

YEDITEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DIGITAL DIPLOMACY

**Digital Diplomacy : Twitter Sentiment Analysis of Donald Trump
Presidency**

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Istanbul - 2024

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DIGITAL DIPLOMACY

Digital Diplomacy : Twitter Sentiment Analysis of Donald Trump Presidency

by
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Istanbul - 2024

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ABSTRACT

DIGITAL DIPLOMACY

Digital diplomacy can be explained as the manifestation of diplomatic activities on social media and/or the digitalization of these activities. This concept particularly emphasizes the elements of "communication" and "directing and managing public opinion". Digital diplomacy may differ depending on states' own interpretations of diplomacy. For example, the United States refers to digital diplomacy as statecraft, while the United Kingdom refers to it as "the resolution of foreign policy problems through the use of the internet."

This thesis analyzes the impact of digitalization on diplomacy and the role of social media in this context. Focusing on the concept of digital diplomacy, it was examined how social media platforms are used in international relations and interstate communication. The thesis presents digital diplomacy, defined as an alternative communication tool to traditional diplomacy, with examples of interactions between state leaders and diplomats, especially via Twitter. The differences, advantages and disadvantages between digital and traditional diplomacy were discussed, and the effects of this new approach on international relations were evaluated. In this context, the effects of digital diplomacy practice on international politics and the role of social media in this process have been comprehensively analyzed.

Keywords: Diplomacy, Digital Diplomacy, Social Media, International Relations

ÖZET

DİJİTAL DİPLOMASİ

Dijital diplomasi, diplomatik faaliyetlerin sosyal medyadaki tezahürü ve/veya bu faaliyetlerin dijitalleşmesi olarak açıklanabilir. Bu kavram, özellikle "iletişim" ve "kamuoyunun düşüncelerini yönlendirme ve yönetme" öğelerini vurgulamaktadır. Dijital diplomasi, devletlerin kendi diplomasi yorumlarına göre farklılık gösterebilir. Örneğin, ABD dijital diplomasiyi devlet yönetimi olarak adlandırırken, Birleşik Krallık bunu "dış politika sorunlarının internet kullanımı yoluyla çözümü" olarak ifade etmektedir.

Bu tez, dijitalleşmenin diplomasiye etkisini ve sosyal medyanın bu bağlamdaki rolünü analiz etmektedir. Dijital diplomasi kavramını merkeze alarak, sosyal medya platformlarının uluslararası ilişkiler ve devletler arası iletişimde nasıl kullanıldığını incelenmiştir. Tez, geleneksel diplomasiye alternatif bir iletişim aracı olarak tanımlanan dijital diplomasiyi, özellikle Twitter üzerinden devlet liderleri ve diplomatların etkileşimlerini örneklerle sunmaktadır. Dijital ve geleneksel diplomasi arasındaki farklar, avantaj ve dezavantajlar tartışılmış, bu yeni yaklaşımın uluslararası ilişkilere olan etkileri değerlendirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda, dijital diplomasi pratiğinin uluslararası politika üzerindeki etkileri ve sosyal medyanın bu süreçteki rolü kapsamlı bir şekilde analiz edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Diplomasi, Dijital Diplomasi, Sosyal Medya, Uluslararası İlişkiler



To my family...

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1. INTRODUCTION

The power of digitalization in many fields such as banking, health, shopping, marketing, advertising and education is quite strong. Therefore, it is impossible not to talk about digital revolution in politics in this era when digitalization trend has affected whole world. Digital diplomacy can be summarized as conducting diplomatic relations with new methods through virtual platforms such as social media with help of new innovative technology and internet. This new method has an interactive process. It is also a part of this interactive process that states and non-state actors convey information to foreign public opinion by establishing dialogue through social networks. This new method, called as digital diplomacy, started to reshape international politics and foreign policy with citizens and state actors increasingly preferring it and bypassing traditional methods. Nowadays, states or their administrators develop digital diplomacy methods by taking into account virtual world created in social networks such as Twitter, Facebook and Instagram. Because the state actors are aware that they need to be active on social networks in order to maintain their power and authority, and this has been the case throughout the history of diplomacy; the methods may change according to the needs of the times, but the main goal is the same today as it was in the past.

Political leaders have long recognized how the use of public communication supports their ability to maintain power and authority. This "cost-effective" form of propaganda was particularly effective given the widespread circulation of coins throughout the empire (Barbera & Zeitzoff, 2018). To give an example, the Roman emperors used to adorn their coins with their own faces and their most important military victories (Garth Jowett, 2014, s. 63).

State leaders continue to be influential figures in diplomacy. While state leaders made a statement about foreign policy through official media channels of the state in the past, they can be now make a statement through social media accounts. Today, leaders speed up this process by making announcements on their personal social media accounts. Leaders who are active especially on Twitter can discuss with other leaders through social media. Moreover, 280 characters that seem like innocent on Twitter often cause tensions between states. Even a sentence shared by any leader from her or his account puts current diplomatic relations into big crises. For instance, relations between the

United States and North Korea took a rough start in 2018. North Korean leader Kim Jong Un said in a television speech that he had a button on his desk for nuclear weapons and that the entire US mainland was now within striking range and Trump responded to North Korean leader Kim Jong-un on Twitter by saying, "My nuclear button is bigger than yours and my button works". (Gambino, 2018). This tweet turned the eyes of the world on the two countries.

This shows that diplomacy is now under influence of digitalization and that digital is an element that should not be ignored in conduct of diplomatic relations between states. It is an indisputable fact that politics and diplomacy are affected by the world rapidly entering the influence of digital in every field.

It is important to be reminded that new generation diplomacy increases transparency, convenience and accessibility, but it has a crisis potential. Leaders of developed countries can target even economies of developing or undeveloped states with a message they share through social networks. The leaders of the states that steer the world can now upset stock markets with a message they send on social media. Leaders of developed states can move developing and underdeveloped states as they wish with one tweet. They can drag other states that do not act in line with their interests to the brink of war. Nowadays, large scale protests around the world are organized through social media.

As governments and international organizations realize as a result of the globalizing world, social media is a potential shifter and playmaker platform in international relations. With use of social media for diplomatic purposes, diplomats can carry out many activities such as international negotiations, announcements and even crisis management through social media. Therefore, in order to understand the 21st century world and diplomacy, it is necessary to master digital diplomacy that has an impact on international politics. Digital diplomacy enables states to have a strong and effective presence in the rapidly changing and developing internet environment. Therefore, states that are active in digitalization in diplomacy will be one step ahead of other states for the digital world of the future. Although diplomats have privilege of meeting face to face in negotiations, every dynamic changes rapidly in the new international environment created by globalization and the internet is a building block of this change.

Therefore, mastering and professionalizing digitalization has become an important craft in many fields, including diplomacy.

The advantages of digitalization in diplomacy are to be able to respond quickly to the developments in the international agenda, to interact directly with foreign states and their peoples, and to have an attitude to promote the country and strengthen its image on the internet. From this point of view, it is important to strengthen the practical use of digital diplomacy in order for diplomats, statesmen and leaders to benefit from various social media practices, to strengthen the communication on the internet with the people of the states where the diplomats are abroad as diplomatic representatives, and to expand the ways of addressing the international public in the virtual environment for states.

Before the digital revolution, traditional diplomacy was only a communication method between official actors, but with this transformation, diplomacy has become a communication method that includes everyone. Therefore, it is possible to make an impact easily with digitalization. Although task of conducting traditional diplomacy still continues to be between representatives of sovereign states, today interactions are not only between states. It also occurs between individuals and organizations through social media.

The dominance of social media in the field of diplomacy has been seen as an innovative development in terms of the implementation of international policy. Besides being a tool used in diplomacy, social media has also become an important tool for election campaigns. Because this method is one of the fastest and most effective methods to gain public support and create an image in the internet age world.

While social media helps to overcome the hierarchical order of diplomatic communication, it enables individuals to make their voices heard through social media by including them in the political process. Twitter has been seen as an important diplomacy and public relations tool in communicating with the public in recent years. States or institutions can communicate with their followers one to one. In this way, public opinion can be seen instantly and the next campaigns can be arranged according to the reactions. Therefore, Twitter makes a great contribution to the state-citizen relationship and political participation.

The advantage of fast interaction and instant feedback in social media can be seen as two sources of motivation that provide the digitalization trend in diplomacy. Digital diplomacy reflects two basic ideas. First, it is a new method of conducting public diplomacy, and the second is that it provides the opportunity to actively interact with foreign communities and thus transition from monologue to dialogue. The world we are in is the world of the digital age and today international relations are shaped around digitalization. These radical changes in diplomacy push countries to diplomatic change. Taking global dynamics into account has now become a key priority for countries.

Digital diplomacy offers more information, interaction and transparency. Hence it becomes easier and less costly to reach communities by using social networks such as Facebook and Twitter. Digital diplomacy has become an indispensable communication tool in international relations. For this reason, diplomats need to know and master the use of digital tools very well in order to collect reliable and accurate information and to have maximum impact on the public.

When it is observed that Twitter is the most frequently used social media account among social media tools today, even definition of Twiplomacy or Twitter diplomacy was developed for this new type of diplomacy (Hocking & Melissen, 2015, s. 34). Regardless of how it is defined, diplomatic issues are dealt with more frequently through the internet and virtual moves in diplomacy take precedence over classical methods. By breaking walls of classical diplomacy and bureaucracy, all messages reach an unpredictably wide audience. It is possible to say that Twitter diplomacy has changed its DNA of diplomacy, which had to adapt to new age (Hocking & Melissen, 2015, s. 34). In the multi-faceted era of diplomacy, Twitter and other social networks enable people to express their opinions, share information on current issues and participate in discussions. Thus, people can communicate with diplomats, leaders and government officials who are considered to be difficult to reach.

Emergence of digital diplomacy started with two important events. The first of these events was the Arab Spring, which started in 2010 with demands for freedom, then overthrew governments in Egypt and Tunisia, and created civil war and serious upheaval in most Middle Eastern states, especially Syria (Wolfsfeld, Segev, & Sheaffer, 2013, s. 115-137). The second is Occupy movement, targeting injustices on Wall Street in the USA in 2011 (Caren & Gaby, 2011, s. 1-20). Both events showed that people

who organize on social media can go beyond the classical diplomatic paths and change flow of the world when digitalization provides an environment to reveal dissatisfaction and social organization power. As a result, states have started to produce strategies to create digital representation and develop digital communication applications. Importance of digital diplomacy methods used today has increased.

To put it further with an example, in 2014, when Russia invaded Ukraine, Western world claimed that the occupation was carried out by Russian soldiers in Ukraine. Afterwards, everything became clear with sharing of selfies that Russian soldiers took on the internet. These social media posts, which were shared on Russian social media platforms, quickly spread on Twitter and Facebook through sharing among masses, and as a result, Moscow's propaganda efforts against the allegations were completely invalid.

To continue with an example particularly with reference to Twitter, Donald Trump is one of the leaders who are most talked about, create events with his every move and often surprise. One of the most extraordinary things about US President Donald Trump is his use of social media by disabling the classic media, and the diplomacy he conducts in this way. Although this approach of the US President is seen as unofficial by many, but it is a fact that he was very effective in setting the agenda on social media. The President of the USA, who has one of the most followed accounts on Twitter, tweets on many issues from domestic politics to foreign policy. US President Donald Trump, who has set the agenda with his Twitter posts since the day he took office and followed a social media-oriented communication policy instead of traditional media, accelerated the digitalization of diplomacy. It is certain that Donald Trump now addresses the world on Twitter. While Trump is announcing his policies to the world through the media, Twitter has now become a tool of his policies. He announces his statements and decisions on Twitter. As a result, traditional official diplomatic language is not used much.

Whatsapp is now used as the main communication tool in voting and negotiation processes in UN and EU headquarters. British Foreign Ministry diplomats use Whatsapp among message applications. Now, CIA which is the American intelligence organizations, and Russian Foreign Ministry talk on Twitter. Social media accounts of many official institutions and diplomats in diplomacy are now followed. Official

statements are often made here. Official information and documents are shared on these platforms. As in every field, WhatsApp is among applications diplomats frequently use.

In line with this information, my research question is how important is digital diplomacy in foreign relations? To explain this question, I will discuss events that have received the most attention on social media through leaders.

Decisions are now made openly on social media. As a reflection of globalization and developing technology, diplomacy now appeals to all segments of society. These changes and transformations have affected the leaders of the state as well as the peoples. In this direction, social media has started to be used as an effective tool in diplomacy. With this use, everyone can reach international issues with one click and get a voice. The fact that everyone is actively involved in diplomatic and political events by using social media, expressing their views and organizing has pushed state leaders to use social media as a tool of diplomacy. In the 21st century, politics, like everything else, undergoes changes with the internet. Therefore, digital diplomacy is an open form of diplomacy, and the number of leaders using it is certain to increase.

My thesis consists of four chapter. In the first chapter of my thesis, I explain about what digital diplomacy is and the emergence process of this type of diplomacy, and benefits and challenges of the use of digital diplomacy for countries in the international environment today. In the second chapter, I discuss the evolution of digital diplomacy, that is, transition journey of throne of traditional diplomacy to digital diplomacy. In the third chapter, there will be a case study which contained sentiment analysis of the tweets by Trump regarding the states that Turkey, Iran and North Korea because it was observed that Turkey, Iran and North Korea are among the states attacked the most by Trump in his policy on Twitter and discuss about the most remarkable events where digital diplomacy was used and effects of these events. The fourth chapter concludes the thesis.

1.1 The Importance of Studying Digital Diplomacy in the Trump Presidency

First, since day Donald Trump took office, his posts on his Twitter account have caused fluctuations in world markets and changes in domestic and foreign policies of many states. Then the President of the USA also announces his steps and decisions in domestic politics on Twitter. Trump announced on his Twitter account that the US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson was dismissed (Mangan, 2018). Trump, who has been using Twitter unconventional since the day he took office, provided the crisis and tension with many countries with the messages he published on this social media platform. Moreover, Turkey, North Korea and Iran are among the states that most targeted by Trump in his foreign policy on Twitter. In this content, this thesis examines the effects of Trump's tweets on his Twitter account about Turkey, North Korea and Iran.

Second, at the time of President Donald Trump, Turkey-US relations was followed by a period of ups and downs and relations were shaped through bilateral dialogue. Trump's four-year presidency was marked by a number of issues for Turkey-US relations. Priest Brunson crisis which is following his detention and his wife's accusation of "engaging in activities that threaten national security," Pastor Brunson was sentenced to 35 years in prison approximately 1.5 years later and the charges included having ties to the terrorist organization FETÖ, working with the PKK, and spying for the US government which was followed economic sanctions, political unrest, and disputes between the two nations causing Turkey went through one of the most difficult times in its relationship with the United States due to the Brunson case crisis (BBC, 2018) and Peace Spring Operation crisis which is following US President Donald Trump's announcement that Turkey will face harsh political and economic sanctions due to its military operation in northeastern Syria, the crisis in bilateral relations escalated (Barnes & Schmitt, 2019) are among the most important cases existed between the USA and Turkey caused by Trump's tweets on his twitter account.

Third, Trump, who made his country withdraw from the nuclear deal with Iran, his tweets targeting Iranian President Hassan Rouhani and the course of bilateral relations were talked a lot.

Fourth, in trade war between Washington and Beijing, President Donald Trump announced that USA will impose additional customs duties on China. Then Trump made significant impacts on Twitter throughout the day with harsh statements that also worried the American economy.

In this content, topics mentioned above will be examined in the third chapter. Finally, the fourth chapter will consist of conclusion part about the subject.



2. LITERATURE REVIEW

We live in a world where the speed of the circulation of information increases with technological progress and now the perceptions of the country can be affected through digital diplomacy. It is a fact that individuals are now a part of public diplomacy as well as institutional structures. The activities of non-governmental organizations, individuals, public become more and more functional in steering regional and global politics. Today, rapid development and change in information and communication technologies are two of the main factors affecting diplomacy. Although traditional diplomacy, consisting of interaction between representatives of sovereign states and governments, remains important, the role of individuals and organizations increases in international relations.

For instance, the applications on the social media platform, the demands for political change in North African and Middle Eastern countries, which are called the Arab Spring spread rapidly among internet users and caused people to organize demonstrations. That's why it is important to understand digital diplomacy. With the inclusion of the Internet and social media in the socio-political environment, states could not remain a spectator in this process, and began to use digital communication networks as an effective tool in their diplomatic activities. Therefore, we see several many studies on this subject in the literature.

For example, the study of Nicholas Westcott (2008) emphasizes that it is important for diplomats to become experts of the Internet. The Internet is a platform where the most accurate information can be gathered for decision-making and, by this tool, gain full impact on public discourse. Face-to-face meetings continue to be their advantage. However, internet is at the core of diplomatic changes and modifies form of diplomacy.

The research of Hamad Al-Muftah, Vishanth Weerakkody, Nripendra P. Rana, Uthayansakar Sivarajah, Zahir Irani (2018) highlighte that in the literature addressing the field of ICT and public services, the research tackles e-diplomacy which means digital diplomacy. It underlines how to implement e-diplomacy methods to strengthen the working of diplomats. A major contribution is regarded to be causal relations among the factors that can affect e-diplomacy implementations. Researchers draw attention to the effect of social and political factors on the process of digital diplomacy practices.

Collins and Bekenova (2018) indicates that digital diplomacy would fundamentally change how diplomats interact with the people in the states they are working in. In fact,

Facebook is seen as a tool by which embassies may communicate to parts of the surrounding area that were traditionally hard to engage with. This paper mentions the digital diplomacy arguments based on data showing the dynamics of use of Facebook by European embassies in Kazakhstan. The findings indicate that, mainly, the features of Facebook would be used for ordinary and daily content with one-way communication.

The research of Manor and Pamment (2019), by analyzing the correlation between offline and online status, contribute to digital diplomacy specialization. The findings of this research add to literature of digital diplomacy by showing that the relationship between online and offline diplomacy is multidimensional. Manor and Pamment indicates the fact that online diplomacy activities can have a character that will affect the standing of the country and the prestige of diplomatic actors, and the increased mobility of foreign ministries within and among themselves, especially in the digital sense, in the world. As a matter of fact, the research draws attention to the importance of digital activities with the opportunities they create in increasing penetration power of diplomats.

The work by Rashica (2018) gives insight on the description, priorities, development and efficacy of digital diplomacy. The primary objective of this article, respectively, is analysis of benefits and risks of digital diplomacy. The paper explores the use of the advantages of digital diplomacy to achieve their objectives in the international arena is obvious for foreign actors. It indicates that digitization process is also not differentiated from cyber threats and the freedom of the internet and social media for various purposes that can be exploited by state and non-state actors. The main objective of this article is to provide sufficient information for proving the above-mentioned assumption of digital diplomacy.

The study of Adesina (2017) examines the notion of digital diplomacy, which emphasizes on the use of digital media in the context of diplomacy, and how states use these methods to support their foreign policy. It looks at the opportunities and challenges that these media present for diplomatic activities, and argues that in this era of digital diplomacy, states can not be left behind because they can benefit enormously from all these new diplomatic changes. It states that digital diplomacy and internet

practices as a whole can significantly help to portray to domestic and international community the foreign policy decision of a state.

The study of Verrekia (2017) examines the changing nature of digital diplomacy and to assess its influence on international relations. In order to determine the benefits and challenges that digital diplomacy offers, four in-person interviews were made and 20 academic papers were used. Verrekia argues that diplomats should be able to use social media to advance their nation's interests. This study states that digital diplomacy is a powerful instrument that in modern diplomacy, are used by governments when traditional diplomatic approaches but still remain important.

The paper of Viona Rashica (2019) highlights the characteristics of new public diplomacy in digital form. This paper shows digital diplomacy has become an essential tool for the fulfilment of the state's foreign policy and also for the growth of other international actors various diplomatic activities. The results of this paper make significant contributions to growing knowledge of the general features of new diplomacy by providing valuable information on the meaning, sources, aims, efficacy, benefits and risks of digital platforms.

The study of Maja Šimunjak and Alessandro Caliendo (2019) use digital approaches in accordance with traditional content and discourse analysis to examine how US President Donald Trump performs diplomacy on Twitter and how diplomatic institutions around the world participate in diplomatic interactions with him. The findings support the ideas that Trump's Twitter political interaction breaks down conventional diplomatic language rules. This study argues little signs that new rules of social media diplomatic contacts are being developed, considering that other diplomatic institutions around the world still stay within the boundaries of conventional conceptions of diplomacy but states communicate on Twitter with Trump.

One of the researches performs a survey experiment that tests the influence of presidential tweets on executive policy support, including potential unilateral action, and studies the impact of tweets on social media revisions (Christenson, et. al., 2020). Researchers see little indications that public sentiment is usually moved by social media appeals, while they gain more support among Republicans. They state that corrections usually operated among Democrats as planned, but among Republicans they failed. In

an age of deep political division, the results give valuable insights into the effectiveness of entering public on social media platforms and of corrections to such statements.

The examined literature so far emphasizes the ability of digital diplomacy to transcend geographical boundaries and connect diplomats, leaders, and citizens globally. Digital platforms such as social media enable real-time communication, fostering a sense of global community and facilitating rapid dissemination of information. Scholars highlight the role of digital diplomacy in enhancing public diplomacy efforts. Social media platforms provide diplomats with direct channels to engage with and influence public opinion.

The academic works also underscore the importance of building relationships with citizens through digital channels, allowing for more transparent and accessible diplomatic communication. Digital tools are seen as essential in crisis management, allowing governments to respond rapidly to emerging situations. Social media platforms serve as effective tools for disseminating information during crises, shaping narratives, and managing public perceptions in real-time. Digital diplomacy is recognized as a powerful tool for projecting soft power. Through digital platforms, states can shape their international image and influence perceptions positively. Social media, in particular, is highlighted for its role in cultural exchange and showcasing a nation's values, thereby contributing to the soft power of a country.

Additionally, digital diplomacy facilitates networking among diplomats, international organizations, and non-state actors. Online platforms provide opportunities for multilateral cooperation, enabling countries to collaborate on global issues, share information, and build alliances. Scholars discuss the importance of effective data management and analysis in the digital age, as diplomats can leverage data to make informed decisions and formulate diplomatic strategies. Last but not least, there seems to be an agreement on the need for cybersecurity measures and ethical considerations in handling digital information in diplomatic contexts. There is also consistent highlighting of the necessity for diplomatic institutions to adapt to technological changes continually. Diplomats are encouraged to develop digital literacy and embrace emerging technologies to stay relevant and effective in an increasingly interconnected world.

Nur Uysal and Jared Schroeder (2019) examine in Turkey's public diplomacy on how Turkey use Twitter as a tool because the public diplomacy recently has changed in

Turkey with new trends in the modern world. In addition, values seen as soft power (political values, culture, foreign policy), geography where Twitter messages are more focused and what kind of message strategies are common on Twitter are examined. The study remarks that the focus of Turkey's public diplomacy through Twitter is Middle East and North Africa (MENA), and the influence of president is emphasized. Moreover, it highlights that a new personality cult has emerged in public diplomacy through social media and power of social media in changing the dynamics of between leader and follower relations draws attention in this research.

Matthew R. Miles and Donald P. Haider-Markel (2019) say studies show that the president is limited in influencing public attention and shaping public opinion, but recently, presidential persuasion efforts have spread to social media, and presidential persuasion has not yet been studied on these platforms. The study offers substantial evidence that presidential tweets can have significant consequences for distracting the public from the position of the president on a subject.

3. CONCEPTUAL DISCUSSION

“Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states” (Satow, 1966, p. 1). “Diplomacy is the promotion of the national interest by peaceful means” (Morgenthau, 1946, p. 1068). Based on these definitions, although many different definitions can be made, diplomacy essentially involves efforts to solve problems without war. In this respect, diplomacy can be regarded as the body of official negotiations between representatives of international actors. Diplomacy is one of the methods that serve to preserve peace and, in case of a crisis, is used in solving the problem before sanctions, threats or use of force. Developments in the field of international relations cause to change concept of diplomacy. Today, economic and political relations in the world become more and more interdependent. Therefore, international relations are also affected by this dependency. Nowadays, diplomacy has gone beyond the profession of diplomats as a multidimensional features. Citizens have become an actor of diplomacy activities and have begun to play a decisive role in international relations. This development has revealed the necessity for states to develop communication strategies that can target the citizens of other countries within the international public in their foreign policy activities. Therefore, transformation in diplomacy has increased the importance of public diplomacy.

Today, traditional methods of diplomacy have lost their influence in international relations to defend national interests. Public diplomacy has become an indispensable part of foreign policy as it gains importance to influence international public opinion and agenda. With the development and spread of internet technology and also rapid spread of information all over the world, citizens who can access information now have more insight into the agenda in international relations. This situation made it necessary for all states to develop communication activities for the citizens of other states. Today, public diplomacy includes especially communication activities of states towards the citizens of other states. Since communication technologies enable states to reach all citizens of the world directly, they want to benefit from this tool in order to be accepted in the international environment and to influence the feelings and thoughts of citizens.

Public diplomacy is “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” (Tuch, 1990, p. 3). Based on this definition, considering the difference between traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy, it is seen that traditional diplomacy is dealt with as the relations between states or governments. Traditional diplomacy including formal relationship is largely conducted in secrecy. Public diplomacy provides a more open diplomacy. Since it is aimed at foreign public opinion, it aims to reach as many people as possible. So, public diplomacy can also be defined as the communication of a government or an international organization with citizens of other states, either formally or privately, through a wide range of communication methods.

Traditionally, diplomats communicate only with the officials of states and diplomats of other states where they work. In this sense, traditional diplomacy is more directed towards the upper. For this reason, rules of traditional diplomacy often create some restrictions. Traditional diplomacy involves relations with the political, military and economic elite. In public diplomacy, purpose is to have an impact on citizens. To sum up, while traditional diplomacy includes relations between representatives of states or with international organizations, public diplomacy targets people, informal groups, individuals and organizations in foreign countries (Melissen, 2007, p. 4).

What is aimed by public diplomacy is the power of a state to influence others, called as soft power. Public diplomacy is one of the most important tools of soft power (Melissen, 2007, p. 4). The term of soft power was first used by Joseph S. Nye in 1990. Shortly, soft power is the ability to bring whatever one wants to its own side without using force, armed force or money (Nye, 2004, p. 5). Nowadays, states affect other states with their arts, tourism, sports, science, education, culture and like these soft power elements, and become attractive states for other states and their societies and thus spread their ideas in other states. If fields such as education, scientific studies, literature, arts, cinema, culture, economy, tourism, politics of a country are liked and researched by other states and societies, it means that the soft power capacity of that states increases. The soft power of a state depends on the three main elements that are political values, foreign policies and culture (Nye, 2004, p. 11).

By transforming soft power elements into communication tools, states use these tools to gain a place in the minds of foreign peoples, to be on the agenda and to be in the media of other states. Public diplomacy is an instrument of soft power, and it complements where traditional diplomacy falls short and reaches ones it cannot reach. Therefore today, public diplomacy is as effective as classical diplomacy methods in the foreign policies of states. Public diplomacy has gained importance as a new political communication strategy. The importance that all developed states attach to this and requirements of the information age increase popularity of this field day by day. Thus public diplomacy has become an indispensable element for foreign policy. This situation started a transformation process in diplomacy. With the globalization that started with trade and the spread of communication, borders between states have disappeared. As a result, it is not always sufficient to convince governments of other states or officials of international organizations to defend national interests. States or governments have to inform and positively influence foreign public opinion. This requires a transformation in diplomacy. States can no longer get the results they want only with classical diplomacy methods. The process reached in international relations makes it necessary to influence societies with soft power activities defined within public diplomacy and to win hearts. This situation has made public diplomacy indispensable for foreign policy.

In addition, public diplomacy has brought new tools and methods to the field of diplomacy. Especially with public diplomacy, communication and public relations tools have come to the center of diplomacy. Traditional mass media are still effective, but new media tools, especially social media, have come to the fore. On the other hand, image management, perception management and nation-branding methods of public relations have become widespread as new foreign policy tools. In this way, public diplomacy has created diversity in foreign policy.

As a result, public diplomacy has emerged as a new diplomacy tool and method adopted by states as a result of transformation of global politics for public opinion and civil society.

3.1 Digital Diplomacy Is The New Tool of Communication

Digital diplomacy can often be confused with public diplomacy because both use internet and social media platforms. But digital diplomacy is actually an important part

and tool of public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is the communication activities that governments carry out in media tools, internet and social media platforms in order to reach large people both in a country and abroad and to influence thoughts of these people for their own interests. Digital diplomacy can be defined as the use of internet and social media platforms to achieve foreign policy goals, to be more visible in international platforms, to reach people in a country and abroad, or to solve foreign policy problems.

In diplomatic digitalization, where diplomacy is divided into 1.0 and 2.0, diplomacy 1.0 represents a one-way and vertical communication from top to bottom through the use of e-mail and the consumption of content on the Internet, while diplomacy 2.0 represents the horizontal and interactive form of communication involving social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram (Gilboa, 2016, p. 542).

Twitter diplomacy, which is a part of digital diplomacy, is a foreign policy tool that heads of state, diplomats, governments, and government organizations use to create public opinion and to convey their foreign policy attitudes to both other state officials and Twitter users through Twitter accounts. Social media and especially Twitter have an increasing power in all areas of policy. Therefore, awareness of the power of social media increased visibility of all politicians on social media platforms.

The era when diplomacy reached the public through communication tools such as television, newspapers and radio has left its place to the digital age with tweets that instantly reach the public. Therefore, social media platforms, which are the most important tools of the digital age, have changed the traditional diplomacy.

For example, after Trump insulted North Korean leader, agenda can change suddenly while people are in the debate about whether there will be war or not, and economic and political balances can change all over the world.

In the 2000s, digitalization has changed the whole form of communication and has also affected political science and international relations. While Internet and social media connect the whole world today, transformation experienced with access to information created the digital age.

Considering Lord Palmerston's phrase "this is the end of diplomacy" for the telegraph in 1860, Harold Nicolson's phrase "a very dangerous tool" for the telephone in the 1960s,

it is a fact that diplomatic digitization in the 21st century has deeply shaken the roots of traditional diplomacy (Hocking & Melissen, 2015, p. 14).

3.2 Evolution of Digital Diplomacy

The We Are Social Digital 2023 report, which includes digital data from all over the world, published the Digital 2020 Report, created in collaboration with Hootsuite, and striking analyses emerged. According to the report, with more than 4.5 billion people currently using the internet, the number of social media users has reached 3.8 billion, and while almost 60% of the world's population is currently online, recent trends show that by mid-year more than half of the world's total population will use social media (Kemp, Digital in 2020, 2020). This report shows that digitization in diplomacy is a very effective choice. Even the number of users of this size is an issue that needs attention on its own. When we consider the effective and active presence of these users in decision making and relationship building processes in policy, it is obvious that states should focus on digital management. It is a fact that states can achieve diplomatic success in their work targeting active internet users.

We Are Social, released in partnership with Meltwater and We Are Social, presents yearly digital data from around the world. As a result of the report, the number of global internet users in 2023 are 5.16 billion, meaning that 64.4 percent of the world's population is now online and the global population of social media users are 4.76 billion by 2023, representing about 60 percent of the total population (Kemp, 2023).

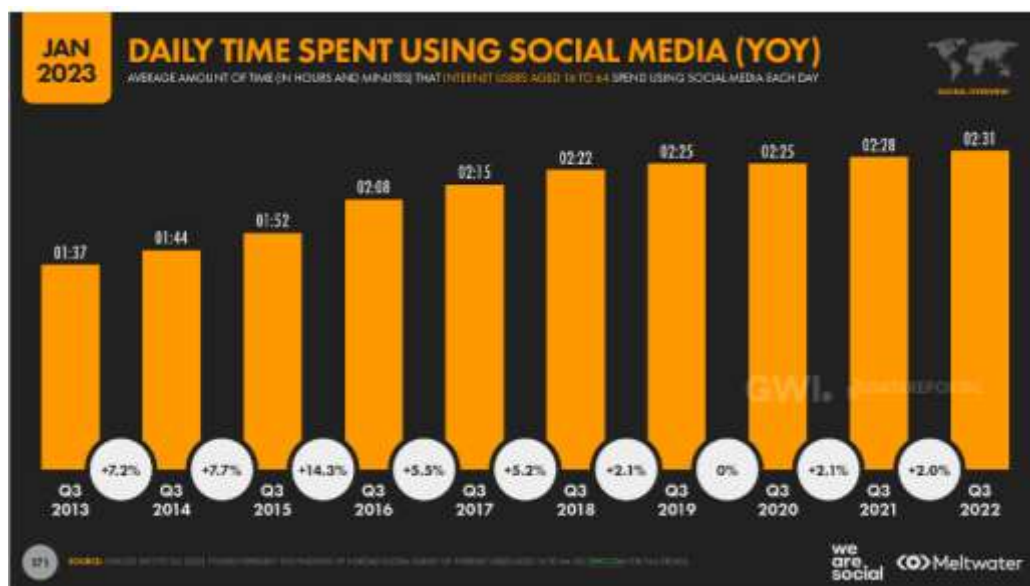


Figure 1: Daily Time Spent Using Social Media

As the table shows, people are spending more time on social media than ever before. As an adult, an internet user now spends more than 2 and a half hours a day on social media platforms, which is a very high figure.

Most importantly and strikingly, this increase continues despite a decline in the total amount of time spent using the internet.

Indeed, social media now accounts for the largest ever share of total online time, highlighting the importance of social media activity. Social media platforms lead the way in time spent online. To put it in perspective, adults now spend more time daily on social media than on watching "traditional" TV - broadcast and cable combined. Consequently, the correlation between diplomacy and social media is entirely valid.

Based on this inference, more recently, autocratic leaders have established control over the mass media and intimidated critical journalists to consolidate their power (Mesquita & Downs, 2005; Levitsky & Way, 2002; Gehlbach & Sonin, 2014). As one example, Russian President Vladimir Putin has increased his dominance of the state media to silence dissent and promote a "pro-Kremlin" message both in Russia and abroad (Dougherty, 2015). As a result, alternative channels of communication have increased in their value.

The amount of people using social media across the globe has risen by nearly 30 percent since the start of the pandemic, with more than 1 billion new users adopting social

media in the last three years. However, the increase in users has slowed down significantly in the previous year.

As shown in the Digital 2023 report, although global growth is at its lowest point ever, the growth has been continuing.

Considering these data, social media has turned into a powerful political communication tool due to the ability to establish mutual communication, the chance of politicians to appeal to a wider audience in a short time and to measure their reaction faster. Citizens can easily express their opinions using social media tools and comfortably comment and respond to the statements of politicians on these platforms. Many politicians all over the world use social networks actively because they are recognized by more people thanks to these networks and because they can reach more citizens. These opportunities provided by social media have made social media important. In the world today, diplomacy unrelated to social media is impossible.

The aim of politicians is always to reach more people in a shorter time. With technological developments, politicians who use social networks well are now more successful in reaching more people than those who communicate people with traditional media tools. Now, politicians can reach millions of people at the touch of a button. The distinctive difference of social media from traditional media is that it is more neutral in political communication. Because traditional media tools can be easily censored, these tools are likely to broadcast biased. Traditional media, especially television in visual media, and newspapers in the print media are likely to support certain political parties or politicians in line with their interests. On the other hand, politicians can reach citizens in a more comfortable and more neutral environment thanks to social media without being under the pressure of any side.

Digital diplomacy can be summarized as the use of new communication technologies to achieve diplomatic goals. Hanson (2012) states that digital diplomacy has eight goals:

“(1) Knowledge management: To harness departmental and whole of government knowledge, so that it is retained, shared and its use optimized in pursuit of national interests abroad

- (2) Public diplomacy: To maintain contact with audiences as they migrate online and to harness new communications tools to listen to and target important audiences with key messages and to influence major online influencers
- (3) Information management: To help aggregate the overwhelming flow of information and to use this to better inform policy-making and to help anticipate and respond to emerging social and political movements
- (4) Consular communications and response: To create direct, personal communications channels with citizens travelling overseas, with manageable communications in crisis situations
- (5) Disaster response: To harness the power of connective technologies in disaster response situations
- (6) Internet freedom: Creation of technologies to keep the internet free and open. This has the related objectives of promoting freedom of speech and democracy as well as undermining authoritarian regimes
- (7) External resources: Creating digital mechanisms to draw on and harness external expertise to advance national goals
- (8) Policy planning: To allow for effective oversight, coordination and planning of international policy across government, in response to the internationalization of the bureaucracy” (p. 4).

In the digital age, international relations have gone beyond interstate relations into a global network. All things considered, this transformation has positive and negative reflections. Therefore, it is important to see the positive and negative sides of digital transformation.

3.3 Advantages of Digital Diplomacy

Social media are no longer just networks that allow their users to message and meet people. Thanks to these networks, people can organize, share information and ideas, and group together around certain goals and ideas. The widespread use of social networks has made it easier for people to organize. Social media has now become an important

tool for managing communities. It allows more people to react to political or social events in less time. It enables ideas to spread rapidly by increasing communication between people. The biggest public movement that showed the influence of social media on politics was the Arab Spring, which started in Tunisia in 2010 and spread to other countries. The popular uprising against social injustice, poverty and unemployment in Tunisia spread to Arab countries with similar structures and affected the countries of North Africa and the Middle East in a short time. The Arab Spring social movements were organized through social media and spread to the world media. Social media platforms such as Twitter played an important role in spreading and organizing and managing these events.

Twitter, which means "chirp" in English, was founded in 2006 by Evan Williams, Biz Stone and Jack Dorsey. This platform, which allows its users to express themselves with a maximum of 140 characters, is a microblogging tool.

Twitter also has different concepts such as hashtag, mention and retweet. Twitter, which has a structure that is easy for Internet users to use, has also come to the fore as a social platform where popular people, especially in the fields of art, politics and media, can reach their followers faster without using any intermediary channel.

Digital transformation has been experienced so fast and deeply that the masses have started to organize and make campaigns through social networks. Channels such as Twitter and Whatsapp have also enabled the formation of communication networks where the masses can obtain information and communicate on a global scale. In this way, these platforms have provided an environment where users can follow both the events happening in their own countries and all the developments in the world. As a result of these movements, political changes have occurred in the Middle East and the administrations have changed.

In digital diplomacy, states aim to influence and persuade their own citizens and the people of other countries through social networks, which are the tools of digital diplomacy. Therefore, the main target audience in digital diplomacy is social and digital media users, namely individuals. Unlike traditional diplomacy, digital diplomacy targets the international public rather than official government representatives. Thus, while classical diplomacy is the execution of inter-state relations by official state

representatives, digital diplomacy is a tool of diplomatic communication and interaction between individuals on social media and digital platforms in public.

Thanks to the digital revolution, states have the opportunity to convey messages to the world outside public opinion through digital channels built on new communication technologies and with almost zero cost. With the realization of the convenience provided by the effective use of these new communication channels, states began to follow technological innovations much more closely and use these channels for political gains.

With the developing technology, it has become faster, easier, and less costly to share and gather information and create content among people today on many platforms and make an impact. Skillful use of digital diplomacy tools has been shown to bring great benefits to those who invest in them. Because digital diplomacy does not require a significant financial investment. Instead, it normally aims to lower the cost. For example, Twitter posts can be used to analyze public opinion on political and diplomatic issues without budget damage like organization and communication costs. That's why digital diplomacy makes it more desirable to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, governments and embassies, as it lowers costs in the budget. Politicians also noticed this situation and started to use social media.

Social media provides an important environment for politicians during election periods. Politicians can introduce themselves on social media, explain their ideas and goals to the masses, and by measuring the pulse of the voters on this issue, a politician who uses social media in their election efforts can get feedback before the elections. Thus, social media provides the opportunity to measure the rate of votes to be received more consistently before the election. In this way, politicians can shape his policy according to the estimated vote rate before the election.

The importance of making politics on social media was seen in the Presidential elections held in the USA in 2008. In its early days, Twitter was mainly used for entertainment and communication with friends. However, it has evolved over time and its popularity has increased. Twitter has become more active with its easy way of following news and instant messaging. Twitter gained more attention in 2008 when it was frequently used by Barack Obama during the US presidential election campaign.

Democratic Party candidate Barack Obama won the elections twice, with the effect of the campaign he conducted on social media instead of traditional politics. In his election campaign, Obama used social media instead of classical mass media, which would cost huge costs. Unlike previous campaigns of American Presidents, he did most of his work on social media. Barack Obama made a deal with Chris Hughes, the co-founder of Facebook, to run the election campaign online. Hughes resigned from his position on Facebook to focus on Barack Obama's election campaign and quickly assembled a team of himself. He developed Barack Obama's election strategies on social media.

Political actors affiliated with political parties use social media to deliver their propaganda messages to the target audience. In particular, young people are targeted as an audience. The most striking example of this is Barack Obama's use of social media to reach voters in the 2008 U.S. presidential election. Obama's success in reaching 17 million voters between the ages of 18 and 45 set an example for many political actors and demonstrated the importance of social media in political propaganda around the world. His online campaign reached 13 million people on his mailing list, 5 million followers through social networks, and 3 million online donors (Lutz, 2009). In addition, fundraising for a political party through social media has been successfully implemented in the U.S. and has generated revenues much higher than those spent on election campaigns. Obama's successful social media strategy helped him raise \$500 million online (Vargas, 2008). Barack Obama raised half a billion dollars online during his 21-month campaign for the White House, launching in a new digital era of presidential campaign (Pagel, 2008).

Barack Obama's successful presidential campaigns in 2008 and 2012 were both can be characterized by innovative and comprehensive strategies. While digital tools played a crucial role, several other elements contributed to his electoral victories without any doubt. For instance, Obama invested heavily in building a strong ground game. This involved establishing a vast network of field offices, recruiting volunteers, and organizing grassroots events while focusing on community organizing and door-to-door outreach, mobilizing supporters at the local level.

He also utilized community organizing principles to engage volunteers and empower them to take on leadership roles through tools such as the "Obama Organizing Fellowship" program were implemented to train and mobilize volunteers across the

country. The campaign managers employed sophisticated data analytics to target specific demographics and tailor campaign messages accordingly.

Data-driven decision-making allowed the campaign managers to identify key swing states, allocate resources strategically, and customize outreach efforts, while digital media was a significant component, the Obama campaign was particularly successful in leveraging social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, to connect with voters. Additionally, online fundraising played a pivotal role, with the campaign using its website and social media channels to solicit donations from a large number of small contributors.

There were also pioneering of the use of small-dollar donations from a broad base of supporters. This approach helped reduce reliance on traditional big donors and contributed to a sense of broad-based grassroots support. Beyond social media, the Obama campaign embraced technology for organizing and outreach. Tools like My.BarackObama.com, an online community platform, facilitated communication among supporters targeting and engaging young voters. The use of social media, text messaging, and online platforms resonated with the younger demographic and helped drive turnout among this group.

Indeed, personal eloquence and effective communication skills of Barack Obama were central to his campaign successes. His speeches, such as the iconic "Yes We Can" speech, inspired and mobilized supporters. He performed well in televised debates, contributing to his overall image and public perception. His media presence, including interviews and appearances, played a role in shaping the narrative around his candidacy. The campaigns actively worked to build a diverse coalition, reaching out to various demographic groups, including minorities and women at the same time with emphasizing inclusivity and diversity's contribution to a broader base of support for Obama.

It is safe to conclude that as the result of the successful digital campaign, Barack Obama won 52% of the votes and was elected President of the United States. Chris Hughes, who run all of Obama's campaign process in digital, was chosen as the best marketer of 2008 by the magazine Fast Company (McGirt, 2009). The phrase used for Chris Hughes on the cover of Fast Company magazine is "The Boy Who Made Obama President".

This phrase emphasizes the importance of projects carried out with digitalization in diplomacy.

In 2012, Obama was re-elected President of the United States and first announced on Twitter that he was elected president. Obama hugs his wife Michelle Obama and smiles in the tweet that was sent saying "Four more years".

This post is regarded as the most popular political twitter post ever. The current number of retweets is around 825,400.

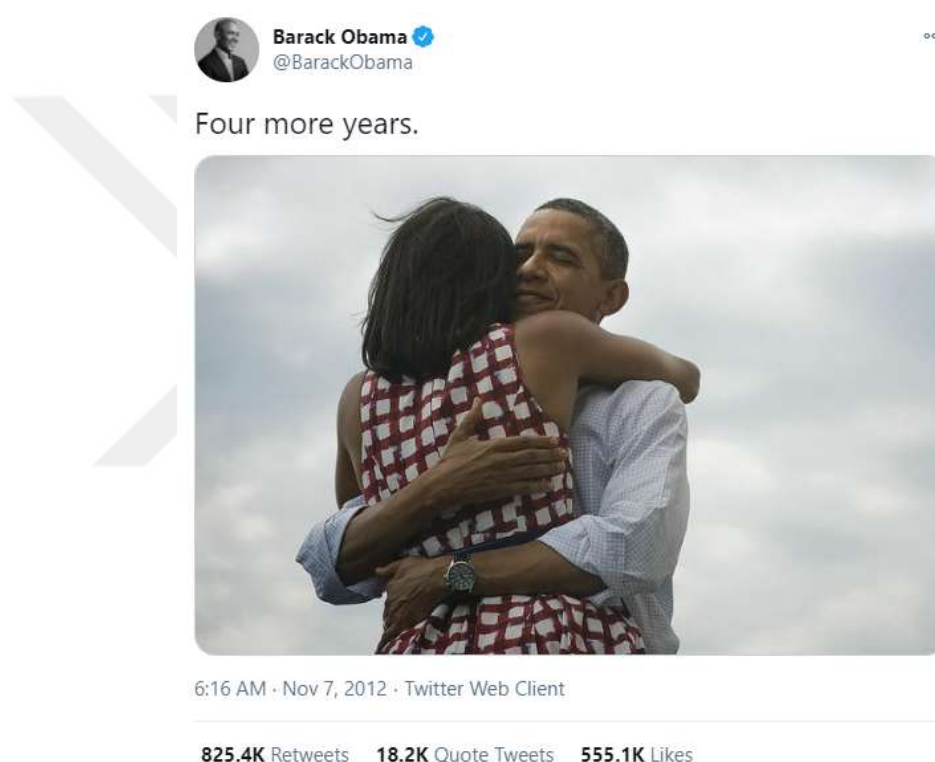


Figure 2: Obama's Tweet After the Election in 2012 (Obama, 2012).

Therefore, with digital diplomacy, it becomes possible to learn the current events easily. Communication among people increases and ideas can spread quickly. It saves budget as its cost is lower than traditional channels. It provides the opportunity to analyze people for political or social events, as it reaches more people. If digital tools are properly implemented, digital diplomacy can be a persuasive and complement for classical diplomacy, contribute to the advancement of state foreign policy goals,

increase international scope, and impact people who do not come to embassies (Adesina, 2017, p. 10).

According to Grant (2004):

“The Internet has its effects in foreign policy as it does in every other area of government policy. The technology now controls the way in which information flows around the globe. This has enabled the “news”, which is the base material of foreign policy and the way governments interact with each other, to become faster, more readily available, and able to reach almost every part of the world. The interactions of governments, which are the purpose of diplomacy, are being affected by these developments in significant ways. The prospect for even faster, and potentially more far-reaching, changes in the future will require foreign ministries to be nimble and informed in their responses” (p. 8).

Both during his presidency and election campaign Donald Trump is marked with a distinctive communication style and how his approach to digital diplomacy differed from that of his predecessors. Trump is known for his prolific use of Twitter, making it a central element of his communication strategy. Through his tweets, he communicated directly with the public, bypassing traditional diplomatic channels. This direct and unfiltered approach had both advantages and drawbacks (Harris, et. al., 2017). It allowed Trump to communicate his messages instantly, but it also raised concerns about the potential for impulsive or uncoordinated statements.

Trump's use of social media, particularly Twitter, was unconventional in diplomatic terms. He often used the platform to announce policy decisions, express opinions, and engage in public diplomacy without the typical diplomatic nuance (Deruda, 2014). This departure from traditional communication channels sparked debates about the role of social media in shaping diplomatic discourse. Trump's tweets were sometimes used to communicate with foreign leaders, either extending olive branches or expressing disagreements. This direct, public diplomacy approach marked a departure from the more discreet diplomatic communication methods of previous administrations.

The public nature of these exchanges added a layer of transparency to diplomatic relations but also introduced challenges associated with conducting delicate negotiations

in the public eye. In times of international crises, Trump often used Twitter to communicate the administration's stance and response. This direct and immediate communication had implications for crisis management and how information was disseminated globally (Westcott, 2008). The use of social media in crisis communication became a notable aspect of digital diplomacy during the Trump presidency.

Trump's use of digital platforms raised questions about the evolving nature of diplomatic norms and protocols. The unfiltered and real-time nature of his communication style prompted discussions about the need for a reevaluation of traditional diplomatic practices. Some argued that this disruption was a reflection of the changing landscape of diplomatic communication in the digital age. Trump's digital diplomacy approach elicited varied reactions globally. While some appreciated the direct and unfiltered communication style, others criticized it for its potential to create diplomatic tensions. The global response highlighted the evolving dynamics of soft power in the digital age and how leaders' online presence could influence international perceptions.

3.4 Disadvantages of Digital Diplomacy

It is also normal for every development to have negative aspects, undoubtedly. The changes in diplomacy are also striking, with the changes brought by the digital revolution to different areas of human life. While digital transformation has provided significant success, concerns about the new digital world have emerged in diplomacy. Besides the advantages, the disadvantages of diplomatic digitalization are on the agenda for states. In the digital age, data protection and personal privacy are key concerns.

There is data storage through digital platforms. In addition to following the interests, ideas and activities of individuals through digital platforms, there is also the risk of private information being stolen for damaging purposes if digital channels are used carelessly. Due to the possible disadvantages of digitalization, the widespread use of digital tools in politics creates a number of difficulties and risks. It has become important for states to analyze these risks arising from digitalization well and to ensure security.

In other words, there are threats to digital diplomacy, which include data theft, hacking, and anonymity of Internet users. However, despite the use of the internet and new communication technology by many developed states such as the USA, the Canada, the UK and Sweden, discontent in international relations, caused by many foreign politicians being highly doubtful about its results and effectiveness, gained great importance after WikiLeaks published thousands of secret documents (Abbasov, 2007, p. 11). One of the good example of data theft is also Cambridge Analytica Data Scandal. It is an incident where the data analysis company Cambridge Analytica, based in London, misused the data of approximately 50 million user profiles on Facebook. This process has emerged as a violation of privacy in terms of the unauthorized collection of many data, such as social media posts, likes and profile information of users. It is also important in terms of collecting data through a research firm called Cambridge Analytica (CA) without the knowledge and permission of the users and presenting the data to politicians during election periods and conducting campaigns over the voter behavior of politicians.

Hacking is another risk that has existed since the advent of the internet and the spread of new communication tools. In this way, diplomatic competitors, including both state and non-state actors, can try to infiltrate government systems and extract information that will benefit them. This can pose a danger to states when using digital diplomacy. They may have a rapid and strong effect on international affairs when private information becomes published, since states and their state leaders may be affected (Westcott, 2008, p. 14).

Another challenge digital diplomacy has is anonymity of internet users. Because everyone can pretend to be another person and actively attack another person and harm certain people by hiding their identity on digital platforms, as well. At the same time, political and economic crises can occur with the publication of false information on social media platforms. Frequent information pollution in the internet environment can make it difficult for leaders to manage crises that arise.

Social media is a platform open to abuse in this regard. Therefore, the reliability of the shares should be checked constantly. Social media platforms used by millions of people, such as Twitter and Instagram, also have some risks. Information pollution may occur on social media platforms and false information can spread rapidly through social

media. It is important to make correct information available to people immediately. If incorrect information or sharing is detected, correction should be made immediately. Because this situation may damage the reputation of states and politicians in the eyes of their citizens and all over the world.

As a result, digital diplomacy has changed the structure of traditional diplomacy. Internet and new communication technologies have enabled information to reach everywhere, to spread information rapidly, to express people's feelings and thoughts to a wider audience, and to influence policymakers and citizens. Hence, digital diplomacy has both advantages and disadvantages. For example, social media offers countries opportunities to solve problems. Because, thanks to the social media, people can quickly share the problems where they live, make the whole world aware and provide support. As well as individuals can reach large masses thanks to digital platforms, states can quickly notice the dissatisfaction or demands of citizens through social media and take action. Digital diplomacy includes social media directly. So, advantages and disadvantages of digital diplomacy are parallels as strengths and risks of social media.

Politicians should analyze well in social media where people freely share their ideas and comments and play an active role in determining the agenda. Politicians who use of social media better enable to understand the demands and opinions of the people better and to be successful.

Therefore, it is a fact that social media is an effective tool for politicians to learn opinions and expectations of target audiences in political communication. In other words, social media can be considered as a tool for politicians to use for their own purposes by observing users' comments and reactions. At the same time, using social media as a tool of diplomacy has risks in terms of reliability. Therefore, state leaders should analyze every aspect of using digital diplomacy.

The combination of Twitter and social media in diplomacy has become increasingly significant lately. Twitter as a microblogging platform, enables diplomats to communicate directly with a global audience, fostering transparency, engagement, and real-time information sharing. Politicians can use Twitter to share official statements, updates, and reactions in real time. This instant communication allows for swift responses to global events, crises, or policy changes. Beyond Twitter, other social

media platforms can be used to amplify political messages. Sharing content across platforms ensures a broader reach and engages diverse audiences.

Twitter allows policymakers to engage directly with the public, promoting public diplomacy efforts. By sharing insights into political activities, showcasing cultural exchange, and participating in conversations, officials can humanize their roles and build public trust. Social media platforms, including Twitter, support the sharing of multimedia content such as photos, videos, and infographics, enhancing the storytelling aspect of public diplomacy. During crises, Twitter serves as a valuable tool for quickly disseminating accurate information and dispelling misinformation. Governments can use social media to update citizens and the international community on crisis situations.

Social media's global reach ensures that diplomatic messages reach a wide audience, enabling governments to seek international support or cooperation during crises. Politicians can engage in direct conversations with counterparts, foreign leaders, and international organizations on Twitter. This informal diplomacy fosters relationships, builds trust, and facilitates behind-the-scenes communication. These platforms provide opportunities for diplomats to build networks and connections beyond traditional diplomatic channels. Governmental officials can use Twitter and social media to run advocacy campaigns, promoting their country's policies, values, and initiatives on a global stage. Hashtags and trends can be leveraged to amplify key messages.

It allows for the promotion of diplomatic policies and achievements, shaping international perceptions and garnering support from the global community. While Twitter provides a platform for informal communication, it also serves as an official channel for diplomatic communication. Politicians must adhere to diplomatic protocol and maintain professionalism in their online interactions.

4. HYPOTHESES

The relationship between digital diplomacy and politics is multifaceted, encompassing communication, crisis management, public opinion shaping, diplomatic relations, campaigning, and addressing challenges associated with the digital realm. As technology continues to evolve, the impact of digital diplomacy on political dynamics is likely to grow, influencing how political leaders interact with the public and conduct international affairs. Driven from this analysis and theoretical as well as practical literature review, synthesized and focused hypotheses have taken form.

H1: Trump's foreign policy and diplomacy attitude in his bilateral relations between states can be analyzed via Twitter.

Since the first day Trump took office, he has attracted a lot of attention in the national and international public opinion with his domestic and foreign policy. While he communicated with many states on his Twitter account, Trump made important announcements here and even announced the dismissal of some of his ministers from this platform. Trump sent about 30 thousand tweets from his account "realDonaldTrump" from January 2017, when he took the presidency, until January 8, 2021, when his account was closed. For example, in 2017-2018, problems based on the nuclear weapon threat were at the forefront between US leader Donald Trump and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un. Throughout this period of tension, Trump preferred to both announce many developments on the subject and to respond to what the North Korean leader told him through Twitter. The North Korean leader made his statements to Trump through the meeting and the media, Trump responded mostly on Twitter. As an example of this situation; Kim Jong-un emphasized in a speech that nuclear button was on his desk. Trump made statements such as "My nuclear button is bigger and stronger than his, and my button is working". Trump has managed to draw the attention of the whole world to himself through Twitter. The whole world started talking about the possibility of a war with this tweet. In short, Twitter made it easy to analyze Trump's foreign policy. While whole world is waiting for what Trump will do, he met with Kim Jong-un. With digital diplomacy, Trump first got the whole world to follow him and managed to gain attention all over the world with his tweets, escalated tension

between the two states on Twitter, on the contrary, he met with Kim Jong-un in a behavior that solved the whole problem. In this analysis, the power of Twitter to conduct diplomacy is going to be mentioned.

H2: With Trump's coming to power, use of social media in the US administration and especially foreign policy carried out on Twitter embodies diplomatic digitalization.

One of the most important developments that brought social media and especially Twitter to the world agenda in conducting diplomacy is presidency of US President Trump. Trump has drawn attention both in domestic and foreign policy with the messages he sent on Twitter. Now all other policy makers in the bureaucracy such as state leaders, political party leaders, and also ambassadors use Twitter as an effective and direct communication tool to reach the masses. This situation shows the importance of social media in terms of states to carry out diplomacy today. States have realized that conducting diplomacy through social media, that is, digitalization in diplomacy, is powerful for states' own domestic and foreign policy practices. The advantages of diplomatic diplomacy have led states to digitalization in diplomacy. In this analysis, advantages and disadvantages of digital diplomacy are going to be discussed.

In the digital age, activities in the field of digital diplomacy, which is the fastest and most effective way to reach people, have increased by states that want to appeal to wide public and to be strong in diplomacy. Today, states, diplomats and political actors that have social media accounts are in active communication with the domestic and foreign public. In the political strategies planned with digital diplomacy, states aim to be on the strong side in diplomacy by trying to communicate with different methods. States that are strong in digital diplomacy that has global impact are in a successful position in conducting both domestic and foreign public.

H3: During Trump's presidency, his foreign policy concerns regarding Turkey, Iran, and North Korea are different from each other and his foreign policy behavior in bilateral relations is changeable.

Donald Trump, who took over the US Presidency on January 20, 2017, managed to attract the attention of the world with the strategy he put forward in his election campaign, his speeches and the use of social media. He announced his strategy for domestic and foreign policy, especially on Twitter, and Trump changed usual classical diplomacy activities. In the first year of his presidency, he put the relations with North Korea into a crisis and the possibility of war started to be discussed, and he made very harsh statements against the North Korean leader Kim Jong-un on Twitter. Then he approached North Korean Leader with a moderate policy. So, President Trump has created changes in global politics with his foreign policy during his four-year term. With Trump, the changes in foreign policy have shaped the approaches of global actors to events and diplomacy in different ways. Trump has given mixed and variable messages in foreign policy at different times and through social media communication channels. In this analysis, changes mentioned above is going to be examined.

Social interaction has changed tremendously and people's communication with each other over the internet has accelerated. Almost everyone in the world has become interconnected in this way, and information is spread freely and rapidly. Even communication between political candidates and voters has become faster through social media, and elections and politics have also become digital. Digital diplomacy has a strong influence on international relations with the advantages of its influence on politics and its being a fast option, with the public diplomacy efforts of countries. Because digital messages have different effects and roles in diplomatic negotiations, politics and crisis management. It is a fact that diplomacy will be shaped by digital methods. The interactions between representatives of sovereign states, which is the way of conducting traditional diplomacy, continue to be important. However, individuals play a bigger role in international relations with the effect of digitalization. Therefore, states have started to focus on studies on how digital diplomacy works and how successful it is.

In addition to being a part of public diplomacy, digital diplomacy is considered to be a balance changer both in the country and internationally and is a method of conducting diplomatic activities.

5. CONCEPTS AND OPERATIONALIZATION

It is necessary to explain some concepts of this study to understand the whole study. Finding a wider place in the relationship between media and politics, Twitter shows that the distance between world leaders and the public is getting shorter. The use of social network and microblog website Twitter by governments, heads of state, foreign ministries and diplomats to create an effective public opinion is defined as Twitter Diplomacy or Twiplomacy (Dumčiuvienė, 2016, p. 97). Twiplomacy or Twitter Diplomacy is a combination of traditional and digital diplomacy and Twitter, given that when a political leader tweets about a world event or a new policy, other politicians prefer to the mainstream media or social media either to respond to the tweet or to express their opinions on the issue (Chhabra, 2020, pp. 2-3). Today, Twitter is widely used by diplomatic representatives. Public officers responsible for social media accounts are employed in the ministries of foreign affairs. Along with social media, advertisements received by television and newspaper decreases. Companies spend their advertising on social media platforms that they think attract more attention. Citizens establish a more interactive and transparent relationship with state representatives through social media. For this reason, leaders have turned to direct contact with citizens through social media by their advisors. Social media become an easier, cheaper and more effective way to reach masses compared to other media tools. Government officials often make use of social media to improve service quality, provide communication with citizens. In addition, states use social media platforms as a foreign policy tool in order to inform, influence and persuade public and the world. People no longer just want to be spectators because they want to be active in the political process, so Twitter and other social media platforms offer people chance to express their views and participate in political conversations (Dumčiuvienė, 2016, p. 96). “Traditional boundaries that demarcate foreign and domestic issues, initiators, and recipients have become increasingly murky. An unintended foreign message might cause domestic policy changes, and domestic social media activities might be covered by foreign news media” (Zhang, 2013, p. 1327).

“Since its inception in the late 1700s, the State Department has worked to maintain contact with the general public via changing technologies and communication channels, ranging from radio and letters to email and social media. Twitter has become a key tool used by the State Department as well as

governments across the world to communicate with local citizens and foreign nationals” (Sobel, Riffe, & Hester, 2016, p. 81).

For this reason, the place of social media in our lives is important. Today, WhatsApp groups are formed in embassies in order to understand how crisis emerged in a region will reflect on the public opinion in their own country, to follow developments and to provide fast information flow. These types of online networks make crisis management and information gathering easier. Diplomacy, one of the tools that enable states to carry out their foreign policies, has been used as an important tool for centuries. Diplomacy has undergone change and transformation from past to present, and diplomatic activities have gradually increased in importance. In the globalizing world, rapidly developing technology has changed dimension of diplomacy and revealed concept of digital diplomacy used as a new foreign policy tool. It has become necessary for Foreign Ministries to go beyond traditional diplomacy for communication and to invest more in the way how digital technology can enable them to boost their policy making abilities (Melissen & Keulenaar, 2017, p. 3).

Social media allows people to act together from different parts of the world for a specific purpose. Since this makes the policies of the states more visible than before, a local event can easily and quickly create an impact on a global scale. This makes the place of social media important in politics. It is a fact that the digital diplomacy factor has given a new impetus to politics. Thus, states transmit their policies within the borders of the country and internationally through social media.

Traditional diplomacy had a limited scope of influence, and gaining the desired interest was delayed in some policies implemented. For this reason, politicians have turned to social media platforms such as Twitter. Digital developments have revealed the necessity of digitalization in diplomacy. Digital diplomacy plays an important role in transferring diplomatic activities to digital platforms.

5.1 Operationalization of The Concepts

The operationalization part of this study occurs content analysis for digital diplomacy and collecting and measuring tweets content. The coding will take Donald Trump’s tweets and measure them in the sentiment analysis. The category captures the valence

content as positive, negative, and neutral toward Turkey, Iran and North Korea. It captures the policy content with regard to the economy, politics-and social-for measuring. Also it captures the tone of the tweet as threatening, cynical and moderate. The dependent variable of that study is US foreign policy toward Turkey, Iran and North Korea. The independent variable of that study is Trump's tweets for these three countries, Turkey, Iran and North Korea.

During his presidency, Trump often shared tweets on Twitter about Turkey, Iran and North Korea. In this analysis, the language of message in the tweets is going to be defined as favorable, unfavorable and neutral. The content of Trump's tweets is going to be classified as economic, political and social. Economic content includes topics such as investment, stock market, foreign exchange, economic sanctions. Political content includes topics such as negotiation, meeting, terrorism, armament, attack, nuclear activities. Social content includes topics such as human rights, freedom of expression, equality, education and migration. Stylistic features of the tweets are going to be grouped as threatening, cynical and moderate. Moderate group includes tweets that are not threatening and cynical.

Social media, especially Twitter, has become a mass communication tool that is effective in foreign policy strategies of states that act as actors in international relations. Social media, which plays an active role in formation of public opinion by politicians, directs foreign policy strategy of governments. State leaders, who play an active role in foreign policy, announce their foreign policy moves on social media through these platforms. Therefore, it is possible to follow and analyze foreign policy processes of states through these platforms. States closely follow digitalization process in order to successfully carry out diplomacy process and strategic moves in international relations.

Trump's foreign policy and diplomacy in bilateral relations between states can be analyzed with his Twitter posts. Therefore, the use of social media in the US administration, and especially the foreign policy carried out through Twitter, embodies diplomatic digitalization. With the Trump administration, the digitalization process in politics has become more prominent, but the events affecting this process before have an important place in digitalization process.

Arab Spring events that started in Tunisia and spread other Arab states that against unemployment, authoritarian regimes, lack of freedom and events that Ukraine in 2013

which was protested government's pro Russia and anti-EU attitude by citizens and also started in USA in 2011 called as Occupy Wall Street which opposed to social inequality and injustice in income distribution are events that make a tremendous impact in the world. Common feature of these events is that they have grown and became popular through social media not traditional media. What is important here is that these events have found wide place on social media instead of traditional media. Also, these events are important because they show necessity of digitalization in diplomacy.

In political actions that took place in different societies and states such as Occupy Wall Street events, events in Ukraine in 2013 and Arab Spring events, social media has been a tool to communicate, organize people, reach more people demonstrating that how people are more than solely calculating and interest-seeking bodies while determining and defining societal norms (Erisen, 2018). In Ukraine, when government wanted to establish strong relations with Russia instead of making an agreement with the EU, it sparked wide ranging protest in the state. Arab Spring has affected North Africa and Middle East. Occupy Wall Street protests started in the USA and turned into a global action. From this point of view, even in societies with different belief, management, culture and economic levels, social media has been used in same way when it comes to political actions. This situation reveals universality of social media and digitalization in diplomatic issues.

Social media, which is instrumental in making important events that make world politics visible and making the whole world aware of these events, is a political power source that should be managed well for governments of many states. In this content, it is important to analyze digital diplomacy. As one of the late experiences that the whole world collectively went through, COVID-19 period had made us witnesses of how conspiracy theories spread via digital platforms which eventually led to conscious directing of societal behaviors (Erisen, 2023). Indeed, the credibility of state authorities remains an important control mechanism but they cannot prevent the flow of information through accessible digital platforms. Interestingly the same study also demonstrated how individuals who used social media were more likely to comply with authorities' guidance. Although it was a crisis, the effect of digital tools in policy making cannot be undermined.

Social media gained a different dimension through applications called Facebook in 2004 and Twitter in 2006. These two social media platforms have gone beyond meeting people and making new friends and have created an effective digital transformation. These platforms, which are increasingly popular, have reached an important level in popular movements. It has been used as a tool for experiencing political events and changes in many states. Trump conducted election campaigns through Facebook and effectively reached public on issues on agenda through Twitter.

Donald J. Trump, who took office after US Presidential elections in 2016, has become one of the most active politicians in recent years. After Trump became president, he followed a very different and effective diplomacy on Twitter. Trump aimed to reach especially young people with Twitter diplomacy he carried out by using social media so actively and he established both politics and diplomacy much more closer to the public. In this way, he reached millions of people at the same time and provided a very convenient environment for pursuing effective diplomacy. Trump has been talked about a lot with his posts about situations in the state, as well as for international issues. He used a language far from diplomatic language for Syria, China, Russia, Korea and many other states. In this context, in operationalization part of this study, Twitter statements of Trump is going to be examined for Turkey, Iran and North Korea.

6. CODEBOOK

In this analysis, tone of tweets is going to be defined as positive, negative and neutral. Positive tweets contain favorable, encouraging and supportive messages about Turkey, Iran and North Korea. Negative tweets contain unfavorable and disparaging messages about Turkey, Iran and North Korea. Neutral tweets contain no subjective opinions about Turkey, Iran and North Korea. Also, this analysis has the content of Trump's tweets which has as economic, political and social. Economic content includes topics such as investment, stock market, foreign exchange, economic sanctions. Political content includes topics such as negotiation, meeting, terrorism, armament, attack, nuclear activities. Social content includes topics such as human rights, freedom of expression, equality, education and migration. This analysis consists of wording of the tweets which has threatening, cynical and moderate, as well. Threatening tweets refer to frightening manner or intention deliberately. Cynical tweets refer to having attitude of mocking or underestimating. Moderate group includes tweets that are neither threatening nor cynical.

I collect data through Twitter from @realDonaldTrump account during his presidency. These tweets are archived on the Trump Twitter Archive. Then I code these tweets and analyze them.

The coding scheme of the tweets is created in the table below:

Code	TONE of Tweets
-10	Negative
0	Neutral
10	Positive

Table 1: The Coding Scheme

7. ANALYSIS

The aim of this study was to perform sentiment analysis using the data from tweets posted by Donald Trump regarding Iran, Turkey, and Korea on Twitter. Data containing tweets related to Iran, Turkey, and Korea, which included specific hashtags, were manually compiled into an Excel file. This dataset consists of the text of the tweets.

The analyses were conducted using R Studio (version 4.3.1), an application of the R programming language. Necessary packages for the analysis were downloaded ("Tidyverse", "tidytext", "syuzhet", "readxl", "wordcloud", "ggplot2", "tm", "quanteda", "openxlsx", "topicmodels", "reshape2", "lubridate"). To use these packages for analysis, the "library" function was utilized to activate them. Due to the data being in Excel format, the file was loaded into the R Environment using the "excel_file_path". The loaded Excel file was then saved as a data frame to facilitate processing. Sentiment analysis was performed using the `perform_sentiment_analysis <- function(tweets)` functions. This involved categorizing the words in each tweet as neutral, positive, or negative. Statistical data was obtained by assigning values to each of these neutral, positive, and negative words.

For analyzing the tweets about Iran, the "wordcloud" function was used. The "Dark2" color code, which denotes shades of orange, green, pink, and blue, was used for both negative and positive sentiment clouds. Based on the sentiment analysis scores, a clustering process was carried out, visually representing the words used by Donald Trump in his tweets about Iran. In the study, which focuses on tweets posted between 2017-2021, words such as important, free, like, Trump, popular, fans, love were found in Donald Trump's positive word cloud. Similarly, the negative word cloud included words such as killing, attacks, killed, illegally, fool, provoke, hate.

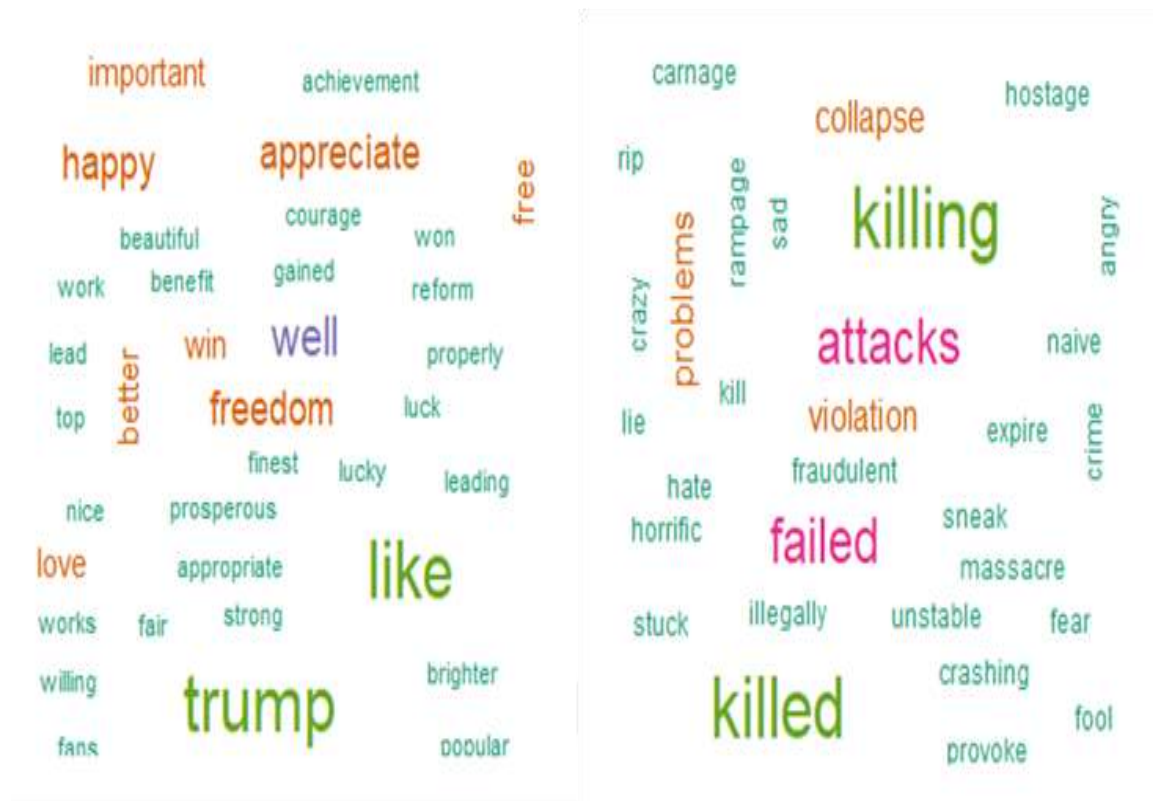


Figure 3: Positive and Negative Sentiment Clouds of Donald Trump's Tweets about Iran from 2017-2021. The first figure represents the positive sentiment cloud, while the second figure depicts the negative sentiment c

The analysis revealed that in Donald Trump's tweets about Iran, neutral expressions were sparingly used, with a predominance of either negative or positive expressions. Each word was scored within a range of -10 to +10. The length of the bars indicates how high or low the score values are.

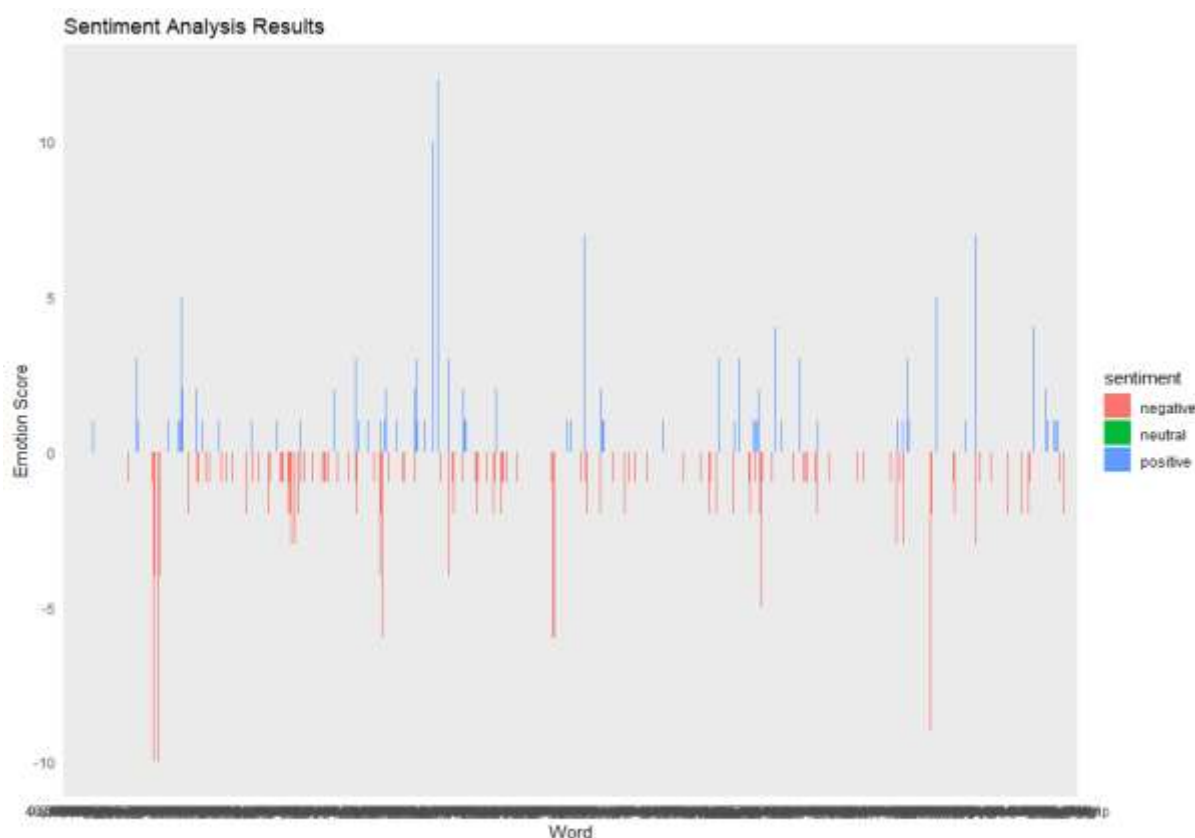


Figure 4: Sentiment Analysis Results of Donald Trump's Tweets about Iran from 2017-2021. Reds indicate negative sentiments, greens neutral, and blues positive. The analysis was conducted with score values ranging from -10 to +10. The left side of the graph shows the lower and upper limits of sentiment scores, while the horizontal axis displays the words used in the tweets.

Using the "top_positive_words" function, words with positive sentiment scores were determined based on previously calculated word scores. The positive sentiment score was set to range between 0 and 12.5. Bar graphs were obtained using the "ggplot" function. In light of these parameters, it was observed that Donald Trump most frequently used the words great, good, Trump, and like. Similarly, the "top_negative_words" function was used to examine the most frequently used negative words by Donald Trump. The negative sentiment score was set to a maximum of 12.5. With these parameters, it was noted that Donald Trump most commonly used the words bad, attack, terrible, and killing.

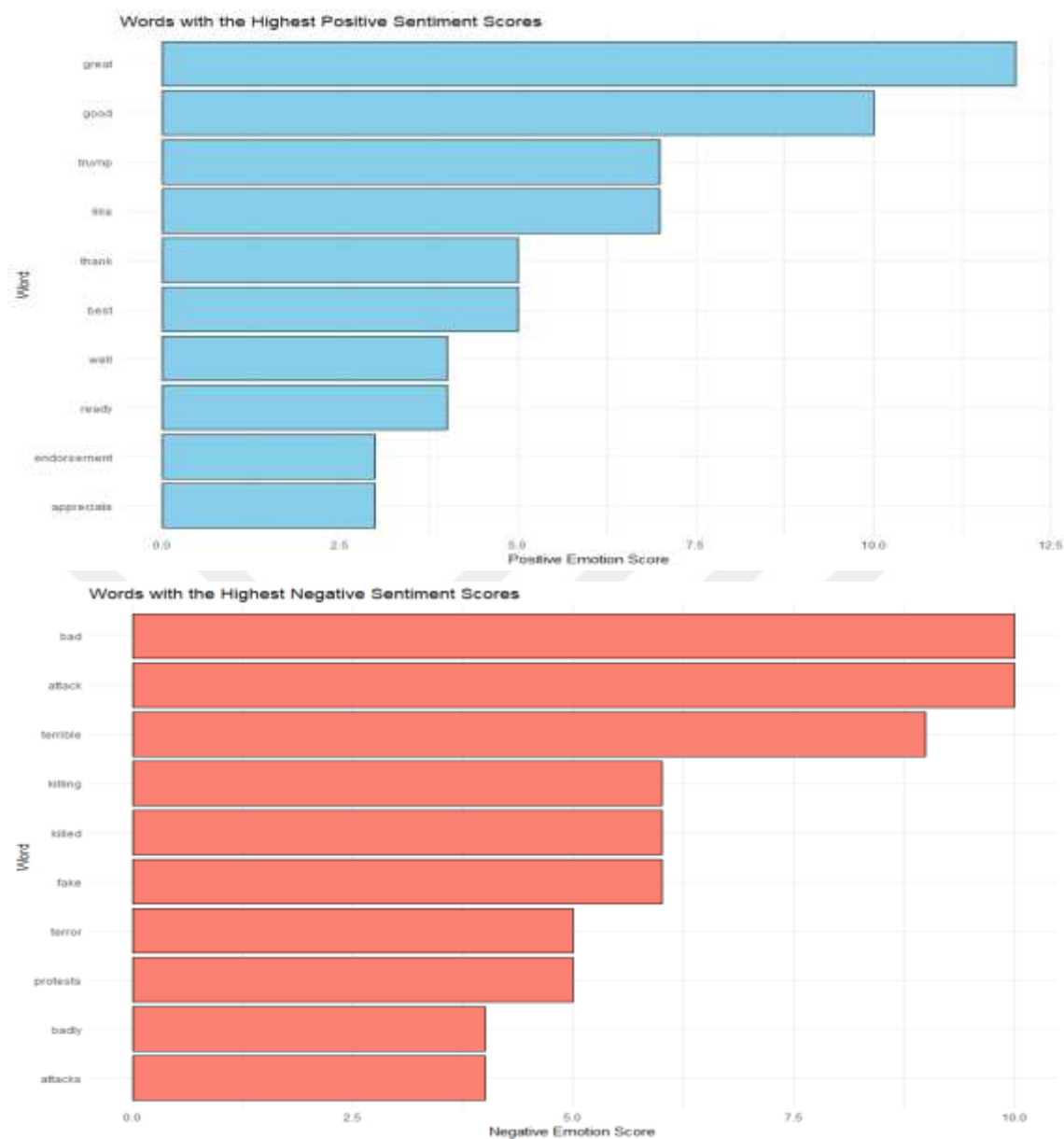


Figure 5: Bar graph representation of the most frequently used positive and negative words in Donald Trump's tweets about Iran. The blue bar graph represents positive words, while the red bar graph shows negative words.

The change in sentiment classes over time was analyzed using the "Lubridate" library. Based on the tweets posted between 2017 and 2021, it was observed that:

- Between 2017 and 2018, Donald Trump tweeted less frequently compared to other years. The tweets from this period showed a similar intensity of neutral and positive sentiments, but a higher prevalence of negative sentiments.
- In the years 2018 to 2019, there was a decrease in negative sentiments compared to the previous year. However, negative tweets were still more prevalent than neutral and positive ones, and there was an increase in the frequency of tweeting.
- Between 2019 and 2020, there was a notable increase in the volume of tweets compared to other periods, and an increase in the number of negative tweets was also determined.



Figure 6: Temporal variation of sentiment classes in Donald Trump's tweets about Iran, where red color represents negative values, green color neutral, and blue color positive values. The vertical axis of the graph indicates the number of tweets, while the horizontal axis represents the years.

For the analysis related to Turkey, the "wordcloud" function was used. The "Dark2" color code, representing shades of orange, green, pink, and blue, was employed for both negative and positive sentiment clouds. Based on the sentiment analysis scores, a clustering process was conducted, visually representing the words used by Donald Trump in his tweets about Turkey. In the study, focusing on tweets posted between 2018-2020, words such as good, success, helping, ready, safe, thank, and important were found in Donald Trump's positive word cloud. Similarly, in the negative word cloud, words like killing, weak, wrong, mess, fragile, and wrong were observed.



Figure 7: Positive and Negative Sentiment Clouds of Donald Trump's Tweets about Turkey from 2018-2020. The first figure represents the positive sentiment cloud, while the second figure depicts the negative sentiment cloud.

The analysis revealed that in Donald Trump's tweets about Turkey, neutral expressions were sparingly used, with a predominance of either negative or positive expressions. Each word was scored within a range of -10 to +10. The length of the bars indicates how high or low the score values are. It was observed that, on a word-by-word basis, Donald Trump used more positive words compared to negative ones in his tweets about Turkey.

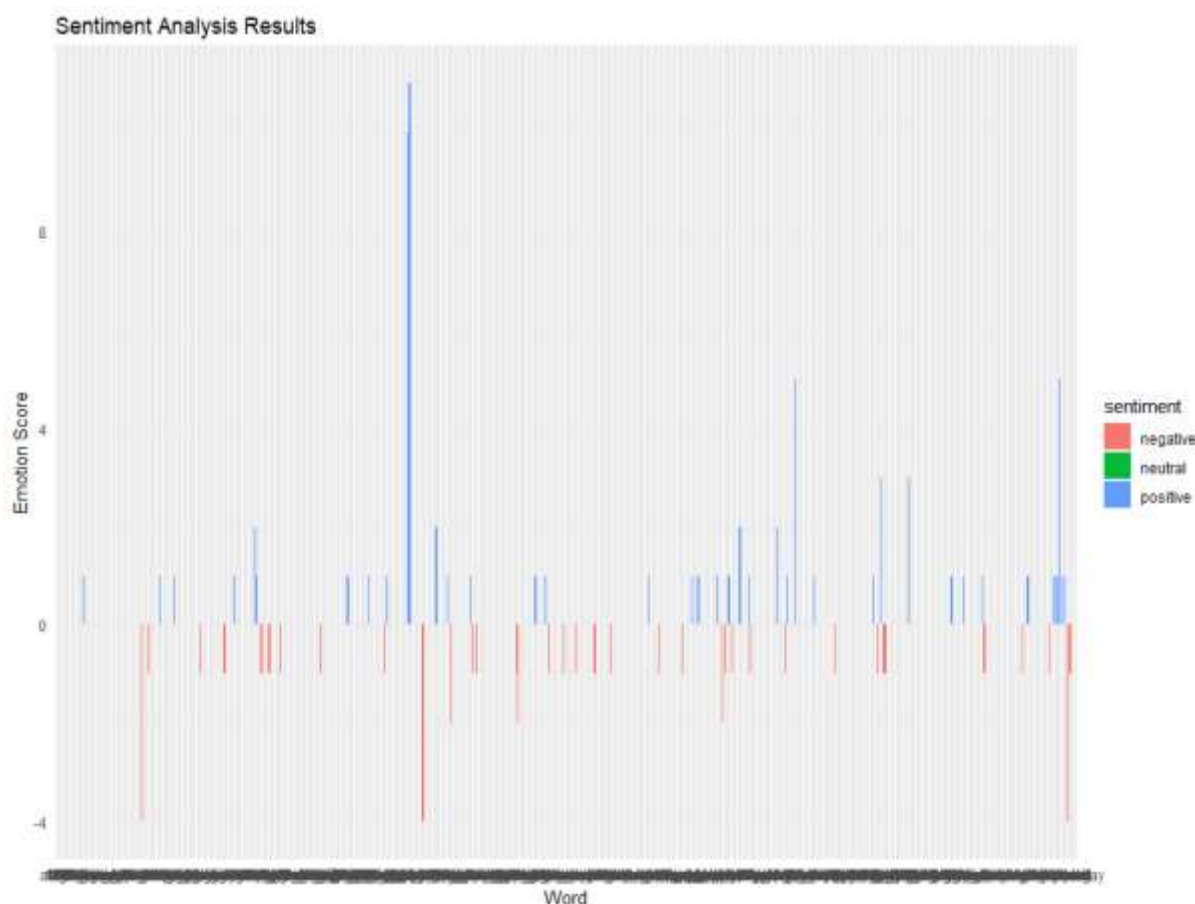


Figure 8: Sentiment Analysis Results of Donald Trump's Tweets about Turkey from 2018-2020. Reds indicate negative sentiments, greens neutral, and blues positive. The analysis was conducted with score values ranging from -10 to +10. The left side of the graph shows the lower and upper limits of sentiment scores, while the horizontal axis displays the words used in the tweets.

Using the "top_positive_words" function, words with positive sentiment scores were identified based on previously calculated word scores. The positive sentiment score was set to range between 0 and 12.5. Bar graphs were created using the "ggplot" function. According to these parameters, it was observed that Donald Trump most frequently used the words great, good, wonderful, and safe. Similarly, the "top_negative_words" function was employed to examine the most frequently used negative words by Donald Trump. The negative sentiment score was set between 0 and 12.5. With these parameters, it was noted that Donald Trump most commonly used the words worst, hard, attack, and prison.

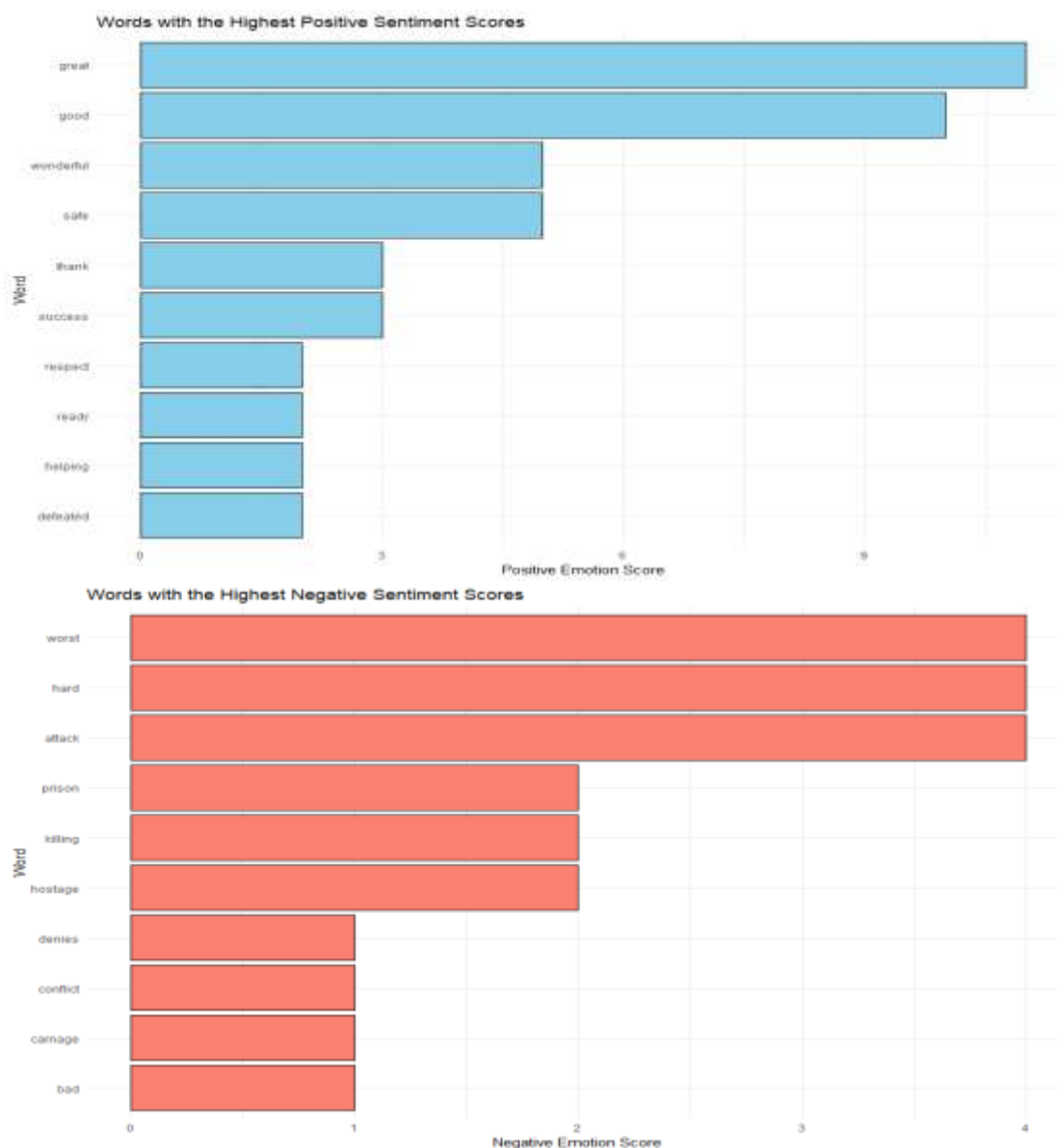


Figure 9: Bar graph representation of the most frequently used positive and negative words in Donald Trump's tweets about Turkey. The blue bar graph represents positive words, while the red bar graph shows negative words.

The temporal variation of sentiment classes in Donald Trump's tweets was analyzed using the "Lubridate" library. Based on the tweets from 2018 to 2020:

- It was observed that Donald Trump tweeted the most in 2020, especially towards the end of the year, and these tweets contained a higher number of negative words.
- Between 2017 and 2018, there were relatively few tweets about Turkey.

- During 2018 to 2019, the number of negative tweets was higher compared to other years.

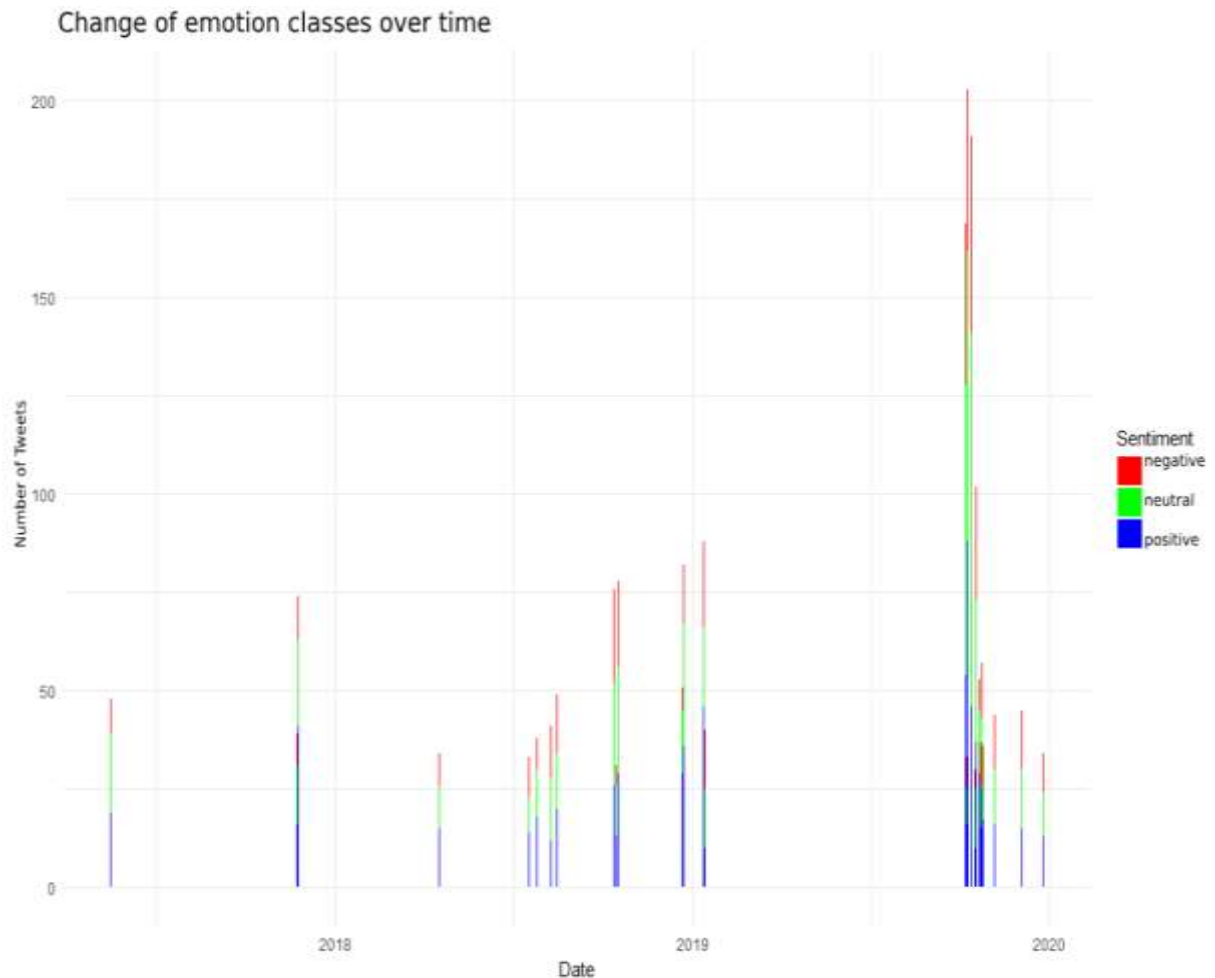


Figure 10: Temporal variation of sentiment classes in Donald Trump's tweets about Turkey, where red color represents negative values, green color neutral, and blue color positive values. The vertical axis of the graph indicates the number of tweets, while the horizontal axis represents the years.

For the analysis of tweets about Korea, the "wordcloud" function was utilized. The "Dark2" color code, which represents shades of orange, green, pink, and blue, was employed for both negative and positive sentiment clouds. Based on the sentiment analysis scores, a clustering process was conducted to visually represent the words used by Donald Trump in his tweets about Korea. In the study focusing on tweets posted between 2017-2021, words such as important, work, thank, wonderful, positive, well, and amazing were

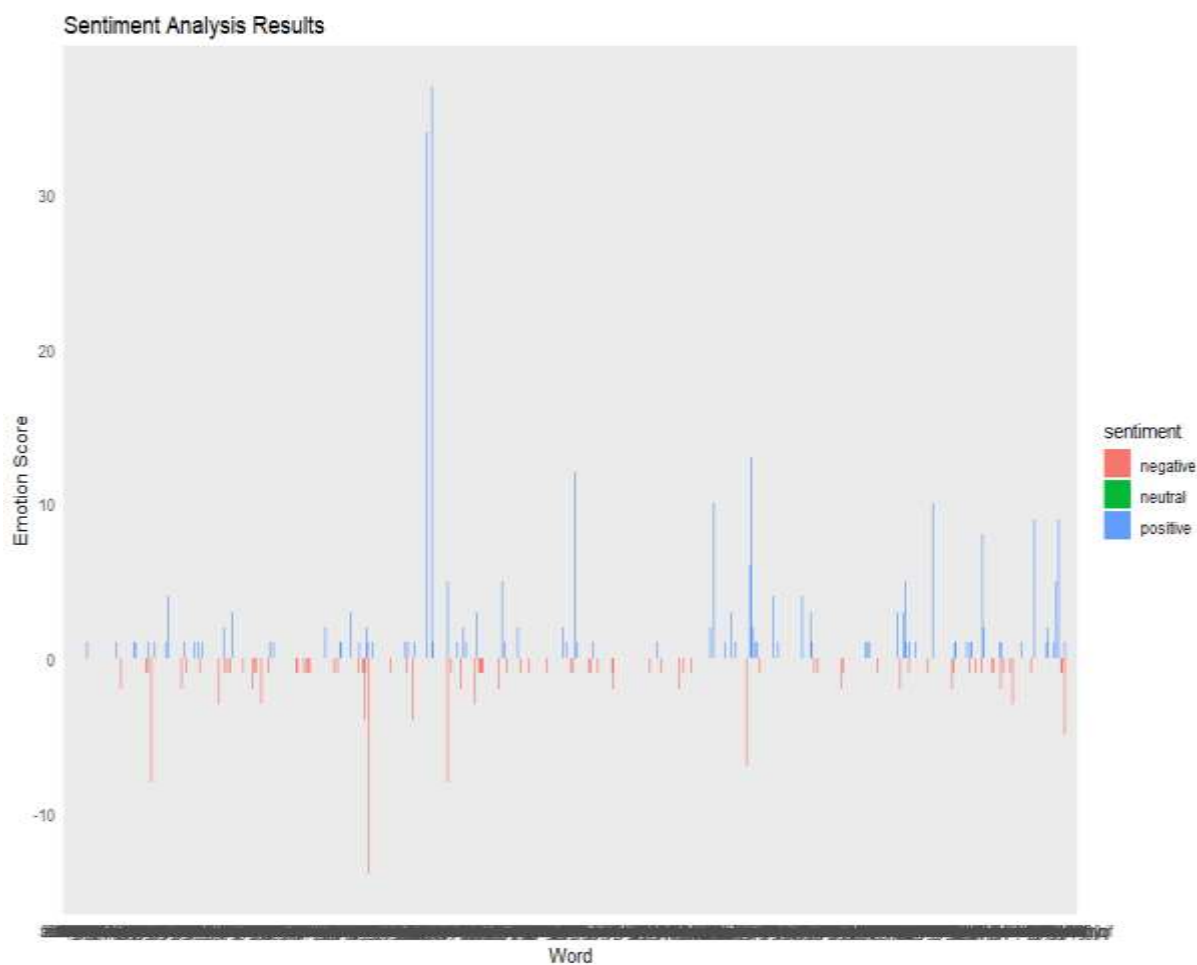


Figure 12: Sentiment Analysis Results of Donald Trump's Tweets about North Korea from 2017-2021. Reds indicate negative sentiments, greens neutral, and blues positive. The analysis was conducted with score values ranging from -10 to +10. The left side of the graph shows the lower and upper limits of sentiment scores, while the horizontal axis displays the words used in the tweets.

Using the "top_positive_words" function, words with positive sentiment scores were determined based on previously calculated word scores. The positive sentiment score was set to range between 0 and 12.5. Bar graphs were obtained using the "ggplot" function. In light of these parameters, it was observed that Donald Trump most frequently used the words great, good, progress, and like. Similarly, the "top_negative_words" function was employed to examine the most frequently used negative words by Donald Trump. The negative sentiment score was set to a maximum of 12.5. With these parameters, it was noted that Donald Trump most commonly used the words fake, hard, bad, and problem.

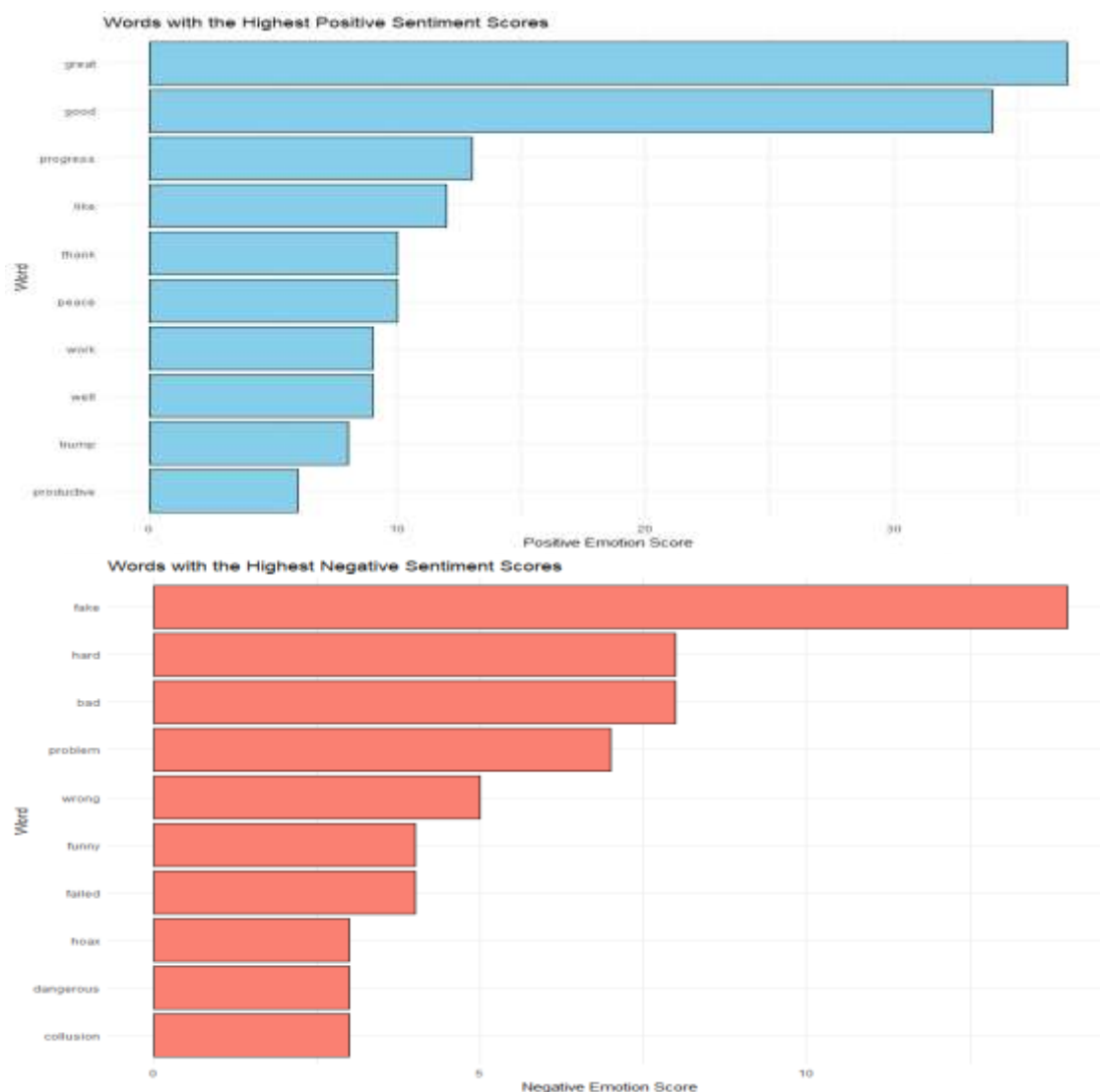


Figure 13: Bar graph representation of the most frequently used positive and negative words in Donald Trump's tweets about North Korea. The blue bar graph represents positive words, while the red bar graph shows negative words.

The temporal variation of sentiment classes in Donald Trump's tweets about North Korea was analyzed using the "Lubridate" library. Based on the tweets posted between 2017 and 2021:

- It was observed that Donald Trump tweeted most frequently about North Korea between 2017 and 2019. These tweets were predominantly negative,

and the number of neutral tweets exceeded the number of positive tweets.

- Between 2019 and 2021, there was a decrease in the number of tweets. However, the tweets from this period contained a higher proportion of negative expressions. Additionally, compared to other years, the proportion of positive tweets increased during these years.

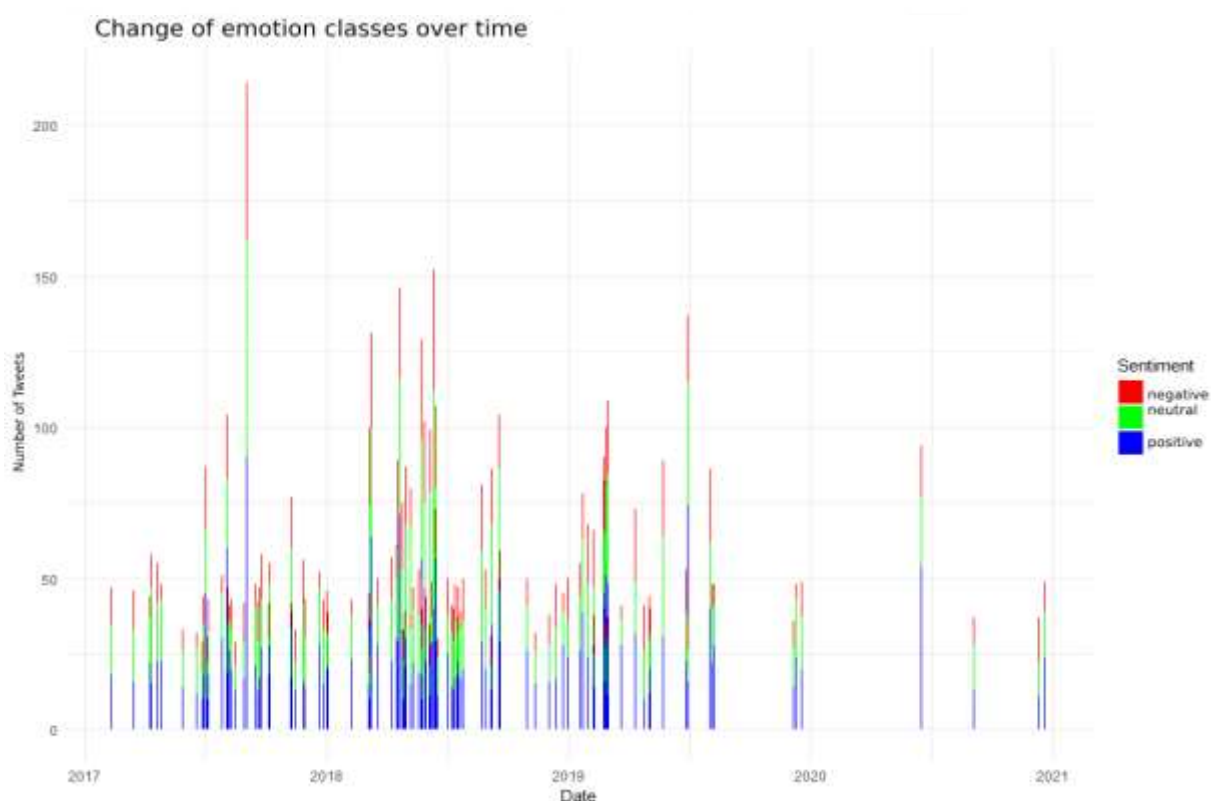


Figure 14: Temporal variation of sentiment classes in Donald Trump's tweets about North Korea, where red color represents negative values, green color neutral, and blue color positive values. The vertical axis of the graph indicates the number of tweets, while the horizontal axis represents the years.

The analysis of Donald Trump's tweets regarding Iran, Turkey, and North Korea between 2017 and 2021 offers a comprehensive perspective on his sentiment and language usage concerning these countries. This comparative study highlights the nuances in Trump's Twitter diplomacy and communication style. In the case of Iran, the sentiment analysis, primarily conducted through the "wordcloud" function, indicated a significant presence of

both positive and negative sentiments, with a notable inclination towards negative expressions. The words in the negative sentiment cloud, such as 'killing,' 'attacks,' and 'illegal,' contrast starkly with the positive words like 'important' and 'free.' This dichotomy reflects a complex and often tense relationship between the U.S. and Iran during Trump's presidency, marked by confrontational rhetoric. Regarding Turkey, the analysis revealed a balanced use of positive and negative sentiments, with words like 'good,' 'success,' and 'safe' in the positive word cloud, and 'killing,' 'weak,' and 'wrong' in the negative. This balance might suggest a more nuanced approach in Trump's tweets about Turkey, reflecting the fluctuating nature of U.S.-Turkey relations, which saw moments of cooperation and conflict. In contrast, the sentiment analysis of tweets about North Korea (presumably North Korea, given the context and timeframe) showed a mix of positive and negative sentiments with a significant shift over time. Initially, the sentiment was largely negative with words like 'problem' and 'illegal,' reflecting the heightened tensions during the early years of Trump's presidency. However, there was a notable increase in positive sentiments in later years with words like 'progress' and 'like,' corresponding with Trump's diplomatic engagements with North Korea. The temporal analysis using the "Lubridate" library further elucidates these dynamics. While Trump's tweets about Iran and Korea initially leaned towards negative sentiments, there was an increase in positive sentiments over time for North Korea, unlike Iran, where negative sentiments remained dominant. In the case of Turkey, a balance between negative and positive sentiments was maintained throughout. In summary, this comparative analysis of Trump's tweets reveals his varying tone and sentiment towards these three countries, reflecting the complexities and shifts in U.S. foreign policy and diplomatic relations during his presidency. While Iran consistently faced a negative portrayal, Korea experienced a shift from negative to more positive, and Turkey maintained a relatively balanced representation in Trump's Twitter communications.

8. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Due to the character limit, Twitter does not allow the delivery of detailed and complex messages. This is why a tweet should not be complicated no matter what it is about. Twitter is the modern-day version of smoke signals in terms of its ability to communicate complicated ideas and concepts (Ott, *The age of Twitter: Donald J. Trump and the politics of debasement*, 2017, pp. 60-61).

When ideas are expressed on Twitter, they need to be simplified. Because the development and growth of social media easily distracts the minds, Twitter prioritizes simplicity and speed rather than thinking about things in complex ways and for a long time (Kapko, 2016, pp. 1-4).

While Twitter is equivalent to smoke signals in terms of message complexity, it differs in effort because sending a smoke signal, means that the person has an important message to convey, or this signal has also historically been used to signal impending danger, requires a lot of work all at once, such as getting wood, lighting a fire, and ensuring that the smoke can be seen from a long distance (Ott, 2017, p. 61). But tweeting is very easy and fast. Twitter has an unofficial discourse. Tweets frequently carry an emotional component, which is transmitted through the social network because "emotional Twitter messages tend to be retweeted more and faster than neutral tweets" (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013, p. 217).

One of the most remarkable aspects of the Trump presidency is his rhetoric. Trump had a different profile of the president in the White House, with his policies and the way he communicated with the public about the agenda. Trump has managed to keep his popularity alive by using social media regularly and communicating directly. For instance, Trump claimed in his rhetoric that he best represented the interests of the American people and spoke out against the elite (Lacatus, 2020, p. 13). With his "narrower and ethnically restrictive" language, Trump's populism has been acknowledged and categorized by different scholars (Kazin, 2016). The language he used to define "the people" has taken such a form of polarizing, xenophobic and misogynistic one, Trump's categorization has gone beyond even the classical indicators of populist leaders (Inglehart and Norris, 2016). Trump's populist rhetoric also shaped his foreign policy making of the USA. Trump did not generally follow a consistent foreign policy and there are multiple examples to back this statement (Lacatus, 2020, p. 3).

It would not be wrong to describe Twitter as an alternative media at the same time, since Twitter is open to use in line with political interests and provides an area for the discourses and activities of users. Obviously, Twitter is an area where power relations are reflected in today's politics. Discourses are produced and disseminated in this area. These discourses have a very high potential to turn into a struggle, to create an impact, to measure reaction and to escalate the crisis. Undoubtedly, it is a fact that traditional power relations continue in the communication process. As a requirement of the digital age, Twitter is used effectively by many political elites, organizations and individuals to spread their discourses and views.

One of the main differences and determining factors of Twitter communication is the increase in intensity of communication and interaction on this platform when certain events occur. For this reason, it comes to the fore that communication on Twitter is event-centered (Murthy, 2013, p. 33). In the process of increasing interaction, the list of popular titles (TT) makes the events developing in the world visible. It is seen that different users establish more relationships in the process of increasing communication and interaction depending on the events (Murthy, 2013, p. 35). Because of these features, Twitter has become a tool that is more preferred by politicians and its influence tends to increase continuously.

The world has entered a completely different era and the flow of this era necessitates digital change not only in politics but also in every field. The relationship between politics and digitalization has been felt most clearly during the election of Trump as president in the United States in 2016. A consulting firm called Cambridge Analytica created an algorithm using the profile information of millions of people, allowing political messages and information to reach the electorate. Moreover, with this method, it made it easier for voters who were undecided in the last period of the campaign to vote for Trump. Social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, such software programs, enable the voters to come before political advertisements that can affect the decision of the voters by looking at what they read, like and click, and with this method, they actually affect the decisions of the people. This means that a software program can influence people's choices and influence voting behavior and this technological revolution has changed the way politicians implement political strategies in international politics.

There is an important interaction between social media and politics. While political actors want to make their voices heard, social media facilitates the realization of these wishes of political actors. Political actors also increase the value of these platforms by being visible on social media. When the relationship between social media and politics is evaluated from this perspective, there is a mutual benefit.

The use of social media by political actors has now become a necessity. The fact that Barack Obama, who was a candidate in the US presidential elections for the first time in 2008, made propaganda by using social media effectively and actively and as a result won the election, shows that social media has a lot of power in terms of politics. Again, it can be said that social media is very important in agenda setting, information distortion, informing the society and measuring reaction. It is seen that public opinion and politics are reconstructed by changing with the effect of social media. The advantage of social media in guiding the public and politics is that it provides a fast interaction and facilitates the quick measurement of the reaction of individuals. All the information in the social media is learned by the society in a short time and as a result, it becomes a very important communication tool in directing the society. Today, social media platforms are channels where people can share their thoughts and ideas with the masses. In addition, it is a fact that social media platforms, where individuals can come together, have the power to affect the thoughts of the society. In fact, it is undeniable that public opinion has an impact on the politics of the world and countries through social media. In this context, social media has a great impact on influencing the society, activating individuals in social and political transformations such as the "Wall Street" and "Arab Spring" events.

While political leaders are known to use carefully chosen words when expressing their views, proposing policies, or presenting opposing views to other officials, political scientists have always been interested in analyzing these words, and in today's digital age, political leaders have shifted from traditional platforms such as radio, television, or newspapers to new social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook, which provide more direct access to the public, appearing on digital social media platforms, unlike traditional media, which largely operate according to codes of conduct as well as checking and managing freedom of expression. Unlike his counterparts, Trump realized the power of Twitter to use these features to his advantage and managed to influence the world and draw attention with a tweet he sent.

If a politician's goal is to get attention, these results show that tweets with negative sentiments get more attention than those with positive sentiments, but platforms like Twitter, as private companies with the freedom to change their policies, clearly have a huge impact on how messages are spread (Ravi & Kapoor, 2022).

“And it ought to be remembered that there is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain in its success, than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things. Because the innovator has for enemies all those who have done well under the old conditions, and lukewarm defenders in those who may do well under the new” (Machiavelli, 2000).

In contrary to Machiavelli's prediction that innovation is always difficult to implement, the first stage of diplomacy's digital transformation has been a remarkable triumph, and for a profession that tends to cherish tradition, protect institutional hierarchy, and refuse to change, the rise of digital diplomacy is no short of a revolution (Bjola, 2018).

Ministries of Foreign Affairs, embassies, and diplomats have created a variety of new tools and methods to support their work, driven by the chance to communicate with millions of people in actual time and at a low cost and these include developing consular applications for smartphones and using specialized platforms to interact with foreign peoples and diaspora communities, as well as communicating with citizens during international crises (Bjola, 2017).

Globalization and the development of information technologies, the evolution of diplomatic behavior and digital diplomacy as an important part of foreign policy and a natural extension of traditional diplomacy, soft power is also an undisputed part of its authority. In this modern age where people seek influence and strive for power, governments and non-governmental actors prefer digitalization methods, and digital technology, like many other platforms, can be used for peace or war, offense or defense. Digital diplomacy can also be used by a state to expand its authority and influence, as well as to advance its foreign policy objectives. Today, digital diplomacy can be used as a tool to improve relations between states and maintain legitimacy.

The importance of digitalization for soft power can be seen in the primary use of digitalization as an indicator in the use of indices that assess the ranking of states based on soft power analysis. One of the components of the Soft Power 30 index, which is designed to measure countries soft power resources in a comparative manner is digital.

According to the index, digital is defined as a country's digital infrastructure and digital diplomacy capabilities (The Soft Power 30, 2019).

Nye states that the importance of soft power will increase in the global information age and states that soft power has three main sources: political values, culture and foreign policy (Nye J. , 2008, s. 94). While soft powers may take longer to emerge, rapid changes in the digital age are redefining the social and political power of states and affecting the hierarchical power structure in the international system. This is changing both the way diplomacy works and the context in which diplomats work, bringing digital diplomacy to the fore. In line with the core task of diplomacy, it contains direct contact between state officials remains central to diplomacy. However, digital diplomacy has the power to be recognized as a soft power mechanism that complements traditional diplomacy.

Diplomacy in the digital age, in the field of information technologies while it adapts to innovations facilitates the implementation of diplomacy, the emergence of the concept of digital diplomacy has led to its creation. Following the recognition of its transformative power in the use of diplomacy by politicians, there has been an increased debate in the literature on whether digital diplomacy is a form of public diplomacy. The reason public diplomacy is conducted in the digital environment is the desire of leaders to influence the people of other countries and achieve results with their interests or to create a positive impact on foreign policy strategies. Digital diplomacy is recognized as a component of public diplomacy due to the wide audience of social media users and the presence of leaders on social media.

Although information technologies have shaped traditional methods of diplomacy, traditional diplomacy is still an important component of states' means of gaining power in the international system. and the overall purpose of diplomacy has remained the same. Alongside with the fact that many social media platforms are used by foreign policymakers, digital diplomacy has been conducted primarily on Twitter. This is the reason of leaders are more active on Twitter because people use Twitter extensively. For instance, in 2020, after his competitor Biden was elected in the presidential elections held in the United States, Trump said that the elections were rigged and never gave up in his statements. As such, following Trump's remarks, Trump supporters stormed the Congress building, which resulted in the deaths of four people (Barrett,

Raju, & Nickeas, 2021). That is why, after the election, due to the risk of inciting violence, Trump's account was permanently suspended by Twitter (Fung, 2021).

Leaders' effective use of Twitter is an example of digital diplomacy. Although some leaders do not prefer it, most use social media channels extensively for diplomacy. US President Donald Trump is among the leaders who prefer to use social media more intensively. While leaders actively use social media in domestic politics for reasons such as communicating with their supporters and explaining their policies to the public, they actively use social media in foreign policy for reasons such as communicating their opinions to other leaders, explaining their policies to international actors, and communicating their country's position on international affairs to international community. Trump has actively used Twitter to send messages to both domestic and international public opinion and leaders.

Although the majority of his counterparts and the public opinion have agreed that his tweets were inappropriate for a head of state, Trump has managed to manage the agenda in accordance with his interests by creating a great echo with his tweets. For instance, Trump's tweet about Turkey's operation in northern Syria, in which he threatened Turkey's economy, sent a message to the markets and immediately damaged the Turkish economy (BBC, 2019). This and alike examples demonstrate how digital diplomacy has become an important way for states to increase their soft power in the digital age. Especially today, the widespread use of social media platforms by government officials and diplomats has made digital diplomacy an active practice. Digital diplomacy is used as a foreign policy tool that helps shape the behavior of other states in order to express their values and ideas and create influence. However, it should be noted that the new practices favored in diplomacy with the transformation of diplomacy should not be considered as practices that will replace traditional diplomacy as an important component of soft power in foreign policy, but as practices that will complement traditional diplomacy.

Along with the digitalizing world, there have been some developments in diplomacy. After the diplomatic evolution, diplomacy has started to take place in digital environments in the world shrunk by the internet. Although digital diplomacy, which is a fairly new concept, has a short history, its impact is undeniably wide. Digital diplomacy, which is considered an important component of soft power and a

complement to traditional diplomacy, offers opportunities in foreign policy as well as a stronger impact.

One of the key roles of diplomacy is negotiation. Diplomats are constantly negotiating both at national level and in the international context on a growing number of issues, including maritime law, immigration, scientific and cultural cooperation, trade, tourism and technology transfer, the environment, food safety, security, police cooperation, medical safety, improved health care, research, academic cooperation, poverty, economic development, and children's and women's rights (Ritto, 2014). With many countries now able to discuss any such wide-ranging issue through video conferencing systems, the purpose of diplomacy - the interaction of governments - is significantly affected by these developments. Consequently, digital diplomacy has become a phenomenon that we will be talking more and more in the future.

9. CONCLUSION

This thesis presents a comprehensive analysis of the integration of digitalization into the field of diplomacy and its role in international politics. Digital diplomacy is considered not as an alternative to traditional diplomacy but as a complementary set of elements. This thesis deeply examines how social media platforms have transformed interstate relations and public diplomacy.

Today, social media platforms have enabled states and diplomats to communicate quickly and effectively, creating an impact beyond traditional diplomatic channels. However, this has also led to an increase in misinformation, manipulation, and digital attacks. The thesis offers strategic suggestions on how digital diplomacy practices can manage these kinds of risks.

Additionally, this thesis explores how different countries and international organizations have adopted and implemented digital diplomacy through various case studies. This examination demonstrates how digital diplomacy can create change on a global scale and influence the dynamics of international relations.

Digital diplomacy requires states and diplomats to reevaluate their communication skills and strategies. This involves both the development of technological skills and an awareness of digital ethics and security. The thesis emphasizes the importance of educational programs and policies directed at digital diplomacy, calling for an enhancement of competencies in this area.

One of the social media sites where hashtags are most frequently used to debate the agenda is Twitter. Interaction increases when a topic becomes top trending (TT) on Twitter, meaning it becomes the most talked about issue in just a short period of time. It seems that it is bringing up the agenda of the problem of creating an artificial agenda with bot accounts. The problem continues to appear even the company has been working on it for a long time. Bots or automated social media accounts may manipulate online conversations and spread disinformation.

Other social networks, like Twitter, are similarly open to manipulation. Because of their use of encrypted and destroyed messaging, Twitter may find it difficult to manage misinformation on its networks. This is because it makes it more difficult to analyze

how users share information. In this context, all data containing tweets were collected through Trump Twitter official account.

This study effectively captures the subtle changes in Trump's Twitter messages about Turkey, North Korea, and Iran. It illustrates the complexity of US foreign policy throughout his presidency when various approaches were used with different states. Negative tendency of Iran was frequently seen, which was a reflection of the difficult relations between the two states at the time. The sentiment toward North Korea experienced a noticeable change from effectively negative to more positive, which could be a sign of evolving diplomatic attempts or shifting opinions about the state. Turkey's balanced representation suggests a more stable and multifaceted relationship, with both positive and negative aspects being highlighted. This analysis underscores the importance of digitalization on diplomacy conducted on Twitter by Trump in understanding of US diplomatic dynamics.

Analyzing Trump's tweets regarding Turkey, Iran, and North Korea yields valuable insights into his foreign policy priorities and communication strategies. By conducting sentiment analysis, it provides the overall tone and sentiment of his tweets towards these states, which can shed light on the nature of his interactions and relationships with them. Overall, sentiment analysis of Trump tweets on Twitter provides valuable insights into powerful tool for understanding political dynamics, monitoring trends and current agenda, and getting information in various domains, including foreign policy and political activities.

Donald Trump's use of Twitter was highly influential during his presidency, shaping public discourse, policy debates, and diplomatic relations. He utilized the platform to communicate directly with his supporters, criticize opponents, announce policy decisions, and express his personal opinions on a wide range of issues.

All things considered, Trump's use of Twitter was a unique aspect of his presidency, giving him unprecedented access to his supporters, the ability to affect public opinion, and the ability to impact matters of policy. Even though he took an unusual and often controversial approach to Twitter, it demonstrated his willingness to bypass common channels of communication and interact with the people of the US and the rest of the world directly.

Trump's use of Twitter was a signature aspect of his presidency, demonstrating his unusual attitude, changeable behavior and emphasis on connecting with his supporters directly. His use of Twitter shaped public opinion and allowed him to reach out directly to his supporters, but it also caused significantly of controversy and brought about the use of social media and digitalization in politics.

Digital diplomacy intersects with politics in various ways, ranging from political campaigning and public engagement to diplomatic relations and international influence. As digital technologies continue to evolve, their impact on political communication and diplomacy will likely grow, shaping the way political actors engage with citizens, governments, and the international community.

In conclusion, digital diplomacy will continue to play a central role in the future of international relations. Therefore, it is essential for states and diplomats to continually improve their ability to use digital tools effectively and responsibly. This thesis provides a starting point for understanding current practices and future trends in digital diplomacy and highlights the importance of further in-depth research in this field.

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