN peacekeeping operation, anti-terrorism, and counter-piracy), and building the nation such as Somalia. Through

TIKA, Turkey has been helping countries also facing a natural disaster like flooding, drought, and disease outbreak such as Ebola in 2015. Turkey's efforts in humanitarian assistances change its global role and increase soft power (Dahir, 2018:116). In 2016 the global humanitarian assistance report mentions Turkey of the top generous nation in the world compared to its gross national income. In 2013-2014 world development initiatives ranked Turkey third and fourth generous country worldwide. While in 2016 again Turkey was ranked the second one just after the USA in the support of humanitarian relief. This data is for all assistance provided by Turkey in a different part of the world, while African countries are among the main beneficiaries (Dahir, 2018:14).

CHAPTER FOUR

4 . EFFECTIVENESS OF TURKISH DIGITAL DIPLOMACY APPROACH AND IMAGE PORTRAYAL TO AFRICAN COUNTRIES

In the third and last part, which is the application part of the research, has included objective and significance of the research, methodology and limitation of the research and the findings obtained as a result of qualitative and quantitative analysis of the online data and finally the conclusion.

4.1 OBJECTIVE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Turkey's engagement in Africa rooted from Ottoman Empire regime, Turkey's republic under the regime of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk to the current era of Justice and Development Party (AKP). It is claimed that Turkey-African diplomatic relations in both eras of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey's republic focused only to North Africa countries such as Egypt and Morocco until 2003 during the ideological shift of Turkish government during the era of Justice and Development Party (AKP) and its redirection from the Western-centered to the more diversified foreign policy. This opened the new chapter of turkey-African diplomatic relationship, followed by the establishment of different embassies in African to strengthen its diplomatic tie with sub-Saharan African countries (Ozkan and Akgun, 2011).

Turkey has been actively engaging with the foreign public particularly with African countries through different ways such as cultural diplomacy projects, development aid, student exchanges and scholarships programs and conventional media. Increasingly, these efforts are intentional taken to improve Turkey's African relations as one of the important action plans of current Turkey's foreign policy. More so, currently the country has adopted a social media platform to speak to the foreign public of different countries through agenda setting and promotion of national image. This is evidenced by

different state representatives including embassies stationed in different countries (Ozkan and Akgun, 2011).

Social media has brought changes in diplomatic practices as it has shifted a communication focus from government to government to government (sometimes citizens and organizations) to public of other countries. These changes have brought some challenges but more opportunities to the diplomatic actors to engage and enjoy the direct interactions with foreign public. As result, country can promote relationship with other country and favourable image among the foreign public.

So, the main objective of this research is to explore how Turkey through its embassies in Africa engages with foreign public under the scope of digital diplomacy and determining the image portrayed by Turkish embassies.

4.2 THE SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE RESEARCH

The research covers all posts (original tweets, retweeted posts, picture videos and links) shared by 10 Turkish embassies' Twitter accounts in 10 African countries include Tanzania, Nigeria, Uganda, Somalia, Sudan, South Africa, Angola, Ghana, Ethiopia, and Senegal. The data was collected from November 2019 to March 2020, following an assumption that this was the most recent time before a world crisis of Corona which led to many diplomatic activities to be cancelled and some conducted under difficult situations.

On the other hand, the research involves the counting number of likes, comments, and retweets of original tweets made by the followers of the embassies' Twitter accounts. This is to determine the average engagement rate and finally the effectiveness of Turkish embassies in Africa in the use of Twitter as a new tool of public diplomacy.

Finally, qualitative analysis was used to analyze 2438 posts (original tweets, and retweeted posts) to determine which themes which are frequently shared and which image portrayed by Turkish embassies. More so, a quantitative method was used to

analyze 602 posts (only original tweets) to determine a frequency of a day to day posting and engagement rate by the Turkish embassies in Africa.

4.3 SAMPLING OF THE RESEARCH

In this research, a purposeful sampling method was used to get the data needed to fulfil the main and specific objective of the research which is to explore the Turkish digital diplomacy approach to African countries. Therefore, firstly the research decided to use Turkish embassies in Africa is because according to Merriam Webster dictionary an embassy is defined as “body of diplomatic representatives specifically: one headed by an ambassador”. This means that Turkish embassies in Africa are an official representative of a country in the countries which they stationed in. secondly, the selection of 10 African countries was based on religion and political ideology, a population which can provide with a foreign market of the finished goods, geographical locations of the countries, natural resources of the country and economic development. Third and the last, the choice of Twitter to represent other platforms of social media is because of the popularity of Twitter as a tool of public diplomacy.

4.4 METHODOLOGY

Web content analysis has been employed to collect the data and both quantitative and qualitative content analysis methods are used to analyze the data from Twitter accounts of 10 Turkish embassies in Africa. These countries include Tanzania, South Africa, Sudan, Somalia, Nigeria, Uganda, Ghana, Ethiopia, Angola, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The selection of these countries was based on religion and political ideology, a population which can provide with a foreign market of the finished goods, geographical locations of the countries, natural resources of the country and economic development. Hypothetically, these factors were considered in the selection of the countries of sampling because these factors play a major role in countries relationships.

The data was collected from November 2019 to March 2020 from 10 Turkish embassy Twitter accounts stationed in Africa. All categories of tweets including tweets,

retweet, pictures, video, in reply to, hashtags and the links were observed and coded This period was the most recent time before the massive spread of **Coronavirus** which made difficult for many activities to be implemented by either global economic recession or social gathering restrictions. Besides, this period was marked with some political occasion such as presidential special visits to some African countries including Senegal.

4.4.1 Inter coder reliability

Krippendorff's alpha coding method was used for a calculation to ensure the intercoder reliability (Gwet, 2015). Two coders were involved in the coding process of all data and then, the data was compiled into an Excel spreadsheet to compare the categorization of the tweets among the two coders. In case of any variations happens among the coders, a discussion was conducted at length which resulted in a perfect agreement on the coding category and avoid discrepancies on tweets category and their level of engagement (likes, comment and retweets).

4.4.2 Quantitative analysis

This method was employed purposely to be able to determine how Turkey is effective in the uses of social media, particularly Twitter. The effectiveness was determined by measuring the level of engagement, frequency of posting and number of followers. This involved counting the number of followers, retweets, and tweets per day plus tweets engagements (like comment and retweet from original tweets). Quantitative analysis enabled to determine how Turkey use technical twitter features to engage with audiences and finally determined how Turkey is effective in the social media presence.

4.4.3 Qualitative analysis

The tweets and retweets were collected and counted manually as other procedures like API or Storify network have been limited in the availability of data. This involved monitoring of all ten Twitter accounts for each day in the whole period of six months. The data was recorded in the codebook that was created to insert data in different

categories of posts that always shared by all ten embassy accounts. For instance local news, international news, history, events, announcements, corporate social responsibility, economic corporations, tourism attractions and culture and arts. Then posts were categorized again by using Dual-Factor Model, which was developed by Nadkarni and Hofmann (2012). The model suggests that social media are used mostly for two purposes—the need to belong and the need for self-presentation. This Dual Factor model was also used before by Collins and Bekenova (2018) in their study entitled "Digital diplomacy: success at your fingertips" which focused on examining and comparing the level of embracing digital diplomacy by European embassies in Kazakhstan which have a Facebook accounts.

4.5 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Turkish embassies in Africa started to use Twitter gradually from 2011, with that of Sudan being the first, in December 2011 followed by Tanzania in January 2012. While the Turkish embassy in South Africa is the most recent of those included in this list, registered in February 2016. Between November 2019 and March 2016, 2436 posts shared by 10 Turkish embassies in Africa with Twitter accounts were collected. These included tweets and retweets with words or a picture alone, words with a picture, as well as links or movie clips.

4.5.1 Quantitative analyses

Based on these three criteria, in the first stage involved a classification of tweets based on the level of engagement as a first step involved the classification of tweets according to the level of engagement as defined "any action or response from a target audience resulting from proactive communications that creates a psychological motivation [...] to engage through participation." (Stacks and Brown, 2013 cited in Summa, G, 2020:29). In line with this definition, tweets with a low level of engagement were labelled as ineffective while those with a high level of engagement considered as effective in engaging with the foreign public and as a sign of advancement and success of Turkish digital diplomacy.

4.5.1.1 Engagement rate per original tweets

The engagement rate of a Twitter account can be measured by the number of ways including assessing how many times for each post was viewed by people, but this is not for public use. Therefore, the method employed in this research is the one which preferred by social researchers to determine the number of followers, following, posts and interactions have the following formula: Average Engagement Rate (%) per post = [Engagements (Likes + Retweets) / followers/number of posts] x100. in the evaluation of the results from this formula, its generally agreed that an engagement rate between 0% and 0.02% is low; between 0.02% and 0.09% is good; between 0.09% and 0.33% is high; and above 0.33% is very high (Summa, G, 2020:29).

Table 5. average engagement rate by 10 Turkish embassies in African countries.

COUN TRY	FOLLOWERS	TWEET PER DAY	LIKES PER ORIGINAL TWEET	COMMENTS PER ORIGINAL TWEETS	RETWEETS PER ORIGINAL TWEET	AVARAGE ENGAGEMENT RATE
TANZANIA	2,591	2.6	10.3	1.1	1.9	0.05%
SOUTH.A	1890	2.1	8.2	0.5	0.3	0.10%
SUDAN	15100	2.2	70.7	3.5	20.1	0.23%
SOMALI	173100	0.6	232.7	13	1.9	0.04%
SENEGAL	2,213	1.5	3.8	0.1	0.5	0.04%
NIGERIA	1273	0.8	1.3	0.1	3.7	0.08%
ETHIOPIA	3143	1.5	12.1	0.2	3.3	0.18%
ANGOLA	1,803	0.6	2.5	0.1	0.4	0.07%
UGANDA	1,459	1.6	7.1	0.2	2.3	0.13%
GHANA	1,761	1.9	5	0.5	1.1	0.12%
TOTAL	204,333	1.6	34.8	1.8	3.5	0.10%

Source: data collected from Twitter, November 2019-December 2020.

In disregard of the number of daily messages which is not high, Turkish through their 10 embassies in Africa showed good engagement rate of 0,10% which is generally agreed to be high. This show that Turkish engagement through ten embassies in Africa is effective where their messages receive a good number of endorsement (likes), low number of opinions (comments) well distributed to others (retweeted) by the followers

to their accounts which increased the reach of message to many people. All these four actions (to follow accounts especially to like, to comment and to retweet) highlight the self-belong and acceptance of these embassies (Turkey) among the users and contribute to increasing the total reach of their messages every day (Summa, G, 2020:16).

On the other side, there is variation of engagement rate from one embassy to another. However the variation is not that very huge. For example, the embassy in Tanzania, Nigeria, Somalia, Angola, and Senegal their engagement rate is considered good while the other five led by Sudan received high engagement rate.

The engagement rate is contributed many factors including the richness of a content (message, video, image, and link) for example there are some messages such the message of humanitarian activities received high level of engagement while there were others which did not receive any kind of engagement. Increasingly, time such from 9pm to 11pm is prime time for tweet to receive high engagement and mostly importantly the type of relationship between the audiences and the organization matters a lot in engagement rate (Soboleva et al, 2015).

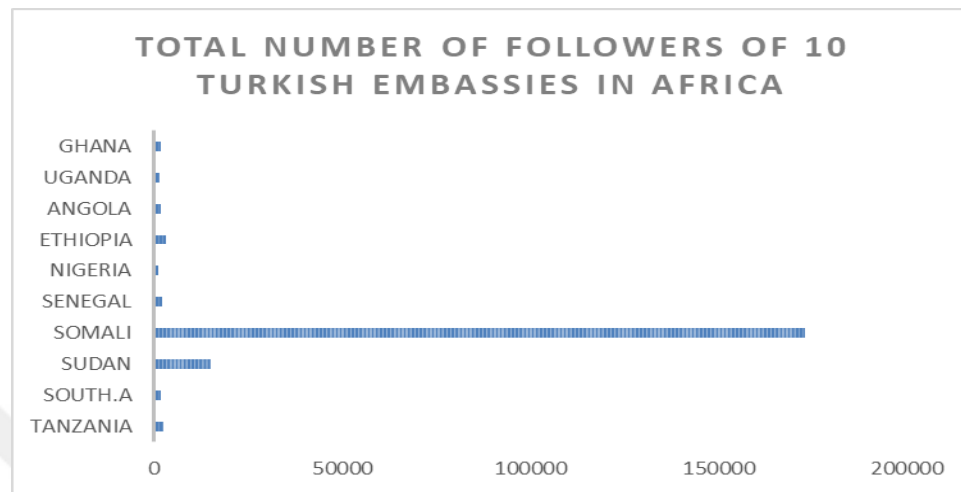
In all measures of engagement rate (likes, comments and retweets), like has received many audience engagements rate of 34.8 per one original tweet. This can be translated as appreciating the content which is positive response to the embassies. The second one is retweets which receive 3.5 per one original tweet. This is most important engagement element which helps to increase the reach and visibility of a content as the followers share in their own network. The retweeting shows that a follower has read and understood the message unless in some rare situation that a follower can retweet a post to spread the negativity of a twitter handles. lastly is comment which received only 1.8 engagement per original post. People rarely comment as most posts do not encourage interaction. Comment section is mostly used to wish back, ask or giving opinion on matter presented and sometime answering if the post is in question form. This is important because it enables twitter handles to understand the audiences' opinions.

On the other hand, the top ten posts with a high level of engagement were from Somali and Sudan which contribute a lot to overall engagement rate of a twitter handle. These posts were related to humanitarian assistances done in Sudan and Somalia in the period of Corona. In Senegal, South Africa, Angola, Uganda, and Nigeria, the first two posts with high engagement were related to embassy announcements while in Ghana was about the embassy's participation in the celebration of Ghana Independence Day. In Tanzania, posts with high engagement are related to the opening of Turkish schools in different places. In Ethiopia, the highly engaged posts were related to relations and cooperation with the country. Therefore, not only is posts frequency matter but kind of posts also matters a lot as far as the engagement rate is considered.

4.5.1.2 Number of followers

One of the most and crucial measure to gauge the effectiveness and success of the twitter handle is a number of followers. This is because the number of followers shows the size of the audience who can see your message and redistribute your message to their own networks. In other words number of followers is a sign of twitter handles social influence (Kwak et al., 2010:3). On the contrary, number of followers is not automatically translated as effectiveness of the twitter handles because not all followers are active and in other case followers can be bought and inflated by robot (Cha et al., 2010:8). He added that what matters is how much you deal with those passive followers by engaging with them.

Figure 3. The number of followers of 10 Turkish embassies in Africa countries.



Source: data collected from Twitter, November 2019-December 2020.

The data show the Turkish embassy in Somalia is leading by far to have many followers of 173100 which is equal to 84.7% out of 204333 of total 10 twitter accounts' followers. The second is the Turkish embassy in Sudan which had 15100 followers and the last one which is not quite different from others is Nigeria with 1273 followers. The paradox is that Nigeria has 0.08% engagement rate higher than Somalia which has only 0.04% engagement rate. While Sudan has the highest engagement rate of 0.23%. This can be translated that number of followers does not directly affect the total engagement rate positively. Increasingly, what matters is how and to what extent you engage with those followers and solving the problem of passivity among the followers (Cha et al., 2010:8).

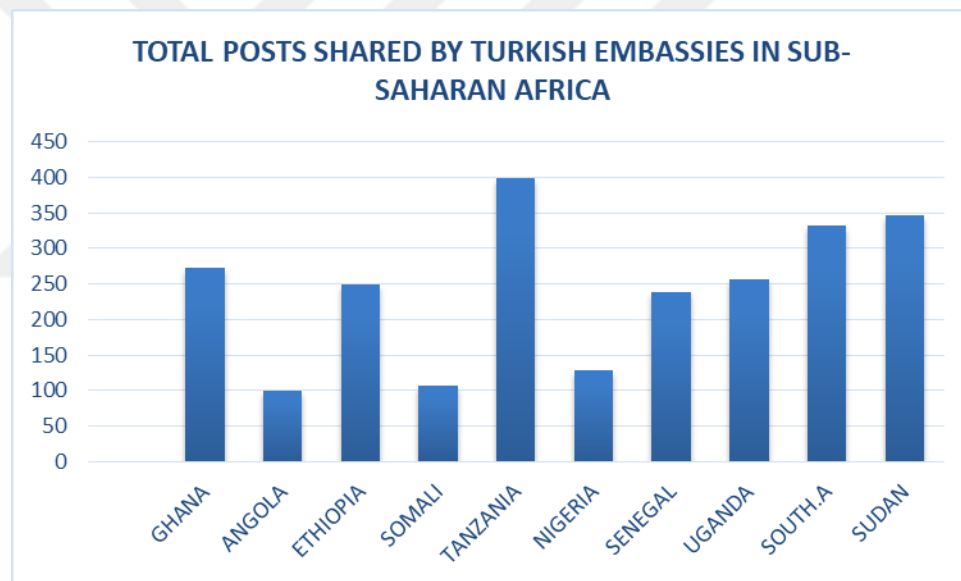
From this data, it is clear that number of followers in twitter accounts of the embassies is largely contributed by the relationship that a country has with audience of a certain country. Hence twitter is best tool to promote relationship which has been well established in field works and table discussions. For example, the Turkish embassies in Somalia and Sudan have many followers in their twitter accounts by far as compared to any other embassies. This is the results of long investment done by Turkey to develop

strong diplomatic relationship in these countries especially Somali which has 84% percent of the total followers from ten twitter accounts.

4.5.1.3 Frequency of posting.

The twitter accounts of all 10 embassies differ in a day to day posting which varies between 0.6 to 2.6 as average per day. While posting frequency of all 10 twitter handles is 1.6 post per day.

Figure 4. Posts shared by Turkish embassies in 10 different Sub Saharan African countries.



Source: data collected from Twitter, November 2019-December 2020.

The Turkish embassy in Tanzania is much more active than any other embassy followed by Sudan and South Africa while the embassy in Somali was the last in the list of posting frequency of 0.6 post per day (*see Table 5*). While there is still ongoing debate as to how many posts should a twitter handle shares per day. While many researchers tend to avoid this question, some research suggest that 75% of audience engagement with a tweet happens within 1.5 and almost all retweeting takes place within 4 hours. So, for active twitter handle should post after every 1.5 to 4 hours which is not less than 6

posts per day to increase the exposure of their activities (Jansen,B et al 2011). Therefore, in line with this research Turkish embassies are less active in twitter.

4.5.1.4 Correlation of number of followers, posting frequency and engagement rate.

The level of engagement rate is determined by number of followers, tweets, and number of likes, retweets, and comments that are from original tweets. However, beyond the relationship between a twitter handle and the audiences, the level of average engagement rate can be high only if there is balance between number of tweets and followers of a twitter handle which can be considered as active or effective. Number of followers can increase or decrease the level of engagement rate. In the same circumstance, frequently posting does not automatically increase the number of followers but the relationship of the twitter handle and the audiences matters a lot. Therefore, in the discussion on how many posts should be posted per day, the number of followers can help to determine number of tweets to be shared per day (Zarella, 2013:8).

In this case, for instance, the embassy in Somalia, its twitter account has the least frequency of posting in the list with 0.6 per day but it has many followers by far than any other accounts. At the same time it has the highest number of likes, comments, and retweets but has the lowest average engagement rate in the list. While the twitter account in Tanzania has the highest posting frequency of 2.6 per day with 2591 followers which is the fourth in the list of having many numbers of followers, it received only 0.05 average engagement rate which is low. Third example is the embassy in Angola which has the lowest number of followers, lowest number of posts per day and on the of lowest engagement rate.

Lastly, The Turkish embassy in Sudan has the highest average engagement rate and is the second account to have many followers. Also It has an average of 2.2 posts per day. An account with many followers is expected to share as many posts as possible to reach many and scatted audiences to ensure a high average engagement rate and increase

the visibility of the image of an organization. However, types of posts also matter to the audience as far as engagement is concerned.

However, the engagement rate cannot be the best measure to evaluate the effectiveness of digital diplomacy. Sevin and Ingenhoff (2018:2) have claimed that the measurement criterion— number of likes and retweets can be good to measure the level of engagement, but it does not give the clear answer of the relationship created with the target audience and how much the posts helped to change public opinion.

4.5.2 Qualitative analysis

In line with existing literature analysis on motivating factors of social media, Nadkarni and Hofmann (2012) used Facebook as an example of social media, they ended up concluding that social media are mostly used for two purposes— the need to belong and the need for self-presentation. Based on this approach, the posts were collected and separated into 9 different themes (topics) which then, basically categorized into two main groups:

- Sense of belonging, which refers to an embassy's posts which based on engagement and interaction with the local public to gain social acceptance rather than promotion, these include posts on cooperation with a country station in, a cultural event organized in the country, domestic news, international news and diplomacy and embassy activities.

- Self-presentation, this implies to the posts which an embassy tweets or retweets to promote its own country through different sectors such as education, technology, tourism, culture, and historical facts.

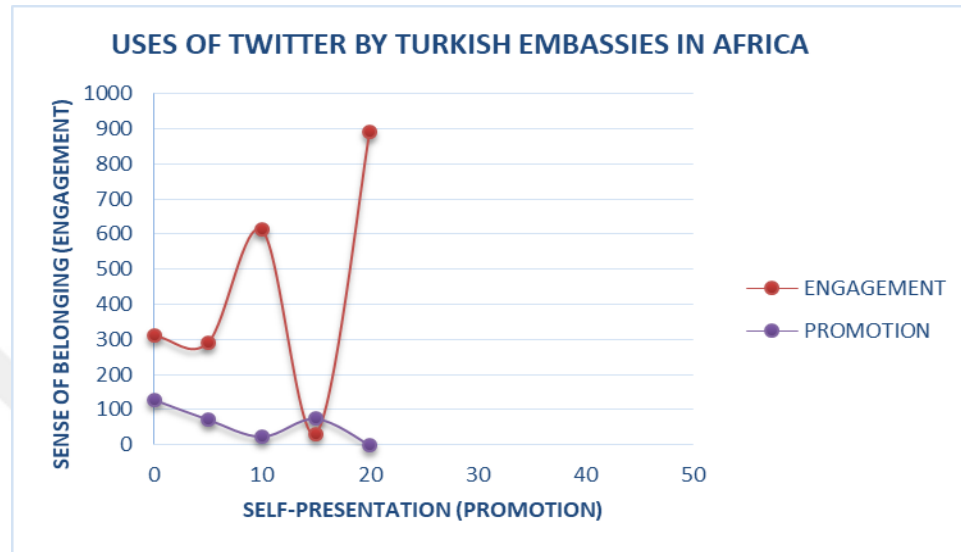
Table 6. Classification of tweets and retweets made by 10 Turkish embassies stationed in Sub Saharan Africa.

	NO. EMBASSY AGENDA-SETTING				PROMOTION					TOTAL
	Cooperation with a county	Embasssy activities	Demostic news	international news and diplomacy	Cultural events	Education	Tourism	Culture and Society	Philantropy	
GHANA	42	41	87	126	3	15	6	1	5	272
ANGOLA	6	13	35	40	0	2	3	0	0	99
ETHIOPIA	17	52	46	112	4	13	3	0	5	250
SOMALI	66	4	11	9	5	6	1	0	3	106
TANZANIA	4	26	148	161	0	22	3	11	24	399
NIGERIA	6	16	37	60	1	8	0	0	0	128
SENEGAL	39	22	58	112	1	3	1	2	0	238
UGANDA	31	60	30	69	0	11	44	0	11	256
SOUTH.A	31	40	99	121	10	20	7	0	15	333
SUDAN	68	18	61	132	7	28	7	10	15	346
TOTAL	311	292	612	893	31	128	72	24	75	2438

Source: data collected from Twitter, November 2019-December 2020.

Based on the total posts in the period of monitoring, both tweets and retweets which show the **need to belong** were higher than of the **self-presentation's posts**. All 10 Turkish embassies' posts were 2438 where 2139 posts were related to **need to belong** which is equal to 87.73% while 299 posts were for **self-presentation** which is equal to 12.26%. In the accounts of all embassies included, original tweets were 602 (24.69%) which is by far less than of that the embassies retweeted from other Twitter accounts which were 1836 (75.30%). Also, a category which was leading for having many posts was international news and diplomacy with total posts 902 which is equal to 36.99%, followed by domestic news with 612 posts (25.10%). Moreover, embassies activities which are more than 80% were original tweets from the embassies. On the other hand, culture and society got only 0.98% and Cultural events 1.27%.

Figure 5. Posts shared by the 10 Turkish embassies in Africa by different categories



Source: data collected from Twitter, November 2019-December 2020.

In this regard, Turkish embassies have been using Twitter mostly to seek engagement and set the agenda through the posts of the need to belong that result on discussions with the locals based on a particular frame that favors their country. The embassies intend to promote good relationship in individual and national level. Similarly, with the low volume of country promotion-related posts, the embassies try to form and maintain a positive and favourable image of the country and its people.

4.5.2.1 Self-presentation and agenda-setting

The Turkish embassies which work together with their foreign ministry utilize Twitter frequently and effectively for setting local and international agenda for both local and foreign public. For the embassies Twitter accounts, agenda-setting is considered to be a good opportunity to shape and promote the image of the country. Agenda setting helps to shape the public attitude on the country, where possible, the embassies refrain from posting the news which may present their county in a less favourable picture into the mind of local opinions. This means, an embassy only shares news related to

international relations, cooperation with a country, domestic news, or cultural events if that particular post cannot cause any harm to the image of the country. In the same important, the news which is shared help to set an agenda that favors a particular side or an ideology or interpretation of the country.

4.5.2.2 Diplomatic communication and image portrayal

In this research, the diplomatic communication result is assessed in terms of:

- News of their state
- Notice board (announcements of events)
- Promotion (education, culture and society, language, tourism)
- A corporation with a country in which the embassy is located
- International relations

4.5.2.2.1 News of their state

According to the data collected, most of the embassies put much focus on tweeting about their domestic news where the total 612 posts were shared by all embassies together which is equal to 25.10% of the total posts shared. In the domestic news, the embassies posted about, the occurrences which got enough media coverage and grabbed the attention of both local and international audiences such as natural disasters and terrorism, commemoration events like of those national heroes and martyrs died in wars and leaders who played a big role in the making of modern Turkey such as Ataturk (founder of the Republic of Turkey), official meetings, and long Turkish history before and after Ottoman Empire, public holidays, wishes of Islamic whole days like Ramadan and Ramadan feast and women development.

Where else, embassies shared the post showing the infrastructures and technological development and massive discovery of natural gas which is expected to boost the country's economy shortly. In the period of Coronavirus, the embassies shared many posts on their Twitter accounts that show the strategies and measures adopted by the country to contain the pandemic. Besides, the embassies shared many posts related

to philanthropy activities to help those who were seriously hit by Coronavirus impacts, the victims of the earthquake and random people who are in need. For example, Government agencies like TİKA in cooperation with other charitable organizations and individual people show enough support to people who are in need and victim of a natural disaster. It also encourages locals and Diasporas to stand up together as a sign of their unity and solidarity in all-weather to donate money to help the other citizens. The embassies promoted a special campaign called "Milli Dayanışma Kampanyası" (National Solidarity Campaign) with hashtag [#BizBizeYeterizTürkiyem](#) (#Together we are enough my Turkey). In a poster of the campaign, different Turkish banks accounts were listed to donate from any part on the world.

All the embassies are very keen on posting the events that cannot tarnish the image of the country, contrarily the embassies used a segment of domestic news effectively to promote national identity based on Turkish values, culture and political ideology, religion, economic and technological development. The embassies also portray their country as democratic, transparent and a country which believes in equality of all gender. They also show strong national unity and solidarity in all-weather. These features together draw a picture of a certain country which can easily be recognized and distinguished with other countries and contribute to a country's image and soft power (David & Bar-Tal 2009:374).

4.5.2.2.2 A corporation with a country in which the embassy is located

The cooperation of Turkey with African countries was represented and shown by its segment of cooperation with a country which had 302 posts equally to 12.63% of the total posts. Many posts were about economic policies and strategies aimed at strengthening win-win economic relationships between Turkey and Sub Saharan African countries which seems to grow drastically. Turkey insists to improve mutual economic relations which is unique with the countries under the principles of equality which will benefit both sides.

Turkey has intended to increase the volume of trade with African countries which currently has reached \$26 billion. In early January 2020, president Erdoğan had an official visit to some African countries including Senegal, Gambia, and Algeria, while addressing Turkey-Algeria business forum, president Erdoğan said: "The total trade volume between Turkey and African countries has risen by 381 percent in the last 27 years and reached \$26 billion". He promised to further boost the Turkey-African economic cooperation by working together shoulder to shoulder to increase the trade volume in the period ahead to reach \$50 billion. The president also insisted on mutual economic cooperation which benefits both sides.

Apart from economic cooperation, the embassies shared many posts related to social and cultural cooperation, ranging from giving the hand of support during natural disasters such floods and many more social and humanitarian problems including terrorism and poverty.

4.5.2.2.3 International relations and diplomacy

Turkish embassies in African have been sharing many posts related to international issues and diplomacy than any other category where 902 posts were shared which is equal to 36.99% of the total posts. 97% of these posts were retweeted from other different accounts including the official account of the Turkish presidency and ministry of foreign affair in this category, the other 3% were original posts from the embassies. The posts were related to commemorations, wishes, condolence messages, natural disasters, and other misfortunes. Also, there were posts about economic cooperation, border conflicts, terrorism attacks in different places, sport such as Olympic competition and humanitarian missions.

During coronavirus pandemic, Turkish embassies tweeted and retweeted a lot about coronavirus related issues, from the evacuation of their citizens who stuck in different countries to providing with medicines and equipment assistance to many countries in Europe, Africa, Asia, and America. At the same time, the embassies posted about the struggles against coronavirus in their own country. The embassies have shown

how turkey had set an example in the world during the global battle against coronavirus where contact tracing was the main element in successfully curbing coronavirus spread.

While many countries including developing countries such as America, UK, and Spain just to mention few faced very serious crises due to overwhelming cases of coronavirus patients flooded in their hospitals which led the failure of their healthcare service. The Turkish embassies shared a different story as the experience of their country during the world coronavirus crises. The embassies showed despite this crisis, Turkey had maintained its healthcare service without any failure or crisis.

Turkish embassies shared many posts related to terrorism occurred in different places in the world. These posts which are more often retweeted from the Turkey ministry of foreign affairs and they are attached with links of the press release which give full information on events, showing their sympathy to the victims and a country in general and condemn all people who suspected to be behind of such evil acts.

Turkish embassies also shared many posts about a diplomatic meeting held inside and outside of Turkey under the mission of the world's peace. Most of the time the main agenda was to find a solution over ongoing conflicts and civil wars in different countries such as in Syria, Libya, Sudan, and Somalia. These meeting mostly were organized by the UN, EU, and OIC and sometimes by Turkey. Apart from Turkey, the meetings were also attended by other world superpower nations and sometimes with two antagonistic groups in the country. Besides as a result of these conflicts, the embassies shared posts about refugees who entering to the country every day and efforts taken by the government incorporation with an international organization and other countries to help refugees and control illegal immigration.

Besides, the embassies shared about their conflicts with other countries in different matters and showing their position, sides, and view toward the source of conflicts and how to solve them. For example, the water conflict between Turkey and Greece, turkey conflict with Russia in Syria, Turkey, and Egypt in Libya.

There were posts of OIC (The organization of Islamic Cooperation) meetings held in Turkey and outside of Turkey. Apart from other things, the meeting discussed the challenges of Muslims and Islam worldwide. At the same time, Turkey condemned any sort of injustice which is done to Islam and Muslims especially in western countries. All of these is to portray leadership in the Islamic world

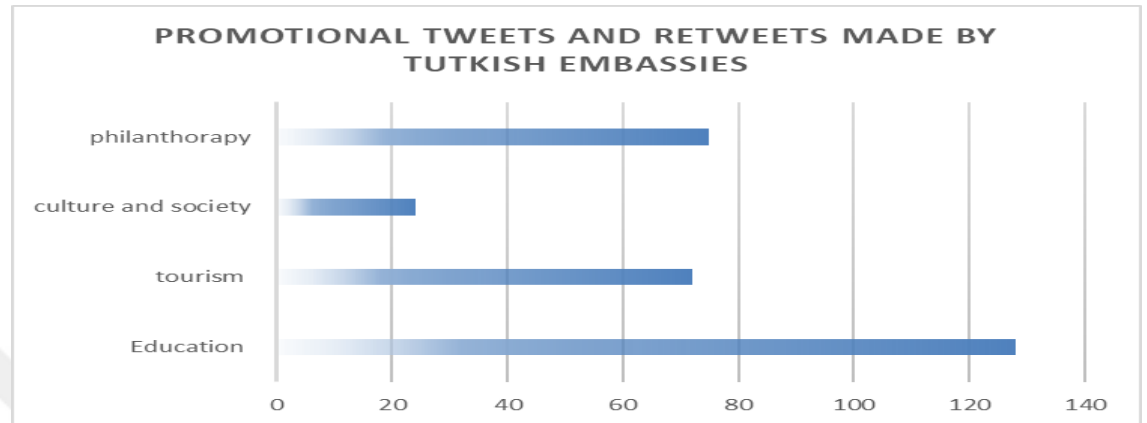
In general, in the international arena, the embassies portray Turkey as an important player in the international peace resolutions and that, they send a message that the world is bigger than the five. For example, the embassies shared the post showing Turkey is fifth among top nations with most diplomatic missions in the world.

Lastly but not least the embassies portray Turkey as the most generous country in the world. The embassies showed different humanitarian aids done by Turkish government agencies and Turkish non-government organization. The embassies even shared the global humanitarian assistance report 2019 which showed that the country spent \$8.4 billion last year alone for humanitarian assistance which made turkey the first for two times in a row in supporting humanitarian activities.

4.5.2.2.4 Promotion (education, culture and society, language, tourism).

According to the data collected, Turkish embassies shared quiet fewer posts which directly associate with the promotion of their country as compared to non-promotional posts. Out of 2438 total posts only 299 posts related to the promotion of the country directly which is equal to 12.26% of total posts. There were 128 posts which are equal to 42.80% of total promotional tweets and retweets concerned about education. Turkish embassies try to portray the country as a growing destination of foreign students from every corner of the world. For example, the embassies tweeted and retweeted posts of Turkish scholarship (YTB) which is the biggest scholarship in the country and one of the top scholarships in the world which attract many students from different countries, plus tones of the students who are sponsored by other organization such as ibn Khaldun scholarship while others are coming as individual sponsored.

Figure 6. Categories of promotional posts made by 10 Turkish embassies in Africa



Source: data collected from Twitter, November 2019-December 2020.

In the news posted on YTB official websites in May 2019, President of the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) Abdullah Eren stated that there are 17 thousand out of 150,000 international students in Turkey are recipients of YTB scholarships continuing with their studies. And the number of international students on scholarship is expected to increase to reach 20,000 in 2023.

On the other hand, the embassies posted the massive investment of education in African which involves building many Turkish schools and taking over the formerly feto's owned schools all over African countries. For example, schools which are under "Turkiye Maarif Vakfi" are found everywhere in African countries in the bigger and small cities. Other Turkish schools are like Şemsiye and Feza boys and Feza girls which were taken over by the Turkish government after the attempt of a military coup to fail in 2016.

Apart from building schools only, they insure provide quality education to compete with other international schools in the region. For example, both Feza boys and Feza girls in Tanzania are always in the top ten and provide the top ten students in the national

examination's results. Hence the schools are preferred by many students including the children of the national leaders.

Another area in which Turkish embassies in Africa like to post in-country promotion is tourism attraction which has 72 posts equal to 24% of the total promotional posts. The tourist attractions which are mostly retweeted by the embassies are a picturesque natural landscape of the country including hills, mountains, rivers, lakes, rocks, beautiful beach resorts and Cappadocia. They also show artificial landmark of bridges, historical buildings which mainly considered as whole places in both Islamic religion and Christianity, for example, Hagia Sophia grand mosque in Istanbul which used to be a church, then mosques than the museum and then back to the mosque again. Also, the other landmark is one of the oldest churches in the city of Hatay which is an important centre in the history of early Christianity where the name "Christianity" was coined.

The Turkish embassies portray how rich Turkey is in the history of humankind and one of the earliest civilizations in the world. The great history before and after the Ottoman Empire which has a big impact on the world particularly Asia, Europe, and Africa. Apart from history, the Turkish embassies also posted about beautiful hotels, Turkish traditional food, streets in big cities like Istanbul and warmly, unforgettable cooperation and hospitality of the people.

Also, the Turkish embassies posted about technological advancement and discovery of the country. For example, early this year Turkey unveiled a domestic electric car by TOGG a state-supported enterprise.

Recently, Turkey has been constructing massive buildings which compete with the world biggest premises. To promote the country, the embassies had many posts showing some of the world largest landscape found in Turkey. These including, one of the largest libraries in the world which is called "The Nation's Library of the Presidency" (Cumhurbaşkanlığı Millet Kütüphanesi) located in the country capital city of Ankara.

The library has 125 thousand-square meter area, with 4 million publication in 134 different languages from over 100 countries in the world.

Second, they shared also one of the world largest hospitals by capacity and the biggest in Europe which was opened in April this year 2020 in Istanbul. The Bilkent city hospital has a bed capacity of 3633 with 131 operation rooms and 904 outpatients' clinics. The hospital can receive 30,000 patients and treat 8,000 patients with emergence when is in full capacity. Thirdly, the embassies posted the biggest museum in Turkey and said to be one of the biggest in the world. Besides in 2019, Turkey opened the world largest airport and one of the busiest in Istanbul which can accommodate up to 200 million a year.

In the other side of culture and society, despite the rich culture that Turkey has, the culture which has blended many other subcultures like Asian, Middle East and Eastern Europe culture into one massive culture, the embassies accounts do not have many posts related to society and culture. The total posts which shared by all embassies were only 24 posts which are equal to 0.98% of the total posts. Many posts were mostly related to language which was first put into a separate independent category. The embassies retweeted the posts of Yunus Emre Institute which showed students from different countries learning and practicing the language. Also, the institute organizes the Turkish language competitions as motivation to the learners.

Besides, all most all Turkish embassies most of the time either tweet in Turkish and then it is translated into the official language of a country within one tweet or the post two separate tweets one is in Turkish language and the other one is the official language of a country. The embassies retweet both tweets written in Turkish and English and hardly in other languages rather than Turkish and English such as Arabic, France and Portugal.

4.5.2.2.5 Notice board (announcements of events).

Turkish embassies also utilize tweets accounts as a notice board to posts different announcements for local citizens' consumption in the country and most of the time to Turkish citizens who are in the country which an embassy is located. The announcements which were under the category of embassy activities had 292 posts equal to 11.97% of the total posts. While in the second mostly posted category from original tweets for the embassies with 237 original tweets equal to 39.36% of the total 602 original tweets. The announcements are mostly about changing work schedules of an embassy, visa applications, Turkish public holiday and eruption of diseases, natural disaster, political instability, or any state of emergence in a country. The embassies also retweeted on international announcements like international diplomatic forum which took place in Antalya.

4.5.2.3 Message interaction

Most of the same messages appeared in different Twitter accounts of the embassies as all embassies in Africa are retweeting hnh+b+posts from the same accounts. Most of the retweeted posts were from the Turkish ministry of foreign affairs Twitter accounts which are like a factory where foreign policies of the country are well processed for public use. The ministry has different Twitter accounts which are found in a different language, but English and Turkish accounts are mainly retweeted by Turkish embassies in Africa. The retweeted posts were also from Turkish presidency, personal account of Turkish president (Recep Tayyip Erdoğan), an account of a minister of a foreign affair (Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu), deputy minister (Yavuz Selim Kıran), TRT, YTB Scholarship and Yunus Emre Institute.

4.5.2.4 Language uses

In the language use, most of the posts were intended to inform about different issues. However, there were also few engagements and advertising posts such as tourism posts and international diplomatic forum held in Antalya which was heavily promoted

by almost all ten embassies. On the other side, the embassies generally use the asymmetrical mode of communication where the Twitter accounts are heavily used as a channel to disseminate information to the public rather than developing a dialogue with the public.



CONCLUSIONS

It is generally recognized that not only has social media revolutionized a communication field but also other fields which rely on mass communication to reach their stakeholders and audiences in general. Social media has changed almost everything in communication field; firstly it has changed the whole process of communication itself (gathering of news, processing and even dissemination is faster and easier than ever), it has also changed attitudes of the audiences; they have become so much knowledgeable and powerful as social media has given them the power to dismiss any news and influence others to reject a message within a short time. More so, Social media has unlearned communication practitioners over the audience behavior and reaction toward media information, hence the social media poses challenges to both practitioners and communication scholars to conduct more studies daily as social media is dynamic; it most of time appears in a different shape and size in a different situation, time, and audiences.

Twitter in particular, since its launch, it has been very popular among politicians and diplomats all over the world. Many global leaders have embraced Twitter and rely heavily on it than any other social media to engage with the international audiences while promoting soft power. More so, this is so relevant to a diplomatic organization which are directly and sometimes indirectly sponsored by their governments to speak to the foreign audiences located in different countries. These diplomatic organizations have a responsibility to represent a country in the international arena and promote the culture and favourable image of that country on the eyes of foreign audiences.

Turkish embassies in Africa as an example of this research have been utilizing Twitter more often than normal to set their agenda which serve their interest through a need to belong rather than the promotion of the country directly. However, the ultimate goal is to promote the country image in the form of a sense of belonging mostly to sell their general foreign policy and specific policies, promoting good relationship and

economic cooperation with African countries and more importantly to increase country' soft power (Collins (2018).

However, the frequency of day to day posting by the embassies is still low. The embassies are not using social media to their full potential to promote their relationship and increase a visibility of the country image. More so, despite the rich culture that the country has been endowed with, the embassies are less active in promoting it. Promotion of Culture is still relevant and crucial today and is a core in a traditional diplomacy. Promotion of culture (in places where it is attractive to others), is one of the three core elements of Soft power of a nation while others are political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority)" (Nye, 2008).

In the image portrayal, the embassies portray Turkey as a friendly, most generous, and civilized country through their universal foreign policy which centered on promoting humanity, friendly relationship, and mutual economic cooperation based on transparency, equality in a decision to ensure win to win trade and avoid any sort of exploitation or injustices. The embassies also portray the country as one of the crucial global leader and an advocate of world peace.

Conclusively, it is undoubtedly that twitter and social media provide with easier and quicker channel of communication than mainstream media. Also it is a relevant and most important element of public diplomacy today. Hence, if it is used effectively may enhance effectiveness and visibility of Turkey's actions done in the field and even contribute to the positive and favourable image of the country. However, it is hard to see social media creating meaningful dialogue rather than giving a platform for presenting antagonistic opinions of different sides and setting an agenda which social media is good at. Therefore active use of social media, of course, will not replace the traditional "handshake diplomacy".

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