UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN SOCIAL MEDIA: AN EXAMINATION OF TWITTER

USE BY FOREIGN EMBASSIES IN THE U.S.

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

S M IMRAN HASNAT PALASH
Norman, Oklahoma
2021

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN SOCIAL MEDIA: AN EXAMINATION OF TWITTER

USE BY FOREIGN EMBASSIES IN THE U.S.

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
GAYLORD COLLEGE OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

Dr. Elanie Steyn, Chair

Dr. David Craig

Dr. Glenn Leshner

Dr. Joe Foote

Dr. Zermarie Deacon

Dr. Kelly Kaufhold

Dedication

To my loving parents, Md. Ramjan Ali Sarker and Ms. Feroza Khatun.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my dissertation committee members who were more than generous with their time and expertise. Special thanks to my chair Dr. Elanie Steyn. Without her continuous support and encouragement, I would not be able to finish this research. She has been the best mentor and chair any graduate student can hope for. All my committee members played valuable roles in shaping this study. I will always be thankful to them. Dr. Foote, despite being retired, has made himself available every time I needed his advice. Dr. Craig, being one of the busiest people on campus, made sure to read my work thoroughly and give valuable feedback. Dr. Leshner has always challenged me to do better. Dr. Kaufhold had to endure tons of extra paperwork and my never-ending emails with questions. Dr. Deacon has always been kind with her feedback and support. I could not ask for a better committee to supervise my dissertation.

Moreover, I would like to thank the Gaylord College of Journalism and Mass Communication and the University of Oklahoma for providing me with numerous opportunities to further my research and teaching with their state-of-the-art technology and other support throughout the graduate program.

Finally, I must express my gratitude to my loving parents, family and friends for their support and encouragement. Thank you for believing in me.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abstract

Digitalization has changed public diplomacy (PD). Literature suggests that the new PD is dialogic and collaborative. Additionally, the presence of embassies online indicates the adoption of new communication platforms. Using Cull's Taxonomy of Public Diplomacy, this study analyzed tweets from January 2020 for 27 foreign embassies based in the U.S. It found that the embassies still predominantly use a traditional broadcast model of communication rather than a collaborative dialogic model. It therefore also found that these embassies do not fully utilize the benefits social media present to its users.

Listening on social media was notably the least-used public diplomacy strategy, while international broadcasting was the most frequently used. Results also show that images are the most-used media and mentions are more frequently used than hashtags. The study also found that there is a correlation between engagement and Twitter content like hashtags and media used in tweets. In an exploratory qualitative analysis of the nature of conversation in the users' replies to tweets, the study found mostly negative sentiment and emotions. This finding, though limited, suggests that embassies should aim to establish a more positive engagement with their audiences.

Overall, this study suggests that there is a significant difference in what literature states the digital public diplomacy should be, the benefits this new way of engaging with audiences could present to public diplomacy efforts, and what it is in practice. The researcher recommends public diplomacy practitioners could implement several strategies to improve their success in conducting public diplomacy via Twitter.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction:

Unprecedented developments in information and communication technologies in the last few decades have created new and emerging communication tools. These tools not only changed how individuals communicate but also made it possible for every organization and individual with access to these tools to share information with a global audience. Social networking technologies gave rise to a new mode of communication and have revolutionized the possibilities of person-to-person communication. It has erased the traditional political and geographical boundaries that once divided cultures and nationalities. As a result, it has changed the conventional ways of life and how things used to operate. It is now impossible to find almost any sector that has not been reformed or impacted by the rapid changes brought about by changed technologies and changed ways of communication.

Diplomacy, an integral part of international relations activity and traditionally claimed as the realm of the nation-state, has now become accessible to other non-state actors and even ordinary citizens. Governments are increasingly using the digital space to conduct their foreign relations and interactions. As a result, public diplomacy has received a significant boost due to digitalization of media and communication. For instance, most embassies around the world have presence in at least one form of social networking sites to engage with their audience directly.

However, there is a lack of research to understand how embassies are using these new tools to conduct their public diplomacy activities. This study aims to work toward filling that gap by exploring the social media landscape of select embassies based in the U.S.

This chapter introduces the study by outlining the context, research problem, research objectives, significance, scope, and limitations.

Context of the Study:

The practice of diplomacy is a historic tradition (Szondi, 2009). In the broad sense, diplomacy is the means of conducting negotiations between nations. Some scholars also apply the term to the strategies and tactics nations use when they negotiate (Pamment, 2012; Snow, 2012). In this context, diplomacy includes formulating the policies that nations follow to influence other nations (Sevin, 2017). Traditionally, diplomacy primarily referred to the formal practice that most nation states follow – sending representatives to live in other countries. These diplomats or envoys help establish and maintain everyday relationships between their country and the country in which they are hosted (Leonard, 2002). They work to gain political or economic advantages for their country and to promote international cooperation (Berridge, 2015).

Diplomacy is the established method of influencing the decisions and behavior of foreign governments and peoples through dialogue, negotiation, and other measures to avoid war or violence (Jönsson & Hall, 2005). Therefore, communication is (and has always been) an integral part of diplomatic practice (Saliu, 2020). When it comes to diplomacy, the tools most used for persuasion are words and imagery, shared symbols,

and shared meaning to cultivate a mutually favorable relationship (Jönsson & Hall, 2005). Diplomats' roles are closely aligned with what Aristotle defined as the role of a rhetorician: to be able to see what is persuasive (Scott-Smith, 2008). In Aristotelian philosophy, rhetoric is defined as the ability to see what is possibly persuasive in every given case (Rapp, 2011). Therefore, it is important for diplomats to have a complete understanding of the means of persuasion if they are to fulfill their roles satisfactorily.

Diplomatic communication is not limited to interaction between governments. Countries have always wanted to communicate with the citizens of other countries and influence their opinions (Schindler, 2018). This form of diplomatic communication practice is known as public diplomacy (Tuch, 1990).

Conventionally, public diplomacy is understood as influence over foreign public opinion that would impact the conduct of diplomacy. Earlier definitions of the concept state that nations should influence the opinions of elite groups in foreign nations, which would then impact their governments' policies (Pamment, 2012). More recently, scholars have defined public diplomacy as "the instrument used by the states, associations of the states, and some non-state stakeholders to understand the culture, positions, and behaviors; to establish and manage relations; to influence opinions and mobilize actions that steer forward their interests and values" (Gregory, 2011, p. 3). Symbolically, this definition is about "the democratization of public diplomacy" which is a phenomenon that gained prominence in the last decade (Melissen, 2011, p. 2).

The digitalization, globalization and emergence of affordable new media technologies (and subsequently the process of communication) presents a new challenge

to the centuries-old, traditional approach to public diplomacy that was structured around ministries of foreign affairs and entities communicating in a structured and organized way. Pamment (2012) emphasizes that the new public diplomacy becomes the larger paradigm in the changes of the international political communication; from "the old public diplomacy of the 20th century, when we had the one-way communication into the new two-way diplomacy of the 21st century" (p. 3). He further argues that the "borders have become permeable as the recent technological advances have allowed for more stakeholders to partake in communication ... adding to the debate, the new public diplomacy becomes a dialogue, becomes collaborative and inclusive" (Pamment, 2012, p. 3).

This transformation of public diplomacy, from one-way to multi-way communication, has primarily been facilitated by the advancements in Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). The proliferation of digital technology in diplomacy can easily be seen these days, especially with most of the foreign ministries and their embassies and heads of state being on social media and communicating directly with a variety of publics. Szondi argues that, in analyzing definitions of public diplomacy in a historical context, "a clear shift can be detected from achieving behavioral goals to attitudinal/cognitive goals; ranging from information provision to communication; persuasion to relationship building; and managing publics to engaging with publics" (2009, pp. 16-17).

In modern-day diplomacy, the individual is at the core of public diplomacy. Instead of a traditional top-down approach, the contemporary approach to diplomacy is bottom-up, with a goal to solve international conflicts and create harmony (Snow, 2020).

In contemporary societies, various state and non-state actors communicate with foreign individuals or peoples without the need for foreign diplomats, exchange programs or visits. This, too, is a direct result of the development of communication technology, which enables real-time communication among people from different corners of the world without them having to be geographically close. In this respect, Cull (2012) emphasizes the role of new media and new channels of communication, such as social networking sites, to facilitate new public diplomacy efforts among international stakeholders.

McNutt (2014) argues that Social Networking Sites (SNS) may be the perfect tools for the practice of the "new" public diplomacy, as they enable organizations to transition from "broadcast" to "communicative" paradigms that are centered on interaction with online users. SNS such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and Instagram are particularly relevant to the new public diplomacy as relationships are the foundation of social networking sites (Waters et al., 2009). In Addition, SNS platforms provide an ideal solution to easy two-way and multi-way engagement as organizations may communicate with individuals on topics of shared interest (Bortree & Seltzer, 2009). However, mere presence in social media does not guarantee that an individual or a government practices digital diplomacy. The practice depends on a government's willingness to interact with online foreign publics through engagement and listening (Pamment, 2012). To be successful, those involved in public diplomacy activities must interact with SNS users and communities that can be found in the new online public sphere (Bortree & Seltzer, 2009).

The utilization of ICTs in diplomacy is now a global phenomenon. As of October 2019, 187 countries had a Twitter account for governments and foreign ministries, which represents 97% of all UN nations (Twiplomacy, 2020); 93% of those countries have a presence on Facebook and 81% are on Instagram, showing that governments are adapting to the new channels of communication. Social media is reshaping mass communication. Anyone with an internet-enabled phone can access, reach, and engage with technically any audience in any part of the world. This has a profound impact on the essence of public diplomacy. Therefore, public diplomacy scholars must understand and address this arena to formulate effective public diplomacy practices.

Problem Statement:

Given this context of the digitalization of public diplomacy and impact of social networking sites on the practice of public diplomacy, it is imperative to understand how foreign governments are using social media to communicate with their audiences. The U.S. is the world's largest political power and maintains a stronghold in international relations. It also hosts 922 combined diplomatic missions (embassies, consulates, missions, etc.) – the highest of any country in the world (Lowy Institute, 2019). Therefore, studying foreign governments' public diplomacy efforts in the U.S. is arguably most appropriate to gauge the use of social media in public diplomacy practice. Additionally, all the existing studies look at either one country's public diplomacy practice in the U.S. or compare two opposing countries' public diplomacy practices in the U.S. As a result, there is lack of understanding about the social media landscape of foreign public diplomacy practice via social networking sites in the U.S. Being able to see a bigger picture of the social media usage practice for multiple foreign governments

will help understand the overall public diplomacy practice via social media in other countries as well. Therefore, this study aims to study social media messages from 27 countries with strong public diplomacy programs and with embassies in the U.S.

The study focuses on embassies as proxy unit for the country. The primary rationale for that is, while other entities such as ministries/departments of foreign affairs, foreign ministers/secretaries might have a broader audience, they are not locally based and are not as integrated in the collaborative public diplomatic practice as the embassies are. Also, the study could use the ambassadors instead of the embassy as a proxy unit, but many ambassadors do not maintain professional accounts on social networking sites. Additionally, ambassadors rotate at the end of their term, whereas the embassies are more permanent. Therefore, choosing embassies as the unit of research instead of ambassadors streamlines the nature of the public diplomacy messages examined by this research. By studying such messages, the objective of this research is to illustrate the social media landscape of the foreign embassies in the U.S. and examine their use of social media for public diplomacy.

Research Questions:

This study aims to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: What was the Twitter landscape of select Washington-based embassies on the 2019 Soft Power 30 Index at the beginning of 2020?

RQ1a: What is the difference in the Twitter landscape among these embassies?

RQ2: What type of content are these embassies publishing on Twitter?

RQ2a: What is the difference in content type among these embassies?

RQ2b. What content type gets most audience engagement?

RQ3: What categories from Cull's (2008) taxonomy of public diplomacy are most prominent in these tweets?

RQ3a. How is this prominence different among embassies?

RQ3b. Which categories get the most audience engagement?

RQ4: What is the nature of the conversation among the audience in tweets with the highest number of replies?

Significance of the Study:

Literature suggests that the new digital public diplomacy, empowered by advancements in information and communication technology, is becoming a primary force of diplomatic relations. Increasing numbers of governments, alongside other non-state actors, are using this communication technology. However, given the relatively new nature of this, neither scholars nor practitioners know how the technology and the use thereof will reshape future public diplomacy efforts. Moreover, scholars also do not fully understand how the agents of public diplomacy are currently using it.

This study will significantly increase the understanding of these issues in the following ways:

- Firstly, by delineating the social media landscape of the select sample of embassies the study enhances understanding of the audiences of their public

8

diplomacy messages. It also helps to understand the embassies' potential reach and frequency of communication.

- Secondly, analyzing the public diplomacy messages the sample of embassies sent gives insight into how embassies are using this new mode of communication. This, in turn, provides understanding of how the current digital diplomatic practices differ from conventional methods, if at all.

- Thirdly, applying an established taxonomy of public diplomacy tests its compatibility with modern-day digital diplomacy practices and helps extend the theoretical knowledge of the public diplomacy domain.

- Finally, being able to explore what types of content gets the most attention from the different embassies' audience helps with understanding the receiving-end of the communication chain. This understanding and insight enables digital diplomacy practitioners to craft their messages more effectively.

Overall, the researcher believes this study prepares a path for larger scale future explorations into the field of digital public diplomacy. These future studies could include not only state actors but also non-state actors, including influential individuals.

Limitations:

Like any individual study, this study is not all conclusive by itself. It has limitations both from a logistical and methodological perspective. Logistically, the study could include all the embassies in the U.S. that have a social media presence. This would have presented complete picture of these embassies' social media landscape. However, undertaking such a large-scale research project is beyond the scope of this dissertation

due to financial and time restrictions. Moreover, the study only covers one month as a period of data collection, which can skew the results in some ways. However, the researcher selected this time period because it best reflects a "normal time" period to minimize the possibility of skewness. For future studies, the timeline could be extended.

Methodologically, the study only involves embassies as proxy for the states. However, there are many other important actors in the public diplomacy arena and who could provide valuable insight into public diplomacy activities. However, for reasons highlighted earlier, the researcher chose to focus on the embassies for the scope of this study. Additionally, the study uses counts of likes, comments and shares as indicators of audience engagement. Although this is one legitimate way to quantify engagement, it does not take the valance of the engagement into account. Similarly, there are several factors associated with analyzing audiences and their motivation to engage in social media. This study only covers some of these factors and additional sentiment analyses of audience engagement could help inform future researchers about the relationship between content type and engagement.

Finally, the study uses the U.S. as the host country for the embassies. As a result, the outcome of this study might not apply to all other countries as embassies in each country operate under different circumstances, both political and cultural. Therefore, the findings cannot be uniformly generalized to other countries.

Structure:

This research aims to analyze the social media use of embassies for public diplomacy by evaluating existing literature on the topic and by conducting primary

research to better understand the topic. The entire process is presented in the dissertation in eight chapters, and as follows:

- **Chapter 1 – Introduction:** This chapter presents an overview of the study by providing context, a brief literature review, the research problem, research questions, significance, and limitations of the study.

- **Chapter 2 – Diplomacy:** This chapter starts the literature review by focusing on the concept of diplomacy and its connection to nation state and power and its root in persuasion. It also discusses the different approaches to and types of diplomacy.

- **Chapter 3 – Public Diplomacy:** This chapter continues the literature review on public diplomacy and elaborates on the evolving nature of diplomacy in general, focusing on and how modern-day public diplomacy operates. Moreover, the chapter situates public diplomacy with other related concepts such as soft power, national interest, and nation branding.

- **Chapter 4 – Digital Diplomacy and Social Media:** The final chapter of the literature review focuses on the spread of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in conducting public diplomacy, defines what digital diplomacy is, and discusses its benefits and challenges. In addition, this chapter discusses the role of social media in modern-day diplomacy.

- **Chapter 5 – Taxonomies of Public Diplomacy:** The chapter introduces the theoretical aspects of the study and discusses taxonomies and their use, with a specific focus on taxonomies of public diplomacy. Additionally, using Cull's

2008 taxonomy of public diplomacy the chapter elaborates on the theoretical model that guides this study.

- **Chapter 6 – Methodology:** This chapter provides the roadmap for how the research in this study was carried out, including the research design, sampling process, method of data collection and data analysis, as well as reliability and validity of the study.

- **Chapter 7 – Results and Analysis:** This chapter presents the findings of the study along with an in-depth analysis thereof.

- **Chapter 8 – Discussion and Conclusion:** The final chapter of the study draws conclusions form the study and connects it to existing literature to provide further knowledge of and insight into the field. Additionally, based on the results, this chapter presents relevant recommendations for both theoretical and practical aspects of public diplomacy.

Summary:

This chapter provided an introduction and overview of the study by outlining the different elements thereof, including the context, a brief literature review, presentation of the research problem, research questions, significance and limitations of the study.

The next chapter starts the literature review for the study by discussing the concept of diplomacy and its connection to nation state and power as well as its root in persuasion. It will also discuss the different approaches to and types of diplomacy.

Chapter 2: Diplomacy

Introduction:

The previous chapter briefly discussed the study in its entirety, including the context, existing literature, the gap in our understanding of public diplomacy in the age of digital media, specific research questions pertaining to the study and most importantly the methodology to address these questions.

This chapter covers the concept of diplomacy and its connection to nation state and power. It also discusses the different approaches to and types of diplomacy. Finally, it focuses on the root of diplomacy – persuasion.

Defining Diplomacy:

The practice of diplomacy is an ancient tradition (Szondi, 2008). Unquestionably, the concept of diplomacy goes back further than the recorded history thereof. The concept of diplomacy might seem like one that would come naturally once any civilization reaches a certain level of complexity. "This hypothesis is supported by the fact that ideas relating to diplomacy have arisen in many primitive societies, seemingly without external intervention" (Szykman, 1995, p. 9). For example, the idea of modern-day diplomatic immunity is known among the Australian aborigines (Szondi, 2008). As De Magalhães's (1988) study of diplomacy among primitive societies in Africa, Asia, Australia, and the Americas showed, "familiarity with ideas such as messengers and envoys to maintain intertribal relations" (p. 32) was a common phenomenon among these societies. As we lack in documented and preserved record, very little is known about

diplomacy in ancient history. Although few, there are references to diplomatic concepts in societies like the Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Hebrews, the Chinese, and the Hindus (Szykman, 1995).

According to Webster's Third New International Dictionary (1981), two definitions for "diplomacy" are:

- the art and practice of conducting negotiations between nations for the attainment of mutually satisfactory terms; and
- adroitness or artfulness in securing advantages without arousing hostility: address or tact in conduct of affairs.

The word diplomacy generally refers to "the art of conducting the intercourse of nations with each other" (Britannica, 2019). Cull defines diplomacy as "the mechanisms short of war deployed by an international actor to manage the international environment" (2009a, p. 12). Diplomacy is about persuasion, not coercion. It is about looking for and finding common ground, about forging agreement, and achieving a balance of benefits that will allow each party to end negotiation with at least some degree of satisfaction (Constantinou, Kerr & Sharp, 2016).

In simpler words, diplomacy is the means of conducting negotiations between nations. Some scholars today also apply the term to the strategies and tactics nations use when they negotiate. In this sense, diplomacy involves formulating the policies that nations follow to influence other nations. When diplomacy fails during a major crisis, war often occurs. Traditionally, however, diplomacy referred to the formal practice that most nations follow: sending representatives to live in other countries. These diplomats

14

help establish and maintain day-to-day relationships between their country and the country in which they serve. They work to gain political or economic advantages for their country and to promote international cooperation (Berridge, 2015).

Persuasion – The Root of Diplomacy:

Diplomacy is the established method of influencing the decisions and behavior of foreign governments and peoples through dialogue, negotiation, and other measures to avoid war or violence (Jönsson & Hall, 2005). A newer avenue of diplomacy, public diplomacy, further concentrates on these methods in communicating with the public of any given country (Gilboa, 2008) (see chapter 3 for a full discussion on public diplomacy). To achieve these goals, countries employ the services of diplomats, whose primary roles are transactional in nature (Hampton, 2011). They influence and negotiate and perform these duties through persuasion and other techniques (Jönsson & Hall, 2005).

This role that diplomats fulfill is closely aligned with what Aristotle defined as the role of a rhetorician: to be able to see what is persuasive (Scott-Smith, 2008). In Aristotelian philosophy, rhetoric is defined as the ability to see what is possibly persuasive in every given case (Rapp, 2011). This is not to say that the rhetorician will be able to convince under all circumstances. Rather they are in a situation similar to that of a physician: a physician who has a complete understanding of their profession and only if they neglect nothing, a patient might be cured. However, no doctor has the ability to heal every patient. Similarly, a rhetorician who has a complete grasp of their available means of persuasion might still not be able to convince everybody. Therefore, it is important for

diplomats to have a complete understanding of means of persuasion if they are to fulfill their roles satisfactorily.

In the next sections of the chapter, the researcher draws a prospectus of the key elements that make the case for use of persuasion in diplomacy, based on the work of prominent persuasion scholars like Aristotle (ca. 350 B.C.E./2019), Bernays (1923), Cialdini (2016) and others.

Aristotelian Persuasion:

Aristotle focused on speech as the primary channel of persuasion (Scott-Smith, 2008). According to Aristotle, speech consists of three components (Rapp, 2011): the speaker, the subject that is treated in the speech, and the listener to whom the speech is addressed. As a result, Aristotle suggested three means of persuasion, each focused on one component of the speech: *ethos* (the character of the speaker), *pathos* (the emotional state of the audience), and *logos* (the logic of the argument).

The next section briefly explains each.

Ethos:

Ethos is the Greek word for "character." Persuasion is accomplished by character when the speech is held in a way that makes the speaker credible. If this is the case, the audience will form a second-order judgment that, since the speaker is credible, their propositions are also true or acceptable. According to Aristotle, a speaker must display three key elements to be considered credible: practical intelligence, virtuous character, and good will.

If the orator or speaker lacks all three these components, the audience will doubt their credibility and not accept their argument. However, if the speaker displays practical intelligence but not good will or virtuous character, the audience will be skeptical about what the speaker wishes to achieve. Similarly, if the speaker displays intelligence and virtuous character but not good will, the audience can still doubt whether the speaker is able to give good suggestions, even though they have expertise in the area. On the other hand, if a speaker displays all three elements, Aristotle argues, an audience cannot rationally doubt that their suggestions are credible. As a result, the speaker becomes more persuasive (Roberts, 1954; Cowan & Arsenault, 2008; Heinrichs, 2017, Cialdini, 2016).

Pathos:

Pathos is the Greek word for both "suffering" and "experience" (Rapp, 2011). Aristotle used this word to describe the emotional state of the audience – a factor that, according to Aristotle, affects the success of the persuasive message. Receivers of a message do not judge it in the same way when they are happy than when they are sad or when they are friendly than when they are hostile. Therefore, it is the speaker's task to create emotions among the audience that are favorable toward the goal of the argument. Cialdini's "pre-suasion" is heavily dependent on this idea (2016). According to this idea, the speaker can arouse the desired emotions in the audience only if they know the definition of every emotion. Aristotle did just that by defining almost every possible emotion in his Rhetoric II (Kennedy, 2007). For example, anger is defined as "desire, accompanied with pain, for conspicuous revenge for a conspicuous slight … when such a slight is undeserved." The speaker needs to be aware of the emotions of the mass and tailor their message accordingly to invoke the desired response. For example, in the anger

scenario, Aristotle suggests that the orator needs to know in what state of mind people are angry; at whom; and for what reasons. With these three elements they should be able to provoke anger among the audience and drive them toward the desired goal.

Logos:

Logos is the Greek word for "word," "reason" and "logic" (Rapp, 2011). In Aristotelian terms, logos is the means to convince an audience by using logic or reason (Cope, 1877; Scott-Smith, 2008; Kennedy, 2007). This is one of the three pillars of Aristotle's rhetoric. A speaker persuades by argument when they demonstrate that something is logical and appropriate. For this, speakers need to build on the audience's existing beliefs and attitudes so that they are self-convinced (Nussbaum, 1996; Heinrichs, 2017). If a speaker does not use the audience's existing beliefs as the ground to build upon, the audience will resist the argument, as they might perceive that the speaker or the argument is attacking their beliefs.

Aristotle elaborates on two kinds of arguments: inductive and deductive (Allen, 2007; Rapp, 2011). According to him, induction is when a speaker approaches the argument from the particulars to the general. On the other hand, deduction is when a speaker approaches the argument from the general to the specific. In rhetoric, Aristotle calls deductive arguments enthymeme and goes into depth about its use in dialectical arguments. He differentiates between arguments from probable premises and from signs. An example of using enthymeme is: all men are mortal; Socrates is a man. Therefore, Socrates is mortal – which cannot be refuted if the premise is true. In induction, the same

logic goes in the opposite direction: Socrates is mortal; Socrates is a man. Therefore, all men are mortal.

Aristotle ultimately sought to equip political representatives with a means to interpret, evaluate, and act upon the arguments and opinions the community channeled to them (Heinrichs, 2017; Allen, 2007). Aristotle was well-aware that disagreement among human beings is inevitable, since their individual perceptions of the world that surrounds them are not uniform. Additionally, people communicate their perceptions about how the world functions through language (Larkin, 2013). As a result, it is difficult to tell whose opinion is the most accurate and the most valuable for the community. People therefore devised rhetoric to help them accomplish accord within the community (Rapp, 2011).

To accomplish this, the rhetorician uses language to find the means of persuasion that would sustain their point of view, change an audience's thinking and behavior, or strengthen existing beliefs within the audience (Allen, 2007). This is true for both individuals and groups. Most often, if not always, it is impossible to work at individual level when it comes to changing people's mind. Therefore, in practice, particularly in practice of public diplomacy, the unit of analysis is a group of individuals, also known as the public (Converse, 2006). Public opinion, therefore, is the collective opinion of people in a given society or state on an issue or problem (Lippmann, 1922).

The next section elaborates on the issue of public opinion and its connection to public diplomacy.

Public Opinion:

According to Bernays (1923) public opinion is the accumulation of the individual views, beliefs, and attitudes regarding a certain topic, voiced and supported by a considerable fraction of a society. Some scholars treat the aggregate as a synthesis of the views of all or a certain segment of society. Others regard it as a collection of many differing or opposing views.

The influence of public opinion is not restricted to politics and elections, however. It is a powerful force in many other spheres, including culture, fashion, literature and the arts (Lippmann, 1922; Oxley & Clawson, 2020). However, the most common expression of public opinion can be observed through elections and other policy changes. Since public opinion is an aggregate of the individual view, it is important to understand both the aggregated form and individual forms thereof, if one wants to sway it in a particular direction.

That is exactly the goal of public diplomacy: to change or create a favorable public opinion in the host country so that the public favors friendly policy toward and relations between the countries involved.

Edward Bernays' *Crystalizing Public Opinion* (1923) offers a deeper understanding of public opinion and how "public relations counsel" can manage public opinion in favor of their client. As an attorney, Bernays explains the role of "public relations counsel" from a legal perspective and specifically from the perspective of advising clients (be it individuals, companies, non-profits, or governments) on how to

manage public perception. Similar to legal counsel, the PR counsel operates behind the scenes as an "invisible wire puller" (Bernays, 1923).

In the diplomatic world, Bernays' role of "public relations counsel" easily fits into what diplomats do for their government. Diplomats, particularly public diplomats – also known as public affairs officers – in many diplomatic missions, are tasked to manage public opinion in favor of their county and its policy standpoints. Additionally, they work as representatives of their country, building and maintaining an image of the country in the host nations. It is not a coincidence that the chief diplomat to a country is called an 'ambassador' – meaning representative, promoter, and messenger. Therefore, the job of the ambassador, and in general, diplomats, is to convey messages of their government to the other countries, represent and promote their countries, like a public relations counsel would do for their client.

Bernays (1923) argued that most human activities are based on experience rather than analysis. This argument opens the path toward understanding public opinion as an aggregate of individual experiences. This characteristic of the human mind to adhere to its beliefs is invariably regarded as rational and defended by the individuals as such (Marsh, 1985). Consequently, the individuals think about the beliefs of others who holds contrary views to be obviously unreasonable. Many factors in an individual's environment form fundamental assumptions that cause this difference. Translating the individual assumptions to public opinion brings us to what Bernays (1923) called "herd" or "crowd" mentality – a mentality based on stereotypes. Thus, the public relations counsel must consider the a priori judgment of any public they deal with before

considering or suggesting any step that would modify the things in which the public has an established belief.

Political, economic, and moral judgments are often expressions of crowd psychology and herd reaction rather than the result of the calm exercise of judgment (Reicher, 2012). Public opinion in a society consists of the opinions of millions of people. Although the opinions might not be the same, it simply requires a level of uniformity based on the understanding and beliefs of the average members of society as a whole or of the particular group to which one may belong (Bernays, 1923). There is a different set of facts on every subject for each individual. Society cannot wait to find absolute truth. It cannot weigh every issue carefully before making a judgment. The result is that the so-called truths by which society lives are born of compromise among conflicting desires and of interpretation by many minds. They are accepted and intolerantly maintained once they have been determined. Since the goal of public diplomacy is essentially to change the heart and minds of the public in favor of a country and its policies, understanding public opinion is a must for diplomats (Cull, 2009a).

To address the problem, Bernays recommend that the "public relations counsel" or public diplomacy practitioners must first analyze the client's problem and objective/s. Next, they must analyze the public they are trying to reach. They also need to develop a plan of action for the client to follow and determine the methods and the organs of distribution available for reaching the public (Bernays, 1923). Finally, they must try to estimate the interaction between their client and the public they seek to reach. Since the public relations counsel works with *public* opinion and not *individual* opinion, they must

be able to generalize their ideas and strategies as much as possible in an effort to appeal to as many sections of society as possible (Bernays, 1923).

Role of Pre-Sueding in Engaging with the Audience:

In analyzing Bernays' approach above, it has become clear that people have their set beliefs systems. These can only be modified by careful approach and use of persuasive technique (Converse, 2006).

In his seminal work, *Pre-suasion*, another prominent contemporary scholar in the field of persuasion, Robert Cialdini (2016), offers some insights into how that might be achieved. Cialdini (2016) argues that priming the audience toward set objectives increases the likelihood of them being persuaded. Using the term 'pre-suasion,' he emphasizes a relationship-building approach to persuade the target audience. In public diplomacy, this relationship building approach is essential. As discussed earlier, public opinion, once formed, is generally resistant to change (Marsh, 1985). There is also the fact that foreign publics are often skeptical about governments' agendas (Halabi, 2018). Many factors can affect this, including historical relations between the countries, cultural differences, ideological points of view and even image of the country (Hasnat & Steyn, 2019). Therefore, public diplomacy professionals need to understand how persuasion works to accomplish their goals. Cialdini (2016) offers several ways to achieve pre-suasion, the most prominent ones applicable to this study and to the theoretical framework for the study (see chapter 5) are discussed below:

Establishing Trust with the Target Audience:

Trust is a quality that leads to compliance with requests, if the sender of the message can establish it well before the request is made (Cialdini, 2016). In the context of diplomacy, it is important that governments can establish trust with foreign audiences. Mogensen (2015) found that trust building for public diplomacy is best achieved by linking it with traditional and tangible diplomatic efforts. Additionally, the study suggested that people-to-people relations via exchange programs and such are more effective since trust in foreign people and trust in foreign governments move at different pace (Mogensen, 2015). To establish trust, positive messaging alone is not as successful as positive messaging accompanied by real-life positive events that lead to trust building (Susskind & Islam, 2012).

Positive Association:

When people associate the source of information with something they deem positive, they are likely to agree with the source and ultimately the message sent by the source. In that case, they are more likely to agree to what the sender of the message is asking them for (Cialdini, 2016). Applying this association to diplomacy, it can be said that the same is true for countries: those with a positive global image are more likely to be treated in a friendly way than those without the positive association. Several studies in both developed and developing countries have shown that positive global image helps a country to be more influential in international affairs (see Hasnat & Steyn, 2019; White, 2012; Hakala, Lemmetyinen & Kantola, 2013).

Context:

The goal of persuasion determines what techniques can and should be used. Whether someone sells life insurance or whether a government wants to change the public's opinion about going to war, the sender of the message needs to be persuasive in their communication. However, they cannot use the same communication technique, tools or platform to get their message across and achieve their goal (Cialdini, 2016). Within the context of this study public diplomacy professionals need to understand the context and use appropriate public diplomacy tools. Cowan & Cull (2008) argued that different tools of public diplomacy, such as exchange programs, place/nation branding, international broadcasting, all work in different ways. They also suggest that an integrated approach, combining multiple tools, is often the best strategy.

Influence:

Influence is the key to persuasion, but not something easily obtained (Cialdini, 2006; Knowles & Linn, 2004). Cialdini (2016) offers six pillars of influence needed for successful persuasion: reciprocation, liking, social proof, authority, scarcity, and consistency. Within the context of diplomacy influence is key to achieving any goals. A country can have influence in different ways using both hard and soft power. However, Waller (2009) suggests that all influence should start with strategic communication. In a study of the influence of lobbies in U.S. foreign policy, Newhouse (2009) found that lobbies with historical and economic ties have been able to exert the most influence in U.S. foreign policy than either reward or punish toward another country.

Privileged Moments:

Successful persuasion is time-dependent. As Cialdini (2016) points out, there are privileged moments, identifiable points in time, when an individual is particularly receptive to a message. The factor that most likely determines a person's choice in a situation is often not the one that offers the most accurate or useful counsel but the one that given most attention (Cialdini, 2016). If one applies this to diplomacy, being able to act at the right moment or not can either make or break diplomatic relations (Seib, 2012). This is especially true in the current age of digital communication where information spreads in real time. Recent cases show how failure to act in time resulted in catastrophic diplomatic breakdown. For instance, the assassination of journalist Jamal Khashoggi by the Saudi government (Abrahams & Leber, 2020), as well as Iranian armed forces shooting down Ukraine International Airlines Flight 752 (Azimi, 2020) drew severe international backlash to those countries.

Persuasive Geographies:

There is a geography of influence. Just as words and images can prompt certain associations favorable to change, so can places (Knowles & Linn, 2004). Thus, it becomes possible for individuals to send themselves into specific directions by associating themselves with physical and/or psychological environments. This is especially possible if these environments can be set up with cues associated with the communicator's relevant goals (Cialdini, 2016). Influencers can also achieve their goals by shifting others to environments with supportive cues. When one looks at the interrelationship between diplomacy and persuasive geographies, Casero-Ripollés, Micó-

Sanz and Díez-Bosch (2020) found that demographics, cultural factors, and proximity to the centers of political power are factors conditioning the structure of political polarization. De Blasio et al. (2020) showed that based on the use of media and psychological cues, people are influenced differently by social media messages at different times. Therefore, public diplomacy practitioners must not only consider the fixed geographies of influence (such as demography and proximity) but also shifting geographies of timing and psychological cues.

Attention:

According to Cialdini (2016) humans' tendency is to assign importance to an idea as soon as they turn their attention to that idea. This channeled attention, in turn, leads to pre-suasion. Based on this premise, channeled attention helps people to pay more attention to the ideas that are presented in that very moment than they would pay to other ideas presented at a time when they are not paying that much attention. Within the context of diplomacy, channeled attention is essential to change someone's heart and mind. Without attention, information is not processed properly. It therefore has the potential to have minimal to no impact on individuals (Gangula et al., 2019). In line with Cialdini, Entman (2004) suggests similar ideas like framing, priming and agenda setting to channel audience attention to a specific issue and influence public opinion as a result.

In the previous sections the researcher discussed what persuasion is, why it is important for diplomacy, how public opinion works and how it can be changed. One thing that had been central in these discussions is the fact that the channel and properties of communication are key to successful persuasion.

When it comes to diplomacy, the tools most commonly used for persuasion are words and imagery, shared symbols and shared meaning to cultivate a mutually favorable relationship (Jönsson & Hall, 2005). Perhaps the most important scholar to focus on this discourse is Aristotle. In his work, *Rhetoric* (Aristotle, ca. 350 B.C.E./2019), Aristotle argues that even if the speaker had the exact knowledge of the subject, it is impossible to educate a mass audience, given the available resources. Therefore, everyone who needs to make an argument through which they want to change the minds of the public, needs the help of rhetoric. Both Bernays and Cialdini borrowed ideas from Aristotle when they make their specific cases for how to most effectively persuade the public.

Aristotle believed that the audience for a public speech consists of ordinary people who are not able to follow exact proof based on the principles of a science (Rapp, 2011). Further, such an audience can easily be distracted by factors that do not relate to the subject at all; sometimes they are receptive to flattery or just try to increase their own advantage (Larkin, 2013). Finally, most of the topics that are usually discussed in public speeches do not allow for exact knowledge but leave room for doubt. In such cases, it is especially important that the speaker is credible, and that the audience is in a sympathetic mood. For all those reasons, affecting the decisions of juries and assemblies is a matter of persuasiveness, not knowledge, according to Aristotle. Though some people are randomly persuasive or are persuasive by habit, Aristotle argues that rhetoric gives a method to discover all means of persuasion on any topic (Aristotle, ca. 350 B.C.E./2019; Allen, 2007).

As can be seen from the above, the discussion on rhetoric, persuasion and public opinion is interconnected and all three elements play a role in conducting diplomacy. The

next section of the chapter dives deeper into the approaches to diplomacy and their connection to power. It also gives a brief history of diplomacy and outlines types of diplomacy.

Approaches to Diplomacy:

States generally pursue diplomacy in one of three ways (Berridge, 2015):

- Unilaterally, where the state acts alone, without the assistance or consent of any other state;

- Bilaterally, where the state works in conjunction with another state; and

- Multilaterally, where the state works in conjunction with several other states.

There are advantages and disadvantages to each of these three approaches. Acting unilaterally, for example, allows a state to do what it wants without compromise, but it must also bear all the costs itself. Acting with allies, on the other hand, allows a state to maintain good relations and to share the diplomatic burden. This often requires compromise.

Power and Diplomacy:

Diplomacy is inevitably linked to power. The work of Joseph Nye is well known in this respect, particularly as it relates to soft power. Soft power is based on "intangible or indirect influences such as culture, values, and ideology" (Snow, 2008, p. 23). It is arguably the most referenced term in the public diplomacy lexicon (Gilboa, 2008), though its popularity does not mean that all scholars agree on its definition and application.

Nye first coined the term "soft power" in 1990. He wrote that the United States must invest in measures that lead to better ties that bind:

> … the richest country in the world could afford both better education at home and the international influence that comes from an effective aid and information program abroad. What is needed is increased investment in 'soft power,' the complex machinery of interdependence, rather than in 'hard power'—that is, expensive new weapons systems. (p. 162)

Over the past 30 years, in international relations, the traditional methods of coercion using force (economic, military or other), known as "hard power" are losing space to the subtler approach of persuasion and effective influence known as "soft power" (Cull, 2019a). This is the result of several factors that have essentially been identified as the complex interdependence, the empowerment of public opinion, the revolution in the means of mass communication, the flow of ideas and information through electronic means, and prominently the phenomenon called "cultural globalization" (Nanyonga, 2019).

These changes in understanding of power did not take place overnight but was shaped by historical developments over a long period of time and specially influenced by the two world wars (Cull, 2009b). The next section of the chapter provides a brief history of diplomacy up to the end of the Second World War.

Brief History of Diplomacy:

Although the word diplomacy is comparatively of a recent origin (Jönsson & Hall, 2005), the practice of sending official envoys to foreign political jurisdictions to represent a sovereign political entity is ancient (Leguey-Feilleux, 2009). Rulers in Greece, Persia, India, and China exchanged messages and gifts, negotiated treaties and alliances, signed peace agreements, and sometimes mediated disputes between neighboring sovereigns from as early as 1st millennium B.C.E. (Cooper, Heine & Thakur, 2013).

The Greek city-states exchanged duly accredited ambassadors who presented their case to rulers and citizens' assemblies and enjoyed a measure of immunity that went beyond the prevailing standards of local hospitality toward foreigners (Leguey-Feilleux, 2009). Being a good public speaker was a key requirement of ambassadors at the time, since they were expected to address the citizens of the city-state they were accredited to at the "agora," or public square. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the great Greek philosopher, Aristotle therefore promoted the importance of rhetoric in conducting such activity that involved public speaking and persuasion (Rapp, 2011). Customs, ceremonies, and rules of procedure were established and institutionalized by early Greek city states. The first recorded diplomatic summit is claimed to be the Sparta Conference held in 432 BC to discuss whether or not to declare war against the Athenians (Leguey-Feilleux, 2009).

The Romans refined the role of emissaries to include trained observation and interpretation of conditions and opinions in the host country and negotiation in pursuit of

the empire's interests (Osborne, 2018). Important innovations included the extension of diplomatic immunity, and the practice of international arbitration through commissions (Cooper, Heine & Thakur, 2013). On the other side of the world, in India, the Arthashastra, a treatise on statecraft, military strategy, and economic policy by Kautilya (350–283 BCE), classified diplomatic representatives into plenipotentiaries (fully empowered to represent the king), envoys with limited negotiating authority, and simple messengers (Boesche, 2002). All were to be accorded special international protection. The most important innovation of modern diplomatic practice, residential diplomacy, was originated in the second half of the 15th century among the Italian city states (Satow, 2009). Envoys were soon stationed in important capitals like Paris, Madrid, and Vienna to communicate messages and observe and interpret shifting moods and alliances and dynastic struggles for power in kingdoms most likely to intervene in the Italian Wars from 1494 to 1559 (Anderson, 2014). Many of the standard practices associated with modern diplomacy, such as the use of diplomatic couriers and elaborate written reports on developments in the host country, were refined during this period (Jönsson & Hall, 2005).

The age of classical European diplomacy began with the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which marks the transition from Christendom to the modern states system (De Carles, 2016). In the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), Cardinal Richelieu, by aligning France with the Protestants at the cost of the expansion of the Holy Roman Empire that would have weakened the French king, elevated state interests above the values of the religious community as the guiding principle of foreign policy (Turnbull, 2018). The Congress of Vienna codified diplomacy as a characteristic institution of the new states

system in 1815 and set out the international codes of conduct governing diplomatic discourse among sovereign states in the interests of the nation as a whole rather than of any given dynasty (Cooper, Heine & Thakur, 2013). Following the Congress of Vienna, Europe enjoyed a hundred years free of major war under the Concert system. But its collapse under the weight of the First World War discredited the system of clandestine alliances and secret diplomacy (Mulligan, 2017).

Diplomacy pre and during World War I was characterized by propaganda, secret treaties, summit diplomacy, and birth of the League of Nations (Dunn, 2016). Conference diplomacy was revived during World War I and continued afterward, especially during the 1920s. Following the armistice that ended the war, the Paris Peace Conference took place amid much publicity. This was intensified by the newsreels made of the event. Then U.S. President Woodrow Wilson had enunciated his peace program in January 1918, including "open covenants of peace openly arrived at" as a major goal for diplomacy in the post-World War I period (Halabi, 2018). The Paris conference adopted many of the Congress of Vienna's procedures, including the differentiation of "powers with general interests" and "powers with special interests," private meetings of heads of great-power delegations, and the convening of a Conference of Ambassadors afterward in Paris (Freeman & Mark, 2020).

The chief innovation of the peace negotiations was the creation of the League of Nations as the first permanent major international organization, with a secretariat of international civil servants (Mulligan, 2017). The League introduced parliamentary diplomacy in a two-chamber body, acknowledging the equality of states in its lower house and the supremacy of great powers in its upper one (Dorman & Kennedy, 2008).

As neither chamber had much power, however, the sovereignty of members was not infringed.

Members of the League of Nations were required to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all other nation-states and to disavow the use or threat of military force as a means of resolving international conflicts (Lemay-Hébert, 2017). The League sought to peacefully resolve territorial disputes between members and was in some cases highly effective. For instance, in 1926 the League negotiated a peaceful outcome to the conflict between Iraq and Turkey over the province of Mosul, and in the early 1930s successfully mediated a resolution to the border dispute between Colombia and Peru (Northedge, 1986). In addition to territorial disputes, the League also tried to intervene in other conflicts between and within nations. Among its successes were its fight against the international trade in opium and sexual slavery and its work to alleviate the plight of refugees, particularly in Turkey in the period up to 1926 (Northedge, 1986). One of its innovations in this latter era was the 1922 introduction of the Nansen passport, the first internationally recognized identity card for stateless refugees (Northedge, 1986).

The League failed to intervene in many conflicts leading up to World War II, including the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, the Spanish Civil War, and the Second Sino-Japanese War (Walters, 1952). The onset of the Second World War demonstrated that the League had failed in its primary purpose, the prevention of another world war (Lemay-Hébert, 2017). There were a variety of reasons for this failure, many connected to general weaknesses within the organization, such as voting structure that made ratifying resolutions difficult and incomplete representation among world nations (Walters, 1952).

Additionally, the power of the League was limited by the United States' refusal to join (Northedge, 1986).

The interwar period was a time of instability in international relations in which the diplomatic methods of the 19th century, the concert of Europe alliances, and the balance of power, were no longer acceptable, as they were widely believed to have caused the First World War (Dorman & Kennedy, 2008). Instead, the new world order created at the Paris peace conference was to be determined by liberal international means, sanctions and guarantees, embodied in the League of Nations while nations gradually disarmed (Dorman & Kennedy, 2008). This new world order was not universally accepted (Mulligan, 2017). Not only the fact that many of the other powers, notably that United States and Soviet Russia stayed outside of the League, but also a number of states, the revisionist power like Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, were ideologically opposed to the entire underpinnings of the new international system (Dorman & Kennedy, 2008).

The history of interwar period splits nicely into two parts, from 1919 to 1933 and from 1933 to the outbreak of the second world war (Mackenzie, 2014). In the first part, the status quo powers were strong enough to defend the peace settlement by the means permitted in the new world order. However, each of the powers were reluctant to give up the arms that it considered necessary for its own security, and by 1932 the entire process was grinding to a halt just as the Geneva disarmament conference opened (Kaufman, 2017).

By the early part of 1939, the German dictator Adolf Hitler had become

determined to invade and occupy Poland. Poland, for its part, had guarantees of French

and British military support should Germany attack it (Freeman & Mark, 2020). Hitler

intended to invade Poland anyway, but first he had to neutralize the possibility that the

Soviet Union would resist the invasion of its western neighbor. Secret negotiations led to

the signing of the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact in Moscow on August 23–24

(Freeman & Mark, 2020). In a secret protocol of this pact, the Germans and the Soviets

agreed that Poland should be divided between them, with the western third of the country

going to Germany and the eastern two-thirds being taken over by the U.S.S.R. (Dunn,

2016).

Having achieved this agreement, Hitler thought that Germany could attack Poland

with no danger of Soviet or British intervention and gave orders for the invasion to start

on August 26 (Mackenzie, 2014). News of the signing of a formal treaty of mutual

assistance between Great Britain and Poland on August 25 caused Hitler to postpone the

start of hostilities for a few days (Dunn, 2016). He was still determined, however, to

ignore the diplomatic efforts of the western powers to restrain him. Finally, at 12:40 pm

on August 31, 1939, Hitler ordered invasion against Poland to start at 4:45 the next

morning (Freeman & Mark, 2020). The invasion began as ordered. In response, Great

Britain and France declared war on Germany on September 3, at 11:00 am and at 5:00

pm, respectively. World War II had begun (Freeman & Mark, 2020).

World War II was the deadliest and most destructive war in history (Weinberg,

1994). Before the war, Germany, America, and the rest of the world were going through

the Great Depression. The economy was very bad, unemployment was at an all-time

high, and massive inflation caused money to lose its value (Mackenzie, 2014). More than 50 nations in the world were fighting in World War II, with more than 100 million soldiers deployed. Countries like America and Britain were part of the Allied powers. Japan and Germany were part of the Axis powers.

The diplomatic history of World War II includes the major foreign policies and interactions inside the opposing coalitions, the Allies of World War II and the Axis powers, between 1939 and 1945 (Sainsbury, 1986). The first diplomatic alliances among the allied powers started in September 1939 with the Anglo-French Supreme War Council to oversee the joint military strategy which lasted until 1940 (Anderson, 2014). The first allied diplomatic meeting took place in London in June 1941 when the United Kingdom met with Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa (Weinberg, 1994). This meeting also included representatives form nine other governments in exile that was under Axis occupation.

The Soviet Union also broke its neutrality in the allied vs. axis conflict by joining the allies in June 1941, when Germany invaded it (Sainsbury, 1986). Although the United States provided military and financial support to the allies from the beginning, it formally joined the allied power in December 1941 after the Pearl Harbor attack (Gilbert, 2014). Another major player, China, being in a prolonged war with Japan since 1937, officially joined the Allies in 1941 as well (Gilbert, 2014). Although there was a total of 27 countries in the allied powers, Great Britain, France, the United States, and Italy became known as the Big Four (Weinberg, 1994).

Three major conferences shaped diplomacy during the Second World War: the Tehran conference in November-December, 1943; the Yalta conference in February, 1945; and the Potsdam conference in July, 1945 (Sainsbury, 1986). During the Potsdam conference the agreement to drop a nuclear bomb on Japan was reached, and by the end of the year, facing charges from all fronts, most of the axis powers surrendered. The Allies established occupation administrations in Austria and Germany. The former became a neutral state, non-aligned with any political bloc. The latter was divided into western and eastern occupation zones controlled by the Western Allies and the Soviet Union (Weinberg, 1994). A denazification program in Germany led to the prosecution of Nazi war criminals in the Nuremberg trials and the removal of ex-Nazis from power. To maintain world peace, the Allies formed the United Nations, which officially came into existence on 24 October 1945 (Anderson, 2014). The great powers that were the victors of the war, France, China, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union (later Russian Federation) and the United States, became the permanent members of the UN's Security Council with the power of veto (Mackenzie, 2014). The five permanent members remain so to the present and maintain primary control over formal diplomatic efforts internationally.

Types of Diplomacy:

Though earlier discussions refer to terms like summit diplomacy or conference diplomacy, two core types of diplomacy originally existed. These were commonly known as "Track 1" and "Track 2" diplomacy. The former is conducted directly by the state and the state is the main actor in this form of diplomacy. It is also commonly referred to as "official diplomacy" (Constantinou, Kerr & Sharp, 2016) Track 2 diplomacy is more

non-official in nature (McDonald, 2012). It involves non-governmental actors to support the state with its foreign policy goals. This is the realm of professional nongovernmental action attempting to analyze, prevent, resolve, and manage international conflicts by non-state actors (Snow, 2008).

However, in modern times, the types of diplomacy have evolved to a new level, resulting in the emergence of "multi-track diplomacy" (Hrynkow, 2018). Multi-Track Diplomacy is a conceptual way to view the process of international peacemaking as a living organism, where different actors play certain roles in order to function as a whole, interactive, living system (Hrynkow, 2018). It looks at the web of interconnected activities, individuals, institutions, and communities that operate together for a common goal: a world at peace (Diamond & McDonald, 1996).

The multi-track system originated due to the inefficiency of pure government mediation (Bjola & Kornprobst, 2013). Moreover, increases in intrastate conflict (conflicts within a state) in the 1990s confirmed that "Track One Diplomacy" was not an effective method for securing international cooperation or resolving conflicts. Rather, there needed to be a more interpersonal approach in addition to government mediation (Hrynkow, 2018). For that reason, former diplomat Joseph Montville invented "Track Two Diplomacy" to incorporate citizens with diversity and skills into the mediation process (Jones, 2020).

Ambassador John McDonald added further "tracks" by expanding Track Two Diplomacy into four separate tracks: conflict resolution professionals, business, private citizens, and the media (Hrynkow, 2018). In 1991, Diamond and McDonald expanded the

number of tracks to nine. They added religion, activism, research, training, and education, and philanthropy (McDonald, 2012). Tracks two through nine help prepare an environment that will welcome positive change carried out by track-one or government. At the same time, they can make sure that government decisions are carried out and implemented properly. This cross-fertilization of the official and non-government sectors of society allows change to happen (McDonald, 2012).

This combination of different tracks is the main characteristic of modern public diplomacy. It brings together actors from different levels of society to work toward peace, cooperation and mutual trust (Bjola & Kornprobst, 2013).

Summary:

This chapter summarized the definition of diplomacy, its root in persuasion and rhetoric, approaches to diplomacy and its connection to power. Taking the ideas of major persuasion scholars like Aristotle, Bernays, and Cialdini, the chapter connected their approaches to persuasion and how that is applicable to diplomacy and specifically public diplomacy. It elaborated on the historical development of diplomacy and major events that shaped modern-day diplomacy. Additionally, the chapter discussed the approaches to diplomacy and how the different tracks of diplomacy function in relation to each other.

The next chapter discusses in more detail the evolving nature of diplomacy and how public diplomacy came to exist in its current format. It introduces and discusses the actors, goals objectives, and dimensions of public diplomacy and provides a historical development of the field.

Chapter 3: Public Diplomacy

Introduction:

The previous chapter explored the definition of diplomacy, its historical root in persuasion and rhetoric, different approaches to diplomacy and its connection to power. This chapter defines public diplomacy – the subdomain of diplomacy in question for this study. It also elaborates on the evolving nature of diplomacy and how public diplomacy functions in modern-day situations. Furthermore, the chapter situates public diplomacy with other related concepts such as soft power, national interest and nation branding.

Over the last four decades, public diplomacy has become a subject of common interest among academics, current and former practitioners, government research bodies, and independent think tanks (Schindler, 2018). It has risen to a term that is frequently used by both scholars and practitioners of traditional diplomacy (Jönsson & Hall, 2005). Furthermore, it has become "the most debatable topic in the realms of international communication" (Taylor, 2009, p. 12). Different countries "be they democratic or authoritarian regimes; affluent like Norway or poor like Ethiopia, have indicated a great interest in public diplomacy" (Melissen, 2005, p. 8). This field comprises citizens of foreign countries' communication of nation-state and non-state stakeholders. These stakeholders may be representatives of civil society, non-governmental or multi-national organizations, journalists or media outlets, specialists of various industry or political sectors, or members of a constituency (Pamment, 2012).

Studies of public diplomacy focus on two main aspects: the theoretical interpretations and the content of activities in practice. In other words, public diplomacy is a new field of practice and knowledge (Gilboa, 2008). Its first plane, that of theoretical interpretation, seeks to explain basic concepts of what is meant by public – or mass – diplomacy; what is the explanatory theory for such communication with foreign publics and what is the relationship between this field and other fields of communication. Its second plane, that of activity description, incorporates the measures that are undertaken in this field, to realize communication with foreign publics. Such measures incorporate three dimensions of public diplomacy (Tuch, 1990; Nye, 2004; Melissen, 2005; Szondi, 2008; Cull, 2009a, Pamment, 2012, Pamment, 2016):

- management of information that is generated daily and primarily through media and internet. This information is used as channels of communication to convey as many messages as possible to foreign publics with the intention of informing, influencing and engaging them;

- strategic communication, that has the same goal as above; and

- cultural diplomacy, which is realized without any intermediary or media channels, through student and culture exchange, tourism, diaspora etc.

The next sections of the chapter clarify and shed light on the issue of public diplomacy, its actors, and its complexity in the 21st century.

Defining Public Diplomacy:

Public diplomacy has a recorded history of around half a century, although the term "public diplomacy" has a prehistory that dates back to the middle of the 19th century (Cull, 2020). In 1965 the term acquired a new meaning when Edmund Gullion coined public diplomacy to describe the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. A Murrow Center brochure summarized Gullion's concept, according to which public diplomacy (Szondi, 2009)

> encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications (p. 2).

Since the modern introduction of the term in 1965, scholars in multiple disciplines, including political science, communication, public relations, and international studies, have produced a substantial body of literature on the field. As a result, there are many ways to look at public diplomacy, and students of diplomacy are not the only academics interested in it. Because a variety of scholars and practitioners have defined the concept, "it is not possible to provide a solid definition that would encompass the broad range of interests and practices corresponding to the given term" (Pamment, 2012, p. 6).

Below are some commonly used and often cited definitions of public diplomacy.

43

According to Hans Tuch (1990), 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 policies" (p. 3). Nancy Snow defines public diplomacy as "statecraft activities and engagements beyond traditional diplomacy, predominantly cultural and informational, that are designed to inform, influence, and engage global publics in support of foreign policy objectives tied to national interests" (2020, p. 5). Nicholas Cull, one of the most cited authors in the field, defines public diplomacy as "an international actor's attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public" (2009a, p. 12). Finally, according to György Szondi, public diplomacy concerns the communication of the government targeting foreign audiences to achieve changes in the hearts and minds of people (2009, p. 6) In its essence, public diplomacy is persuasive messages aimed at foreign publics with the goal to positively change their minds about the sender country or their policy.

National Interest: The Ultimate Goal:

The definitions of public diplomacy clearly indicate that countries and their governments want to change the hearts and minds of foreign publics via public diplomacy. However, the concept of "wining the hearts and minds" is too vague to operationalize in real world situations. As a result, countries, their governments and related agencies pursue specific goals and objectives with public diplomacy (Coffey, 2002). These are the focus of the next section of the chapter.

Each nation state has its own goal and objectives for public diplomacy. For example, the U.S. Department of State notes that their public diplomacy goal is to "increase understanding for American values, policies, and initiatives to create a receptive international environment" (U.S. Department of State Archive, nd). Similarly, the U.K.'s Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) states their work as "aiming to inform and engage individuals and organizations overseas in order to improve understanding of and strengthen influence for the United Kingdom in a manner consistent with governmental medium and long-term goals" (Foreign Affairs Committee 2017, p. 6). Regardless of the specifics provided by each country, the overall goal can be boiled down to one simple aspect – national interest.

Every sovereign nation state has its own national interest or cumulative goal it wants to achieve. National interest is a nation state's core value, and most often not subject to compromise. Nations are always engaged in fulfilling or securing their national interest goals. Each nation's foreign policy is formulated on the basis of its national interest and it is always at work to secure these goals. It is a universally accepted right of each state to secure its national interests. Said, Lerche and Lerche define national interest as "the general, long term and continuing purpose which the state, the nation, and the government all see themselves as serving" (1995, p. 14). According to Morgenthau the meaning of national interest is "survival—the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states" (1967, p. 32). As a self-sustaining system, nation states ensure their national interests and survival is a fundamental rights of nation states as per international law (Howard, 1979). For example, to ensure survival, if a state is under attack (primarily armed attack) by another actor, it has the right to declare

war against the enemy/attacker. Even the United Nations (UN) charter legitimizes nation states' survival by stating in its Article 51 that "nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations" (UN Charter, C7:A51).

Simply put, therefore, national interests can be defined as the claims, objectives, goals, demands and interests which a nation tries to preserve, protect, defend, and secure in relations with other nations. Public diplomacy is one tool nation states use to achieve and protect their national interest. Consequently, it can be argued that the overall primary goal and objective of public diplomacy is to secure national interest.

Actors of Public Diplomacy:

Despite the lack of agreement on definition, it can be argued that modern public diplomacy involves the communication of state and non-state stakeholders, non-governmental organizations, corporations, individuals, etc., with foreign publics for the purpose of informing, engaging, and influencing them to achieve a country's political and economic objectives (Melissen 2005; Gilboa, 2008; Cull, 2012; Fisher, 2013). Given this wide range of actors, public diplomacy efforts function as a network.

However, that was not always the case (see later in the chapter). Initially the act of public diplomacy took place in the form of contact between one government and the people of another state. It was not intended for a broad public but for individuals or limited groups of people (specially the elites) and was conducted mainly through media as channels of communication. The media here appear often as the third communication stakeholder and not merely as an intermediary channel (Saliu, 2020). In this framework,

46

public diplomacy is based on the complicated relationship between three larger components: the government, the media, and public opinion.

Historical Evolution of Public Diplomacy:

Although public diplomacy is comparatively a new term, the practice thereof is not. In early modern Europe, public diplomacy was commonly practiced. The most obvious interactions between diplomats and foreign audiences can be found in the representational sphere of diplomacy, and especially in the conspicuous ceremonial public appearances of diplomats. In *Fictions of Embassy*, Hampton (2011) argued that literary representation and diplomatic representation were closely intertwined in the early modern period. This was because diplomats were such public figures, whose professional showmanship and charisma were similar to that of actors (Hampton, 2011). Diplomats were well aware of the fact that they were public figures, and sought to manage their appearance carefully, both on the streets and in the printed media (Helmers, 2016). The fact that most of the early diplomats were personal envoys of the monarchs, and sometimes direct relatives of the monarchs, made their public representation even more important.

Even in early modern Europe, diplomatic travel was mostly a conspicuous affair, fully geared toward being seen; not only when diplomats first arrived (sometimes with their enormous entourages), but also during their stay abroad. They were intent on communicating the grandeur of their state, their monarch and themselves through flashy display (Helmers, 2016). Print media reinforced their visibility. Printed news publicized ambassadors' comings and goings, allowing readers to become impressed by the pomp of

the representatives of foreign kings, to memorialize major events, or to keep track of negotiations that took place (Ramaprasad, 1983). In the absence of better information, reflections on who was arriving, in which manner, and how they were received, could be important indications of upcoming changes in foreign policy. Although diplomatic ceremony was formalized and protocolled to minimize the risk of hostilities, it also enabled a "carefully nuanced rhetoric of space," that was anxiously watched both at court, on the streets and in the press (Helmers, 2016, p. 416).

The public appearance of diplomats was about much more than impressing the audience, it was a communicative event, an important part of the diplomatic process in which both elite and popular audiences were active players. The extent to which the meaning of a diplomat's public appearances could be managed, then, was constrained by control over media outlets (Ramaprasad, 1983). Diplomats therefore frequently turned to printed genres to broadcast their arrival, improve their reputation, or, occasionally, intervene in public debate. Ambassadorial addresses could have either of these functions. While not necessarily revealing much, the orations' principal function was, like the grandiose travel, a statement of presence and stature (Helmers, 2016). In line with ceremonial presence, some orations were also geared toward display, showcasing the diplomat's verbal prowess and his capabilities in the rhetorical arts that were at the heart of his education as an orator.

Visual material played a major role in creating the diplomat's public image. In the 17th century, portraits of diplomats were often disseminated to augment their reputation and celebrate their achievements. Like military leaders, successful negotiators often attained a heroic status, which some actively cultivated. Additionally, when

circumstances dictated so, managing printed news also became part of diplomats' efforts to influence foreign opinion (Ramaprasad, 1983).

The traditional way to engage with foreign audiences was through pamphlets. Especially in wartime, multilingual pamphlet publication campaigns were extremely common. In addition to controlling the domestic press, governments also sought to control the press abroad through their diplomatic representatives (Graham, 2016). Excessively monitoring the press, diplomats often filed complaints on individual reports they regarded as detrimental to their state, but these efforts to subdue newspaper makers through official channels were only one instrument (very visible in the archives) to manage the foreign press (Herzstein, 1978).

Public diplomacy was a standard element of early modern politics. Specially during a crisis, either a civil war or a bilateral conflict, political elites in one nation turned to foreign audiences (Guth, 2009). Melissen argued that "public diplomacy is made more effective with the help of non-governmental agents of the sending country's own civil society and by employing local networks in target countries" (2011, p. 39). Early modern governments knew this very well. They mobilized their network of diplomats and agents, and an extended network of consuls and preachers, to appeal to audiences of one or more other states in transnational, often multilingual publication campaigns. It was the enemy, or the opposition, or an alliance between them, that set the agenda, and the government was forced to respond (Schindler, 2018).

During the world wars, the practice of engaging foreign audiences flourished. However, the nature of engaging foreign publics took more of a propaganda nature due to

the crisis brought about by the wars. The wars were termed as "total war" - "warfare that includes any and all civilian-associated resources and infrastructure as legitimate military targets, mobilizes all of the resources of society to fight the war, and gives priority to warfare over non-combatant needs" (Black, 2010, p. 11). Total war, such as World War I and World War II, mobilizes all of a society's resources (industry, finance, labor, etc.) to fight. It also expands the targets of war to include any and all civilian-associated resources and infrastructure. During total war, the combatant governments need to communicate with both foreign and local audiences (Black, 2010) to demoralize the former, while communicating with local audiences to raise confidence and patriotism.

Modern public diplomacy is a western invention and deeply rooted in the American diplomatic practice (Melissen, 2011). The institution of the term dates to the peak of the Cold War, which influenced and shaped public diplomacy's evolution and practice significantly. Historically, American public diplomacy can be divided into three different stages, which are linked to changes in the international political climate, marked by the collapses of symbolical constructions (Szondi, 2009).

The first of these periods unfolded over four decades when American and Western values and norms were invasively spread throughout Eastern Europe and the West used a wide range of methods to persuade people living behind the Iron Curtain. The public diplomacy goal at that time was to display and promote western democratic values and the ideological fight against communism (Richmond, 2010). This earlier phase of public diplomacy also often used propagandistic materials as the Second World War just ended (Harbutt, 1988).

The second phase of public diplomacy was marked by the collapse of the Berlin

Wall when significantly less effort and fewer resources were devoted to public

diplomacy. At this stage, the goal of public diplomacy centered primarily around the

Cold War. It was a time of promoting the power of democracy and eradicating

communism. As a result, more resources were spent on military activities and foreign aid

compared to the amount of resources spent on public diplomacy efforts (Cull, 2009b).

This resulted in the decline of U.S. public diplomacy worldwide.

Finally, the tragic terrorist attack on and collapse of the World Trade Center on 11

September 2001, marks the beginning of the third phase of public diplomacy (Szondi,

2009). During this phase, public diplomacy practitioners started to ask themselves "why

do they hate us?" Consequently, public diplomacy during this phase focused on "wining

the hearts and minds of the people," starting with the Shared Value Initiative (SVI) that

primarily targeted the Arab world to change its public opinion of the U.S. (Fullerton &

Kendrick, 2017).

In each phase, public diplomacy acquired new meanings and interpretations, often

resulting in the redefinition and reinvigoration of the concept. In 1990 Hans Tuch, who

practiced as well as taught public diplomacy, lamented that public diplomacy could not

be an effective tool unless there is a general agreement on its meaning, something which,

as pointed out earlier, does not fully exist yet. Nevertheless, the concept has become a

global phenomenon.

Dimensions of Public Diplomacy:

Public diplomacy has multiple dimensions and can be found in the following contexts: domestic and foreign; the degree of tension between states; direction of communication: one-way (information) versus two-way (dialogue); and in a country-specific context, as different countries (governments) can define public diplomacy in different ways.

As highlighted earlier in this chapter, public diplomacy traditionally means government communication aimed at foreign audiences to achieve changes in the "hearts or minds" of the audience. Public diplomacy however can also refer to domestic public(s) in two ways: either as the domestic input from citizens for foreign policy formulation (the engaging approach) or explaining foreign policy goals and diplomacy to domestic publics (the explaining approach). Melissen (2005) refers to the domestic socialization of diplomacy as public affairs, similarly to the U.S. approach where public affairs involve the function of American officials who explain and defend American foreign policy to the American public via domestic media. Public affairs' function is therefore to justify or "sell" foreign policy decisions domestically, after the government has formulated and accepted these.

Canada provides several examples of engaging citizens in foreign policy (Lortie & Bédard, 2002), which can lead to greater transparency as well as accountability in foreign policy. For example, the Canadian government's all-inclusive approach to public diplomacy in the Quebec Summit showcased its democratic values and enabled the country to take the first steps toward establishing a tradition of openness and

transparency in the summit process (Lortie & Bédard, 2002). The engaging and explaining approaches are also relevant to the "foreign public diplomacy" context and not only to the domestic one (Szondi, 2009). Therefore, the practice of public diplomacy should not only explain but engage their audience as well. As it has been discussed in the previous chapter, people need to trust that the intention of the public diplomacy is good and that is possible when its transparent.

Earlier definitions of public diplomacy evolved around strategies of promotion and persuasion and were closely related to self-interest and management of impressions (Szondi, 2009). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, public diplomacy was defined as "direct communication with foreign peoples, with the aim of affecting their thinking and ultimately, that of their governments" (Malone, 1985, p. 199). As for the content of public diplomacy, it describes activities, directed abroad in the fields of information, education, and culture, with the objective to influence a foreign government by influencing its citizens (Malone, 1985). As a result, cultural diplomacy forms a part of public diplomacy for many American scholars.

Analyzing the past and current practice of public diplomacy highlights the following changes:

- in the past, the objectives of public diplomacy were to influence the "general" public of the target nation, and by doing so, to get them to pressure their own government to change foreign or domestic policy. Recent approaches to public diplomacy hardly make any reference to the target countries' governments. The goal has rather become to influence the public opinion to create a receptive

environment for foreign policy goals. Moreover, promoting national interests has become the final goal;

- traditionally, public diplomacy was closely linked to conflicts and tensions between countries. Frederick (1993) positions public diplomacy as one of the means of low intensity conflict resolution. He developed a spectrum of communication to visualize the role of communication in global affairs. According to this approach, public diplomacy is not practiced in peaceful relations but in a certain degree of conflict to "convey positive American values to foreigners, to create a climate of opinion in which American policies can be successfully formulated, executed and accepted" (Frederick, 1993, p. 229). Though this definition is unilateral, the model demonstrates the complexity of war and peace: they are not static concepts and have enormous variations in meaning. Beer (2001) explores the use and development of "meaning" for war and peace through linguistic dimensions. He advocates the view that "the configurations of war and peace fluctuate and so does the language that is used to refer to them. International relations are a struggle not only for power but for meaning as well" (Beer, 2001, p. 176) without which power — soft, hard or smart — may become meaningless.

In light of the previously mentioned concepts, Szondi's (2009) model can help conceptualize public diplomacy.

Figure 1:

The Dimensions of Public Diplomacy [adopted from Szondi, 2009]

POWER

Soft Power

OBJECTIVE

Persuasion

CONTEXT

War

Peace

Relationship building

Hard Power
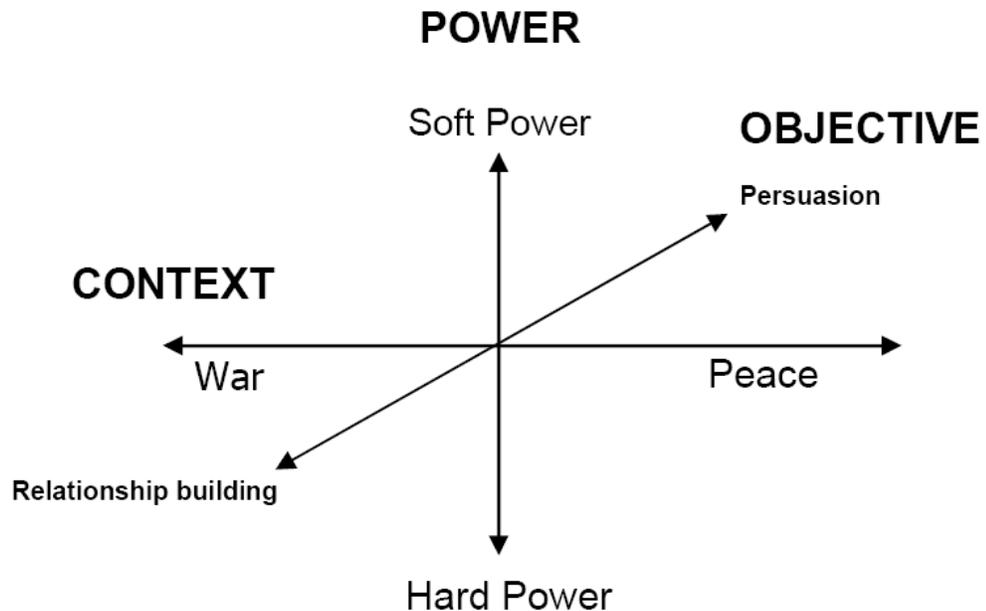
The first dimension is the condition in which communication occurs, the relationship between the communicating country and the target country: peace and war placed on a continuum.

The second dimension involves the levels of the objectives of communication from persuasion to relationship building. Several countries' (as well as the European Union's) public diplomacy can be characterized as symmetrical public diplomacy, which aims at creating mutual understanding based on dialogue. In symmetrical public diplomacy, each party has an equal chance to influence policy outcomes, which are mutually beneficial to all, and each party is willing to alter its policies, positions or behavior accordingly.

The third dimension is power, defined as "the ability to affect the outcomes one wants" (Nye, 2004, p. 4). Nye's concept of soft versus hard power refers to the different types of resources and capabilities that are at the disposal of a nation to achieve its purposes by affecting others' behavior. Nye did not clearly define soft power but conceptualized it as a power of attraction, which "rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others" (Nye, 2004, p. 5).

The concept of soft power has become central to many conceptualizations of public diplomacy although the relationship between soft power and public diplomacy is vague and sometimes controversial. Bátora (2005), for example, defined public diplomacy as the promotion of soft power, while for Melissen (2005) public diplomacy is only one of the key instruments of soft power. In Nye's original conceptualization, however, nation branding would be a more adequate term to cover the meaning of soft power since both are about attraction. The characteristics that distinguish nation branding from public diplomacy can be seen in three levels, the act, the actor, and the audience:

- **Level 1:** Nation branding is all about creating a positive image of the country which in turn helps achieve soft power, whereas public diplomacy is about changing public opinion toward specific foreign policy goals.

- **Level 2:** Nation branding is more of a marketing tool, like place branding and not necessarily involves the state, whereas state is usually the primary actor in public diplomacy.

- **Level 3:** Nation branding targets both internal and foreign audiences, whereas public diplomacy primarily targets foreign audience, often only the elites.

The way a government defines public diplomacy may influence its practice. Similarly, history and culture of the country can influence how public diplomacy is contextualized. In the U.K., the aim of public diplomacy is "to inform and engage individuals and organizations overseas, to improve understanding of, and influence for, the United Kingdom in a manner consistent with governmental medium- and long-term goals" (Melissen, 2005, p. 56). German public diplomacy seeks to explain and discuss Germany's domestic and foreign policies to create support for those positions. Some countries attempt to define and conceptualize what the term public diplomacy means, while others simply adopt American definitions and goals (Szondi, 2009). Another common approach is when public diplomacy boils down to creating, projecting, or promoting "a positive image" of the country abroad which is also a common goal of many nation branding efforts. While nation branding can be easily translated into many languages, public diplomacy may cause some problems. Several countries' ministries of Foreign Affairs struggle to find an adequate version of the term in the local language. In some cases, simply the English term is used, or the concept is translated as "cultural diplomacy" or "promotion."

In summary, analyzing definitions of public diplomacy in a historical context, "a clear shift can be detected from achieving behavioral goals to attitudinal/cognitive goals; ranging from information provision to communication; persuasion to relationship building; and managing publics to engaging with publics" (Szondi, 2009, pp. 16-17). In modern-day diplomacy, the individual is at the core of public diplomacy. Instead of a traditional top-down approach, modern-day diplomacy is a bottom-up approach to solve international conflicts and create harmony.

Public Diplomacy in the Age of Global Digital Communication:

In contemporary societies, various state and non-state actors communicate with foreign individuals or peoples without the need for foreign diplomats, exchange programs or visits. This is a direct result of the development of communication technology, which enables real-time communication among people from different corners of the world without them having to be geographically close. In this respect, Cull (2012) emphasizes the role of new media and new channels of communication to facilitate new public diplomacy efforts among international stakeholders.

While face-to-face interactions in society are often limited, particularly in times of crisis (such as the COVID-19 pandemic) advanced communication technology enables communication across time and space without the need to physically be in a space or move among spaces. One of the wildly popular features of the digital age, social networks such as Twitter and Facebook, may play an important role for almost any country if these networks are used and cultivated properly (Kiehl, 2012). Pamment (2012) also notes this capability of social networks with regard to facilitating digital public diplomacy. In agreement with Wolton (2009), who argues for directing the exchange of the message between communication stakeholders, Pammet (2013) highlights the inclusion of social media in public diplomacy: "the internet appears as a deflection from the model of broadcasters and gives priority to the social media to decide on two-way interconnection with the public" (2013, p. 3).

Today, by public diplomacy, scholars primarily mean "the instrument used by the states, associations of the states, and some non-state stakeholders to understand the

culture, positions, and behaviors; to establish and manage relations; to influence opinions

and mobilize actions that steer forward their interests and values" (Gregory, 2011, p.3).

Symbolically, this definition is about "the democratization of public diplomacy" which is

a phenomenon that gained prominence in the last decade (Melissen, 2011, p. 2). The

digitalization of communication, globalization and the emergence of affordable new

media technologies present a new challenge to the century-old traditional ministry of

foreign affairs, entities, and organized structure approach to public diplomacy. Pamment

(2012) emphasizes that the new public diplomacy becomes the larger paradigm in the

changes of the international political communication; from "the old public diplomacy of

the 20th century, when we had the one-way communication into the new two-way

diplomacy of the 21st century" (p. 3). He further argues that the "borders have become

permeable as the recent technological advances have allowed for more stakeholders to

partake in communication ... adding to the debate, the new public diplomacy becomes a

dialogue, becomes collaborative and inclusive" (Pamment, 2012, p. 3).

Public diplomacy in the age of global digital communication is also about

collaboration and inclusion. The term "collaborative public diplomacy" is a

comparatively new aspect that centers on working with others, accepting their ideas, and

working with their ideas in combination with your ideas. Fisher (2013) notes that

"collaborative public diplomacy should clearly guide the collaborative environment and

paths, at a time when the difference between collaboration and improvisation is

increasingly unclear" (p. 28). To be successful in collaborative public diplomacy,

professionals in the field should first identify the interest of the community, and then

perform specifically according to the preferred environment of the community (Saliu,

2020). This would increase the understanding with the community and interaction with their opinion. Pamment (2012) similarly speaks about the influence that can be realized over the foreign public through open and public dialogue and collaboration. Consequently, he concludes, "public diplomacy is about dialogue, it is collaborative and inclusive" (Pamment, 2012, p. 3).

However, despite what is said "should be" the era of networking and online communication, state stakeholders' inability to massage the message that is directed at foreign peoples increasingly cause them to lose ground. State stakeholders are increasingly moving from being primary communicating stakeholders with foreign publics to stakeholders managing information directed to foreign publics. What this means is that communication technologies enable increasing numbers of non-state actors and individuals to communicate independently from state actors and independently from geographical limitations. This "Global Mass Publics" (Pacher, 2018a) and the advent of new information and communication technologies are challenging the traditional conduct of public diplomacy. Similarly, international communication is managed by "representatives of foreign services as well as representatives of other ministries, multinational corporations, civil society organizations, and even influential individuals who do not represent a particular state, organization, or corporation" (Bjola & Kornprobst, 2013, p. 4). These developments "provide an opportunity to redefine public diplomacy in the conditions of an active role for the public, instead of passive objectives of governmental strategies for the foreign policy" (Melissen, 2005, p. 30).

In addition to the above, the explosion of information via the internet increases the need to verify and reinforce the credibility of online information. While "the

democratization of foreign policy has increased, the transparency of foreign policy while at the same time mitigating the opportunities of attempts at manipulation" (Potter, 2008, p. 21). Furthermore, the impact of digital technologies on diplomatic practice is codependent on our understanding of their nature when applied to social and political contexts (Melissen, 2017). Wolton (2009) noted "the internet is an ocean of information, where online ghettoes of communication are created, within which various messages may be disseminated" (p. 11). As a result, online impatience, individualism, and extremism in today's virtual world have compelled a recent problem, namely how communication between these ghettoes can be enhanced as they consist of people with individual preferences rather than collective interests (Saliu, 2017). This "new kind of public diplomacy engages in dialogue and establishes relationships with target audiences" (Sevin, 2017, p. 32). Therefore, today's challenge relates to how governments decide on their public diplomacy targets (Pacher, 2018a). This target audience does not just mean that public diplomacy campaigns should be directed toward the public and countries that the country has more interest in (rather than focusing on global campaigns). It also means that the target should be identified within the different sections of publics within a country. In other words, the public must be separated at group and sub-group level, sometimes even at individual level and be separated from the generic profiles for a country. This is necessary to make the message, the channel of communication, and the nature of the interaction more appealing. Leonard (2002) also argued for this noting "the challenge is to understand the concerns of the targeted audience and build on areas of mutuality" (p. 52). Due to the digitalization of communication, another challenge is "for diplomats to know how to use the latest technological applications and to be constantly

active in new technologies not only to attract attention, but also to critique and comprehend the digital realm" (Melissen & Keulenaar, 2017, p. 7).

Summary:

This chapter defined and elaborated on the concept of public diplomacy, actors of public diplomacy, goals and objectives, and its connection to core ideas in international relations, including power and national interest. Additionally, it also provided reference to historical uses of public diplomacy and discussed the evolution of public diplomacy from a one-way broadcast communication model to a multi-way dialogical and networked model of communication. Finally, the chapter introduced the transition of public diplomacy to digital diplomacy in the 21st century, particularly as a result of improved communication technology and social networks.

The next chapter elaborates on the concept of digital diplomacy and the importance of social networks in modern public diplomacy.

Chapter 4: Digital Diplomacy and Social Media

Introduction:

The previous chapter highlighted what constitutes public diplomacy, and what its relationship is with related concepts like power, national interest, and nation branding. It also focused on the evolving nature of diplomacy and touched upon on how modern public diplomacy functions.

This chapter focuses on the spread and impact of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in conducting public diplomacy, to ultimately lead to the concept of digital diplomacy. The chapter defines digital diplomacy and outlines how it blends in with the overarching concept of public diplomacy by discussing the benefits and challenges digital diplomacy brings to diplomacy as an instrument of engagement. Additionally, this chapter discusses the role of social media in modern-day diplomacy.

The Arrival of Web 2.0 and Social Media:

The Internet, otherwise known as the World Wide Web (WWW), was invented by British scientist Tim Berners-Lee in 1989 (CERN, nd.). While working at the European Organization for Nuclear Research, commonly known as CERN, an abbreviation from its French name *Conseil Européen pour la Recherche Nucléaire*, he conceived and developed the WWW to meet the demand for an automated information-sharing system between scientists in universities and institutes around the world (Berners-Lee et al., 1994). Experts often call the first iteration of the web "Web 1.0" or "read-only web" as it allowed users to search for information and read it and had no option to contribute or

interact (Albert et al., 1999). However, by 1999, websites started offering the user read and write capabilities, taking the first step toward the modern interactive internet (Leiner et al., 2009).

Web 2.0, also referred to as read-write web or social web, is the term that distinguishes internet technologies that feature user-generated content, participation-enabling web structures, collective intelligence, and scalability (Fuchs, 2011). Web 2.0 started making an appearance in literature around 2000 and the term continues to be used now (Madurai, 2018). Some examples of Web 2.0 technologies that facilitate user participation wikis, blogs, open data portals, and tools for crowdsourcing and ranking ideas. Web 2.0 is both a technology and usage paradigm (O'Reilly, 2009). In terms of technology, the difference between Web 2.0 and first-generation web is that the former enables flexible and dynamic web design, provides rich and user-friendly interfaces, supports reuse and collaboration. On the usage side, the change is mainly in the form of enabling users to contribute and be an active part of the web experience (Murugesan, 2007). Web 2.0 is further distinguished through features such as RSS (Really Simple Syndication of web content), podcasting (syndication of audio content), mashups (combination of pre-existing applications), folksonomies (popular labeling or categorizing), widgets (web tools embedded in other sites to perform a particular function) and sharing facilities (options for redistributing website content to other users) (Han, 2012).

Web 2.0 is often referred to as "user-generated web." Social media and social networks are both an inevitable result and an extension of Web 2.0, because the modern-day social networking platforms are essentially an amalgamation and updated version of

fragmented Web 2.0 capabilities. Several scholars and practitioners have defined social media but Han (2012) states that it can be described as a collection of interconnected internet-based applications that allows the creation of used-generated content and the distribution thereof. User-generated content is, as the name suggests, content that is created by the end-user for mass distribution through the technologies of Web 2.0. Unlike traditional media that focuses on one-to-many communication, social media enables a many-to-many communication model (Fuchs, 2011).

The key features that distinguish social media from traditional media can be summarized under the following elements.

Creation and Distribution of Content:

As stated above, traditional media is based on the principle of one-to-many communication (Tulisova, 2017). An editor is one of a few people who decides what is news or which news reports should be published in the next day's newspaper or which reports should be telecast in the next news bulletin. A producer, with a small team, decides what entertainment program should be created, when and how it will be distributed. In the traditional media model, consumers of information and entertainment have almost no role to play in the creation or dissemination of content. The only feedback mechanism is passive, in the form of a letter or a phone call to the editor or producer, for instance. Social media, in contrast, is a network of media that works on the principle of many-to-many communication (Tulisova, 2017). Any individual can create and share content. Similarly, any individual can respond to and interact with content at any time

and as often as they prefer to. This makes the content creation and distribution process more democratic and interactive.

Interactivity:

Interactivity comes in two forms: user interactivity and technological interactivity (Nedumkallel, 2020). In terms on user interactivity, social media allows users to comment on content created by their friends, followers, relatives or peer group. All comments and feedback are in real time (Tulisova, 2017). Comments and feedback enrich published content and empower people to share views, as opposed to traditional media that is often tightly patrolled (Fuchs, 2011). Also, all communication in traditional media is one-way: from the creator to the consumer. In terms of technological interactivity, social media has an entirely different nature than traditional media. Web 2.0 functionalities enable websites, applications and platforms to interact with users in a way that is personalized to each user (Han, 2012). The more a user interacts with a site, application or platform, the more personalized the experience becomes as that user's corner of the Internet is informed and crafted by the platforms' algorithms. Basically, Web 2.0 learns the user's behavior and adapts to the user's likings to provide them with a better experience. For example, the popular social media platform Twitter, which has 330 million active monthly users according to the latest statistic report, does not provide the same home feed to any two users (Blank, 2017).

Transparency:

In social media, the source and origin of the content is easily identifiable and achieved through accessibility, whereas the source of information could be opaque in

traditional media (Tulisova, 2017). Having said that, there is significant controversy surrounding social media platforms and how they are said to violate the privacy of user information for financial gain (see Bélanger & Crossler, 2011; Adhikari & Panda, 2018; Ozdemir, Smith & Benamati, 2017). Although it should be noted that legacy media also used subscriber data to draw advertisers to specific target audiences. The primary difference between the two forms of media and the concerns related to data collection is related to the volume and nature of data collection with social media (Diel, 2017). In the social media environment, audiences are able to verify information for themselves and since communication takes place in real time, users have the opportunity to exchange information back and forth to clarify meaning. This is often not possible in a traditional media environment because gatekeepers are responsible for what the public can see and access (Tulisova, 2017).

Speed:

Traditional media need some length of time to disseminate information. In the case of newspapers, for instance, a new edition comes out every day, though television or radio can update reports more frequently. However, no traditional media platform can match the speed with which social media updates and distributes information, unless a television or radio station, for instance, suspend all other programming and go live with an event. Social media is instant and updates and distributes information in real time (Tulisova, 2017). Moreover, users of social media platforms can access information instantly as well – they do not need to wait for the newspaper to be published or the television/radio bulletin to be broadcast.

Cost and Regulatory Barriers to Content Creation and Distribution:

The financial barriers and regulatory barriers to entry to set up a traditional media outlet like a newspaper, radio or television station are significant and often not attainable for many individuals. In addition to the tremendous costs of printing and distribution, or a broadcast transmitter and studio facility, a broadcaster had to acquire approved bandwidth and a license from the Federal Communication Commission. On the other hand, almost no barriers to entry exist for social media platforms. Content can be created using personal devices such as a smart phone, tablet, or a laptop. At the same time, social media allows for content to be distributed free, compared to traditional media for which there is almost always a fee to obtain content (Bhor et al., 2018).

Focus or Purpose:

Traditional media has primarily been platforms through which to gather and disseminate news and information. On the contrary, social media, as the name suggests, media platforms where people come to interact and engage with friends, relatives, acquaintances and recently also organizations, communities and different causes (Tulisova, 2017). Social media platforms do not have to be news-based. In fact, a very small part of the social media universe is devoted to creation or dissemination of news (Viviani & Pasi, 2017; Park et al., 2020).

Convergence:

As opposed to traditional media, which is basically format dependent, social media is a truly convergent media (Leiner et al., 2009). As a content-generator, a user can publish content as text, audio, video, graphics or photographs on social media sites. The

rich functionality of Web 2.0, combined with high-speed internet, virtually allows any sort of media to be presented via social media, so much so that many traditional forms of media have their own social media channels to reap the benefits of convergent social media platforms (Tulisova, 2017).

Reach and Numbers:

Where traditional media generally offers a wider audience pool (hence the term "mass" being associated with it), social media allows for more targeted distribution, even though the potential to reach a mass audience through social media also exists. Whereas the size of the audience for traditional media (e.g. a television channel or a newspaper) is often determined and limited by factors such as geography, economy, this is not necessarily the case with social media. The fact that it is internet-based implies that these platforms can virtually reach anyone anywhere in the world given that they have access to the technology needed (Bhor et al., 2018). This characteristic of social media is manifested well by Facebook with its 1.59 billion active users, which, if it were a country, would have been the largest country in the world in terms of population (Önder, et al., 2020).

Nature of Content:

Content distributed through traditional media is often formal and polished/refined/edited in nature. This is the result of content going through several processes of professional curation before being published or broadcast. In addition, traditional media content is more structured and follows established patterns. On the other hand, social media content is dynamic, its nature is always-evolving and, in many

cases, content is raw and unedited, captured and distributed to audiences as events unfold. Similarly, social media content is often not produced using expensive and technologically advanced equipment, but the technology ordinary citizens have access to and use on a daily basis (Tulisova, 2017).

Control over Content:

Users themselves are the primary generators of social media messages. Therefore, they can almost always modify the content or even remove it. In contrast to messages created and distributed through traditional media platforms, users of social media can filter and decide what they want to see and not see (Tulisova, 2017).

As is clear from the above discussion, the nature and characteristics of social media platforms clearly distinguish it from traditional media in terms of content generation, distribution, access and usage. In addition, these features of social media paved the way for a new kind of instantaneous communication that is vastly different from what had been possible before via traditional media platforms.

As a result, these new communication technologies have started to disrupt not only the way individual audience members interact with information but also the way organizations, companies, and relevant to this study embassies and agencies responsible for diplomatic engagement, interact with audiences.

The next section of the chapter defines digital diplomacy as an outflow of the impact of social media and looks at the benefits and challenges that come with it.

Defining Digital Diplomacy:

The proliferation of digital technology in diplomacy can be easily seen these days, especially given the fact that most foreign ministries, embassies and heads of state have a presence on social media and communicate directly with their various publics. However, as was pointed out in an earlier chapter with regard to diplomacy in general, when it comes to defining digital diplomacy, it is hard to find consensus (Manor, 2016a). The issue gets even more complicated since digitalization has impacted the practice of diplomacy in various ways. Archetti (2012) argues that reaching a proper definition for digital diplomacy is elusive when one wants to take into account the long list of terms that scholars and practitioners use to define digital diplomacy. These references include terms such as e-diplomacy, public diplomacy 2.0, new diplomacy, net diplomacy, networked diplomacy, cyber diplomacy, social media diplomacy, and Twiplomacy (Manor & Crilley, 2019).

However, the generic and most commonly used term of all the above is probably digital diplomacy (Manor, 2018). Digital diplomacy has been defined as "the use of social media by a state to achieve its foreign policy goals and manage its national image" (Manor & Segev, 2015, p. 92); "a tool for change management" (Holmes, 2015, p. 29); "the conduct of diplomacy through networked technologies" (Potter, 2002, p. 8); and as "the overall impact Information and Communication Technologies have had on the conduct of diplomacy - ranging from the email to smartphone applications" (Manor, 2016a, p. 16). Hocking and Melissen (2015) argue that digital or e-diplomacy refers to "the use of digital technologies for knowledge management and the improvement of service delivery in MFAs" (p. 22).

To summarize the different ways in which scholars have tried to define digital diplomacy, it is probably safe to say that it is a broad term that refers to the positive and negative impacts of digitalization on diplomatic institutions and the overall impact information and communication technologies (including email, the smartphone, social networking sites and big data) have had on the practice of diplomacy.

In addition to the definitions for digital diplomacy varying, the use of ICT has not been uniform across diplomatic systems worldwide. Three important factors can contribute to this reality.

First, digitalization is a process and not a once-off event or a binary state (Manor, 2016b). Diplomacy is not the first field to be disrupted by digitalization and this disruption took place over time. Due to the traditional, hierarchical, and elite-run nature of diplomatic institutions, change brought about by digitalization was initially resisted. Similarly, as mentioned before, digitalization is a process and, as a result, diplomacy as an institution is gradually being digitalized, resulting in some countries and their ministries of foreign affairs being more digitalized than others. As Manor (2018) notes:

> The digitalization process is influencing the manner in which diplomats envision their world, the habits of their intended audiences, the actors with whom they seek to engage and the technologies they employ to achieve their goals. Even more importantly, digitalization is a process that, over time, redistributes power within diplomatic institutions. (p. 5)

Secondly, the variance in terminology stems from discrepancies in identifying the domains of diplomacy that are being affected by digitalization (Manor, 2016a). While terms like "e-diplomacy," "cyber diplomacy," and "social media diplomacy" focus on the nature of the digital platform, other terms like "public diplomacy 2.0," and "networked diplomacy" refer to the audience of diplomacy, while "networked diplomacy," and "new diplomacy," for instance, focus on the ways in which diplomacy is conducted. As a result, none of these terms offer an integrated and systematic understanding of the influence of digitalization on diplomacy (Manor, 2016b). Furthermore, none of these terms encapsulate the overarching influence digital technologies have had on diplomacy.

Finally, digital technologies do not merely offer new functionalities. Instead, they promote new norms and facilitate new behaviors. These, in turn, influence the way in which information is created, disseminated and how audiences interact with information. As is the case with other areas in society, these elements have an impact on the way in which governments and other actors practice diplomacy. Similarly, just as digital technologies have enabled citizen journalism, which, in turn, has created different alternatives to add voices to the digital town square but also encouraged audiences to become more engaged with the creation and consumption of information. These behaviors and opportunities have prompted MFAs to migrate online as part of their diplomatic activities and efforts (Manor, 2016a).

In essence, the focus on different aspects of digitalization in diplomacy has created several terms that actors often use interchangeably for digital diplomacy. As can be seen from the above discussion, however, digital diplomacy includes the application and impact of digitalization on a variety of diplomatic dimensions.

73

This study focuses solely on the use of social networking sites into the practice of diplomacy. As a result, it embraces the definition offered by Bjola and Holmes (2015) that digital diplomacy encompasses three components:

- ways in which actors engage with audiences to project an image or message (use of social media to directly engage with audiences);
- ways in which actors structure and organize information for their audiences (focusing on message structure and content); and
- ways in which actors monitor changes in political structures and public opinion (focusing on a listening component).

The study uses all three these components to examine and illustrate how select embassies in the U.S. use social media (specifically Twitter) to engage with their audiences.

Benefits of Digital Diplomacy:

As elaborated on in previous chapters, traditionally speaking, public diplomacy is conceptualized as influence over foreign public opinion that would impact diplomatic conduct. Early definitions of the term state that nations should influence the opinions of elite groups in foreign nations, which would then impact their governments' policies (Pamment, 2012). Pamment states that while "20th century public diplomacy was characterized by one-way flows of information and limited interaction between communicator and recipient, two-way communication is the very essence of the new public diplomacy, which is dialogic, inclusive and collaborative" (2013, p. 3). The new public diplomacy therefore represents a clear shift from the one-way broadcasting model of public diplomacy (Pamment, 2012; also see chapter 3). Similarly, Cowan and

74

Arsenault (2008) argue that the new public diplomacy facilitates the transition from monologue to dialogue. Seo (2013) argues that the relational approach to public diplomacy (i.e., one that emphasizes fostering relations with foreign populations) differs from past approaches as it engages citizens rather than elites.

According to McNutt (2014) Social Networking Sites (SNS) may be the very tools for the practice of the "new" public diplomacy as they enable organizations to transition from "broadcast" to "communicative" paradigms that are centered on interaction with online users. SNS such as Twitter, Instagram and Facebook are particularly relevant to the new public diplomacy as relationships are at the foundation of these sites (Chung & Cho, 2017; Waters et al., 2009). Furthermore, SNS provide the ideal solution to easy two-way and multi-way engagement as organizations may communicate with individuals on topics of shared interest (Bortree & Seltzer, 2009; Chuang, 2020).

Engagement and Listening:

However, social media presence alone does not guarantee that one practices digital diplomacy. The practice rests on a government's willingness to interact with online foreign publics through engagement and listening (Pamment, 2012). To be successful in practicing digital diplomacy one must interact with SNS users assembled in the new online public sphere (Chung & Cho, 2017; Bortree & Seltzer, 2009). As Judith McHale, President Barack Obama's Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, stated:

In a world where power and influence truly belongs to the many, we must engage

with more people in more places . . . people all around the world are clamoring to

75

be heard . . . they are having important conversations rights now . . . and they

aren't waiting for us. (quoted in Manor, 2016a, p. 9)

Clearly, McHale's statement identifies the most important components of digital

diplomacy: engagement and listening (Pamment, 2012; Kampf, Manor & Segev, 2015).

According to Metzgar (2012), "engagement refers to the need to communicate with

online publics assembled in various networks" while "listening refers to the use of SNS

to understand foreign populations and shape foreign policy accordingly" (p. 8). Listening

to online publics also enables willing governments to assess public opinion and anticipate

reaction to and outcome of events (Ociepka, 2012). Metzgar (2012) also highlights

another benefit of the digital diplomacy, that is the ability to "tailor foreign policy

messages to the unique characteristics of target audiences such as language, culture and

values" (Seo, 2013, p. 161). Xiguang and Jing (2010) argue that such customization of

foreign policy messages increases the target audience's willingness to interact with a

foreign government or its embassy. However, successful tailoring depends on the actor's

ability to identify specific target audiences, communication channels and platforms

(Xiguang & Jing, 2010). Ociepka (2012) asserts that through custom, targeted messaging,

social media have changed the practice of public diplomacy as actors can target both

mass and niche audiences. Finally, governments may also tailor SNS messages based on

their understanding of foreign audiences. By listening to local SNS users, nations may

understand how they are viewed by local populations and shape social media content in

an attempt to shape and maintain their country image. As a result, social media is one of

the most effective ways to promote a positive country image and a tailored persona

(Harris, 2013). This specific element is one of the areas this study focuses on, as it

analyzes how a sample of foreign embassies in the U.S. listen to their Twitter audiences and engage with them as part of their digital diplomacy efforts.

Framing:

Another benefit of digital diplomacy is its ability to frame news. The Pew Research Center's 2018 journalism and media survey found that the majority of Americans use social media, primarily Twitter and Facebook, as their main source of information on events outside their personal lives (Shearer, 2018). The growing use of social media as a news aggregator (source of primary news) demonstrates a government's ability to offer SNS followers its own interpretation of events, which may be at odds with those presented by mainstream news outlets. Such interpretations and presentation of news events are known as frames. According to Entman, to frame is "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (1993, p. 52).

Framing is a key instrument in and benefit of the "new" public diplomacy, as public diplomacy involves the diplomacy of norms and values (Van Ham, 2013). Van Ham's understanding of public diplomacy rests on the concept of social power, which he defines as "the ability to set standards and create norms and values that are deemed as legitimate and desirable, without resorting to coercion or payment" (2013, p. 19). Exercising social power is the use of creating narratives via frames to construct new norms or values to which other nations should adhere, thereby limiting the actions of other nations (Van Ham, 2013). Therefore, framing can be seen as a "competitive process

in which wielders of social power attempt to convince audiences that their interpretation of events is the correct one" (Manor, 2016a, p. 12-13). Natarajan (2014) maintains that the formation of norms limits the state's branding ability, as it cannot project a narrative that contradicts accepted values and norms. Therefore, using social media to bypass traditional news outlets and communicate directly with domestic and foreign audiences is one method in which digital diplomacy enables MFAs to overcome the limitations of traditional diplomacy (Manor, 2016b).

Use of SNS to Complement Traditional Foreign Policy Tools:

This is another important benefit of digital diplomacy (Seo, 2013). For example, as part of the 21st Century Statecraft Initiative, the U.S. Department of State pursued to overcome the limitations of traditional diplomacy regarding its contentious and volatile relationship with Iran. Given that both nations had no diplomatic ties for more than three decades, since the Iran hostage crisis, the U.S. was unable to engage with Iranian citizens, subsequently failing to narrate its foreign policy and shape its image in Iran. In December 2011, the U.S. Department of State launched "Virtual Embassy Tehran," a web-based platform that served as a virtual embassy. This platform enabled the U.S. to converse online with Iranians and offer information regarding U.S. values and history (Manor, 2016b; Metzgar, 2012). Likewise, later in 2013, Israel launched its own virtual embassy on Twitter, hoping to engage with the populations of seven Gulf nations: Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen with whom Israel had no diplomatic relations (Manor, 2016a).

Collaboration:

Collaboration is at the center of new public diplomacy and digital diplomacy facilitates that collaboration. Zaharna et al. state that a "21st century approach to diplomacy must recognize the architecture of multi-hub, multi-directional networks that exist around the world, transcend borders and are maintained by social media" (2013, p. 147). This web of networks offers valuable connections among governments, corporations, organizations and individuals who contribute to the global agenda (Slaughter, 2009; Dania & Griffin, 2021). Such was the case with the British foreign office's global campaign to end sexual violence in conflict (Pamment, 2015). Networking also fosters innovation (Park & Lim, 2014; Slaughter, 2009). Governments may form global networks in which ideas and innovations are nurtured to overcome global challenges (Manor, 2016b). Zaharna et al. (2013) view networked diplomacy as collaborative in nature.

Collaborative approaches to public diplomacy may be a necessity given the new-found agency of SNS users. As Zaharna and Rugh (2012) assert, SNS users are more likely to be producers of content than consumers since participation has replaced passivity as the main characteristic of public diplomacy audiences. Williamson and Kelly (2012) state that the collaborative nature of social media has increased an individual's sense of agency given their ability to exchange ideas and co-create content. For governments, this sense of agency may be a double-edged sword. While collaborative environments enhance SNS users' desire to engage with diplomats, failure to collaborate with followers may reduce their sense of agency, leading them to abandon MFA social media profiles (Diraditsile & Gamakabadi, 2018; Kampf, Manor & Segev, 2015).

Challenges of Digital Diplomacy:

The relocation of governments to the digital space does not only have benefits. It also comes with novel challenges, such as guarding citizens' private information (Scott, 2012) and securing critical infrastructure against cyber threats (Quigley, 2013). Similarly, web 2.0 applications (such as websites, blogs, SNS) have also brought with them challenges, as governments cannot simply replicate existing working routines from the offline world to online participatory environments (McNutt, 2014). McNutt uses the term "government 2.0" in reference to a technological functionality as well as the embrace of a web 2.0 "ethos composed of transparency, participatory opportunities, co-production and openness" (p. 68). As part of this ethos, governments must engage with citizens while valuing their comments and ideas (Manor, 2016a; Macnamara, 2011; Macnamara, et al., 2012). McNutt's web 2.0 ethos demonstrates that departments of foreign affairs are not the only agencies of government making the transition from monologic to dialogic modes of communication. McNutt identifies three barriers to the adoption of a web 2.0 ethos by government agencies: First, resources, as ministries must seek out engagement with citizens while providing updated information, which requires reallocation or addition of staff. Secondly, the use of social media necessitates the formation of best practices for employees now operating in unfamiliar environments. The third barrier is normative, as government culture is risk averse. Thus, governments may be reluctant to embrace SNS given their fear of losing control over the communication process. However, despite these challenges, the MFAs and embassies flocked to social media.

The next section of the chapter sheds light on the spread of digital technology in diplomacy.

Proliferation of Digital Technology in Diplomacy:

In less than two decades "digital diplomacy" has reshaped the structure of centuries-old diplomatic institutions. What started as an experiment by a handful of diplomatic pioneers and foreign ministries, has now become standard diplomatic practice around the world. Although used with many prefixes – digital, cyber, tech, net, virtual, or e-diplomacy – diplomacy in the digital age refers to methods and modes of conducting diplomacy with the help of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), including the internet. Over the past two decades, the utilization of ICTs in diplomacy has been widespread and increasingly diverse. Digital diplomacy has found a strong foothold in especially public diplomacy. Recent examples include Norwegian Ambassadors using Skype to converse with university students, and the Indian Ministry of Foreign Affairs developing computer games for children of Indian diaspora (Manor, 2018; Hocking & Melissen, 2015). Even at formal diplomacy level, there are examples such as the U.S. opening a virtual embassy in Iran, the Kenyan foreign ministry using Twitter to deliver consular aid, and United Nations Ambassadors using WhatsApp to coordinate their votes on various resolutions (Manor & Crilley, 2019).

The utilization of ICTs in diplomacy is now a global phenomenon. As of October 2019, 187 countries have a Twitter account for governments and foreign ministries, which represents 97% of all UN nations (Twiplomacy, 2020). Among those countries, 93% have a presence on Facebook and 81% are on Instagram, showing that governments are adapting to the new channels of communication. Social media is reshaping mass communication. Anyone with an internet-enabled phone can access, reach, and engage

with technically any audience in any part of the world. This focus on engagement has a profound impact on the essence of public diplomacy (also see above).

As Pamment (2012) pointed out, public diplomacy in the 20th century used a broadcasting model to persuade foreign audiences (see Chapter 3). However, as we entered the 21st century, communication channels diversified and enabled dialogue through social media, making the new public diplomacy dialogical, collaborative, and inclusive. This shift has prompted governments around the world to use social media, not only because of the relatively low entry costs but also because of the high lost opportunities of "not being there" (Mickoleit, 2014). Social media enhances its users' ability to engage the public, promote cultural understanding, and encourage informed debate – primary goals of public diplomacy – and to a broader audience than had been the case with traditional public diplomacy.

The Role of Social Media in Public Diplomacy:

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, digitalization, particularly the use of social media to facilitate dialogical communication with their audience has drastically impacted how diplomacy is practiced today. However, no other areas of diplomacy have been impacted by digitalization than public diplomacy has. Bjola and Jiang (2015) outline why social media is so effective in public diplomacy by offering a three-dimensional framework that focuses on agenda-setting, presence expansion and generating conversation. Each of these dimensions is discussed in more detail below.

Agenda Setting:

Agenda setting relates to the extent to which social media platforms enable diplomats to set the agenda of discussion and influence public opinion among their target audience. McCombs and Reynolds define agenda setting as the "ability [of the new media] to influence the salience of topics on public agenda" (2002, p. 1). Therefore, public diplomacy is often used to create a certain image of a country. This is achieved by drawing the attention of foreign audiences to certain topics. On the other hand, distracting their attention or downplaying the importance of other topics through selected news (Van Ham, 2013). Disseminating useful information has always been the primary task of public diplomacy, as this helps public diplomacy achieves its goals (Bjola & Jiang, 2015). Informing the foreign public is the prerequisite for any interaction with this public, since this sets the scene to facilitate any real dialogue, as it creates a certain level of familiarity on the subject matter. Once that is achieved, public diplomacy practitioners can work on developing shared understanding and common interests (Bjola & Jiang, 2015). As a result, agenda setting and framing allows diplomats to create a narrative that is most suitable for their national interest. As Bjola and Jiang argue "diplomats can thus construct an issue as salient and worthy of attention for their audience by repeatedly providing relevant information on that issue" (2015, p. 8). This is true in any form of media but SNS provides an additional advantage in tailoring messages. Agichtein et al. argue that, unlike traditional mass media, social networking sites "(boast) a great advantage in grabbing headlines due to its reach, frequency, usability, immediacy and permanence" (2008, p. 188). However, it is important to remember that the ease and speed of information dissemination in SNS may lead to situations in which audiences

become desensitized to new information as they are constantly being flooded with

massive flows of news and information. This, in turn, could undermine the effectiveness

of digital efforts of public diplomacy (Bjola & Jiang, 2015). Therefore, effective

messaging strategy is paramount to success of any digital public diplomacy efforts.

Presence Expansion:

In this context, presence expansion means expanding "presence" from the

traditional sense of the word to "presence" in a virtual sense of the word. When a

government wants to foster positive relationships with a foreign audience, it needs to

send its agents and promoters (ambassadors in diplomatic terms) into the relevant public

sphere (Bjola & Jiang, 2015). Although diplomatic presence does not automatically lead

to positive images or favorable opinions, a lack of sufficient and regular exposure could

lead to the public diplomacy strategy failing (Agichtein et al., 2008; Bjola & Jiang,

2015). In addition to sending envoys, establishing diplomatic missions, etc., traditional

diplomatic presence also includes the use of mass communication, and cultural and

educational exchange programs (Pamment, 2012). In the age of digitalization and social

media, however, the scope of diplomatic presence has extended over space and time

(Bjola & Jiang, 2015). One such example is the Digital Outreach Team of the U.S.

Department of State's effort to directly engage citizens in the Middle East through

posting messages about U.S. foreign policy on popular Arabic, Urdu, and Persian

language internet forums (Khatib et al., 2012). In the social network atmosphere,

presence expansion becomes even more critical as it can be difficult for diplomats to

make their voice heard among all the noise (Blank, 2017). Another implication of

virtually expanding a country's presence through social media is that actors need

technological expertise and infrastructure to successfully achieve their diplomatic goals. As Wichowski (2013) notes "the credibility and authority of diplomats would likely suffer if they fail to stay abreast with the constantly changing digital technologies" (p. 6). Also, failure in this regard would mean a country losing out to competing public diplomacy campaigns from other nations.

Conversation Generating:

According to Pamment (2012) one of the most important and valued features of the new public diplomacy is its direct engagement with the audience. To be successful, Pamment argues "public diplomacy can no longer be monologue, but dialogue-based" (2008, p. 7). The new public diplomacy "must facilitate a two-way or multidirectional communication between parties and to stimulate collaboration initiatives" (Cowan & Arsenault, 2008, p. 16). These elements were discussed in earlier sections of this chapter. As such, digital media can facilitate an environment for semi-continuous dialogue between diplomats and foreign publics (Chuang, 2020; Bortree & Seltzer, 2009). These conversations allow diplomats to readjust the focus of their agenda, reduce misinformation, and enhance mutual understanding. It is this crucial feature that enables social media to accomplish the goals of public diplomacy in a different and efficient way from traditionally used methods. However, even with all the convenience social networks and digital environments provide, it is not necessarily easy to use as a tool of public diplomacy (Bjola & Jiang, 2015). It usually involves a complex infrastructure of more human resources, technological expertise and monetary investment than traditional media-based tools (Bjola & Jiang, 2015).

Summary:

This chapter highlighted how social media facilitate public diplomacy in a variety of ways. It showed how the nature and characteristics of these platforms help actors to direct their audiences towards a specific topic, to disseminate information that can create positive images for the actor, to expand its presence over space and time, and to build relationships because of their ability to generate conversation. The chapter also discussed different definitions of digital diplomacy and how that relates to public diplomacy and outlined the benefits and challenges of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) as it affects public diplomacy and modern-day diplomacy.

The next chapter focuses on Nicholas Cull's (2008) taxonomy of public diplomacy as the theoretical framework for the study.

Chapter 5: Taxonomy of Public Diplomacy

Introduction:

The previous chapters discussed diplomacy, public diplomacy, and digital diplomacy in detail. In the first instance, Chapter 2 highlighted the notion of diplomacy and its relationship to nation state and power. The chapter outlined different approaches and types of diplomacy with a focus on its root – persuasion. Chapter 3 reviewed the changing nature of diplomacy and how modern public diplomacy functions. It also established the connections between public diplomacy and other related concepts such as soft power, national interest, and nation branding. Finally, Chapter 4 focused on the digitalization of diplomacy and the implication of this transformation for public diplomacy. The chapter defined digital diplomacy and how it fits in with public diplomacy by discussing its benefits and challenges. It also shed light on the profound change ICT and SNS brought to the practice of public diplomacy.

These discussions have established the foundation for this study. Chapter 5 now turns the attention to the theoretical model that guides this study, using the taxonomy of public diplomacy, proposed by Nicholas Cull (2008). Originally proposed to explain the functions of traditional components of public diplomacy, this taxonomy is still relevant when one studies public diplomacy in a digital age. Throughout this chapter, this relevancy will become clear, as the principles of the taxonomy are connected to more recent studies and examples related to public diplomacy in a digital world.

Taxonomies of Public Diplomacy:

Taxonomy is the science of classification. Carolus Linnaeus (1707-1778) is known as the Father of Taxonomy as he was the first to propose a taxonomy system of naming, ranking and classifying organisms – a system that is still widely used today (Tilton, 2009). Originally developed in the field of biology to classify living and extinct organisms, taxonomy as a concept has now become a popular element of theory development in many areas of natural and social sciences (Cain, 2020). Taxonomies help organize components in a systematic manner, enabling students of the subject to study related phenomena (Pamment, 2014). Like many other fields of social science, the study of public diplomacy also embraced the use of taxonomies to help scholars and practitioners better understand and develop theories.

During the important formation period of the study of public diplomacy, taxonomies were a prevalent and necessary means of explaining practices and intentions for the development of the field (Pamment, 2014). The first documented attempt of the use of taxonomy in public diplomacy was in Mark Leonard's manifesto written for the UK government in 2002. Leonard, together with co-authors Stead and Smewing (2002), summarized three dimensions and two modes of operations for public diplomacy. Their taxonomy identified "news management," "strategic communication" and "relationship building" as three *dimensions* of public diplomacy and "competitive" and "co-operative" approaches as two modes of operations (Leonard et al., 2002). This eclectic way of organizing the scattered field of public diplomacy peaked people's interest. Fisher and Bröckerhoff (2008), in a report published by the British Council, explained the Council's position within the UK's soft power mechanism and outlined a range of seven

possibilities for influence. The options for influence could be identified on a *scale* ranging from "listening" on the far left and "telling" on the far right with "promotional" and "advocacy" work in the center of the scale (Pamment, 2014).

These kinds of taxonomies played a central role in explaining the evolving field of public diplomacy. In 2008 Cull proposed his famous taxonomy of public diplomacy, arguing that public diplomacy primarily consists of five *components* namely "listening," "advocacy," "cultural diplomacy," "exchange diplomacy" and "international broadcasting." In the same year, Gilboa proposed a *model* to distinguish public diplomacy *tools* by "their timeframes, purpose, communication methods and relationships to governments" (2008, p. 73). Zaharna (2009) took a different style, suggesting a "*spectrum* of approaches, ranging from informational to relational, breaking them down into *tiers* of relationship-building activities" (Pamment, 2014, p. 53). On the other hand, based on his historical approach to studying public diplomacy Brown (2012) proposed four *ideal types* of public diplomacy: an extension of diplomacy, an instrument of cultural relations, an instrument of conflict, and a tool of national image construction.

However, no other classifications or taxonomies got as much attention as Cull's taxonomy of public diplomacy and he remains the most cited author in the field (Snow, 2020). Cull's taxonomy got much more attention from scholars and practitioners alike compared to the others because of its comprehensiveness in categorizing almost all forms of public diplomacy practices (Cortés & Jamieson, 2020). Additionally, the incorporation of aspects like time frame, information flow, credibility and infrastructure needed enables this taxonomy to explain a wide range of public diplomacy activities in a real-world environment (Cull, 2008).

The next sections of the chapter elaborate on Cull's taxonomy of public diplomacy and extend it to the practicing of public diplomacy in the age of digital media. This taxonomy guides the analysis of social media content aimed at the sample of embassies' audiences.

Cull's Taxonomy of Public Diplomacy:

Cull's (2008) taxonomy of public diplomacy is comprised of five key elements of public diplomacy: listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy, and international broadcasting. He argues that although these five sub-domains of public diplomacy share the common goal of influencing foreign audience, they differ in four important aspects:

- their conceptual time frame,

- the direction of flow of information,

- the type of infrastructure required, and

- the source of their credibility.

The interrelationship of the public diplomacy activities and the diverging aspects are summarized in table 1.

Table 1:

Cull's Taxonomy of Public Diplomacy Summarized.

Sub-domains	Time Frame	Direction of information flow	Infrastructure required	Source of credibility
Listening	Short and long term	Inward	Monitoring technology and skilled staff	Validity of methods
Advocacy	Short term	Outward	Media and public relations offices in embassies	Proximity to government
Cultural diplomacy	Long term	Outward	Cultural centers	Proximity to cultural authorities
Exchange	Very long term	Inward and outward	Exchange/education office	Perception of mutuality
International Broadcasting	Medium term	Outwards	News bureaus, production studios and broadcast capacity	Evidence of objective journalistic practice

These structural differences between the different elements of public diplomacy help understand how they operate. Additionally, the differences, Cull (2008) argues, become highly important to understand when a country attempts to use all of its public diplomacy efforts under a single administration like a ministry/department of foreign affairs.

The next section of the chapter details each of the elements of public diplomacy from the taxonomy.

Listening:

Collecting information on both a nation's enemies and its allies has always been a central feature of diplomacy (Di Martino, 2020). When the paradigm shift took place from traditional way of conducting diplomacy to the emergence of more transparent

public diplomacy, those information-gathering activities were reframed as *listening*. This happened for two main reasons (Pamment, 2015). Firstly, scholars argued that the new public diplomacy is concerned with foreign publics, and image building and reputation is a key to change their minds. Secondly, a rebranding was necessary to distinguish the activities from earlier forms of information collecting and propaganda (Herman, 1998; Kruckeberg & Vujnovic, 2005). With the incorporation of digital media and the use of SNS, listening has become a "central activity in public diplomacy and a defining element of dialogic forms of communication" (Di Martino, 2020, p. 21).

According to Cull (2009a), listening is "an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by collecting and collating data about publics and their opinions overseas and using that data to redirect its policy or its wider public diplomacy approach accordingly" (p. 18). Listening is an integral part of any democracy. It is practically impossible to practice any form of diplomacy without having information about target parties' stance and opinion on the issue at hand. As a result, Cull argues "listening has traditionally been an element of each constituent practice of public diplomacy, with advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange, and broadcasting agencies each attending to its own audience and opinion research" (2009a, p. 18).

Information gathering on foreign public opinion has always been a part of the routine function of standard diplomacy and intelligence work (Pashakhanlou, 2018). Though systematic monitoring and assessment of foreign public opinion is a modern practice, "the attempts to know the mind of a neighbor's population have been a feature of intelligence reports as long as there have been spies" (Cull, 2009, p. 18). In simpler terms, listening in public diplomacy comprises events and activities by which "an

international actor seeks out a foreign audience and engages them by listening rather than by speaking, a phenomenon that is much promised but seldom performed" (Cull, 2009a, p. 18). By performing listening activities, public diplomacy practitioners can respond to ever-changing international opinion. However, Cull states that instances of "listening or structured opinion monitoring shaping the highest levels of policy are harder to find" (2009a, p. 18).

Di Martino (2020) argues that listening can be interpreted in two ways: narrowly and minimally - to "implement and readjust a strategy," or broadly and ambitiously as an activity that aims to increase global understanding (p. 21). The first interpretation of listening essentially limits itself as a synonym for monitoring where the listening activities can help important policy planning functions (Gregory, 2011). The second perspective on listening, on the other hand, aligns with the collaborative and ethical approach in public diplomacy (Di Martino, 2020). In this collaborative approach, listening can be best described as "a genuine interest in the other's perspective" (Brown, 2012, p. 13). This second collaborative and ethical approach is a cornerstone of modern public diplomacy, as listening here is built on "sincere openness on the part of diplomatic actors" (Di Martino, 2020, p. 21). These two, somewhat opposing, sides of listening suggest that the activities of listening are not straightforward. Like digitalization, listening cannot be interpreted in a binary way, where the question is whether the actor is listening or not.

Rather, listening exists on a spectrum. To understand this, and how it relates to diplomacy, Di Martino (2020) proposed a framework with six approaches to listening:

apophatic, active, tactical, listening in and surreptitious listening activities. The section below briefly discusses these listening approaches.

Apophatic Listening:

Based on its theological origin, apophatic listening involves a "meditative or mystical experience as a form of listening to God without preconceptions and implies self-negation" (Di Martino, 2020, p. 23). While apophatic listening is not likely to be observed in routine public diplomacy communications, Di Martino argues that it is valuable as an "ideal yardstick by which to compare the different listening strategies" (2020, p. 23).

Active Listening:

Dobson (2014) originally proposed the concept of active listening. He argued that good listening must be active listening so that continuous interaction exists in a true dialogic form of communication (Di Martino, 2020). Applying this to public diplomacy, active listening involves active contributions by both diplomatic and non-diplomatic actors. Since the goal is to advance foreign policies by establishing a conducive environment for international dialogue, active listening becomes an overall enabler of communication (Di Martino, 2020).

Tactical Listening:

Tactical listening is conducted via "two-way asymmetrical public diplomacy [which] means that although communication might be both sent and received … the effects of the communication are limited to the foreign audience" (Yepsen, 2012, p. 9).

This approach to listening aims to "implement and readjust public diplomacy messages and correct misconceptions" (Di Martino, 2020, p. 24). Tactical listening helps identify the issues and actors concerned by providing a map of the information ecosystem, thus, enabling public diplomacy actors to plan and persuade tactical goals.

Listening In:

This approach to listening is characterized by passiveness, which is different from illegal or unethical practices of collecting information. For example, social media monitoring to keep an eye on public discussion is a listening in practice which is not only employed by governments but also many commercial brands. This is different from illegal information gathering practices that will include spying on communication channels, hacking to collect sensitive information, etc.

Background/Casual Listening:

This is another form of passive listening which, according to Crawford (2009), involves tuning in and out while listening, with a continuous but casual level of attention. Di Martino (2020) noted that diplomats with access to social media technologies can now listen to ordinary citizens and actors of interest directly when they want. For example, by following the actor of interest on Twitter or Facebook a diplomat can understand what they are talking about with their social network and collect valuable information from those discussions.

Spying or Surreptitious Listening:

In simpler terms, this approach to listening refers to spying on an actor of interest or some paying attention to their activities through different sorts of mass surveillance (Di Martino, 2020). Government intelligence agencies have used this type of listening in the past and many continue to use it regularly, primarily for espionage. However, most often, Di Martino argues "this is clearly a digital extension of military power, this type of listening goes beyond the theoretical and practical boundaries of diplomacy and implies a very low level of trust among international actors" (2020, p. 25). As a result, there is little to no use for this approach to listening in public diplomacy.

Cortés and Jamieson (2020), in their study of public diplomacy programs showed that creating public diplomacy strategies founded upon listening helps to establish clear goals, thus increasing the efficiency of the program and its chances of success. Similarly, Pace (2005), in his study of compassionate listening, found that listening helped promote peace and reconciliation between Arabs and Jews in Israel, Gaza and the West Bank. On the other hand, El-Nawawy (2006) found that one-way listening/broadcasting of U.S. policy advocacy led to a worsening of audience attitudes toward U.S. foreign policy. This clearly indicates that one way listening rarely works in public diplomacy, if at all.

To summarize, listening is and has always been an important element of public diplomacy. However, with the insertion of social media in public diplomacy, listening has emerged as a central activity in public diplomacy strategies. In contemporary society, SNS are a "powerful tool for listening to international publics, implementing and adjusting communication strategies, and generating engagement" (Di Martino, 2019, p.

139). Listening is not a binary activity but exists on a spectrum. It can be interpreted and conducted in different ways. To reach public diplomacy goals, actors need to use listening carefully, since it can be interpreted negatively (seen as spying), or positively (to show other actors and publics that their voices matter). In the latter case, listening becomes a means for advancing international understanding and enhancing trust.

Advocacy:

Advocacy means promoting the interests or cause of an entity, be it an individual, a group of people, society, nation, government, or the world (Hendrix & Wong, 2014). Therefore, by definition, an advocate is an actor who supports, recommends, lobbies or argues for a cause or policy (Bloodgood, 2011). Advocacy is also about helping people find their voice and ensuring their rights.

Primarily, there are three types of advocacy - self-advocacy, individual advocacy and systems advocacy. Self-advocacy refers to "an individual's ability to effectively communicate, convey, negotiate or assert his or her own interests, desires, needs, and rights" (Reusen, 1996, p. 51). On the other hand, individual advocacy involves an individual or groups of peoples who concentrate their efforts on just one or two individuals (Goodman et al., 2018). This form of advocacy is more common in persuading prominent actors in decision making positions to change their opinions. Most of government advocacy falls under the last type of advocacy – systems advocacy or systematic advocacy. This form of advocacy relates to "changing policies, laws or rules that impact how someone lives their life" (Weible & Ingold, 2018, p. 328). These advocacy efforts can be targeted at local, state, national or international level.

Cull (2009a) defines advocacy in public diplomacy as

an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by undertaking an

international communication activity to actively promote a particular policy, idea,

or that actor's general interests in the minds of a foreign public (p. 18-19).

Advocacy is mainly carried out in two ways: (i) embassy press relations – this is

the hard end of policy promotion by a government, and (ii) informational work – that is

somewhat flexible and less directed to diplomatic policy goals (Cull, 2009a). Advocacy is

another crucial element of overall diplomatic practice since it is how you achieve your

diplomatic objectives (Keohane, 2019).

To some extent, facets of advocacy can be found in all areas of public diplomacy.

Cull argues that advocacy's "short-term utility has historically led to a bias toward this

dimension [advocacy] of public diplomacy and a tendency to place it at the center of any

public diplomacy structure" (2009a, p. 19). As a result, advocacy has been a core practice

of diplomacy where other aspects played complimentary roles – being free from the

negative connotation of lobbying, while paving the path for stronger influence and

effective advocacy (Cull, 2009a).

It must also be noted that nations are not the only actors conducting advocacy

(Pamment, 2012). Non-state actors like international organizations, both governmental

(such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the European Union, the

United Nations, and its various agencies), and non-governmental (such as Amnesty

International, Human Rights Watch, ActionAid, Mercy Corps, Greenpeace) are actively

advocating for policy changes regarding issues they are concerned with (Ayhan, 2019).

Most often nations work in partnership with such organizations and provide funding to advocate on their behalf (Lu, 2018). However, most foreign policy initiatives are directly advocated at the government level via embassies. In the context of public diplomacy, advocacy often involves promotion of specific policies or ideals among foreign audiences (Cull, 2019a).

Many scholars have explored the advocacy strategies and its implication in public diplomacy. White and Radic (2014) found a significant correlation between the level of democracy and the use of advocacy messages. Hasić et al. (2020) observed that advocacy has the best outcome when governmental and non-governmental organizations work together under a coordinated messaging strategy. Similarly, Lee and Ayhan (2015) suggest that partnership with non-state actors helps legitimize advocacy. They note: "non-state actors' potential for public diplomacy can be tapped by states when (it) approaches non-state actors for collaboration as well as opening its channels for collaboration opportunities coming from non-state actors" (p. 57).

In a nutshell, advocacy is one of the crucial aspects of public diplomacy, as it directly aims to change the hearts and minds of foreign publics toward a specific issue or policy. Advocacy can be for or against a policy, issue, or cause. When conducted in partnership with other organizations it helps legitimize the advocacy activities. Furthermore, it can facilitate global understanding and reduce the risk of disagreement and violence.

Cultural Diplomacy:

Unlike other dimensions of diplomacy, the historical concept and practice of cultural diplomacy has been severely turbulent (Mark, 2010). Though, as Goff (2020) states, the need for ambassadorial representation abroad or summit meetings is never questioned, "the idea of mobilizing one's cultural resources for diplomatic purposes, enjoys moments of great support, often followed by skepticism" (2020, p. 30). One reason for this dichotomy in the perceived value of cultural diplomacy can be the fact that there is no agreement on the value and purpose of this type of diplomatic effort (Kim, 2017).

In the context of public diplomacy, Cull defines cultural diplomacy as "an actor's attempt to manage the international environment through making its cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad" (2009a, p. 19). Traditionally, cultural diplomacy is seen in a country's policies and attempts to showcase examples of its culture that are worthy of "exporting" to other countries, and showcasing its cultural richness, if not superiority (Kim, 2017). Ancient examples of cultural diplomacy include the Greek construction of the great library at Alexandria or the Roman Republic's policy to invite the children of friendly kings from their neighboring states to be educated at prestigious educational institutions in Rome (Cull, 2008). In the modern day, good examples of this would be the work of organizations like the British Council or Confucius Institute. However, when it comes to cultural diplomacy, one of the largest spenders and active actors has always been the French (Mulcahy, 2017). France, understanding that their prestige and influence is largely tied to the survival of the Francophone, has consistently funded an international network

of schools and academic institutions as well as established French cultural centers (Alliance Française) to sustain the French language and culture (Cull, 2009a). Many of these organizations attempt to distance themselves from mainstream public diplomacy because of their discomfort with advocacy roles and overt diplomatic objectives, and some because of their discomfort with the term public diplomacy itself. For example, Cull notes that the British Council "prefers to describe itself as a 'cultural relations' agency, though its core tools are cultural work and exchanges, and its objective falls within the definition of both public and cultural diplomacy" (2009a, p. 20).

Mark (2010) states that one of the barriers to reaching a universally accepted definition of cultural diplomacy is the thin line that separates cultural diplomacy from related and often used-together terms like propaganda, public diplomacy, and soft power. Some scholars consider cultural diplomacy a component of public diplomacy (Goff, 2020; Cull, 2019b). Mark goes further noting that some scholars see cultural diplomacy as "just a small part of the more fashionable public diplomacy" (2010, p. 64).

To add to the complexity, terms like "international cultural relations" and "public diplomacy" are often used synonymously with cultural diplomacy (Goff, 2020). This interchanging use of different terms for the same concept is prevalent in both individual/scholarly research as well as government reports (Goff, 2020). One such example is a study of diplomatic relations between Brazil and Canada (Robertson et al., 2013). The authors state that "in this essay we use a variety of terms, among them cultural diplomacy, cultural brokering, and promotion of culture, to describe the political or economic use of culture disconnected from the aims of the work itself" (2013, p. 62). Similarly, Isar (2015) in his study of European cultural activity found that the European

Union (EU) widely uses a variety of terms, such as external cultural relations, cultural diplomacy, and soft power to describe its various initiatives. The outcome of "this semantic muddle" (Mark, 2009) is that significant effort is "spent on categorizing and less on empirical evaluation of how cultural activities can contribute to positive political, economic, and social outcomes in global politics" (Goff, 2020, p. 31).

Another reason why it is difficult to find a consensus definition of cultural diplomacy is because most existing definitions for the term either focus on one of two dimensions of cultural diplomacy: the actor or the outcome (Goff, 2020). In most cases, the actor is the state, and the desired outcome is positive perception of the country (Higham, 2001). As a result, a particular example might or might not fall under cultural diplomacy, depending on which of the two dimensions is emphasized. Faucher argues that "cultural diplomacy is specifically defined as intervention by the state" (2016, p. 376). Similarly, emphasizing the actor dimension, Arndt claims that, "cultural diplomacy can only be said to take place when formal diplomats, serving national governments, try to shape and channel this natural flow to advance national interests" (2005, p. xviii). Additionally, Mark (2009) defines cultural diplomacy as "the deployment of aspects of a state's culture in support of its foreign policy goals or diplomacy" (p. 6). On the other hand, Cummings (2003) shifts the emphasis when he argues that "cultural diplomacy is the exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding" (2003, p. 19). Cummings does not reject the role of governments in conducting public diplomacy. However, his definition "opens the door to a focus on the objective of cultural diplomacy as the definitive feature," suggesting the possibility of other actors besides the state (Goff, 2020, p. 31).

Despite the lack of consensus in defining cultural diplomacy, there is not a lack of support for the importance thereof (Mark, 2010; Bukh, 2014). After all, a 2005 U.S. State Department report called cultural diplomacy the linchpin of public diplomacy (U.S. Department of State, 2005). The importance of cultural diplomacy in public diplomacy is also evident in the literature. For example, Clarke and Duber (2020) showed how the Polish government used historical memory as a resource for cultural diplomacy through the medium of the museum. Similarly, Sterling (2018) explored how cultural diplomacy had been used to promote the image of China in Asia and beyond through the Belt and Road Initiative. Whereas Goda and Čiefová (2019) compared activities and actors of cultural diplomacy of Slovakia, Austria, China and the U.S. to illustrate what causes cultural diplomacy to succeed or fail.

Exchange Diplomacy:

Public diplomacy involves a range of diverse activities, most of which involve presentation of image and information in a fast-paced fashion (Scott-Smith, 2020). However, one of the integral activities of public diplomacy – exchanges – are unique in nature. Exchange diplomacy is a slow and accumulative process at individual level and with a strong human element and "where an engagement with the personality, psychology, and both short- and long-term personal development of participants is central" (Scott-Smith, 2020, p. 38).

This element of public diplomacy is, however, less highlighted in studies and less talked about in the media is. One reason for this, Scott-Smith argues, is the "interpersonal nature of the exchange experience, coupled with its inherently private character" (2020,

p. 38). Another reason is because it is often very difficult to collect the essential empirical data to make solid conclusions (Ellis & Müller, 2016). Cull argued that exchanges "represent a specific activity separate to other forms of public diplomacy, in terms of *raison d'être*, mechanisms, and outcomes" (2009b, p. 122).

Exchange diplomacy, according to Cull is "an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by sending its citizens overseas and reciprocally accepting citizens from overseas for a period of study and/or acculturation" (2009a, p. 20). Some see a cultural exchange as a one-directional process. As Cull (2008, p. 33) states "my students will go overseas and tell you how wonderful my country is; your students will come here and learn how wonderful my country is." However, one key element of exchange, reciprocity, has made this dimension of public diplomacy a stronghold when it comes to "mutuality" (Cull, 2019a). The common understanding of an exchange program is when an international educational/cultural experience results in benefit to and transformation of both parties (Cull, 2009a).

Two types of exchange primarily exist: educational and cultural (Pacher, 2018b). As a result, exchanges can overlap and be confused with cultural work. However, exchanges as a tool for public diplomacy is frequently used for specific policy and/or advocacy purposes. These include targeted sectoral development or promoting military interoperability with allies. Most counties regularly conduct joint military practices around the world and these are vital exchange functions among countries. However, Cull argues that if exchange programs are housed within a cultural diplomacy agency, such as the British Council, "the aspect of mutuality and two-way communication within

exchange has sometimes been subordinated to the drive to project national culture"
(2009a. p. 20).

Japan is a great example of conducting exchange diplomacy and has always
emphasized exchange as an integral part of its public diplomacy efforts. The Japanese
emphasis on exchange can be traced back to the nineteenth-century Meiji period of
modernization when the government started to utilize the willingness of foreigners to
trade their modern knowledge for experience of Japanese culture (Cull, 2008). To this
day, Japanese diplomats habitually use the term exchange to refer to the field of public
diplomacy (Auslin, 2009).

As sovereign entities, nation-states control who can and cannot cross their
borders. They also control individuals' ability to cross other national boundaries, which
ultimately requires some degree of mutual agreement. Exchanges are prime examples of
this mutual understanding between states, as most of the time they are funded by the state
itself. Although exchanges are presented as apolitical, they undeniably function within
the broader complex political environment of international affairs. Scott-Smith (2020)
notes

> even the most politically neutral of exchanges, such as those between high
> schools, have either political intent behind their creation or are promoted for the
> purpose of developing cross-border relations that can subsequently lead to
> political outcomes, such as a reduction in conflict (p. 40).

One of the best examples of using exchanges to reduce conflict and tension between states is perhaps the Franco-German high school exchanges that took place after the Second World War (Scott-Smith, 2020). This program facilitated the exchange of five million high school students by 1997 and was a significant contributing factor to normalize the relations between France and Germany after the war (Krotz, 2007).

Exchange programs offer a flexible channel for public diplomacy. It can be utilized in a variety of ways, and can potentially reach all social groups, depending on the desired outcome (Scott-Smith, 2020). Exchange activities can also be utilized as a form of strategic communication. Manheim notes that it involves "tailoring and directing of information at specific target audiences to generate a specific policy response" (Manheim, 1994, p. 7). Moreover, Scott-Smith (2020) suggests that if the bilateral relationship between countries is good and the political environment is favorable, exchange programs can be used to familiarize policy-making professionals with their counterparts, making the future diplomatic negotiating processes easier. Similarly, Everts and Isernia (2015) recommend exchange activities as a useful tool for "laying the ground for trans-governmental networks, involving the development of shared policy expertise across issue areas" (p. 46). This is particularly important when the diplomatic relations between actors are of high importance and requires continuous attention (Everts & Isernia, 2015). One such example would be the relationship between the U.S. and its Western European allies. Historically, since the world wars, regular exchange of officials from both sides facilitated a concentrated policy interchange both in bilateral and multilateral form. Scott-Smith (2020) notes that since 1959, the U.S. invited and brought in European policymakers and officials via the U.S. Department of State's Foreign

Leader and Foreign Specialist Programs. The European Union also initiated its own

Visitor Program in 1974, which expanded the scope of these exchanges. As a result,

various transatlantic training and professional exchange programs were developed

through the 1970s and 1980s (Scott-Smith, 2005).

With the rise of globalization and popularity of study abroad programs the scope

for international exchanges is continuously increasing (Lin-Steadman, 2020). While in

the 1880s there were only a few hundred annual participants of exchange programs

worldwide, by 2000 the number increased to 1.8 million students studying abroad

(Petzold & Moog, 2018). This number does not include other exchange participants such

as those in the military, those working in areas of technical assistance, health, or other

specialist programs, primarily conducted between countries at official level on regular

basis (Scott-Smith, 2020). According to an ICEF report the Organization for Economic

Cooperation and Development (OECD) estimates the total international student

population to reach 8 million by 2025 (ICEF, 2015). This clearly indicates the ever-

growing potential for international exchange as a central pillar for public diplomacy.

International Broadcasting:

For the discussion thus far, it can be argued that public diplomacy comprises of

activities in which a political actor participates in deliberate communication with foreign

audiences with the goal to improve and manage its image and reputation with the goal of

benefiting its foreign policy and national interests (Pamment, 2012). Many public

diplomacy activities take place in interpersonal capacities, either governmental or private,

through exchanges, interaction at cultural centers, and advocacy programs. However,

according to Arceneaux and Powers "the large majority of people globally will never interact with a foreign government through such means" (2020, p. 50). As a result, countries around the world utilize mass communication technology to deliver their messages to the public. Cull (2009a) calls it international broadcasting. Golan (2013) states that international broadcasting is a "mechanism to engage in mass communication, or public diplomacy efforts that are mediated through information communication technologies" (p. 1252).

Cull defines international broadcasting (IB) as "an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by using the technologies of radio, television, and the Internet to engage with foreign publics" (2009, p. 21). IB as a tool of diplomacy practiced by states can often overlap with all the other public diplomacy functions including listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, and exchange. In listening, IB can help the monitoring and audience research functions. In advocacy, IB can send information through editorials or policy broadcasts and press releases. IB is most commonly used to promote and export culture. In terms of exchange, IB can facilitate exchanges of programming and personnel with other broadcasters.

Due to the technological requirements of IB the practice is typically separated institutionally from other public diplomacy functions. However, according to Cull the "best reason for considering IB as a parallel practice apart from the rest of public diplomacy is the special structural and ethical foundation of its key component: news" (2009, p. 21). Generally, news has been the most effective element of IB, especially when the news that is broadcast has an objective nature (Price, 2003). Cull (2009a) argues that this aspect of objective news helped align "the entire practice of IB with the ethical

culture of domestic broadcast journalism and turned IB into a mechanism for diffusing this culture" (p. 21).

While recorded history of IB dates only from the mid-1920s, with the Soviet Union and the Netherlands leading the field, the history and practice of state-funded news goes back as early as the Roman Empire (Brown, 2008). The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick The Second (1194-1250) was known to circulate newsletters about his court's activities around bordering capitals (Cull, 2009a). Looking at more modern-day international broadcasting examples, the British Broadcasting Corporation's (BBC) World Service (Price, 2003) stands out. Cull (2013) notes that due to the success of the BBC World Service, IB has earned a special place among the various elements of British public diplomacy. Other examples include Voice of America (VOA) in the U.S., Germany's Deutsche Welle, Russia's Russia Today (RT), China's China Central Television (CCTV) and Qatar's Al Jazeera (Arceneaux & Powers, 2020).

Price et al. (2008) state that international broadcasting entails "the use of electronic media by one society to shape the opinion of the people and leaders of another" (p. 150). Additionally, Fiedler and Frère argue that international broadcasters are "tools of public diplomacy, in the sense that they are entrusted by an executive or legislative authority with the responsibility for developing a program for foreign countries" (2016, p. 69).

Traditionally, the scope of international broadcasting was typically linked with images of news services using the electromagnetic spectrum of radio or television. However, the development of information and communication technology and the World

Wide Web has dramatically changed the reality of modern international broadcasting (Hacker & Mendez, 2016). To be relevant in the digital age and remain competitive, "international broadcasters have adapted to modern media ecosystems, including extensive use of social media, citizen journalism, and netizen engagement" (Arceneaux & Powers, 2020, p. 50).

Additionally, the digitalization of the broadcasting landscape has created a rise in state-funded international broadcasters (Rawnsley, 2015). Specially with social media and the popularity of SNSs, government agencies are becoming broadcasters themselves. Crilley et al. (2020) argue that state-funded international broadcasting campaigns are frequent in SNSs. These campaigns are often carried out by government agencies in partnership with traditional news media outlets (Rawnsley, 2015).

Today, most embassies have their own social media channels and can easily distribute content to their audience and interact with them (Luqiu & Yang, 2020). They also share news from other platforms that matches their need or goal for public diplomacy (Crilley et al., 2020). Therefore, the international broadcasting landscape for public diplomacy has been much more complex to understand and analyze now that any time before in its history.

Summary:

This chapter explored the taxonomy of public diplomacy proposed by Cull (2008) in more detail. It stated what taxonomies are and how they inform a study, and then elaborated on the taxonomy of public diplomacy with details on Cull's (2009a) explanation of each of the categories. Further the chapter added theoretical and research

contributions from other scholars in each area of Cull's taxonomy to illustrate how each

of the dimensions have been applied in other research studies. Finally, the chapter

attempted to connect the components of the taxonomy to digital media in a simple form,

with examples of studies and as a preparation for the data analysis relevant to this study.

The next chapter details the methodological approach for this study, including the

research questions and corresponding rationale for the methodological choices.

Chapter 6: Methodology

Introduction:

In previous chapters of this study the researcher provided a comprehensive overview of diplomacy as the premise for this study, as well as the theoretical background the study is built upon. This chapter focuses on the methodological approach used in this research. It outlines the research design, research population and sample, level of analysis (individual tweets), data collection and data analysis from which the research results and discussions came.

Methodology provides a piece of research with its philosophy, the values and assumptions that drive the rationale for the investigation as well as the standards the researcher utilizes for interpreting information and drawing conclusions (Bailey, 1994). It provides the focus and approach for the study and is the process through which researchers pinpoint the methods they use to address their specific research question(s) (Almalki, 2016) and find answers to any inquiry or investigation (Walliman, 2011). Researchers apply a range of tools, depending on the nature of their enquiries, and it is the researcher's responsibility to select the most appropriate tool(s) for their specific study (Walliman, 2011; Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003). Each of the tools selected must complement the other to ensure the data and conclusions are pertinent to the subject of the study and follow a logical progression (Jonker & Pennink, 2010).

The next sections of this chapter provide an overview of the methods and tools used in this research and give the methodological strategy that rendered results and conclusions in the subsequent chapters.

Research Questions:

The study aimed to address the following research questions:

RQ1: What was the Twitter landscape of select Washington-based embassies on the 2019

Soft Power 30 Index at the beginning of 2020?

RQ1a: What is the difference in the Twitter landscape among these embassies?

RQ2: What type of content are these embassies publishing on Twitter?

RQ2a: What is the difference in content type among these embassies?

RQ2b. What content type gets most audience engagement?

RQ3: What categories from Cull's (2008) taxonomy of public diplomacy are most

prominent in these tweets?

RQ3a. How is this prominence different among embassies?

RQ3b. Which categories get the most audience engagement?

RQ4: What is the nature of the conversation among the audience in tweets with the

highest number of replies?

Research Design:

Based on the literature review and research questions relevant to this study, the

researcher employed a mixed methods approach. Mixed methods research (MMR) has

been established for more than 50 years as a methodological approach in the social and behavioral sciences. Johnson et al. (2007) define MMR as

> the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the purpose of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (p. 123).

Similarly, Creswell et al. (2003) define MMR as

> the collection or analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given a priority, and involve the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of research (p. 212).

MMR has several advantages over simply employing a qualitative or quantitative research design by itself. Lund (2012) argues that MMR is more able to answer certain complex research questions than qualitative or quantitative research in isolation. For example, given that qualitative methods are more appropriate for hypothesis generation and quantitative methods for hypothesis testing, MMR enables the researcher to simultaneously answer a combination of exploratory and confirmatory questions. The researcher may therefore generate and verify theory in the same investigation. Or, in an intervention study, a researcher can use a randomized experimental design to describe causal effects and do qualitative interviews to explain how these effects were generated.

In a single study, quantitative and qualitative methods can answer complex research questions related to both causal description and causal explanation. Qualitative

and quantitative results may relate to different objects or phenomena but may be complementary in MMR. Therefore, the combination of the different perspectives provided by qualitative and quantitative methods may produce a more complete picture of the domain under study. Additionally, MMR may provide more valid inferences (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). If the results from quite different strategies such as qualitative and quantitative research designs converge, the validity of the corresponding inferences and conclusions will increase more than with convergence within each strategy. Finally, in MMR, qualitative and quantitative results may be divergent or contradictory, which can lead to extra reflection, revised hypotheses, and further research (Turner et al., 2017). Thus, assuming that the researcher had collected and analyzed the data correctly, such divergence can generate new theoretical insights and lead to further research on the topic.

Given that this study aims to understand a sample of embassies' use of social media (specifically Twitter), exploring the landscape and analyzing their Twitter content and reaction from the audience, a mixed method approach seems to be the best way of getting valid and reliable results, rather than applying only quantitative or qualitative research designs. This approach is further motivated by the following factors. First, the study primarily focuses on two types of data in the sample. The engagement data are purely quantitative in nature, while the content of the tweets is both quantitative and qualitative in nature. Specifically, when looking at the content of tweets and applying Cull's taxonomy of public diplomacy to it, it is important to interpret the taxonomy in terms of digital diplomacy and not as it was originally intended (to explain traditional public diplomacy). Therefore, explicating the categories in purely quantitative form

115

would not yield proper results. A mixed method approach to this content analysis can solve this dilemma, as it combines elements of both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Data analysis is discussed in more detail below, but the researcher implemented the mixed methods approach by first examining descriptive social media data (e.g., tweets, following, followers) and influencer scores (SparkScore)[1] for each embassy Twitter account. Next, drawing on literature from the field of public diplomacy, the researcher did a content analysis of Twitter content posted by a sample of embassies to better understand the public diplomacy approaches these embassies employ.

Research Population:

The research population for this study is all 168 the foreign embassies based in the United States and that have an active Twitter account. The researcher chose the United States as the host country because its capital is one of the most important playing fields of global influence in terms of international political power (Coombs, 2015). Also, the United States hosts 922 combined diplomatic missions (embassies, consulates, missions, etc.) – the highest of any country in the world (Lowy Institute, 2019).

After choosing the host country, the researcher looked for a way to identify the top countries/embassies represented in the host country. Since there is no ranking for

---

[1] The SparkScore is a number between 1 and 100 that represents influence. The more influential an account, the higher the SparkScore. Influence is measured on logarithmic scale using the number of followers, average likes, retweets, replies and if the account is Twitter verified or not. SparkScore is provided by SparkToro, a commercial digital monitoring agency, breaking new ground in social media analytics. According to Rand Fishkin, the founder of the platform "SparkScore is a proprietary metric from SparkToro that measures the relative engagement a social account receives compared to its size. It is our best stab at estimating the number of followers a social account will reach when it posts on that account" (Fishkin, personal communication, September 24, 2020).

public diplomacy programs directly, the researcher selected the Soft Power 30 index to identify these countries/embassies. The rationale for selecting this index is that (as elaborated in an earlier chapter) public diplomacy is directly related to soft power and is often used to achieve soft power. Soft power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment (Nye, 2004; Gallarotti, 2020; Hayden, 2012). A country's soft power rests on its resources of culture, values, and policies (Nye, 2004).

Public diplomacy has a long history as a means of promoting a country's soft power. Therefore, it can be argued that a country with high soft power rank on the index is most likely to have a strong public diplomacy program and initiatives. The Soft Power 30 index, developed by the University of Southern California (USC) Center on Public Diplomacy (CPD), is a well-established ranking of soft power. Following Nye's (2011) model of Soft Power Conversion Process, the index uses both objective and subjective data to calculate soft power rankings. These are discussed below.

Objective Data:

Objective data is structured into six categories and drawn from a range of respected and commonly cited third-party sources. Each category effectively functions as an independent sub-index with an individual score and corresponding ranking for each country. The framework of categories was built on a survey of existing academic literature on soft power. The figure below illustrates the six sub-indices that constitute the objective data of The Soft Power 30 index, while each of the sub-indices are discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

Figure 2:

Components of Objective Data for Soft Power 30 Index
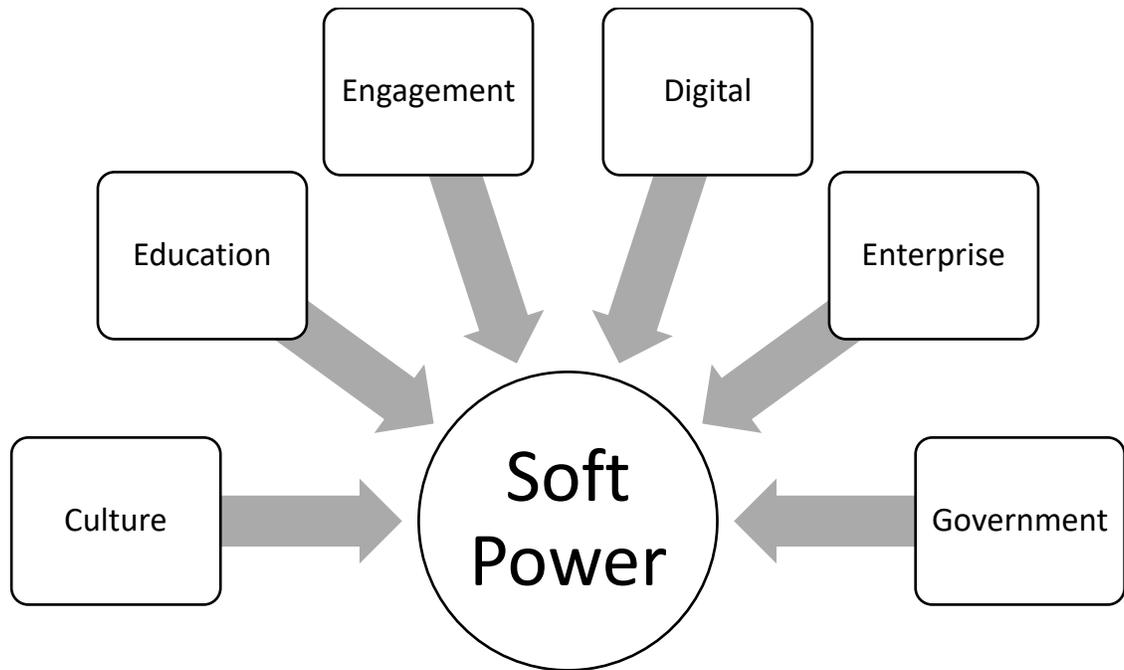
- **Culture:** When a country's culture promotes universal values that other nations
  can readily identify with, it makes them naturally attractive to others (Nye, 2004).
  The reach and international cut-through of a country's cultural output is important
  in building soft power. But mass production does not necessarily lead to mass
  influence. As a result, the Culture subindex employs metrics that capture the
  outputs of both "high" culture like visual arts and "pop" culture like music and
  film. The Culture sub-index includes measures like the annual number of
  international tourist arrivals, music industry exports, and even international
  sporting success (McClory & Harvey, 2016; McClory, 2019).

- **Education:** A country's ability to attract international students, or facilitate exchange programs, is a powerful tool of public diplomacy that delivers returns well into the future. Even for states carrying a history of bilateral animosity, there is a positive effect on perceptions and ties when people study abroad (Miller, 2006). Prior research on educational exchanges provides empirical evidence that confirms the positive impact on host country perceptions when foreign students (having studied in that country) return home (Atkinson, 2010). International student exchanges have also been shown to have positive indirect "ripple effects." Returning international students often become third-party advocates for their host country of study (Olberding & Olberding, 2010). The Education sub-index aims to capture this phenomenon as well as the contribution countries make to global scholarship and the advancement of human knowledge. Metrics in this subindex include the number of international students in a country, the relative quality of its universities, and the academic output of higher education institutions (McClory, 2019).

- **Engagement:** This sub-index measures a country's foreign policy resources, global diplomatic footprint, and overall contribution to the international community (McClory, 2019; Schreiber, 2017). It essentially captures states' ability to engage with international audiences, drive collaboration, and ultimately shape global outcomes (McClory & Harvey, 2016; McClory, 2019). The Engagement sub-index includes metrics such as the number of embassies/high commissions a country has abroad, membership of multilateral organizations, and overseas development aid contributions.

- **Enterprise:** Though elements relating to the economy may seem more of a hard than soft power concern, the Enterprise sub-index is not a measure of comparative economic power or output (Zhang & Wu, 2019; McClory, 2019). Rather, this sub-index aims to capture the relative attractiveness of a country's economic model in terms of its competitiveness, capacity for innovation, and ability to foster enterprise and commerce. Indeed, a given country's structural economic attributes can have a significant impact on its soft power. These attributes, like ease of doing business, corruption levels, and capacity for innovation, all affect how a country is perceived from outside (McClory, 2019).

- **Digital** is a component of growing importance for measuring soft power. The ways technology has transformed everyday life over the last two decades is hard to over-exaggerate (McClory, 2019; McClory & Harvey, 2016). Media, commerce, government, politics, and even people's daily social interaction have all changed with changes in technology (Zhang & Wu, 2019). The same can be said of foreign policy, the practice of public diplomacy, and soft power. The inclusion of a Digital subindex aims to capture the extent to which countries have embraced technology, how well they are connected to the digital world, and their use of digital diplomacy through social media platforms (McClory, 2019).

- **Government:** The government sub-index is designed to assess a state's political values, public institutions, and major public policy outcomes (McClory, 2019; Schreiber, 2017). By including metrics on individual freedoms, human rights, human development, violence in society, and government effectiveness, the Government sub-index gauges the extent to which a country has an attractive

model of governance and how effectively it can deliver positive outcomes for its citizens. Potential partners for international collaboration are more likely to be drawn to states with well-functioning systems of government (Haass, 2014).

Subjective Data:

One of the biggest challenges in accurately measuring soft power is its inherently subjective nature (Blanchard & Lu, 2012). Rather than attempting to design against subjectivity, The Soft Power 30 index embraces it. International polling for the index is run across every region of the world. The current ranking has a total sample size of 12,500, and every country polled has a sample of 500 respondents (McClory, 2019). The countries polled are listed in Table 2.

Table 2:
List of Countries and Regions polled for Subjective Data and Sample Size.

Countries	Region	Sample
Argentina	Latin America	500
Australia	Australasia	500
Brazil	Latin America	500
Canada	North America	500
China	East Asia	500
Egypt	Middle East & North Africa	500
France	Europe	500
Germany	Europe	500
India	South Asia	500
Indonesia	South East Asia	500
Italy	Europe	500
Japan	East Asia	500
Malaysia	South East Asia	500
Mexico	Latin America	500
Poland	Europe	500
Russia	Europe/Asia	500
Saudi Arabia	Middle East & North Africa	500
Spain	Europe	500
South Africa	Sub-Saharan Africa	500
South Korea	East Asia	500

Sweden	Europe	500
Thailand	South East Asia	500
Turkey	Middle East & North Africa	500
UK	Europe	500
USA	North America	500
Total Sample:		**12,500**

The samples within each country are nationally representative by age, gender, and region. The full sample is designed for broad coverage of a diverse range of cultures, rather than to be precisely representative of global opinion (McClory, 2019). This is a more suitable way to measure countries' soft power, because the image of a country is shaped by many factors both internal and external. As Fullerton and Kendrick (2017) proposed in their model of country concept, these are (broadly): international politics, cultural/historical relationships, economic conditions, technology, disasters, and global media. Therefore, ignoring cultural representativeness would miss out a significant portion of total attitude toward a country. This is clearly demonstrated in a study that investigated the country image of Bangladesh (Hasnat & Steyn, 2019).

The survey consists of a series of questions native speakers from each country translate into the main language(s) represented there. It uses an 11-point numeric answering scale (0 to 10) to avoid the risks associated with translating verbal answering scales. Different cultures have been found to have different approaches to answering numeric scales (e.g., tending towards central or extreme scores), but the normalization of the data mitigates against this (McClory, 2019).

The surveys cover the following factors (each rated on a 0-10 scale, where 0 represents a very negative opinion, and 10 represents a very positive opinion) (McClory, 2019):

- Favourability toward foreign countries.

- Perceptions of foreign countries' cuisine.

- Perceptions of how welcoming foreign countries are to tourists.

- Perceptions of foreign countries' technology products.

- Perceptions of luxury goods produced by foreign countries.

- Trust in foreign countries' approach to global affairs.

- Desire to visit foreign countries to live, work, or study.

- Perceptions of foreign countries' contributions to global culture.

These eight metrics are used to develop a regression model, where "favourability towards foreign countries" is the dependent variable, and the remaining seven metrics of the subjective data and six sub-indices of the objective data as the independent variables. This measures the extent to which the remaining 30% (subjective perceptions of polled audience, see Figure 3) predict favourability toward a country in the dataset. The regression model is used to inform the appropriate weighting of each polling metric.

Figure 3:

Summary of the Soft Power 30 Index's Methodology
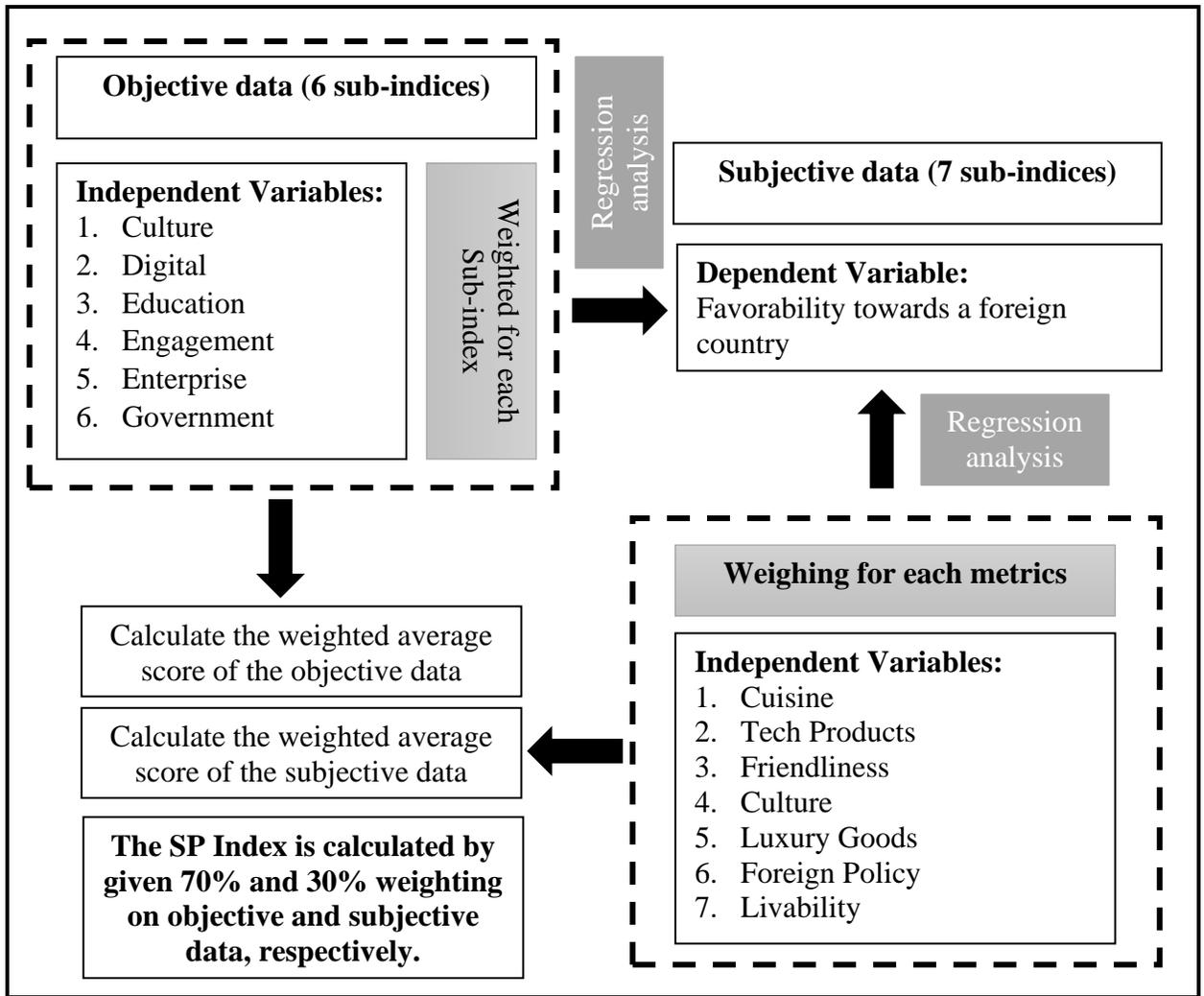
Overall, this methodology provides a solid foundation to establish a ranking of

countries with high soft power (McClory, 2017; Schreiber, 2017; McClory & Harvey,

2016). Therefore, it can be argued that using this ranking to identify top public diplomacy

programs/initiatives is an appropriate strategy (Gallarotti, 2020; Günek, 2018).

Research Sample:

The study uses a two-tier sampling technique: first, sampling the countries using the soft power 30 index, and second, choosing a specific time period for tweets among all the tweets published by the embassies. At the first tier, as described above, the researcher used the Soft Power 30 index to draw the research sample of countries for the study. According the 2019 Soft Power index, the top 30 soft powers in the world are (ranked in order and including scores out of 100):

Table 3:

Soft Power 30 Index 2019 Rank and Scores.

SP30 Rank	Country	SP30 score
1	France	80.28
2	United Kingdom	79.47
3	Germany	78.62
4	Sweden	77.41
5	United States	77.44
6	Switzerland	77.04
7	Canada	75.89
8	Japan	75.71
9	Australia	73.16
10	Netherlands	77.03
11	Italy	71.58
12	Norway	71.07
13	Spain	71.05
14	Denmark	68.86
15	Finland	68.35
16	Austria	67.98
17	New Zealand	67.45
18	Belgium	67.17
19	South Korea	63.00
20	Ireland	62.91
21	Singapore	61.51
22	Portugal	59.28
23	Poland	55.16
24	Czech Republic	54.35
25	Greece	53.74

26	Brazil	51.34
27	China	51.25
28	Hungary	50.39
29	Turkey	49.70
30	Russian Federation	48.64

From the 30 countries, the researcher excluded three: the United States, since it is the host country for analysis, Portugal and New Zealand because they did not publish any tweet during the data collection timeline. The other 27 countries were finally selected to be included in the analysis.

In the second tier, the researcher chose a timeline within which to collect sample tweets, as it is almost impossible in a limited amount of time to analyze all the tweets posted by the 27 embassies selected. As a result, the timeline for data collection was determined to be January 1st to January 31st, 2020. The researcher chose this timeline for data collection because this was the last month before the COVID-19 pandemic. Following the start of the pandemic, the majority of organizations, including embassies, started posting on social media primarily about the pandemic and related health messages that do not resemble a country's "normal time" behavior (Cha, Yeo & Kim, 2014; Strauss et al., 2015).

In January 2020, the 27 embassies tweeted a total of 3,059 times, 113.3 tweets on average per country with a standard deviation of 107.9. the breakdown of tweets per country is listed in Table 4 below.

Table 4:

Breakdown of Sample Tweets by Country.

2019 Rank	Country	Tweets #	Weekly avg	Daily avg
1	France	251	62.8	8.4
2	United Kingdom	62	15.5	2.1
3	Germany	115	28.8	3.8
4	Sweden	55	13.8	1.8
6	Switzerland	106	26.5	3.5
7	Canada	39	9.8	1.3
8	Japan	149	37.3	5.0
9	Australia	99	24.8	3.3
10	Netherlands	261	65.3	8.7
11	Italy	122	30.5	4.1
12	Norway	61	15.3	2.0
13	Spain	99	24.8	3.3
14	Denmark	35	8.8	1.2
15	Finland	184	46.0	6.1
16	Austria	68	17.0	2.3
18	Belgium	57	14.3	1.9
19	South Korea	51	12.8	1.7
20	Ireland	134	33.5	4.5
21	Singapore	31	7.8	1.0
23	Poland	172	43.0	5.7
24	Czech Republic	23	5.8	0.8
25	Greece	130	32.5	4.3
26	Brazil	30	7.5	1.0
27	China	83	20.8	2.8
28	Hungary	48	12.0	1.6
29	Turkey	45	11.3	1.5
30	Russian Federation	549	137.3	18.3
	Total =	3059		
	Mean=	113.3		
	SD=	107.9		

Data Collection:

The researcher collected three types of data for this research, using three different methods and platforms.

First, the researcher collected tweets using the Twitter API and Python script from the Tweepy library (https://www.tweepy.org/). Tweepy is an open-source library which provides access to the Twitter API for Python. It also is highly customizable and allows a researcher to pull the required data from publicly available Twitter accounts (Kunal et al., 2018).

Secondly, the researcher used NodeXL to collect network and engagement data about the embassy accounts in question. NodeXL, developed by the Social Media Research Foundation, is a template for Microsoft® Excel® spreadsheet programs that allows researchers to enquire about the social networks of any accounts in popular social media platforms. NodeXL is intended for users with little or no programming experience to allow them to collect, analyze, and visualize a variety of networks (Smith et al., 2009). Researchers have used NodeXL as an analytical tool in numerous research papers in the social, information, and computer sciences (Struweg, 2018; Ahmed & Lugovic, 2019). It has also been the focus of research in human computer interaction, data mining, and data visualization (e.g. see Dunne & Shneiderman, 2013; Brady et al, 2019; Hansen et al., 2010; Jagals & Van der Walt, 2016). The researcher manually counted audience engagement data, particularly number of replies, to double check the integrity of the automated data collection.

Finally, the researcher used SparkToro, a commercial proprietary service that is used for social media analytics to collect audience data, including locations, engagement scores and page performance scores (Fishkin, 2020). SparkToro uses a logarithmic scale to calculate engagement and performance scores for each social account, taking all other similar accounts into account (McKechnie, 2020; also see footnote 1). Therefore, it

provides a clear picture of how well the embassies are performing to achieve their goal of reaching their social media audiences.

Data Analysis:

The researcher analyzed data for this study in multiple steps. These steps were determined by the research questions outlined earlier.

To answer RQ1 (What was the Twitter landscape of select Washington-based embassies on the 2019 Soft Power 30 Index at the beginning of 2020?), the researcher used descriptive statistics of each Twitter account and audience location data. This was supported with charts, tables, and graphs to illustrate a comprehensive picture of the selected embassies' Twitter landscape. Data analysis for this question included number of followers; favorites; listed; total tweets; primary grouped location of the followers; engagement scores; average tweets per month and week; related accounts; and followers audit and account performance. The descriptive statistics should provide a solid understanding of the embassy's standing on Twitter. To identify audience location, the researcher used SparkToro audience intelligence data. RQ1a (What is the difference in the Twitter landscape among these embassies?) addressed the difference among the countries from the results of the descriptive statistics.

To answer RQ2 (What type of content are these embassies publishing on Twitter?) the researcher analyzed the content nature using three variables: types of media used (i.e. image, video, embedded link, and no media); number of hashtags (#) used in tweets; and number of mentions in tweets.

To answer RQ2a (What is the difference in content type among these embassies?) the researcher used analysis of variance (ANOVA) test to identify significant differences among the countries' embassies. To answer RQ2b (What content type gets most audience engagement?) required the researcher to do a test of relationships. For this the researcher conducted a Pearson's correlation test between the media categories in the international broadcasting variable (state/government funded, public funded, commercial, embassy itself, and other), and engagement measures (likes, retweets, and replies) (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011; Cronk, 2012). Using the data from content analysis and audience engagements, this test also helped explore the relationship between media in content and engagement level. This data allowed the researcher to produce potential policy recommendations for the embassies on how to improve their audience engagement.

To answer RQ3 (What categories from Cull's [2008] taxonomy of public diplomacy are most prominent in these tweets?) the researcher used a mixed method content analysis following the combined content analysis (CCA) model proposed by Hamad et al. (2016).

The CCA model is suggested as a new research framework that takes into account the various dimensions of the CA research methodology in a way that allows for mixing methods, procedures, and modes and components of CA. While some scholars criticize content analysis for its over-reliance on simplistic quantification of the text into word counts, its proponents insist on the scientific utility of such quantification (Krippendorf, 2004). The CCA model integrates the main features of CA with the most common designs of mixed-methods research to facilitate the application and evaluation of studies that intend to use CA to analyze social media-driven content related to the researched

130

phenomenon. CA as a methodological tool first appeared in literature in early 1940s (Krippendorf, 2004). Although early content analysis studies were primarily focused on identifying manifest content (Berelson, 1952), the technique was later expanded to the domain of qualitative methods with a focus on both manifest as well as latent content (Krippendorf, 2004; Drisko & Maschi, 2016).

The CCA model can be divided into 3 phases. Firstly, the preparation phase in which the researcher determines the research aim and keyword search and direction of the CCA model. Secondly, the organization phase that includes the sampling, data collection and coding procedure. Finally, the interpretation and presentation phase that includes the validation of study results and quality criteria. Each of the phases provides opportunities to mix elements of quantitative and qualitative only designs. Figure 4 summarizes the CCA model.

Figure 4:
Combined Content Analysis Model (Hamad et al., 2016)
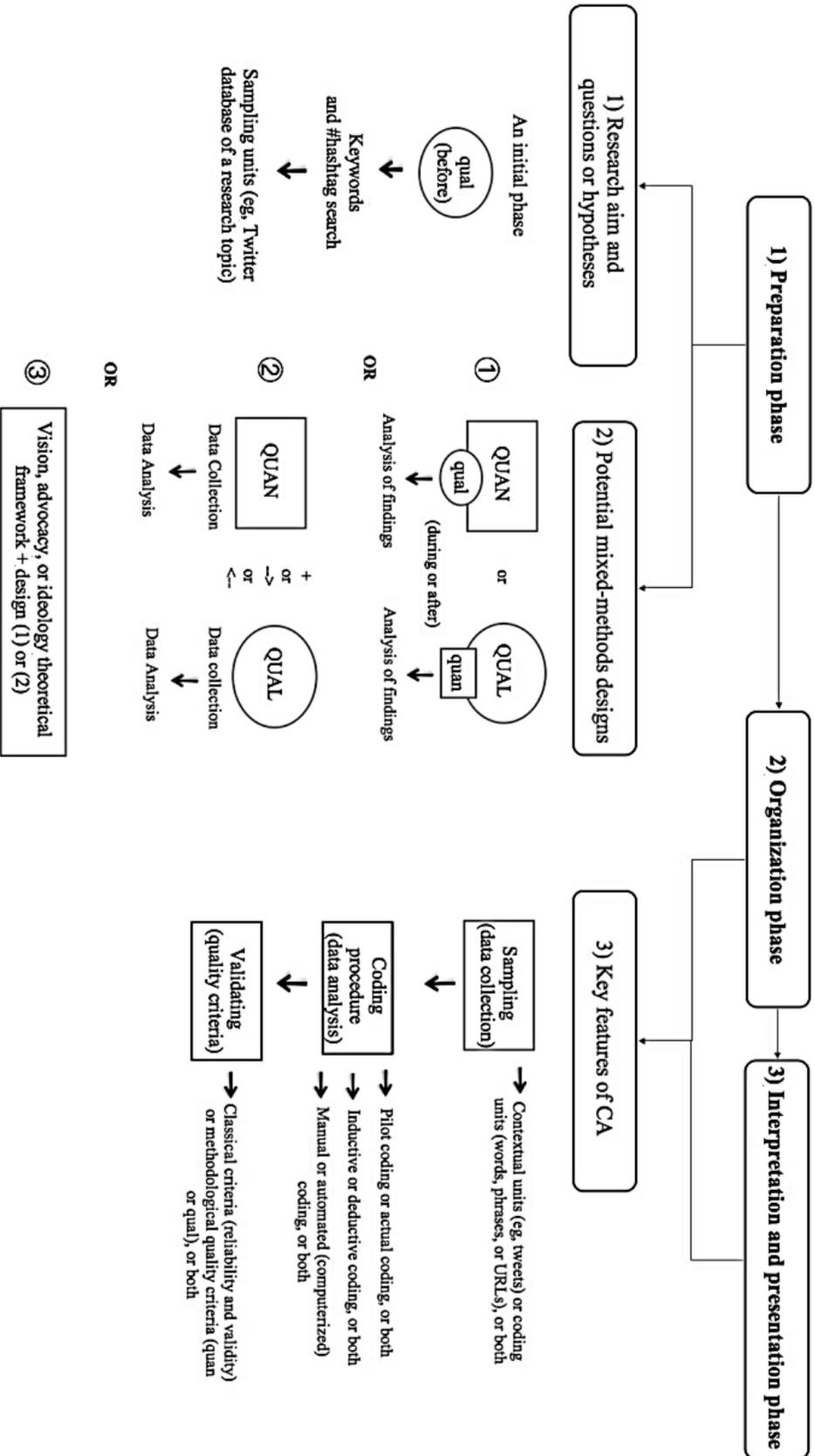
Because text is in nature always qualitative and the quantification of text alone is insufficient to successfully understand content (Krippendorff, 2013), the CCA approach offers a flexible alternative. It also allows dialectic integration of inductive (working from the data level) and deductive (working form the theoretical or hypothetical level) approaches. Given the nature of Twitter data, such an approach is more suitable than using traditional CA without a clearly laid-out and adapted methodology (Hamad et al., 2016). The CCA model considers quantitative and qualitative perspectives either simultaneously (through a convergent parallel design) or sequentially, with either perspective serving as the predominant approach (through an explanatory or exploratory sequential design). Both quantitative and qualitative methods are embedded or nested within the predominant approach (through an embedded design) (see Hamad et al., 2016).

In this study, the researcher used both qualitative and quantitative approaches in the preparation stage to identify the research questions. Similarly, in data collection, the researcher employed a mix method approach with a primarily quantitative focus. In coding, the researcher again used a mixed method approach where he did not only quantified the data but also looked at the latent meaning of the Tweet, taking all of its elements (text, image, link, source of information) into consideration. Finally, in the data analysis and interpretation phase, the researcher primarily used a quantitative approach to determine the appropriate statistical tests.

All the public tweets posted by the 27 select embassies in January 2020 were collected and analyzed to answer this research question. The reason for choosing January for the sample month is that was the last month after the holiday season and before the COVID-19 pandemic started, and it is most likely to be representative of the "normal

time" behavior of embassies. The tweets were coded using the codebook developed using the CCA model (see details of the codebook in the next section of this chapter). To establish intercoder reliability, two coders coded 10% of the total tweets. The researcher tested their coding using Krippendorff's alpha for reliability in each category. Krippendorff's alpha (α) "is a reliability coefficient developed to measure the agreement among observers, coders, judges, raters, or measuring instruments drawing distinctions among typically unstructured phenomena or assign computable values to them" (Krippendorff, 2011, p. 1). Riffe et al. (2019) argue that Krippendorff's alpha is the most commonly used reliability analysis for media and communication studies. Collins (2011) has used this test to do content analysis of gender roles in media, while Carrotte et al. (2017) have used this test of reliability to study fitness image in social media.

For this study, a codebook has been pre-tested with two coders. First the researcher and the second coder discussed the categories in the codebook and how to interpret them, this was followed by a test of 15 sample tweets to check for initial inter coder agreement. This led to clarification of the language of the "international broadcasting" and the "exchange" categories and led to the sub-categories for "international broadcasting." After addressing those issues, the two coders coded 10% of the total content. A subsequent test yielded excellent agreement among coders with an initial sample. Table 5 shows the inter coder reliability statistics for individual variables.

Table 5:

Inter Coder Reliability Statistics for Individual Variables.

Variables	Krippendorff's alpha (α)
Media	1
Listening	0.93
Advocacy	0.91
Culture	0.85
Exchange	0.86
International Broadcasting	0.88
State/Public Funded	0.85
Commercial	0.95
Embassy itself	0.84
Other	0.87
No	0.96
NA/Other	1

RQ3a and RQ3b respectively asks "How is this prominence different among embassies?" and "Which categories get the most audience engagement?" To answer RQ3a, the researcher again used a test of difference. This time between the countries using the content analysis data. In this case, ANOVA with a post-hoc test tested for difference between multiple groups (27 groups) (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011). ANOVA is useful in the multiple comparisons of means because of its reduction in the Type I error rate (Cronk, 2012). For RQ3b, the researcher performed a correlation test between content categories and engagement measures (e.g., replies, favorite and retweets).

The researcher answered RQ4 (What is the nature of the conversation among the audience in tweets with the highest number of replies?) by conducting a qualitative content analysis of audience response in comments to the most replied original tweets. The researcher selected the sample for this analysis by identifying all original tweets with at least 10 comments. A total of 17 tweets from six countries made the list, and in total

there were 754 comments out of which 617 was finally selected for analysis. The other 137 comments were either in another language than English or did not contain any words.

The researcher adopted an open coding approach for this analysis, i.e. "the analytic process through which concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 101). Given that this is an exploratory analysis with an inductive approach, open coding allowed the researcher to develop categories from the data, in absence of a theory guiding the analysis (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

For this analysis, the researcher first analyzed a sub-sample of the comments to broadly look for patterns and themes in the comments that would help to establish some categories that the data could be categorized in. The researcher achieved this by reading the comments several times, while constantly looking for similarities and differences (Schwandt, 2015). After an initial round of open coding, a total of 35 categories emerged from the comments. The next step was to collapse those categories into 19 subcategories under four main categories.

Coding:

The researcher developed a codebook (see Appendix 1) for the combined content analysis of tweets. This codebook was based on the taxonomy of public diplomacy proposed by Cull (2008). As outlined in Chapter 5, Cull divides public diplomacy into five key elements: listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and international news broadcasting (2008). These elements are discussed in detail in Chapter 5 but, in essence focus on:

136

- **Listening** being attempts to collect and collate information about foreign publics and their opinions as a means to redirect diplomatic approaches or policy.

- **Advocacy** referring to communication activities that seek to promote the nation-state's policy, idea, or general interests among foreign publics.

- **Cultural diplomacy** being "an actor's attempt to manage the international environment through making its cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad" (Cull, 2008, p. 33).

- **Exchange diplomacy** referring to "an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by sending its citizens overseas and reciprocally accepting citizens from overseas for a period of study and/or acculturation" (Cull, 2008; p. 33). A key element that distinguishes exchange diplomacy from cultural diplomacy is the concept of mutuality. Whereas cultural diplomacy lends itself toward one-way communication and the transmission of ideas, exchange diplomacy best describes an international experience of mutual benefit.

- **International news broadcasting** referring to the use of radio, television, and the Internet to inform and engage foreign audiences.

Since Cull's taxonomy is developed primarily to encompass the elements of public diplomacy in real-world scenarios, the researcher operationalized the elements to be relevant to scenarios relevant to the virtual world of social media (of which Twitter forms part) using the CCA model. The elements of the taxonomy were operationalized as follows:

- **Listening:** If the content of the tweets contains an invitation to *respond* (not to be confused with an invitation to attend/join/participate a program/event, etc.), ask a

137

question, make an *inquiry*, send a *request* for comments or feedback, the tweet was coded in this category. Additionally, any tweet with a poll question or other explicit call for interaction was coded in this category.

- **Advocacy:** If the content of a tweet contains directional push or pull, call to action, and support for a policy/cause/issue, the tweet was coded in this category. Directional push is the actor's attempt to nullify a policy/cause/issue or take a stand against it, whereas directional pull is the actor's stand and support for a policy/cause/issue.

- **Cultural diplomacy:** If the content of the tweet contains promotion, exhibition, showcase, invitation to visit the place or heritage (both online and in person), or if it included examples of cultural activities, the tweet was coded in this category. The elements of culture included language, symbols, norms, rituals, values, work ethics, artifacts, sports, artists, food and customs.

- **Exchange diplomacy:** Tweets which contain promotion of any exchange activities, both online and in person, and that involve the primary nation interacting with the host nation on a national topic, also, any person-to-person interaction was coded in this category. If the content of a tweet shares, encourages, promotes, and facilitates direct exchange among individuals of the host and guest country (both parties cannot be government officials), the tweet was coded in this category. Exchanges can happen through citizens, academia, the arts, and community. Community is defined as an entity constituted by both a group of individuals who have some "thing" in common and the set of social

relations that exists among them. Additionally, any news of in-person exchange programs that is shared via Twitter fell in this category.

- **International news broadcasting:** Traditionally international news broadcasting is defined as an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by using the technologies of radio, television, and Internet to engage with foreign publics (Cull, 2009a). The researcher considered that, by definition, all tweets are international broadcasting. However, there are differences in the sources of information in international broadcasting. This is particularly true for social networks like Twitter where most of the information is shared from another source rather than being created in the platform itself (Syn & Oh, 2015). For the purpose of this dissertation translating the concept into a social network environment, international broadcasting was subcategorized in four groups that share, promote or showcase the embassies' international broadcasting work:

  - state-owned or sponsored and taxpayer-supported public media outlets;

  - market-driven news outlets without explicit government or public support;

  - the embassy itself being the broadcaster of an official/diplomatic or "news announcement" at the state level without involving journalists; and

  - other sources outside the above-mentioned subcategories. This includes policy announcements, political statements, treaty announcements/signings, head of state and other top leadership meetings, etc.

  Therefore, any tweet that shares in-house or third-party news/media content was coded in this subcategory.

Finally, the researcher also identified an "other/not applicable" category for tweets that do not fit into any of the above five categories. Also, tweets that are in a language other than English, were coded in this category, since the primary language of the audience is English. If the tweet is in two languages and the English part thereof can be coded into one of the above-mentioned categories, it was coded in the relevant category.

Summary:

This chapter detailed the research methodology for the study. It outlined the research design, research population and sample, data collection and data analysis strategies the researcher used to answer the research questions relevant to the study. Moreover, it provided a rationale for the methodological choices, referring to previous studies.

Based on the three-tier study approach (1) descriptive analysis of the foreign embassies' social media landscape; 2) combined content analysis of public diplomacy messages in forms of tweets using the taxonomy of public diplomacy; 3) analysis of audience engagement data for those embassies to explore how content influence audience engagement), the next chapter elaborates on the results and from the perspective of each research question.

Chapter 7 – Results and Analysis

Introduction:

The previous chapter detailed the research methodology for the study by outlining the research design, population and sample, data collection and analysis procedure. Additionally, it established the rationale for using the selected methods. This chapter presents the results and findings of the study by individual research question.

The goal of this study was to understand the use of social media, particularly Twitter, by foreign embassies based in the U.S., as a tool for public diplomacy. The study is largely divided in three areas. First, it looks at the social media landscape of the embassies both in terms of their all-time statistics, then statistics and content from the selected timeline of January 2020. Second, it looks at the content of the tweets regarding use of media, hashtags and mentions, analyzing the content of all tweets from the 27 embassies for the month of January 2020 using Cull's (2008) taxonomy of public diplomacy. Additionally, the study uses the engagement data, like number of retweets, likes (favorites) and replies, to see if there is any relationship between the tweet categories and engagement. Finally, combining the results from the first two steps, the study evaluates the embassies' use of Twitter as a public diplomacy tool. The following sections present and interpret the result under key themes of the research questions.

Embassies' Social Media Landscape:

Before analyzing the analysis of foreign embassies' Twitter use it is important to get a sense of what the overall social media landscape looks like for them. This section of

the chapter answers research questions 1 and 1a. Table 6 presents key descriptive

statistics about the selected embassies' overall social media use, soft power ranking and

total audience across all platforms they are active on.

Table 6:
Soft Power 30 Ranking, Number of Platforms and Total Audience in January 2020.

Embassy of	SP30 Rank	Platforms active on	Total Audience
Australia	9	3	24,019
Austria	16	3	32,136
Belgium	18	2	14,354
Brazil	26	2	31,333
Canada	7	1	14,559
China	27	1	57,218
Czech Republic	24	1	3,137
Denmark	14	2	50,297
Finland	15	2	32,789
France	1	4	116,832
Germany	3	3	167,942
Greece	25	2	29,124
Hungary	28	2	3,858
Ireland	20	2	44,305
Italy	11	5	59,470
Japan	8	2	45,105
Netherlands	10	3	80,939
Norway	12	1	13,512
Poland	23	3	57,533
Russian Federation	30	2	77,383
Singapore	21	2	8,208
South Korea	19	1	1,263
Spain	13	4	32,792
Sweden	4	2	32,698
Switzerland	6	2	76,941
Turkey	29	2	45,898
United Kingdom	2	2	71,260

Note: The list is sorted alphabetically. Embassies are present in varying degrees on
Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and Medium. Total audience means the
aggregated audience from all the platforms each embassy is present in.

Table 6 shows that France, the United Kingdom and Germany ranked first, second and third respectively in terms of Soft Power 30 ranking. However, regarding presence on the social media platforms, Italy topped the list with being active on five different official social media accounts (Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and Medium) representing their embassy in Washington D.C. Second place was a tie between France and Spain, each having a presence in four platforms, whereas five countries (Australia, Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, and Poland) each had a presence on three platforms.

Twitter was the most common platform among all the embassies, Facebook ranked second, and YouTube and Instagram tied for third place. Germany, although ranking third in the SP30 ranking and having a presence on three platforms, had the highest number of total audience (167,942) across all platforms. France had the second highest following of 116,832, followed by the Netherlands (80,939) and Russia (77,383).

After looking at the overall social media presence and total audience, it is important to explore the embassies' Twitter presence in depth. First, table 7 describes the all-time statistics for each of the embassies since their accounts were created, showing data such as current total followers and following by embassies, how long they have been active on Twitter, if their account is verified or not, and how many times they have been listed. The list is a curated group of Twitter accounts. Twitter 'Lists' allow users to customize, organize and prioritize the Tweets they see on their timeline. Users can choose to join lists others have created on Twitter, or they can choose to create lists of other accounts by group, topic, or interest. Being listed often suggests the audience is interested in that particular account (Benabdelkrim et al., 2020). Additionally, the table indicates what percentage of their followers are potentially "fake" using SparkToro's

"Fake Followers Audit" tool. This tool defines "fake followers" as accounts that are unreachable and will not see the account's tweets either because they are spam, bots, propaganda, etc., or because they are no longer active on Twitter (SparkToro, 2018). According to Fishkin, the tool "considers a 'fake' follower to be someone you cannot truly reach" (2018, p. 3). There may be a real human who set up the account at one point, but if none of the tweets will ever be seen by that creator, they are not a true follower. For the purposes of influencing people, that account may as well not exist.

Table 7:
All-Time Statistics, Following and Followers, Fake Followers, Listed, Duration of Account and Verification Status.

Countries	Total Following	Total Followers	Fake Followers	Listed	Account age	Verified
Australia	2,580	21,035	28.50%	329	8.6	Yes
Austria	759	6,977	27.30%	238	11.5	Yes
Belgium	422	4,264	23.20%	173	7.2	Yes
Brazil	1,192	13,174	23.80%	290	9.0	Yes
Canada	600	16,327	23.20%	418	9.8	Yes
China	255	84,899	50.90%	463	1.8	Yes
Czech Republic	205	3,536	27.80%	114	7.9	No
Denmark	4,019	24,291	52.90%	366	10.3	Yes
Finland	4,071	12,647	24.10%	396	10.5	Yes
France	8,323	50822	19.90%	1,004	11.8	Yes
Germany	351	46,601	28.50%	810	10.1	Yes
Greece	2,247	18,522	24.90%	400	10.5	Yes
Hungary	380	4,327	31.30%	139	8.2	No
Ireland	5,190	39,441	18.40%	447	9.5	Yes
Italy	941	28,596	24.90%	534	8.5	Yes
Japan	1,638	29,612	31.60%	550	7.4	Yes
Netherlands	4,008	40,662	44.50%	744	11.2	Yes
Norway	2,104	13,875	25.90%	389	11.3	Yes
Poland	1,710	27,448	32.50%	551	10.2	Yes
Russia	1,647	76,129	28.60%	959	8.1	Yes
Singapore	398	3,697	27.80%	191	10.4	Yes
South Korea	1,398	1,434	21.10%	23	2.7	No
Spain	1,289	21,556	22.10%	424	8.1	Yes
Sweden	1,500	22,151	21.60%	487	8.1	Yes

Switzerland	566	8,494	25.10%	195	6.9	Yes
Turkey	238	25,820	33.80%	215	9.3	Yes
United Kingdom	5,115	66,634	20.60%	1,231	12.1	Yes
Average	1,968.40	26,406.30	28.3%	447.40	8.9	

Note: Following = embassy following other users; Followers = other users following the embassy. Account age is in years and all data is as of March 2021.

Table 7 describes the Twitter landscape for the embassies in terms of their audience and account status. The average number of following per embassy is 1986.40, and followers average is 26,404.30 with a ratio of 13.4 followers per following. The top three embassies in terms of total followings are France (8,323), Ireland (5,190), and the United Kingdom (5,115), whereas the three embassies with lowest following are the Czech Republic (205), Turkey (238) and China (255). Although China had the third lowest number of following, they top the table in terms of followers (84,899), second being Russia (76,129) and the United Kingdom picking up the third place with 66,634 followers. On the other hand, South Korea (1,434), the Czech Republic (3,536) and Singapore (3,697) had the lowest number of followers.

On average, each embassy had about 28% of "fake followers" – Denmark was at the top with about twice the average (almost 53%), followed by China with 51% and the Netherlands by 44.5%. Countries with the lowest number of "fake followers" were Ireland (18.4%), France (19.4%) and the United Kingdom (20.6%). The United Kingdom and France also ranked top two in terms of being listed 1,231 and 1,004 times respectively, Russia picked up the third place with a presence on 959 lists. On the opposite end of the list spectrum are South Korea on 23 lists, the Czech Republic with 114 and Hungary with 139.

The average age of Twitter account for the embassies is 8.9 years. European countries dominated the top of the list. The United Kingdom was one of the pioneers in using Twitter for public diplomacy, with the oldest account among the group (12.1 years) followed closely by France (11.8 years) and Austria (11.5 years). Norway and the Netherlands also have been present on Twitter for more than 11 years now. Among the newcomers to the platform are China (1.8 years), South Korea (2.7 years) and Switzerland (2.7 years). It should be noted that domestic social media services are much more popular than Twitter and Facebook in China and South Korea. Twitter ranks third in China, behind WeChat and Weibo; in South Korea, Twitter did not rank in the top five of most popular social media platforms (Hu, 2020; Pulse, 2020). All the embassy accounts except for three (South Korea, the Czech Republic, and Hungary) were verified by Twitter. However, these three accounts are official accounts of those embassies as they are listed on their websites and official press documents.

Next, the results focus on the audience and engagement portion of the embassies' Twitter landscape. Table 8 shows the total number of tweets published by each embassy along with average likes and retweets per Tweet, based on their overall statistics. These measures also show how much overall audience reach and engagement there is for each embassy. Additionally, it reports the percentage of tweets that are retweets and finally percentage of tweets with engagement. Here, engagement is measured in the broadest sense of having at least one like, retweet or reply. This measure helps understand the embassies' audience engagement by showing how much of their content reaches at least some audience. This metric shows how relatively engaging an account's tweets are, given its followers.

Table 8:

All-Time Statistics, Total Tweets, Average Likes and Retweets Per Tweet, Percentage of Tweets that are Retweets and Percentage of Tweets with Engagement.

Countries	Tweets	Avg Likes Per Tweet	Avg Retweets Per Tweet	Tweets are Retweets	Tweets with Engagement
Australia	6,251	18.44	3.91	50%	98%
Austria	7,044	19.06	4.63	76%	100%
Belgium	4,845	13.05	3.06	81%	97%
Brazil	3,552	19.63	5.32	37%	100%
Canada	6,665	19.87	7.92	63%	100%
China	2,375	43.19	9.42	09%	100%
Czech Republic	3,653	17.18	4.72	60%	100%
Denmark	9,283	13.79	4.15	57%	99%
Finland	14,884	14.76	3.83	57%	99%
France	19,499	28.60	10.3	54%	99%
Germany	22,659	42.99	9.8	57%	100%
Greece	7,661	32.55	8.88	51%	100%
Hungary	1,860	5.62	2.05	32%	96%
Ireland	32,671	163.08	28.82	45%	100%
Italy	14,067	23.21	8.14	22%	99%
Japan	10,547	35.51	9.72	67%	99%
Netherlands	26,789	11.68	5.75	56%	100%
Norway	7,438	12.84	2.97	43%	98%
Poland	24,574	20.98	6.95	68%	99%
Russia	39,994	40.78	15.59	59%	100%
Singapore	3,716	1.51	0.52	32%	67%
South Korea	2,581	1.65	0.47	32%	66%
Spain	9,686	22.68	6.92	54%	99%
Sweden	10,678	7.41	3.55	67%	100%
Switzerland	6,619	8.88	1.94	56%	99%
Turkey	4,540	43.03	11.86	53%	100%
United Kingdom	29,394	22.33	7.71	74%	100%
Average	12,353	26	7	52%	97%

Note: Data is as of March 2021.

Table 8 shows that, on average, each embassy has tweeted 12,353 times in the time period monitored; 52% of those were retweets. Almost all (97%) tweets got some

sort of audience engagement, on average. Likes are more common than retweets – on average each embassy has 26 likes per tweet and 7 retweets.

As far as aggregate activity, Russia tweeted the most, a total of 39,994 times, followed by Ireland with 32,671 tweets and the United Kingdom with 29,394 tweets. Embassies with lowest total tweets are Hungary (1,860), China (2,375) and South Korea (2,581). Regarding originality of content, China, Italy, and South Korea rank the highest with only 9%, 22% and 32% of their tweets being retweets, respectively. On the contrary, Belgium, Austria, and the United Kingdom have the least original content respectively with 81%, 76% and 74% of their tweets being retweets.

Ireland ranked top in terms of average likes per tweet with 163.08, followed by China and Turkey with 43.19 and 43.03, each. It is important to note that the gap between the first and second place is about three-fold. On the lower end of the average like per tweet are Singapore (1.51), South Korea (1.65) and Hungary (5.62). Regarding average retweets per tweet, Ireland again ranks highest with a score of 28.82, followed by Russia with 15.59 and Turkey with 11.86, whereas South Korea ranks the lowest with 0.47 followed by Singapore with 0.52 and Switzerland with 1.94 retweets per tweets.

Tables 7 and 8 provided an overall picture of the Twitter landscape. Following, table 9 details the embassies' content, engagement, and performance metrics for January 2020.

Table 9:
Descriptive Statistics of Twitter Activities in January 2020.

Country	Tweets in January	Weekly avg	Daily avg	SparkScore	Eng. Score
Australia	99	24.8	3.2	41	78
Austria	69	17.3	2.2	26	89
Belgium	57	14.3	1.8	21	78
Brazil	30	7.5	1.0	34	84
Canada	38	9.5	1.2	37	80
China	84	21.0	2.7	56	83
Czech Republic	23	5.8	0.7	11	76
Denmark	34	8.5	1.1	47	72
Finland	184	46.0	5.9	36	92
France	251	62.8	8.1	55	73
Germany	114	28.5	3.7	53	80
Greece	131	32.8	4.2	39	73
Hungary	48	12.0	1.5	11	75
Ireland	134	33.5	4.3	51	80
Italy	121	30.3	3.9	45	83
Japan	149	37.3	4.8	51	97
Netherlands	261	65.3	8.4	52	65
Norway	61	15.3	2.0	38	79
Poland	172	43.0	5.5	50	85
Russia	549	137.3	17.7	60	75
Singapore	30	7.5	1.0	20	77
South Korea	51	12.8	1.6	2	76
Spain	101	25.3	3.3	42	89
Sweden	55	13.8	1.8	45	83
Switzerland	106	26.5	3.4	30	78
Turkey	45	11.3	1.5	42	75
United Kingdom	62	15.5	2.0	59	79
Average	113	28	4	39	80

Note: SparkScore measures relative reach of a social media account based on followers and amplifications. Engagement Score measures the quantities of replies, shares, and discussions received by a social account. See chapter 6 for details.

In January 2020, on average, each embassy tweeted 113 times; the weekly average was 28 and daily average was four tweets. The Russian embassy in Washington D.C. had the highest number of tweets in January 2020 with a total of 549, averaging about 137 tweets weekly and 18 tweets daily. The Netherlands ranked second with 261

tweets, averaging 65 weekly and eight daily posts. France took third place with 251

tweets, with an average of 63 weekly and eight daily tweets. In contrast, the Czech

Republic ranked last with only 23 tweets for the month, averaging 5.8 per week and

fewer than one tweet per day. Singapore and Brazil tied at the second lowest spot with 30

tweets each, averaging seven weekly tweets, and one daily. Denmark followed closely in

third place with 34 total, 8.5 weekly and 1.1 daily tweets.

The SparkScore average for the 27 embassies in January 2020 was 39. At the top

of the list was Russia with 60, the United Kingdom with 59 and China with 56 out of 100.

The bottom of the list was shared by South Korea, scoring two points, followed by a tie

between the Czech Republic and Hungary with 11 points each. Singapore placed third

with 20 out of 100. However, in terms of engagement score the results show a different

scenario, with an average of 80 out of 100 for all the embassies. Top profiles on the list

were Japan with 97, Finland with 92 and Spain with 89, whereas the Netherlands,

Denmark and Greece performed poorest with 65, 73 and 73 points, respectively.

The next measure in analyzing the embassies' Twitter landscape concerns

audience location. Table 10 describes the audience of each embassy divided in three

categories: local (their audience from the United States), home (their audience from their

home country), and other (audience from all locations other than home country or the

U.S.). The table also shows what percentage of the embassies' total followers' location

data is calculated in this measure. It is impossible to collect the location data for all their

followers as Twitter allows users the option to not share their location information

publicly if they choose not to. Therefore, it is important to note that location data for each

embassy was collected at different rates, as shown in the Total column. As a result, the

comparison is not exactly equal but proportional.

Table 10:
Audience Location by Region Categories.

Country	Local	Home	Other	Total
Australia	13%	61%	20%	94%
Austria	59%	9%	7%	74%
Belgium	64%	21%	5%	90%
Brazil	71%	7%	6%	83%
Canada	31%	44%	1%	76%
China	37%	20%	14%	71%
Czech Republic	66%	1%	10%	77%
Denmark	53%	31%	4%	88%
Finland	64%	3%	7%	74%
France	59%	7%	6%	73%
Germany	57%	6%	5%	68%
Greece	59%	17%	10%	86%
Hungary	63%	12%	6%	81%
Ireland	57%	29%	4%	90%
Italy	67%	7%	3%	78%
Japan	56%	5%	6%	68%
Netherlands	54%	10%	5%	69%
Norway	52%	21%	4%	76%
Poland	57%	5%	6%	69%
Russia	46%	0%	7%	53%
Singapore	61%	20%	4%	85%
South Korea	75%	11%	10%	96%
Spain	67%	9%	7%	83%
Sweden	56%	6%	5%	67%
Switzerland	70%	13%	5%	89%
Turkey	63%	8%	8%	79%
United Kingdom	48%	23%	2%	72%
Average	56%	15%	7%	78%

Note: Data was collected at city and regional level and then aggregated to summarize it
in three categories.

On average the researcher was able to collect 78% of each embassy's audience

location. On the higher end of this range was South Korea with 96%, Australia with 94%

and Belgium and Ireland each with 90% audience location publicly available. On the lower end was Russia with 53%, Sweden with 67% and Japan tied with Germany with 68% of their audience location publicly available.

In terms of local audience (users in the United States), South Korea, Brazil and Switzerland captured the most with 75%, 71%, and 70%, respectively. In comparison, Australia placed at the bottom with 13% of the audience being local, followed by Canada with 31% and China with 37% local audience. There was an inverse relationship between the percentage of local and home followers. While ranking last in terms of local followers, Australia ranked first with 61% of their followers being from their home country. The same trend was followed by Canada in second place with 44% of their followers being in their home country, and Denmark replaced China for the third place with 31% of their followers coming from the home country. On the bottom of the list when it comes to which percentage of the embassy's followers are from the home country, Russia placed first with zero home followers, followed by the Czech Republic with 1% and Finland with 3% followers being located in the home country. In the "other" category, Australia again ranked top with 20% of their followers from a third country, China placed second with 14% and for the third spot, Greece, South Korea and the Czech Republic tied with 10% each. In contrast, Canada had 1% of its followers being from a third country, followed by United Kingdom with 2% and Italy with 3%.

At the city level, large U.S. cities like New York, Jersey City, Los Angeles, Boston and Seattle were the embassies' top audience locations, along with the U.S. capital, Washington, D.C. Washington, D.C. placed first in terms of both count of embassy audience and percentage of shares. Figures 5 and 6 illustrate the top 10 city-

152

level data. Figure 5 shows that out of the top 10 cities by count, nine were local – the only exception being Paris, France. However, figure 6 shows some change in terms of top 10 cities with audience by percentage – among them, two of the 10 cities are non-U.S. – Sydney, Australia and London, United Kingdom. In both instances, Washington, D.C. ranks the highest.

Figure 5:

Top 10 Cities with Audience of Foreign Embassies by Count.
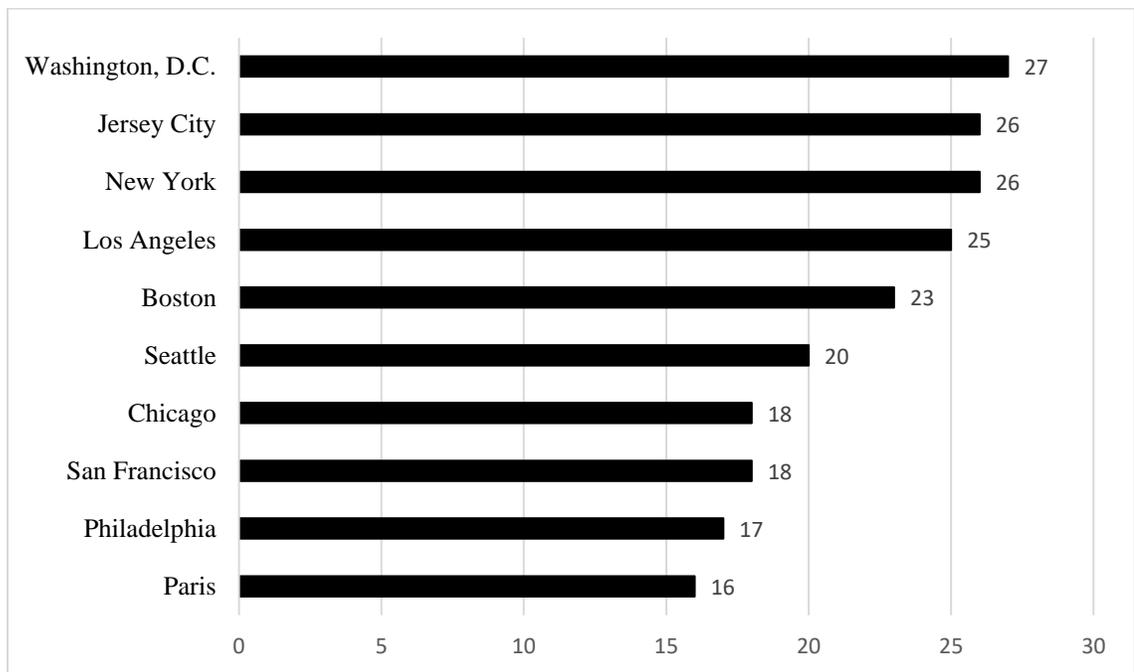
Figure 6:

Top 10 Cities with Highest Audience Percentage.
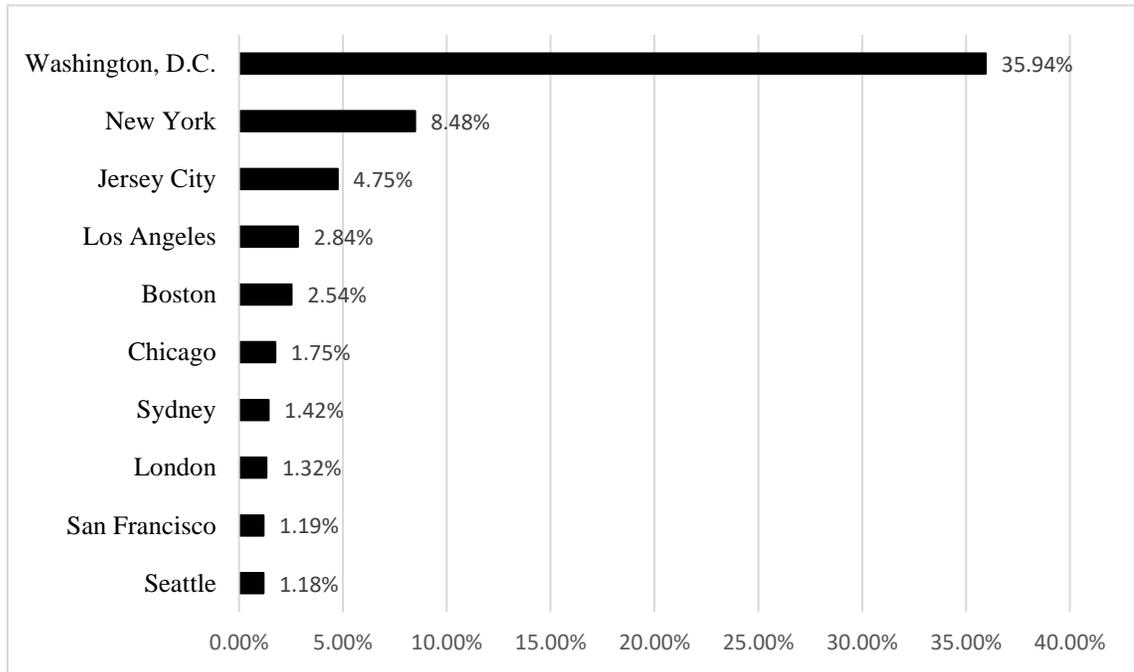
Looking at the worldwide distribution of the audience location, figure 7 shows that there are audience members from across the world, covering six continents. North America - especially large U.S. cities - leads in terms of audience location, while Europe is the second highest.

Figure 7:

Worldwide Location of the Audience at City Level.
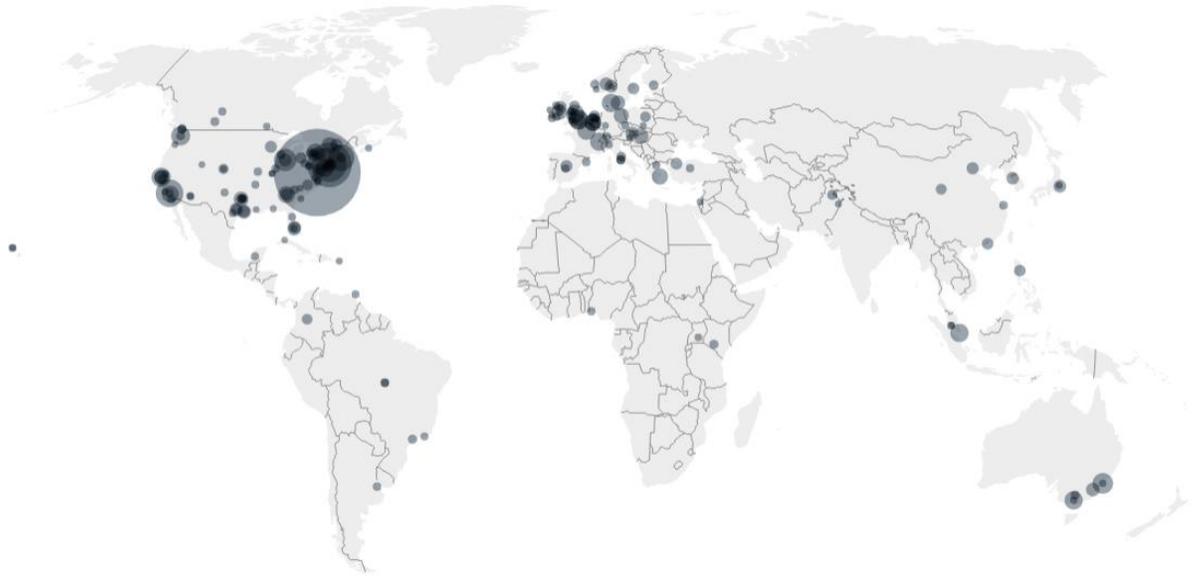
Note: the size of the bubble indicates the percentage of audience from that location.

Content of the Tweets:

To answer research question 2, the research looked at content of the tweets with three primary variables: type of media used, number of hashtags and number of mentions. Type of media had four categories – no media, image, video, and link. These categories were coded mutually exclusively. If there was more than one type of media present in a tweet, which was rarely the case, whichever media appeared first was coded. Among the four media categories, image was the highest ($f = 2105$), followed by video ($f = 373$) and link ($f = 317$), and no media was least common ($f = 264$).

Table 11 shows the distribution frequencies and percentage of each category.

Table 11:

Media Presence in Tweets.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No Media	264	8.6	8.6	8.6
Image	2,105	68.8	68.8	77.4
Video	373	12.2	12.2	89.6
Link	317	10.4	10.4	100.0
Total	3059	100.0	100.0	

Figure 8 visualizes the presence of media in tweets.

Figure 8:

Media Frequencies in Foreign Embassy Tweets.
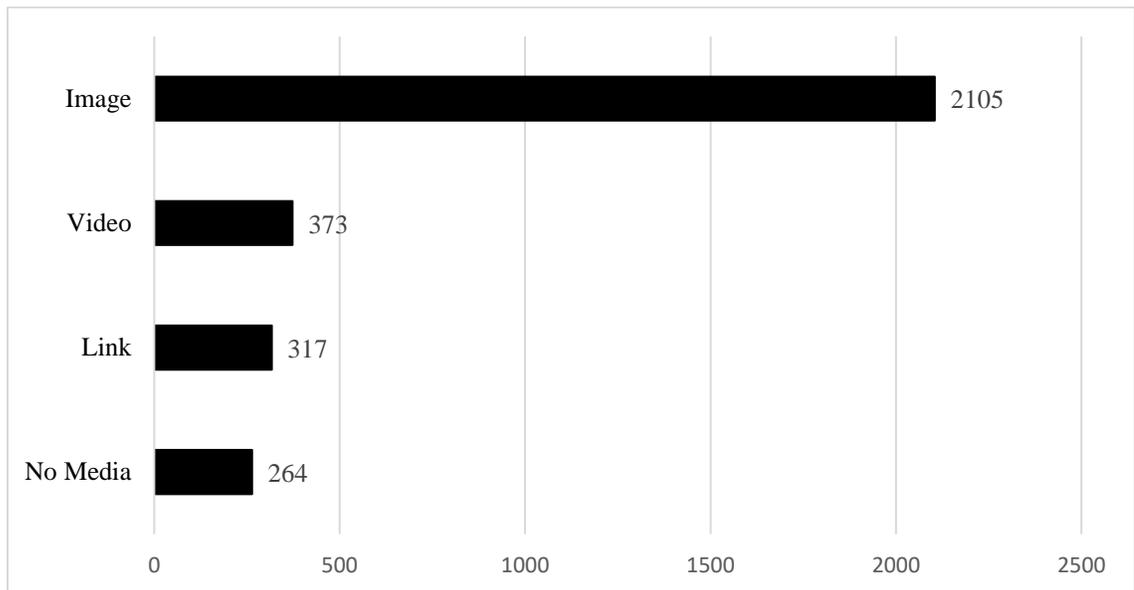
Difference Among the Embassies by Content Type:

To answer research question 2a, the researcher conducted an analysis of variance test that examined the relationship between tweet content and all embassies. This analysis found a significant relationship between types of media use by embassies, $F (26, 3058) = 7.39$, $p = .001$. However, there was no significant relationship between hashtag counts and mention counts by embassies. Table 12 summarizes the test results.

Table 12:
One-Way ANOVA Between Tweet Contents and Embassies.

Dependent variables	Mean	SD	df	SS	MS	F
Media present in this tweet	1.24	.75	26	102.722	3.951	7.386*
Hashtags Count	1.00	1.25	26	53.243	2.048	1.306
Mention Count	2.37	1.70	26	70.903	2.727	.954

$*=p<.001$

A Bonferroni post-hoc test for the media present in tweets variable confirmed that South Korea differed significantly from nearly all other countries except for Hungary. Hungary significantly differed from all but three countries (the Czech Republic, Singapore, and South Korea).

Figure 9 shows the mean distribution of media presence in tweets by embassy. The means plot identifies South Korea and Hungary to be significantly different from the others. During the analysis of the tweets (for the time period January, 2020), several examples of such outliers emerged, where some tweets went viral and garnered substantially more engagement of all types (favorites, shares, comments) than most tweets. Previous scholarship has shown that this is common and, in fact, endemic to the architecture of Twitter, including tweets originating from a government account, in which most tweets gain little attention while a few go viral (Gruzd et al., 2018; Kahle et al., 2016). That was the case in this data, as well.

Given that the researcher coded the category "no media" as 0, image as 1, video as 2, and link as 3 it is evident in the mean plot of media type by embassy that, compared to other countries, both South Korea and Hungary differed significantly in their use of media in tweets. Both used significantly fewer photos in their tweets compared to other countries.

Figure 9:

Mean Distribution of Media in the Tweets by Embassy.
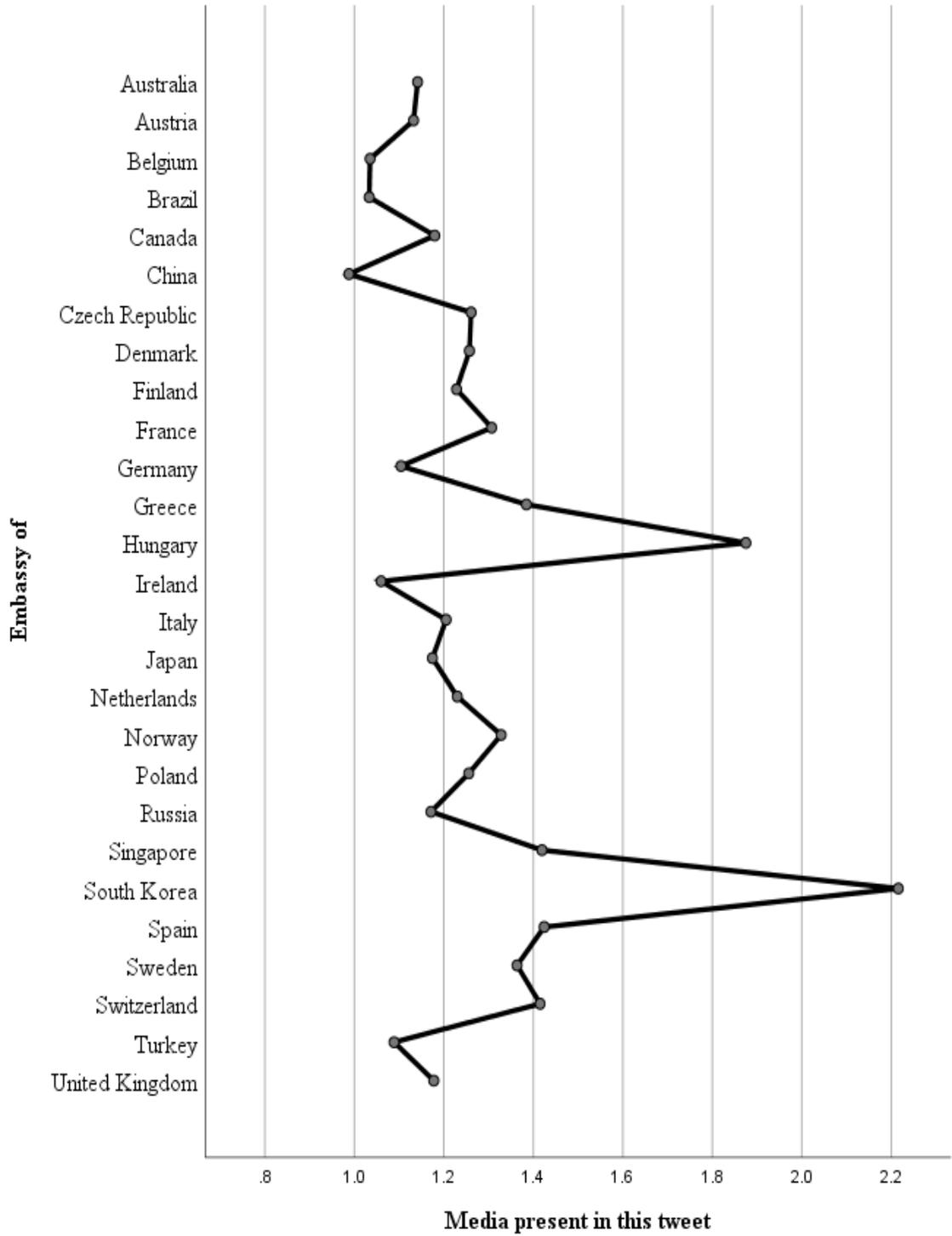
A Chi-Square test for the two countries that emerged as outliers with media used in the tweet shows that the sample for South Korea included five (1.9%) tweets with no media, 11 (0.5%) with an image, three (0.8%) with video, and 32 (10.1%) with links. These frequencies were statistically significant, $\chi2$ (3, N = 51) = 115.92, p < .001. Similarly, for Hungary, there were eight (3.0%) tweets with no media, 15 (0.7%) with image, 0 (0.0%) with video, and 25 (7.9%) with links. These frequencies were statistically significant, $\chi2$ (3, N = 48) = 111.50, p < .001. Table 13 summarizes the results from the Chi-Square test.

Table 13:
Chi-Square, Media type by Country.

Country	Media Present in tweet				X^2	φc
	No Media (n=264)	Image (n=2105)	Video (n=373)	Link (n=317)		
Australia	11 (4.2%)	65 (3.1%)	21 (5.6%)	2 (0.6%)	14.57**	.07
Austria	6 (2.3%)	53 (2.5%)	3 (0.8%)	6 (1.9%)	4.46	.04
Belgium	5 (1.9%)	46 (2.2%)	5 (1.3%)	1 (0.3%)	5.91	.04
Brazil	5 (1.9%)	21 (1.0%)	2 (0.5%)	2 (0.6%)	3.43	.03
Canada	1 (0.4%)	33 (1.6%)	2 (0.5%)	3 (0.9%)	5.01	.04
China	31 (11.7%)	26 (1.2%)	22 (5.9%)	4 (1.3%)	115.82***	.20
Czech Republic	2 (0.8%)	17 (0.8%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (1.3%)	4.02	.04
Denmark	2 (0.8%)	26 (1.2%)	3 (0.8%)	4 (1.3%)	0.92	.02
Finland	41 (15.5%)	95 (4.5%)	13 (3.5%)	35 (11.0%)	69.07***	.15
France	20 (7.6%)	159 (7.6%)	47 (12.6%)	25 (7.9%)	10.94**	.06
Germany	11 (4.2%)	89 (4.2%)	7 (1.9%)	8 (2.5%)	6.39	.05
Greece	7 (2.7%)	90 (4.3%)	9 (2.4%)	24 (7.6%)	13.35**	.07
Hungary	8 (3.0%)	15 (0.7%)	0 (0.0%)	25 (7.9%)	101.50***	.18
Ireland	26 (9.8%)	88 (4.2%)	6 (1.6%)	14 (4.4%)	25.89***	.09
Italy	9 (3.4%)	91 (4.3%)	10 (2.7%)	12 (3.8%)	2.55	.03
Japan	4 (1.5%)	118 (5.6%)	24 (6.4%)	3 (0.9%)	21.37***	.08
Netherlands	16 (6.1%)	189 (9.0%)	36 (9.7%)	20 (6.3%)	5.21	.04
Norway	1 (0.4%)	47 (2.2%)	5 (1.3%)	8 (2.5%)	5.41	.04
Poland	6 (2.3%)	136 (6.5%)	10 (2.7%)	20 (6.3%)	14.73**	.07
Russia	8 (3.0%)	449 (21.3%)	82 (22.0%)	10 (3.2%)	107.48***	.19
Singapore	3 (1.1%)	19 (0.9%)	2 (0.5%)	7 (2.2%)	5.66	.04
South Korea	5 (1.9%)	11 (0.5%)	3 (0.8%)	32 (10.1%)	155.92***	.23
Spain	7 (2.7%)	58 (2.8%)	19 (5.1%)	15 (4.7%)	8.22*	.05
Sweden	8 (3.0%)	29 (1.4%)	8 (2.1%)	10 (3.2%)	7.94*	.05

Switzerland	5 (1.9%)	69 (3.3%)	15 (4.0%)	17 (5.4%)	5.93	.04
Turkey	9 (3.4%)	27 (1.3%)	5 (1.3%)	4 (1.3%)	7.50*	.05
United Kingdom	7 (2.7%)	39 (1.9%)	14 (3.8%)	2 (0.6%)	9.55*	.07

*=p<.05; **<.01; ***=p<.001 Note: n = counted value and % in parenthesis = column percentages

Figure 10:
Mean Distribution of Hashtag Counts by Embassy
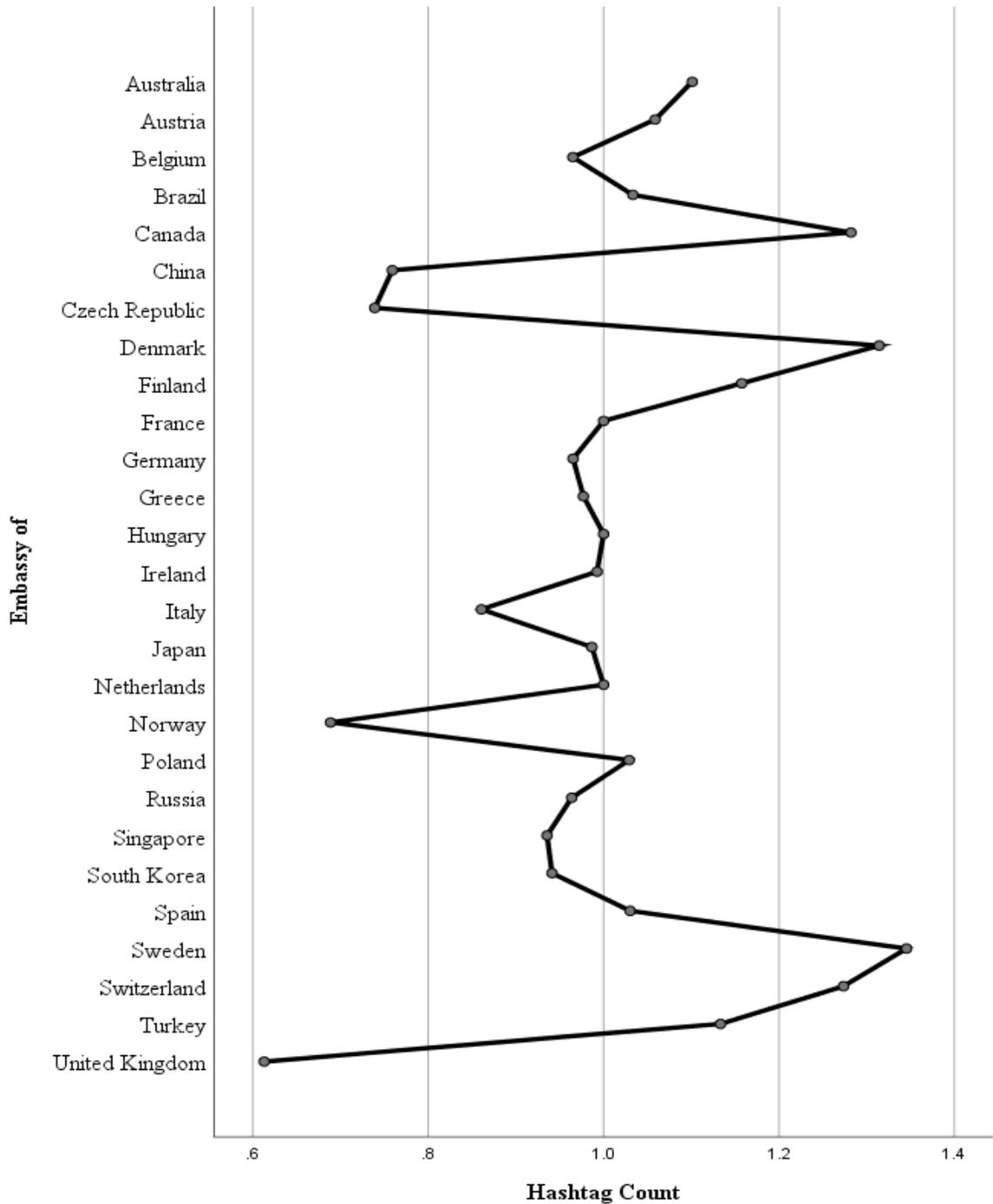
Figure 10 shows the mean distribution of hashtags count by embassies. Although the analysis did not find a statistically significant difference in embassies' use of hashtags, from the mean plot it becomes evident that the United Kingdom, Norway, the Czech Republic, and China were among the embassies that used the least number of hashtags in their tweets. On the other hand, Sweden, Denmark, Canada, and Switzerland were among the embassies that used hashtags more frequently. On average, there was one hashtag per tweet across all tweets (n=3059, s.d.=1.25).

Figure 11 shows the mean distribution of mentions each embassy used in tweets. As with hashtags, there was no statistically significant difference between the countries in terms of the frequency of mentions in tweets. However, from the mean plot it becomes evident that Belgium, Denmark and Turkey saw mentions more frequently than other countries. In contrast, Austria, Brazil, the Czech Republic, Canada, Germany, and Poland saw the least number of mentions on average per tweet. For the total sample (n=3,059), the average number of mentions per tweet was 2.37 with a standard deviation of 1.69.

Figure 11:
Mean Distribution of Mention Count by Embassy.
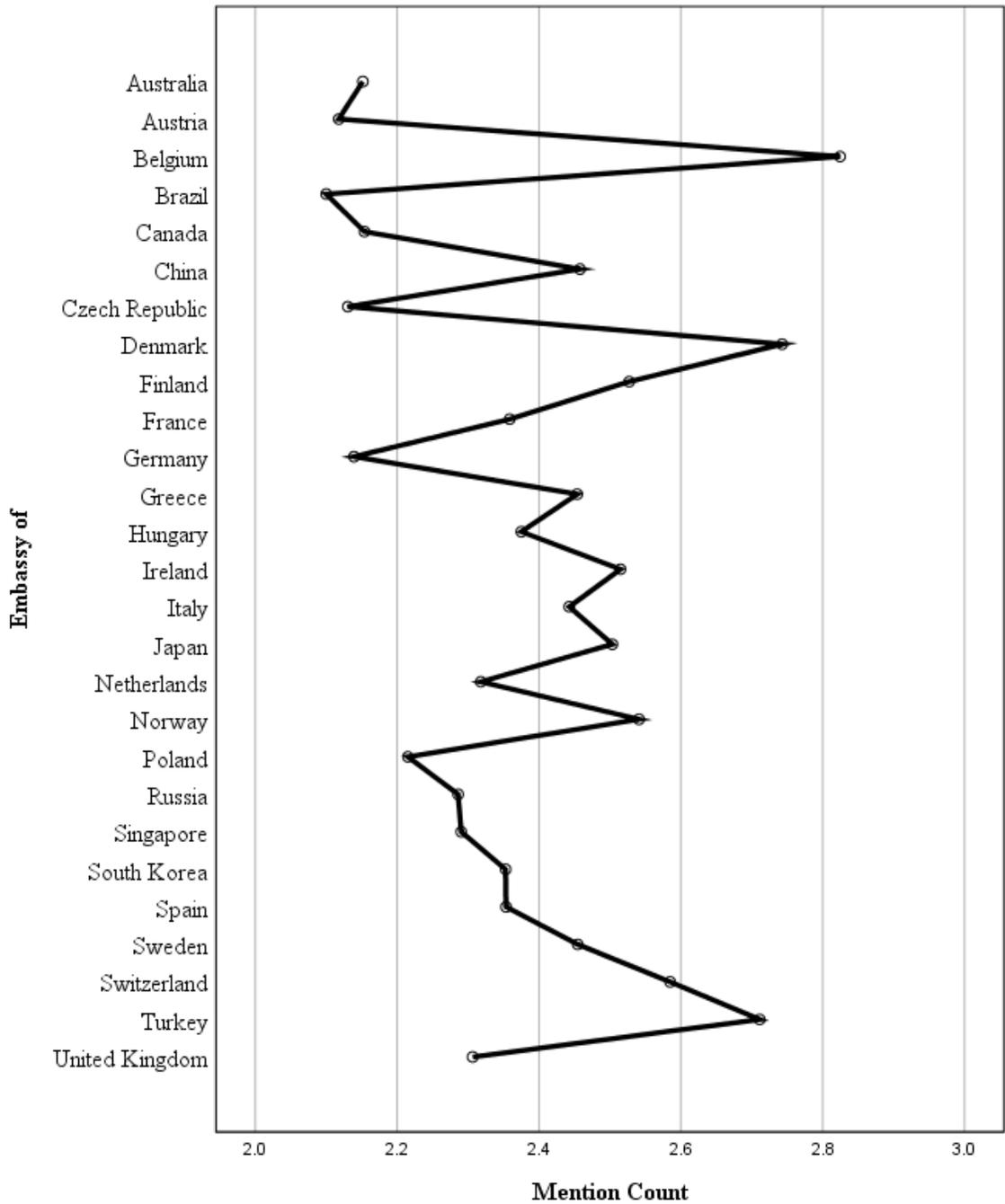
Engagement and Tweet Content:

To answer which content type gets the most audience engagement (RQ2b), the researcher performed a Pearson's correlation test. The use of hashtags was positively

correlated with the number of people liking (favorite) the tweet (r(3057) = .17, p = .01). Use of video in tweets was positively correlated with the number of people replying to the tweet (r(3057) = .04, p = .05). However, given that both correlations are very small, and sample size is high, it is hard to argue that they have any actual effect. The media types were negatively correlated with each other as they were coded mutually exclusively.

Table 14:
Correlation Between Content Types and Engagement Measures.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Hashtags Count	-								
2. Mention Count	-.02	-							
3. Favorite Count	.17**	.01	-						
4. Retweet Count	-.03	.01	-.02	-					
5. Reply count	.01	.01	.01	.01	-				
6. Image	.01	.01	-.01	.01	-.03	-			
7. Video	-.03	-.02	-.00	-.01	.04*	-.55**	-		
8. Link	.01	.00	-.01	.01	-.02	-.51**	-.13**	-	
9. No Media	.00	-.00	.03	-.01	.03	-.46**	-.12**	-.10**	-

**= p <.01; *= p <.05

Taxonomy of Public Diplomacy in Tweets:

RQ3 asked which categories of tweets were most prominent. Among the five categories from Cull's (2008) taxonomy of public diplomacy, International Broadcasting was the most common category with 2,885 tweets, followed by Cultural with 916 tweets

and Listening being the least used category with 219 among all tweets analyzed. Figure 12 shows the frequency distribution of categories.

Figure 12:

Frequency of Taxonomy Categories in Tweets.
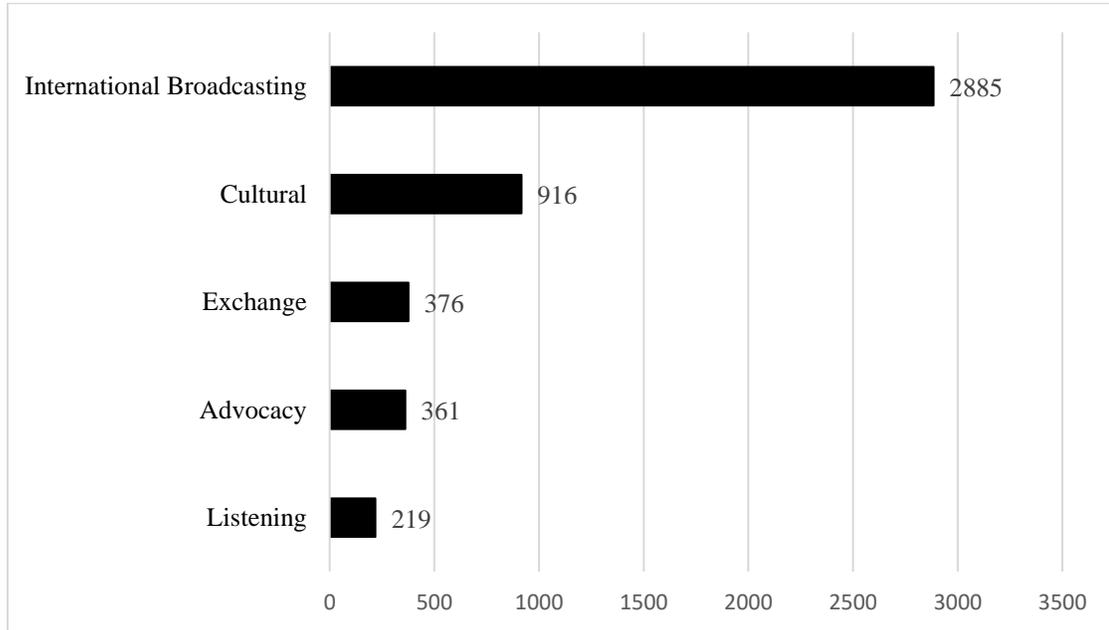
International broadcasting was further broken down into five categories based on the source of the information in a tweet: a state-owned or publicly funded media outlet, a commercially owned media outlet, the embassy itself, other, and no, or not applicable. Figure 13 illustrates the frequency distribution of the International Broadcasting categories. State and publicly funded sources were most common (1,145) among all the tweets analyzed for this study. This was closely followed by the embassy itself as the source of information. Out of 3,059 total tweets, in 1,040 the embassy itself was the primary source of information shared in that tweet. Commercial sources were third most

common on the list with a total of 350. The "other" category comprises non-profit

organizations, individual Twitter users who are not affiliated with the government, the

embassy or a commercial organization, and any other source that does not fall in any of

the primary categories. There was a total of 250 tweets in the "other" category. Finally,

there was 174 tweets in the no or not applicable category. If a tweet did not qualify as

international broadcasting or was in a different language (i.e. not English), it was

considered as not International Broadcasting (see the codebook in appendix for details).

Figure 13:

Frequency of International Broadcasting categories in tweets.
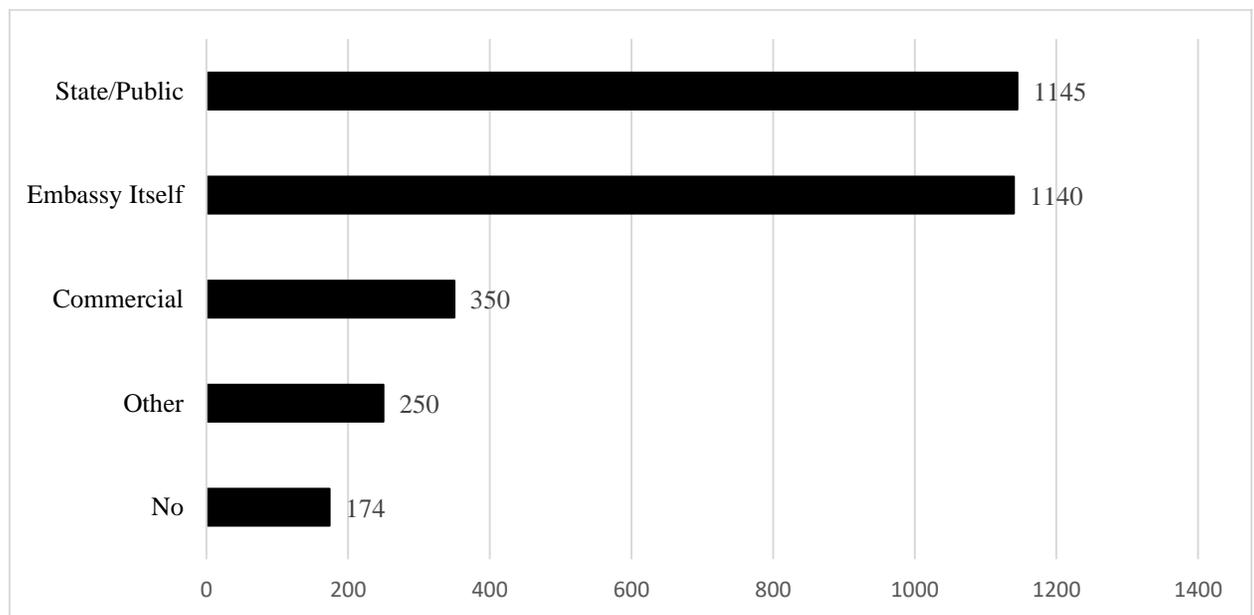
Difference Between Embassies by Taxonomy Categories:

To answer RQ3a, an analysis of variance test showed that there was a significant

difference among countries in all five categories of the taxonomy. Table 15 summarizes

the results of the analysis of variance.

Table 15:
One-Way ANOVA Between Countries by Taxonomy Categories.

Categories	Mean	SD	df	SS	MS	F
Listening	.07	.26	26	5.423	.209	3.196*
Advocacy	.12	.32	26	19.145	.736	7.461*
Cultural	.30	.46	26	44.016	1.693	8.588*
Exchange	.12	.33	26	14.377	.553	5.316*
International Broadcasting	.94	.23	26	8.307	.319	6.218*

*= p <.001

There was a significant difference between countries and tweets with Listening components in it, $F_{(26, 3031)} = 3.20$, $p = .001$. For Advocacy tweets, the difference was significant between countries, $F_{(26, 3031)} = 7.46$, $p = .001$. Cultural was also significant at $F_{(26, 3031)} = 8.59$, $p = .001$, and Exchange at $F_{(26, 3031)} = 5.32$, $p = .001$. International Broadcasting was significantly different between countries at $F_{(26, 3031)} = 6.22$, $p = .001$. The results suggest that the countries used each category of tweets differently. The discussion section further elaborates on the possible reasons for this.

Figures 14 to 18 illustrate the means plot of each category by embassy. The means plot for Listening suggests that Spain, Japan, and Hungary had more Listening tweets compared to other countries, whereas, Singapore, Italy, Greece, and Brazil had the lowest number of Listening tweets in January 2020. For Advocacy, the top countries were Denmark, Germany, Norway, and Sweden. On the other hand, Australia, Japan, Singapore, Spain, and Switzerland had the lowest number of Advocacy tweets. When it came to Culture, Japan, Spain, and the Czech Republic were the top embassies with cultural elements in tweets, while Turkey, South Korea, China, and Belgium tweeted the least about Culture. Regarding Exchange, the Netherlands and Belgium claimed the top spots with Australia, France, Japan, Singapore, and the United Kingdom following. On

the contrary, South Korea, Canada, China, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Russia had relatively lower numbers of Exchange tweets.

International Broadcasting shows an opposite trend compared to the other categories, putting most countries at a higher average. This suggests that most countries had a high number of tweets in international broadcasting categories. Among the outliers were Italy, Turkey, Spain, and Hungary with lowest average International Broadcasting tweets. On the other hand, South Korea, Greece, Canada, and Russia where among the countries with the highest number of International Broadcasting tweets.

Figure 14:

Mean Distribution of Listening Tweets by Embassy.
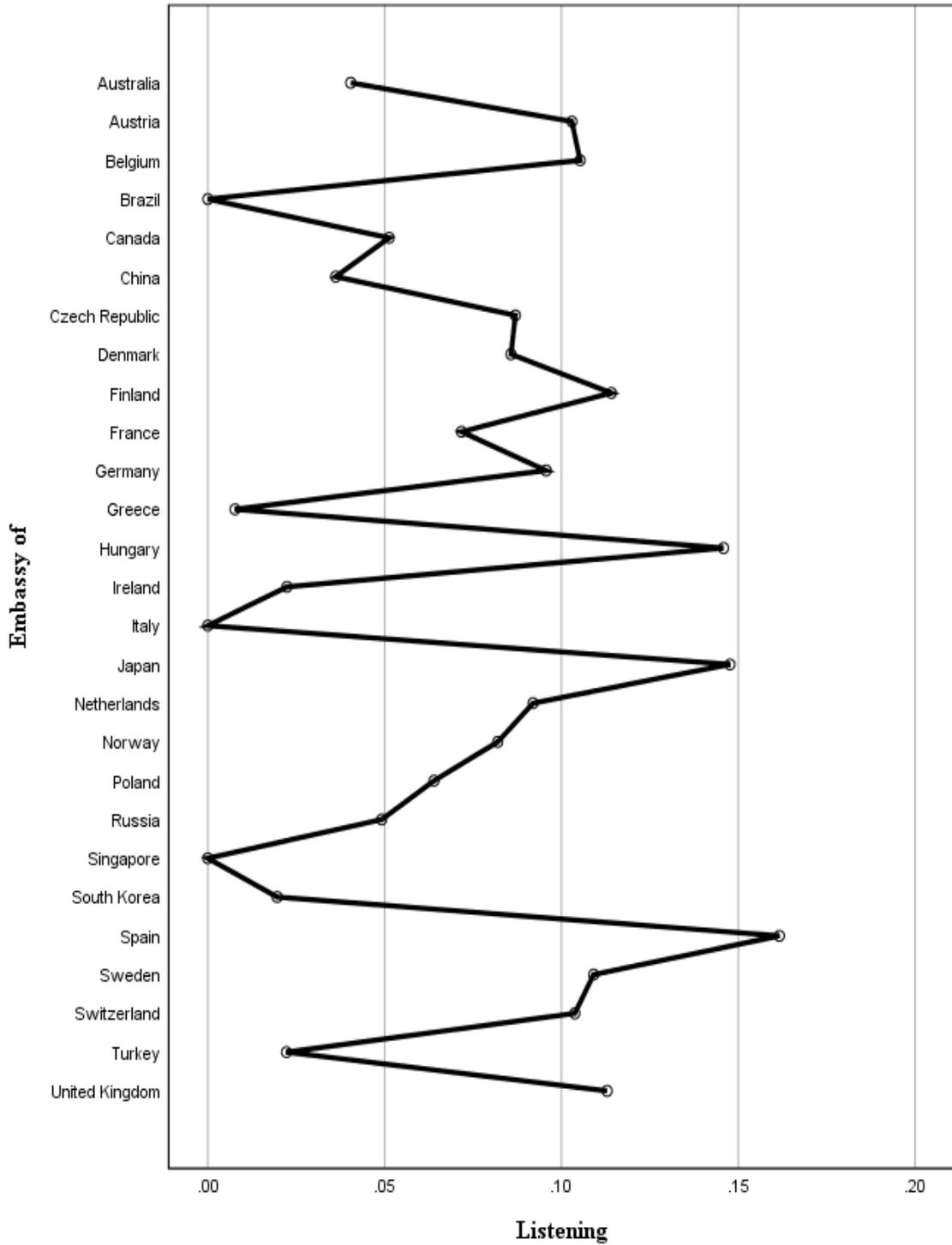
Figure 15:

Mean Distribution of Advocacy Tweets by Embassy.
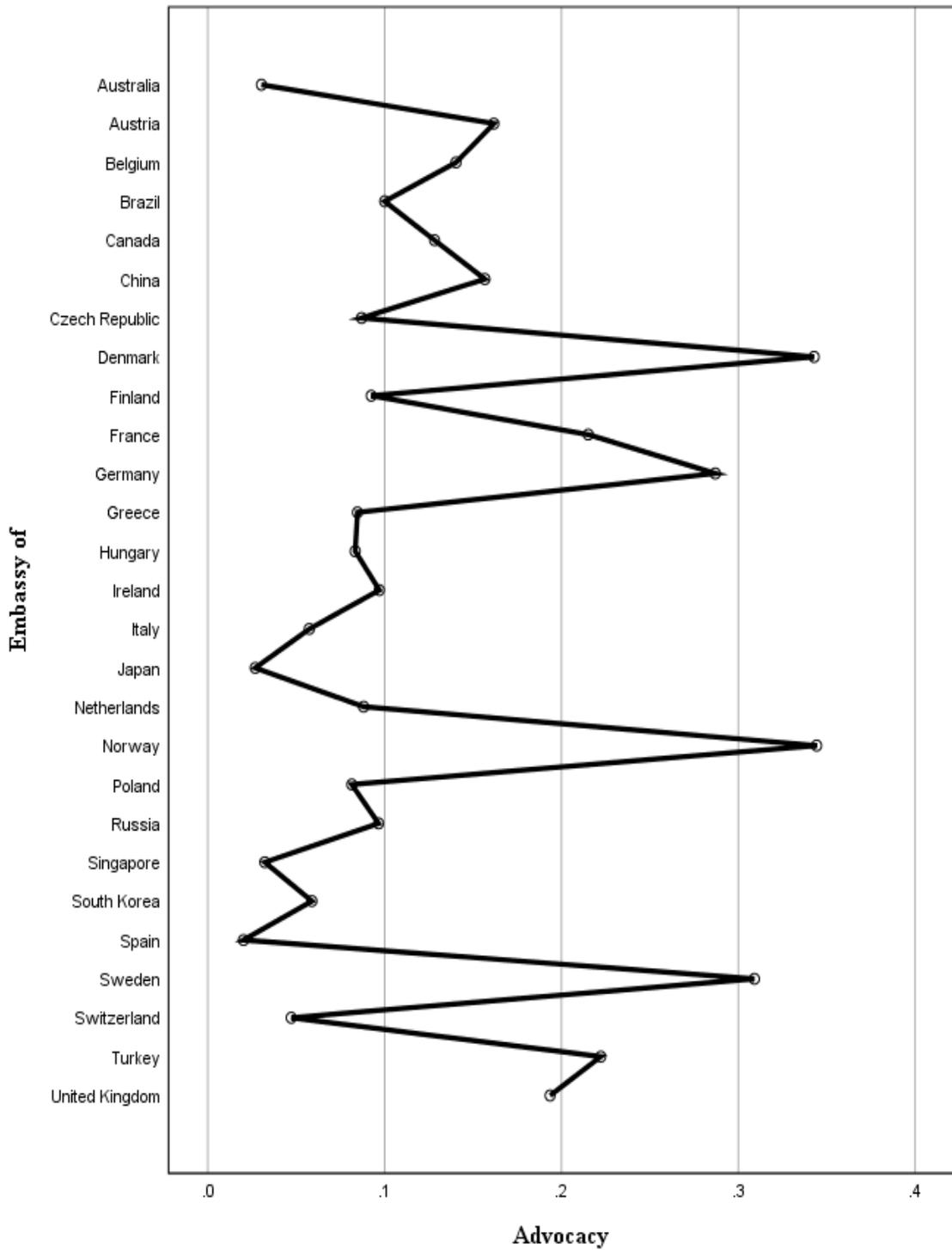
Figure 16:

Mean Distribution of Cultural Tweets by Embassy.
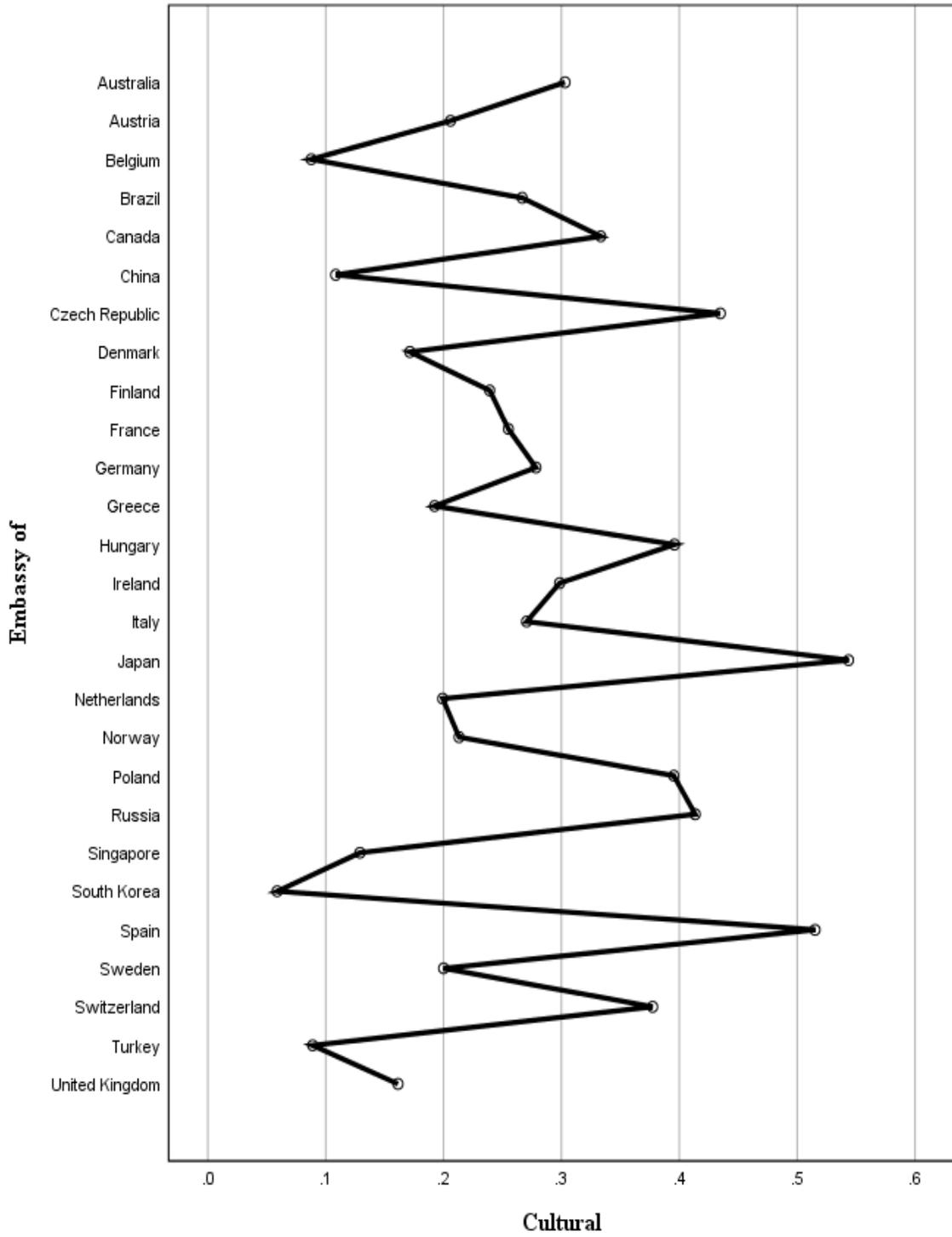
Figure 17:

Mean Distribution of Exchange Tweets by Embassy.
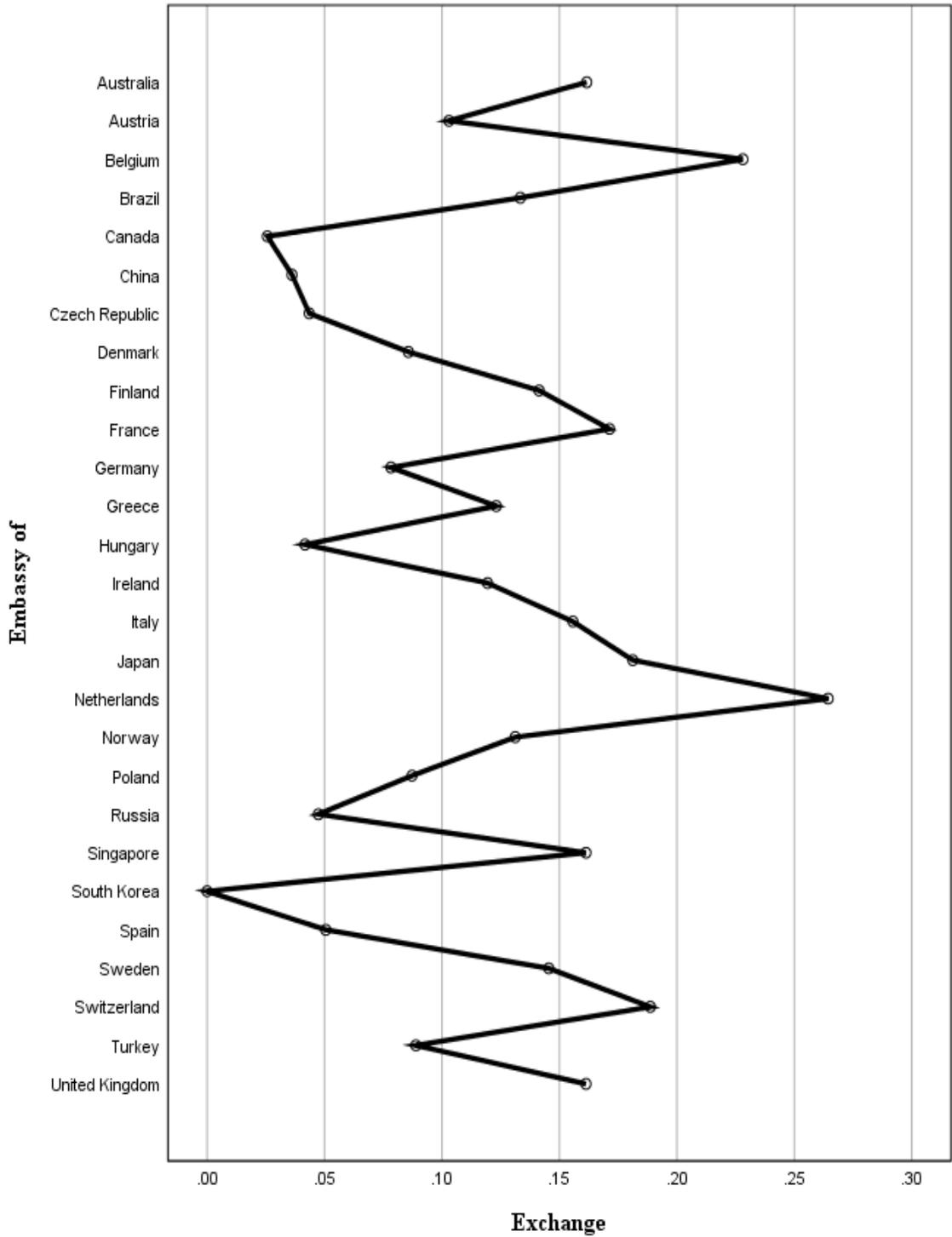
Figure 18:

Mean Distribution of International Broadcasting Tweets by Embassy.
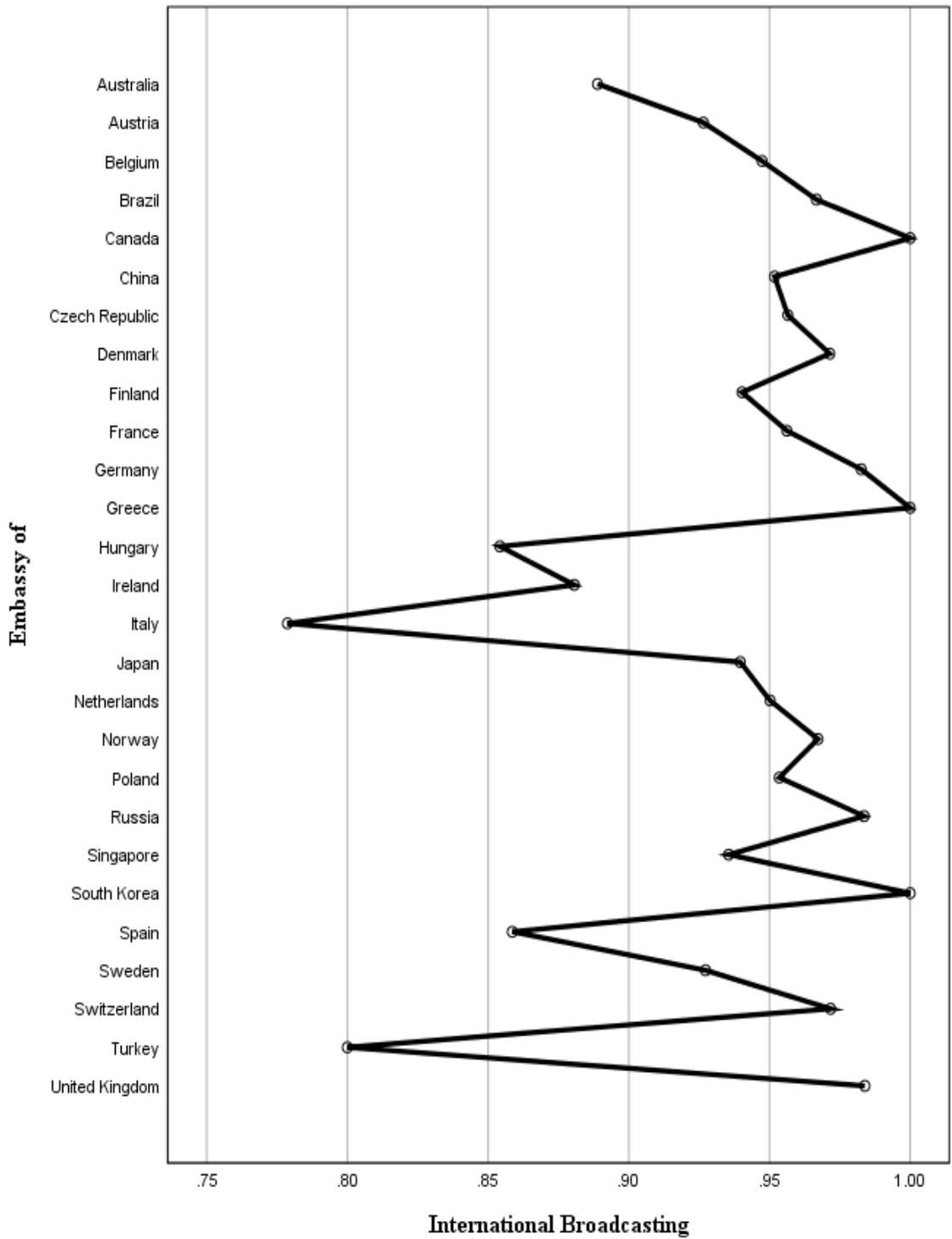
Taxonomy Categories and Engagement:

To answer which categories of tweets got the most audience engagement (RQ3b), the researcher conducted a Pearson's correlation test. Table 16 summarizes the results.

Table 16:

Correlation Between Category of Tweets and Engagement Measures.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.Favorite	-							
2.Retweet	-.016	-						
3.Reply	.014	.012	-					
4.Listening	-.027	-.010	-.016	-				
5.Advocacy	.042*	-.002	-.002	-.054**	-			
6.Cultural	-.001	-.002	-.010	.106**	-.193**	-		
7.Exchange	-.018	-.016	-.021	.023	-.072**	-.040*	-	
8.International Broadcasting	-.032	.012	.012	-.008	.064**	.071**	.045*	-

$^{**}= p<.01;\ ^*= p<.05$

Among the five categories of tweets, only advocacy was positively correlated with favorites ($r(3057) = .04$, $p = .05$). This means that people liked (clicking the like button) Advocacy tweets significantly more than other categories of tweets. However, given that the correlation value is small ($r=.042$) with a sample size of 3,059, it is difficult to argue that a tweet belonging to the advocacy category will get a higher number of likes. Given that a tweet could fall into multiple categories, there are both positive and negative significant relationships between the categories themselves. For example, International Broadcasting was positively correlated with Advocacy, Cultural and Exchange tweets. However, Exchange was negatively correlated with Advocacy and Culture. While Culture was positively correlated with Listening and negatively with Advocacy.

173

Nature of the Conversation:

To describe the nature of the conversation (RQ4), the researcher conducted an exploratory qualitative content analysis to identify key themes in the replies from tweets with the most replies. For this analysis, the researcher only considered tweets that originated from the embassy, as retweeted tweets will carry over/include the comments from the audience in response to the original tweet. Therefore, looking at retweets will not help to understand the nature of conversation among the embassy's own audience.

On average, each tweet (from the sample of 754 tweets) had 8.42 comments. To limit the scope of this exploratory analysis and focus only on tweets with the largest number of replies, the researcher determined to limit the exploratory analysis to tweets with only 10 or more comments. That gave a total of 17 tweets from six countries, and a total of 754 comments. Of those 754 comments, the researcher finally selected 617 for analysis, as the rest was either in another language or contained no text.

The researcher adopted an open coding approach for this analysis, i.e. "the analytic process through which concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 101). Given that this is an exploratory analysis with an inductive approach, open coding allowed the researcher to develop categories from the data, in absence of a theory guiding the analysis (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011).

For this analysis, the researcher first analyzed a sub-sample of the comments to broadly look for patterns and themes in the comments that would help to establish some categories that the data could be categorized in. The researcher achieved this by reading

174

the comments several times, while constantly looking for similarities and differences (Schwandt, 2015). After an initial round of open coding, a total of 35 categories emerged from the comments. The next step was to collapse those categories into 19 subcategories under four main categories. The final categories were:

- Tweet content/topic,

- Sentiment toward the tweet,

- Emotion expressed in the comments, and

- Type of comments.

It is important to note that the researcher coded all the comments were coded for tweet content, and sentiment toward the tweet categories. However, the researcher could not code all comments for emotion expressed in the comments as many lacked a clear dominant emotion. In contrast, for the "type of comments" category, the researcher often coded one comment multiple categories based on the content, when a dominant category could not be identified. These categories and their subcategories are explained below.

Tweet Content/Topic:

Among the 617 comments the researcher analyzed from the 17 tweets, international politics emerged as the dominant theme, with more than half (57%) of comments falling into this category. Nearly all the international politics tweets were primarily controversial in nature. For example, one of the tweets from the Russian embassy in Washington, D.C. about the history of World War II read:

175

Russian Embassy in USA 🇷🇺 ✓
@RusEmbUSA
🏴 Russia government organization

Auschwitz was liberated by Americans, according to @USAmbDenmark,@usembdenmark.
What does it mean @statedept @secpompeo? We asked you not to erase the memory of #Auschwitz liberators - #RedArmy soldiers. Now you "substitute" Soviet soldiers with 🇺🇸
Shameful #WWII History Rewriting

erase the memory of the liberators – the Soviet soldiers, soldiers of the #RedArmy. They deserve it. They were your allies.

#WeRemember 🌹 #UnitedinMemory75

Ambassador Carla Sands Retweeted
U.S. Embassy Denmark ✓
@usembdenmark

I dag er det International Holocaust Remembrance Day. For 75 år siden befriede amerikanske soldater Auschwitz-Birkenau lejren. #WeRemember 🌹

Translated from Danish by Google

Today is International Holocaust Remembrance Day. 75 years ago, American soldiers liberated Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. #WeRemember 🌹

Department of State ✓ @... · 3d
Today, #WeRemember 🌹 the 75th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz. Over 1M

International Holocaust Remembrance Day

12:25 PM · Jan 28, 2020 · Twitter for iPhone

This tweet generated a heated debate about the Red Army's involvement in World War II and the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact of 1939, also known as German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact. Similarly, a tweet in this category from the Chinese embassy read:

Chinese Embassy in US ✔
@ChineseEmbinUS
⚑ China government organization

Replying to @StateDept

Stop spreading lies! Uyghurs and other minorities in #Xinjiang enjoy freedom of religion, practice cultural traditions and use their own ethnic languages. There are 24,000 mosques in Xinjiang, one for every 400 or so local Muslims, more than many Muslim countries.

7:27 PM · Dec 31, 2019 · Twitter for iPhone

23 Retweets   **22** Quote Tweets   **38** Likes

This tweet also generated a debate in the comment section with people arguing mostly against the Chinese treatment of Uyghurs and other minorities.

The second highest theme with 23% of comments was about culture, while the lowest number of responses was categorized into the listening and advocacy categories, accounting for just above 1% and 18% respectively.

Sentiment Toward the Tweet:

The second theme of categories can be summarized as content that expressed some form of sentiment toward the tweet. The researcher divided sentiment into three sub-categories, namely: positive sentiment, negative sentiment, and neutral sentiment. The majority of the comments were voiced against the content of the tweet. For example,

in response to the Russian tweet about rewriting the history of World War II (mentioned earlier), one Twitter user commented –

The #USSR signed a pact with #Hitler to each take over half of #Poland to throw Europe into #WWII. And now you're looking for a pat on the back.

Many comments also supported the content of the tweet. For example, another user commented:

It was always undisputed fact that the Soviets liberated Auschwitz. Stand your ground, Russia.

Other comments were neutral in nature. For example, one user commented:

The Vistula-Oder Offensive liberated the Death camp. This was the Red Army, true. But to say "allies" may be a bit of a stretch. "Enemy of my enemy is my friend" is probably closer.

Overall, the replies were predominantly (in 49% of the cases) against the topic/content of the tweet. This was the case across all categories of comments, regardless of the embassy tweeting it. A neutral sentiment toward the tweet was the second highest category with about 37% of the comments, while support for the content/topic of the tweet was the lowest ranking category at 13%.

Emotion in the Comments:

The researcher observed a multitude of emotions in the comments, ranging from resentment to satisfaction, sarcasm, and disbelief. Resentment was comprised of anger,

frustration, and annoyance, for instance. Disbelief was constructed out of confusion, skepticism, and questioning, for example.

Resentment was the most prominent emotion in the comments, accounting for about 25% of the comments, while sarcasm was the second highest emotion (18% of the cases analyzed) followed by disbelief with about 10%. The least expressed emotions in the comments were fear, sympathy, and sadness.

Some examples of comments that contained the emotion of resentment are as follows (each bullet point is a reply):

- *Call out Trump you cowards.*

- *Won't do any good unless President Moron (Trump) gets shut down by Congress.*

- *Stop telling lies! You're AWFUL.*

- *@ChineseEmbinUS big fat lier, you and your facist government genocide Uyghurs because of the occupied East Turkistan. You detained Uyghur men to Nazis style concentration camps and sending your ugly chinese men to Uyghurs home, is this a freedom for you?*

- *You stabbed Poland in the back when the Nazis invaded and then you deliberately stood by to allow the Nazis to destroy the Polish resistance in 1944 before subjugating Poland. Liberation? No. Invasion.*

- *Soviet Russia stood at the gates of Warsaw and did not lift a finger to help the Warsaw Uprising. Then they entered the murdered city, plundering and taking the*

179

magnifying glass to Russia. Murdering, murdering and plundering what is left.

Disgrace!

- *Hypocrites! What do you know of or even care about the norms of international law. You stab #Ukraine in the back. Break promises. Budapest Memorandum. #MH17 #crimeaisukraine*

A significant number of tweets that displayed the emotion of resentment included profanity and name-calling. These were excluded from the list of examples. However, one milder example of such comment in this category read –

But only an absolute moron would think the Russian MFA would ever say anything even remotely resembling the truth. So look elsewhere, folks. Look elsewhere.

Sarcasm was another prominent emotion the researcher observed across all comments, regardless of the origin or topic of the tweet. Some examples include:

- *Smart move to leave Trump's name out of it. He will skim read it for his name then discard it.*

- *Merkel, Macron and Johnson ... the adults in the room, left to pick up the pieces and hold it together after Trump the Terminator on his Path to World Destruction.*

- *After 160 years of Darwinian Elevators, you'd think the gene for indecision has been selected out of the gene pool.*

- *$.50 deposited in your account, 3 more pro #CCP comments and you can go to mcdonalds Thumbs up loving it #fakenews*

- *Iz Moskva. The occupiers had a party.*

- *History brought to you by the people who lied for nearly 50 years about Katyn.*

- *Great story ...just small things still bothering me how came Soviet didn't allow Ally's airdrops during #WarsawUprising and waited 2 moths with its "liberation" ?*

Disbelief was the other prominent emotion the researcher observed in the comments, primarily in response to politically controversial tweets, although this emotion was also, to some extent, present in other categories. Examples include:

- *I'm so... confused.*

- *Is this a Truth?*

- *Freedom of religion? Excuse me.*

- *What the h*** is this?*

- *what's this? It's creepy*

- *Constitution, what constitution? Lockstep in theology!*

Type of Comments:

The final category emerging from the coding was based on the type of comments. Some of the comments in this category fell under more than one sub-category. The researcher observed a total of seven sub-categories of comments, namely:

1. Responding to other comments

2. Complaining or condemning

3. Opinion

4. Asking a question or asking for clarification

5. Suggestion

6. Trolling

7. Culture

Responding to other comments was the category of comments the researcher observed most often in the sample of comments analyzed. Just over 50% of comments fell into this category. Complaining or condemning was the second highest category observed in 27% of tweets, followed by "Opinion" and "Asking a question or asking for clarification". Complaining or condemning was distinguished from opinion based on the tone of the comment. When the comment directly blamed someone or made a complaint or condemnation toward the issue, it was coded in that category. However, when there was no direct negative tone in the comment and the commenter was just making a statement, it was coded as opinion. Each of these two categories was found in 20% of the comments analyzed, while 11% contained suggestions, 7% trolling and 2% focusing on culture. Although most of these categories are self-explanatory, trolling asks for specific attention as this is more subjective and timelier in nature. Trolling in this study is defined as comments that are intended purely to instigate argument, conflict, or hostility. Often the response has nothing to do with the original issue being discussed. For example, the Russian embassy tweeted about the Russian Orthodox tradition of Epiphany. This tweet included a picture of a man swimming in an icy pool. Trolling began with comments such

as "is that Lindsey Graham?" and "is that Devin Nunes?" Response followed with

arguments about domestic politics that had nothing to do with the original tweet content.

Regardless of the topic of the tweet or the source of origin, many of the comments were

in response to other comments and not about the tweet directly. This observation was

particularly common in tweets with controversial content. For example, when the

German embassy tweeted about a joint statement about the situation in Iraq from German

chancellor Angela Merkel, French president Emmanuel Macron, and British prime

minister Boris Johnson, one Twitter user commented:

We fear that our president has a medical issue, diagnosed but kept quiet that renders him

unfit to serve. This administration does not hesitate to lie to hide it. We worry that these

lies will lead to war.

      In response, another user wrote,

Take a long look in the mirror...

      While another added,

Good luck with the tantrum baby in the WhiteHouse.

      Similarly, when the Russian embassy posted a tweet about a U.S. Navy destroyer

and a Russian warship's near-collision, one user commented:

NO, BAD RUSSIANS! Drunk Russia Captain almost rear ends US destroyer.

      Other users joined the discussion as the thread continued:

-   *Look at the trail from USS - obviously cutting the Russians*

- *Lol. The U.S. wake is straight for miles and ahead of the drunken Russia. By maritime law, the drunken Russian is in the wrong.*

- *Look at the wakes. The drunk Russian captain turned right after the U.S. ship had passed, sped up and got too close. The U.S. wake shows straight consistent course. Like traffic laws, the one making erratic moves r usually in the wrong. Drunk Russian Captains are known for this.*

- *B***s***.*

- *B***s*** is ur whole life.*

- *Oh, you guys are so full of it ....*

Unfortunately, this was a common trend the researcher observed in the discussion on controversial issues: often discussions (even those that started with logical arguments) turned to bitterness.

Complaining or condemning was another frequently found type of comment. Some examples include:

- *Stop genocide #CHINAZI*

- *China is the biggest liar in the world.*

- *Warsaw was occupied by Soviet Red Army.*

- *Soviet Russia stood at the gates of Warsaw and did not lift a finger to help the Warsaw Uprising. Then they entered the murdered city, plundering and taking*

the magnifying glass to Russia. Murdering, murdering and plundering what is

left. Disgrace!

- *#USA IS THE REAL TERRORIST ORGANISATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST BY KILLING #Soleimani*

To sum it up, the qualitative analysis of the comments looked at the nature of discussion in tweets that originated from the embassies themselves and that had at least 10 or more comments. The analysis focused on four broad areas to understand the nature of the conversation (as outlined earlier). The analysis found that tweets that highlight controversial and political issues attracted significant response from the audience. The majority of the comments were opposed to the content of the tweet, and resentment was the most common emotion expressed in the comments. When it came to the type of comments, response to others was the most frequent, followed by complaining and condemnation.

Summary:

This chapter presented the results and statistical analyses for the study and interpreted the findings under the broad theme of each research question. Additionally, it highlighted the unique cases from the results and explained those. The results were supported with charts and figures that help understand individual differences and show the outliers.

The next chapter draws this study to a close. It interprets the results and findings to uncover the meaning of those, connects it to both the literature used in this study and how the results either support or refute other similar studies. Moreover, the discussion

focuses on the implications of the study for both public diplomacy practitioners and scholars.

Chapter 8 – Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction:

The previous chapter presented the results and findings of the study under broad themes of each research question. Moreover, if provided interpretation of relevant significant findings. This chapter puts those findings into context of the study by connecting them to the literature and theory, explaining the implications and suggesting how this can benefit the field.

This study set out to achieve three goals: firstly, illustrate the social media landscape of the selected embassies by looking at different variables such as their activity, audience location, engagement, and frequency of communication. Secondly, analyze the public diplomacy messages these embassies sent out to understand how they are using this new mode of communication regarding public diplomacy practice, and finally, to explore the relationship between different categories of public diplomacy messages and audience engagement. This chapter connects the findings with the literature to answer those questions. The discussion sections are presented under thematic headings based on the research questions and divided into sub-sections based on the variables used and findings observed.

Social Media Landscape:

For the 27 embassies under investigation, the social media landscape varied widely. This was due to many factors such as how long they have been present on social media, how often do they post messages, how many followers they have and how engaging they are with their audience. Before narrowing the discussion down to

187

individual differences and unique cases, the next section draws an overall picture of the social media landscape for these embassies.

According to the 2020 Twiplomacy study, 187 countries had Twitter accounts, representing about 97% of all UN nations (Twiplomacy, 2020). The other two most popular platforms were Facebook with 93% and Instagram with 81% governments presence. Manor and Crilley (2019) argued that government agencies are adapting to the new channels of communication to reach a wide range of audiences. Mickoleit (2014) suggested that the opportunity cost for these organization of not being there is relatively high, while the entry cost is very low. The findings of this study reflect these perspectives.

On average the embassies maintained their presence on more than two social media platforms, with Twitter being the most common platform for all embassies, followed by Facebook, although the majority of the embassies maintained both. Among the other social media platforms, Instagram, and YouTube were frequent. Across all the platforms, on average each embassy had a little more than 45,000 followers. On Twitter, the average length of presence for each embassy was about nine years, and on average each embassy tweeted more than 12,000 times. Additionally, 24 of the 27 embassy accounts were verified by Twitter. These numbers align with the literature to show how digitalization has impacted public diplomacy practices.

The following sections of the chapter break down different aspects of the social media landscapes to detail these findings.

Presence, Number of Followers and Verification:

   To look at the use of Twitter as an important mode of communication for public diplomacy, this section looks at three variables: the length of embassies' presence in Twitter, total number of followers, and if they are verified by Twitter or not. The length of their presence on Twitter shows how early or late each embassy adopted the new mode of communication, which can be categorized in four stages using the diffusion of innovation model: early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards (Rogers, 2004). Some of the early adopters of Twitter for public diplomacy in the dataset were the United Kingdom and France, while China and South Korea were amongst the laggards. Figure 19 below shows the distribution of the adoption of Twitter among the embassies.

Figure 19:

Social Media Adoption by Country.

Early Adopters				
United Kingdom	France	Austria	Norway	Netherlands

Early Majority								
Greece	Finland	Singapore	Denmark	Poland	Germany	Canada	Ireland	Turkey

Late Majority							
Brazil	Australia	Italy	Hungary	Russia	Spain	Sweden	Czech Republic

Laggards				
Japan	Belgium	Switzerland	South Korea	China
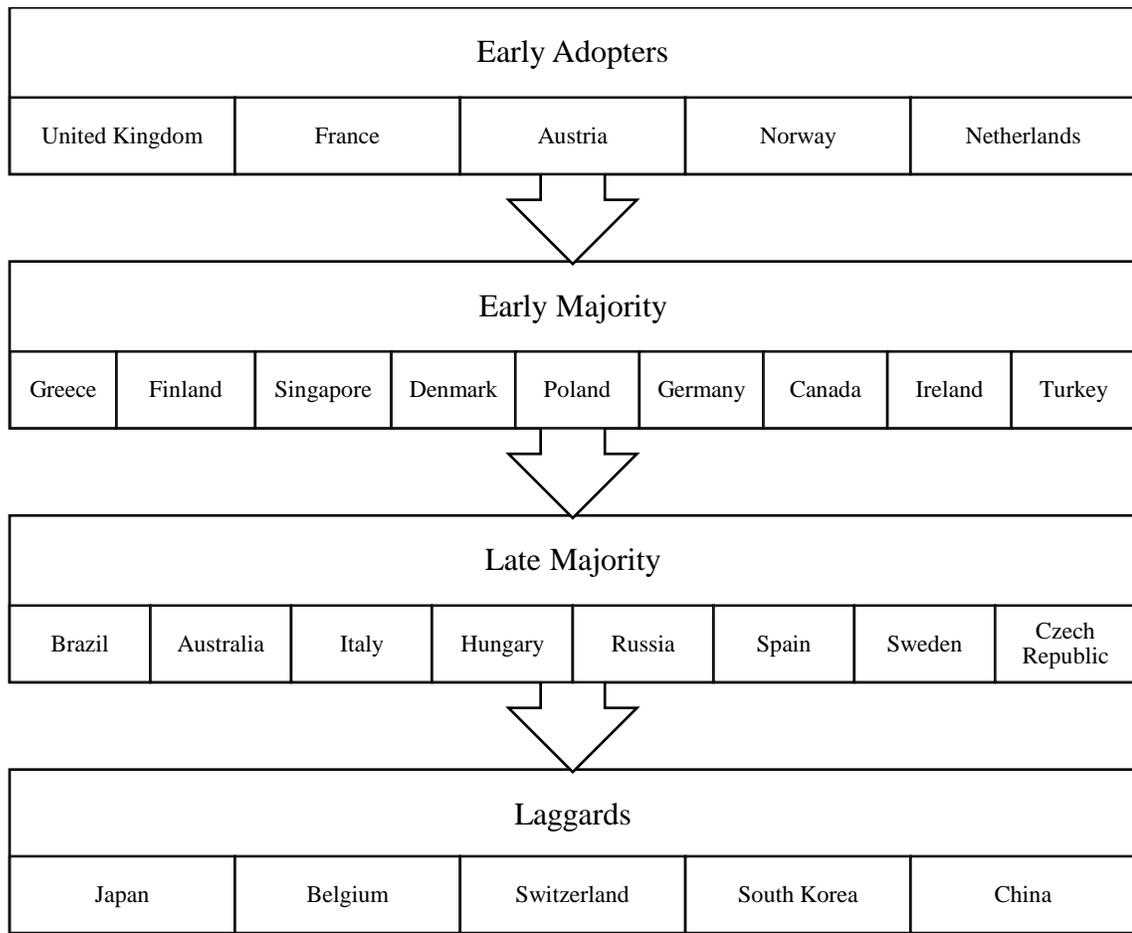
In terms of social media adoption, there is a trend of European nations being earlier adopters of the social media platforms for public diplomacy, and Asian countries were among the laggards. However, there are unique cases like Belgium and Switzerland both boasting strong traditional public diplomacy programs but lagging in adopting Twitter for public diplomacy.

When it comes to number of followers, the top five countries with highest number of audiences are China, Russia, United Kingdom, France, and Germany, while on the bottom of the list are South Korea, the Czech Republic, Singapore, and Belgium. The

most important point to note here is that China, being the last country to join Twitter only about two years ago, has been able to gather the highest audience numbers among all 27 countries. Population size might be one reason why China has such a large following. The second country in terms of audience is Russia, which is also not one of the first embassies to start using Twitter. The other three countries, the United Kingdom, France and Germany, despite being present on Twitter for longer than China and Russia, have a lower following compared to them. The countries with the lowest number of audiences also reveal an interesting insight. South Korea has the lowest number of followers among all the countries, and it is also one of the relatively new embassies on Twitter. While it makes sense that a shorter presence might have an impact on follower numbers, looking at the other countries with the lowest followers a different pattern emerges. The Czech Republic is the second lowest country in terms of audience size, but has been present on Twitter for about eight years. Singapore has the third lowest audience size despite being present on Twitter for more than 10 years. Hungary and Belgium are the other two countries with lowest number of followers, both below 5,000, despite being present on Twitter for eight and seven years, respectively. This suggests that just having presence on Twitter is not enough to secure an audience, and that there are other aspects that contribute to how big of an audience an embassy might have.

According to Twitter "The blue verified badge on Twitter lets people know that an account of public interest is authentic. To receive the blue badge, the account must be authentic, notable, and active" (n.d., para. 2). The requirements for government agencies being verified by Twitter is that "there must be a public reference to the account on an official government or party site or publication, or multiple references in news media"

(Twitter, n.d., para. 5). This shows that embassies need to make a deliberate effort to get the verified badge on Twitter. Among the 27 countries in this study only three were not verified by Twitter, despite listing an official Twitter account on the embassy website. The three countries are Hungary, the Czech Republic and South Korea, which are also in the bottom five regarding audience size. Therefore, it can be argued that being verified on Twitter might help increase audience size. Hentschel et al. (2014) support this argument, as they found that people are more likely to trust information from a versified account compared to non-verified accounts on Twitter. Therefore, the study suggests that public diplomacy practitioners should get their official account verified by Twitter to help them become more credible among Twitter users and to potentially increase their audience size.

Audience Engagement:

The study measured engagement with audiences by looking at the number of average likes and retweets per tweet. The top five countries with the highest number of average likes per tweet were Ireland, China, Turkey, Germany, and Russia, in that order. The top five countries with highest retweets per tweet were Ireland, Russia, Turkey, France, and Germany. That means four of the top five countries overlap in these two categories. A similar pattern can be observed at the bottom of the list as well. The five countries with lowest likes per tweet average are Singapore, South Korea, Hungary, Sweden, and Switzerland, while the five with the lowest retweet average are South Korea, Singapore, Switzerland, Hungary. Four of the five overlap, suggesting that there might be a positive correlation between average like and retweet per tweet.

Ireland and Turkey stand out regarding audience engagement for two reasons: first, neither of these countries is in the top in terms of total audience size. They rank seventh and 10th in terms of total audience size but rank first and third both in terms of average likes and retweets per tweet. Secondly, both countries have moderate levels of original tweets. Fifty five percent of tweets form the Irish embassy is original content from the embassy itself and the rest is retweets from different sources. For Turkey, 47% of tweets is original. This is a common trend among almost all the top countries with high engagement. This implies that audience engagement is not directly related to originality of content. However, China, is an exception. While ranking second in terms of average likes per tweet and seventh for average retweets per tweets, China has a surprisingly high amount of original content. Ninety one percent of tweets from China originate from the embassy directly. That is the highest percentage of original content among all the countries by a large margin.

The cases of Ireland and China ask further discussion. As mentioned earlier, Ireland ranks average in most aspects but had a very high engagement with about four times higher retweets per tweet, and two times higher likes per tweet compared to the second-ranking embassy. This is surprising, as Ireland ranks 13th in terms of total audience and seventh in terms of number of tweets in January 2020. Both measures indicate that Ireland is not the most active embassy on the list. However, there are some other indicators that help make sense of why Ireland might have high engagement rates. Firstly, Ireland has the lowest percentage (only 18%) of fake followers among all the embassies. Since the fake follower audit measures the number of accounts that are unreachable and will not see the account's tweets either because they are spam, bots,

propaganda, or because they are no longer active on Twitter, it can be argued that the Irish embassy has more "real" or active followers who are more likely to see the tweets and possibly engage with it. A tweet will not get any engagement if no one sees it. This argument is also supported by the fact that the country with the highest percentage of fake followers (Denmark with 52%) is also one of the countries with lower engagement. Secondly, the Cultural and Exchange categories were the two most-used categories of tweets for Ireland (excluding International Broadcasting). Both categories are positive and inviting in nature. Given that Ireland shares a lot of cultural attributes such as common language, religion, and traditions with the U.S., it can be argued that those tweets are more interesting to the audience than advocacy tweets, for example.

Some other factors might also be associated with the Irish embassy having high engagement, though these were not measured in this study. For example, Irish heritage is deeply rooted in the U.S. According to Moore et al. (2021) more than 31.5 million residents claim to be of Irish ancestry. This means about one out of 10 Americans has cultural ties with Ireland, which gives the country a strong advantage in terms of soft power (see Nye, 1990; Atkinson, 2010; Blanchard & Lu, 2012; Gallarotti, 2020). Therefore, it is safe to say that Ireland has a very advantageous foundation to work from, which might give it an edge over other countries in terms of engaging with U.S. citizens.

China on the other hand, does not have such an advantageous position to work from. Yet, the embassy ranks the highest in terms of total followers on Twitter. This might be due to China being the largest country in the world in terms of population. China also has the highest immigrant population in the U.S. (6% of total immigrants, second only to Mexico) than any other country on the list (Budiman, 2020). This might

explain why it has such a large following on Twitter. Some other issues regarding China being an outlier in the dataset are related to factors that are not directly related to engagement. However, it is worth mentioning these. For example, the Chinese embassy is one of five embassies on the list that is only present on Twitter, regardless of the fact that Twitter is banned in China. This might also partially explain why the embassy has such a high percentage of original content (only 9% of their tweets are retweets), as they did not share content from their head of state or Department of Foreign Affairs' Twitter accounts (as was one of the common trends among all other embassies).

The number of total tweets does not seem to have any direct relationship with engagement, as only Ireland and Russia are the two countries among the top five in terms of total tweets that are also present in the top five list by average likes and retweets. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that China again stands out in this regard having a low number of total tweets, but high average likes and retweets per tweets.

SparkScore ranks a Twitter page based on how well an account is performing compared to similar accounts on Twitter. Among the 27 countries in this study, the top five countires with highest SparkScore are Russia, United Kingdom, China, France, and Germany, while South Korea, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Singapore and Belgium are on the bottom of the list. This again suggests that being verified by Twitter actually helps with account performance on Twitter. Additionally, the list somewhat mimics the top and bottom countries in terms of audience engagement measured by average likes and retweets. Finally, if we look at the SparkToro engagement score, which also takes into account the follower-to-following ratio and frequencey of tweets, we can see the top of

195

the list is populated by Japan, Finland, Spain and Austria and Poland, while the bottom of the list presents Netherlands, Denmark, Greece, France and, Hungary.

Bringing all these togeher it becomes clear that there are several important factors for public diplomacy practioners to keep in mind when trying to implement public diplomacy goals via Twitter. Firstly, it is important to be verified on Twitter as it helps perceived credibility of the account and potentially increases audience size (Hentschel et al., 2014). Secondly, it is important to tweet regularly, as the frequency of tweets is related to engagement (Xiguang & Jing, 2010). Finally, being present on Twitter is not enough by itself. Public diplomacy practitioners need to carefully cultivate meaningful conversation with their audience to be able to perform better in the engagement and performance metrics (Chung & Cho, 2017; Manor & Segev, 2015).

Audience Location:

Audience location is a crucial factor for understanding the audience and potential reach for their public diplomacy messages. Ayhan (2020) argues that since the goal of public diplomacy is to "win the hearts and minds" of the public in a foreign country in favor of the agent country and its policies, it is important that they first and foremost reach local audiences. This is a particular challenge in a social media environment, given that the audience can be from anywhere in the world and have different motivations.

Using a triangulation approach via Twitter API, NodeXL and SparkToro, the study identified audience locations for each embassy. Furthermore, the study categorized the location into three different areas (local, home and others) to illustrate the distribution of the audience share by location.

Findings suggest that on average more than half of the audience for the sampled embassies is U.S.-based. However, individually the embassies vary widely regarding their portion of local audience. The top five countries with the highest share of local audience were South Korea, Brazil, Switzerland, Spain, and Italy. In contrast, the bottom five countries with lowest percentage of local audience were Australia, Canada, China, Russia, and the United Kingdom. Therefore, it can be stated that the top five countries are being more effective in reaching their target audience, while the bottom five are performing relatively poorly in this regard. It is important to note that the case of Russia is unique in this scenario, as only 53% of its total audience location was identifiable. Therefore, given the possible margin of error, it is impossible to say if Russia is on the bottom of the list because of their low overall local audience or because many of their audience might not have shared their location data with Twitter. In contrast, the fact that Australia lists at the bottom in terms of local audience is clearly because of their high percentage of home audience and low percentage of local audience.

Home countries of those embassies are the source of a significant number of audience members, which is understandable given that people from that country could be interested in the relationship between their country and the U.S. – as the U.S. is the largest political power in the world (Xing, 2019). Larger city centers around the world seem to be the most common city level geographical locations for the followers, which agrees to the proposition that interest in international politics is stronger in city areas than

in rural areas (McLay, 2019). Additionally, population density and proximity to political actors are related to this phenomenon (Huckfeldt, 2009).

Tweet Content:

The researcher analyzed each tweet for what type of media is present in the tweet and counted the number of hashtags and mentions present in each tweet. Son et al. (2019) argued that the use of different media types, hashtags and mentions influence tweets' reach and audience engagement with tweets. In this study the researcher divided media into four types: image, video, link, and no media. The results show that image was the dominant type of media used, as it was found in 69% of the total tweets. The video and link categories were found to be the second and third most commonly used media, with 12% and 10%, respectively. Less than 10% of tweets did not use any media. The finding is very similar to what Siyam et al. (2020) found in their study of different government agencies in Dubai. Their study showed that across all seven agencies they studied, images were the most common form of media used. However, their study differs slightly from the findings of the current study in that the use of links was more popular among the agencies they studied than the use of video as media. On average the embassies used two mentions and one hashtag per tweets.

Difference Between Embassies in Tweet Contents:

The study results found a statistically significant difference between the embassies as to how they use media. However, there was no statistically significant difference in embassies' use of hashtags and mentions. Although on average most embassies shared more images than any other form of media, a closer look at the data

shows some unique cases. For example, China had more tweets with no media compared to other categories. Hungary and Singapore had links as their top category of media compared to other categories. None of the embassies had video as their top category of media, while Hungary and the Czech Republic used no video present in their tweets at all.

In terms of hashtag count, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland ranked the highest, averaging more than one hashtag per tweet. In contrast, the United Kingdom, Norway, the Czech Republic, and China, used less than one hashtag per tweet. For mention counts, Belgium, Denmark, and Turkey ranked the highest, averaging more than two mentions per tweet. The rest of the countries all stayed around the total average.

From this analysis, the researcher noticed several social media behavior patterns. Firstly, China, tends to use less media and more plain text tweets and the embassy also does not use hashtags frequently. However, they have the biggest audience size and strong engagement scores. This finding aligns with Zhao and Buro (2020) as they suggest that "Tweets, by design, are text-oriented, and posting multimedia content may help, but is not a necessary condition to engage with followers effectively on Twitter" (p. 3828). Secondly, Singapore and Hungary used links more often to share information with their audience while using an average number of mentions and hashtags. They are also among the countries with the lowest number of followers and lower engagement. This finding reflects the findings of Wigley and Lewis (2012) that less engaged organizations share more links in their tweets compared to more engaged organizations. Another unique insight is that Denmark used both hashtags and mentions more often compared to other

countries although they do not significantly differ from other countries in terms of media use.

Relationship Between Tweet Content and Engagement:

According to Pamment (2012) one of the most important and valued features of the new public diplomacy is its direct engagement with the audience. To be successful, Pamment argues "public diplomacy can no longer be monologue, but dialogue-based" (2008, p. 7). Cowan and Arsenault (2008) suggest that the new public diplomacy facilitates a two-way or multidirectional communication between parties. The results from this study align with these statements.

The results show that the use of hashtags is positively correlated with how often people like a specific tweet. This shows that hashtags have the potential to make a tweet more discoverable by audience. Martín et al. (2016) also found a positive correlation between hashtags and the number of likes and retweets, as well as an increase in their number of followers. Therefore, this study recommends that public diplomacy practitioners should carefully craft and find relevant hashtags to drive the conversation and generate a potential higher number of followers (Chung & Cho, 2017).

In terms of media type in tweets, there was a statistically significant positive relationship between the use of video and the number of replies a tweet received. The finding suggests that the use of video in tweets has the potential to increase engagement. Alkashri et al. (2021) found similar results in their study of mining government agencies' Twitter accounts and showed that the use of video and image had higher impact on engagement compared to using no media or using links. Additionally, Southern (2019)

stated that in a strategy report Twitter claimed that adding video to a tweet can attract 10 times the engagement compared to a tweet without video. Therefore, this study suggests that public diplomacy practitioners and communication officers at embassies should use appropriate videos to increase audience engagement. Video offers a flexible medium to deliver custom, tailored messages. Literature suggests that the ability to "tailor foreign policy messages to the unique characteristics of target audiences such as language, culture and values" is one of the greatest benefits of digital diplomacy (Seo, 2013, p. 161). Properly tailoring a message to reach a specific audience requires a proper understanding of the audience. This understanding is one of the keys to achieving public diplomacy objectives.

Categories of Tweets:

The study used Cull's (2008) taxonomy of public diplomacy to categorize the tweets and see the prominence of specific categories in digital public diplomacy. The taxonomy is comprised of five essential elements of public diplomacy: listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy, and international broadcasting. Cull argues that these five sub-domains of public diplomacy can be seen as different roads leading to the same destination as they share the common goal of influencing foreign audiences. He emphasizes that only through a comprehensive use of multiple channels of public diplomacy would a government be able to achieve its diplomatic goals (Cull, 2008).

The results from this study show that international broadcasting was the dominant category both overall and for individual embassies. It is important to keep in mind that in

this study, each tweet could be coded under multiple categories based on the elements present in the tweet. It is also important to keep in mind that Twitter, as a micro-blogging platform, is by nature a digital self-broadcasting platform. As a result, many of the other categories of the taxonomy shared tweets with the international broadcasting category. Out of the 3,059 tweets analyzed for this study, 2,885 (more than 93%) contained elements of international broadcasting. Culture was the second most popular category with 916 tweets, while exchange and advocacy ranked third and fourth with 376 and 361 tweets, respectively. Listening was the least frequently used category of tweets observed among all the tweets analyzed.

The latter finding is interesting for several reasons even though it might not be surprising to some. Traditionally public diplomacy has always been a one-directional communication exercise (Pamment, 2012). However, as Pamment also shows, new public diplomacy represents a clear shift away from this model. Similarly, Cowan and Arsenault (2008) argue that the new public diplomacy facilitates the transition from monologue to dialogue. McNutt (2014) suggests that Social Networking Sites (SNS) can be the appropriate tools for the practice "new" public diplomacy as they enable organizations to transition from "broadcast" to "communicative" paradigms that are centered on interaction with online users.

However, results from this study show that international broadcasting is the most prominent category among the five used by the embassies studied. Many scholars argued that because of digitalization, public diplomacy has entered a new era, where communication between the government and foreign citizens is now dialogic, inclusive, and collaborative. Similarly, scholars argue that the new public diplomacy facilitates the

202

transition from monologue to dialogue (see Pamment, 2012; Cowan & Arsenault, 2008). Pamment notes that "two-way communication is the very essence of the new public diplomacy" (2012, p. 3). Additionally, Seo (2013) argued that the new public diplomacy is relational, and different from past approaches.

Findings from this study refute that dialogic euphoria about the new public diplomacy. The shift from the one-way model of communication to a dialogic one in existing literature is more theoretical than it appears to be in practice, it seems. This study shows that even in the digital age, with all the arsenal to engage in dialogic communication, embassies are still predominantly communicating according to a one-way model of communication. This is not only evident in the avalanche of international broadcasting tweets but also in the qualitative analysis. In the latter analysis the researcher found that none of the embassies responded to any of the comments in their tweets, showing again that dialogue is not a practice in public diplomacy yet, as some literature might suggest.

Similarly, Cull (2008) argues that listening is the most important activity in the practice of public diplomacy as it is practically impossible to practice any form of diplomacy without having information about target audiences' stance and opinion on the issue at hand. Di Martino suggested that with the incorporation of digital media and the use of SNS, listening has become a "central activity in public diplomacy and a defining element of dialogic forms of communication" (2020, p. 21). However, the findings from this study show that the embassies are not paying enough attention to listening as the most important activity in public diplomacy, as Cull (2008) and others above suggest.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the findings from analyzing 3,059 tweets from 27 foreign embassies in the U.S. show that there is a significant difference as to how the digital public diplomacy should ideally be conducted (based on literature and previous studies) and how the sample of embassies in this study is conducting it.

Differences Between Embassies:

The results of test of difference between embassies by categories of public diplomacy (as outlined in Cull's [2008] taxonomy of public diplomacy) showed statistically significant differences between embassies in each of the five categories. The researcher summarizes and discusses these findings by category and in detail in the section below.

Listening:

According to Cull (2009a), listening is "an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by collecting and collating data about publics and their opinions overseas and using that data to redirect its policy or its wider public diplomacy approach accordingly" (p. 18). In other words, listening in public diplomacy comprises events and activities by which "an international actor seeks out a foreign audience and engages them by listening rather than by speaking, a phenomenon that is much promised but seldom performed" (Cull, 2009a, p. 18). Results from this study show just that. In the case of most of the 27 embassies in the sample, the results show that listening is a "phenomenon that is much promised but seldom performed" (Cull, 2009a, p. 18). Similarly, Dodd & Collins (2017) in their study of public relations message strategies and public diplomacy 2.0 found that listening was the least frequent category among the Central-Eastern

European and Western Embassy Twitter accounts. This observation is particularly striking when we look at countries with traditionally big public diplomacy programs.

In the listening category, Spain, Japan, and Hungary ranked the highest in terms of including listening as an activity in their tweets. Brazil, Greece, Italy, Singapore, and Turkey ranked the lowest. For Spain, 16 out of their 99 tweets display listening elements. That is 7% of the total listening performed by all the countries combined. Japan had 22 listening tweets out of their 149 tweets (10% of total listening), putting them in the first spot in terms of listening activity. Hungary only tweeted 48 times in January 2020 but seven of those tweets were listening, and that is a little over three percent of total listening performed by all countries.

In contrast, Brazil, out of their 30 tweets during the timeline for this study did not have any tweets that contained listening components. The results show a similar trend for Italy with no listening tweets out of their 122 tweets. Singapore also did not have any listening tweets among the 31 tweets from January 2020. Greece had a total of 130 tweets in the sample but only one of those had a listening component. Turkey also only had one tweet with listening elements out of their 45 total tweets.

Some countries with traditional big public diplomacy programs also fell short when it came to listening on social media. For example, Canada only had two listening tweets out of their 39 total tweets. Although France had 18 listening tweets out of their 251 total tweets (8% of total listening) this was not statistically significant compared to their other categories. Germany had a total of 115 tweets with only 11 listening tweets, which again did not stand out to be significantly higher than the other categories they

included in their tweets. Out of their 62 total tweets, the United Kingdom only had seven

listening tweets, accounting for 3.2% of total listening. However, it was not significantly

high compared to the other categories included in their tweets.

Among the other major powers and big political actors in international politics,

China only had three out of 83 total tweets in the listening category, while Russia (having

the highest number [549] of tweets in January 2020), had only 27 listening tweets. While

this is a large number by count, this number does not stand out compared to the other

categories they included in their tweets. Results from this study therefore show that

Russia could have done more listening in the tweets they sent to their audience in the

time period covered.

In this study, the researcher operationalized listening as tweets that contain an

invitation to respond (excluding an invitation to attend/join/participate in a

program/event), question, inquiry, request for comments, opinion, or feedback.

Additionally, any tweet with a poll question or other explicit call for interacting is

considered listening. By performing listening activities, public diplomacy practitioners

can respond to ever-changing opinions among their audience. However, the results show

very few countries are doing it significantly well.

The lack of listening has several implications for embassies and their public

diplomacy programs. Firstly, social listening enables an organization to have in-depth

knowledge about its audience, enabling it to craft tailor-made content that will achieve

the best result, given the message it wants to communicate. Since the embassies are

conducting the least amount of listening activity via their tweets, they are missing out on

those opportunities. Secondly, social listening allows an organization to build a community and brand (Di Martino, 2020). By not doing so, embassies are risking their primary objective to create a positive reputation and image for their home country (Hakala et al., 2013; Hasnat & Steyn, 2019). The same applies to public opinion, as social listening allows one to listen to the existing and changing nature of conversations and opinions. By listening on the level that this study found the embassies to be doing, embassies are potentially forfeiting the benefit social media like Twitter offers when it comes to communicating with their audiences. The study therefore suggests that public diplomacy practitioners should engage in more listening activities on social media (Twitter in this case) by carefully crafting questions that welcome audience response. This will not only help with understanding public opinion but also help formulate effective strategies for other public diplomacy activities as well (as suggested by Di Martino, 2019).

Advocacy:

Cull defines advocacy in public diplomacy as "an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by undertaking an international communication activity to actively promote a particular policy, idea, or that actor's general interests in the minds of a foreign public" (2009a, pp. 18-19). Advocacy is another crucial element of overall diplomatic practice since it is how a nation achieves its diplomatic objectives. As a result, Cull (2008) argues that advocacy has been a core practice of diplomacy where other aspects played complimentary roles.

This study found that advocacy was a less prominent category ranking only above listening with 361 tweets out of 3,059 (11.8%) containing elements of advocacy.

Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Germany were the highest ranked countries in terms of including advocacy in their tweets, while Switzerland, Spain, Singapore, Japan, and Australia did the least amount of advocacy among all the embassies. Among the top-ranked countries in terms of advocacy, Denmark had 12 advocacy tweets out of their 35 total number of tweets for the time period covered, meaning 34% of their tweets were in advocacy category. Norway tweeted a total of 61 times during January 2020, of which 21 were in advocacy category, that is also 34% of their tweets. Similarly, Sweden had 17 out of their 55 total tweets in this category (31%). Finally, Germany tweeted 115 times in total during January 2020, of which 33 were advocacy tweets (about 29% of their total tweets).

In contrast, Switzerland only had five advocacy tweets out of their total 106 (about 18%). Spain was one of the countries with the lowest amount of advocacy: out of their 99 total tweets, only two were coded in this category (2%). Singapore also performed poorly with only one out of their 31 tweets falling in the advocacy category (about 3%). Next up, Japan only had four advocacy tweets among 149 total tweets (less than 3% of their total tweets). Finally, Australia also had a similar score with three out of 99 (3% of their tweets).

France, Turkey, and the United Kingdom had significantly higher advocacy tweets compared to other countries. France tweeted a total of 251 times during January 2020, of which 54 or 22% were coded in the advocacy category. Similarly, Turkey had

10 out of their 45 tweets (22%) in the advocacy category. Finally, the United Kingdom tweeted 62 times in total, of which 12 were coded as containing elements of advocacy (19% of their total tweets).

As highlighted in a previous chapter and above, advocacy is one of the most crucial aspects of public diplomacy. It directly aims to change the hearts and minds of foreign publics toward a specific issue or policy. However, this study showed that the embassies of most countries included in the sample did not engage in active advocacy efforts via Twitter in January 2020. Given that advocacy can be for or against a policy, issue, or cause, embassies have ample opportunities to customize proper public diplomacy advocacy campaigns.

The study suggests that public diplomacy practitioners should engage more in advocacy campaigns via Twitter, as Cull argues that advocacy can facilitate global understanding and reduce the risk of disagreement and violence (2009a).

Culture:

Cull defines cultural diplomacy as "an actor's attempt to manage the international environment through making its cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad" (2009a, p. 19). Historically, cultural diplomacy is seen in a country's policies and attempts to showcase examples of its culture that are worthy of "exporting" to other countries and showcasing its cultural richness. Traditionally, cultural diplomacy was primarily performed by holding exhibitions and establishing cultural institutes such as the United Kingdom's British Council, China's Confucius Institute or France's French cultural centers (Alliance

Française). Digitalization of diplomacy has enabled countries to export and showcase their culture even without having expensive physical infrastructure. Social media like Twitter have made it easier for countries to do such exporting and showcasing on virtual platforms (Kim, 2017).

The findings of this study suggest that the embassies of the countries included in the sample are involved in a significant number of cultural activities via Twitter.

Among the 27 embassies studied, Japan, Spain, the Czech Republic and Russia presented cultural elements in tweets most often, while South Korea, Belgium, Turkey, and China shared the lowest number of cultural tweets. Out of Japan's 149 tweets, 81 were coded in the cultural category. That is more than 54% of their total tweets. Spain also had a high percentage of cultural tweets with 51 of their 99 tweets falling into this category (52% of their total tweets in January 2020). While the Czech Republic only tweeded 23 times in January 2020, 10 (or about 44%) of these were in cultural category. Finally, Russia had 41% of their tweets (or 227 out of 549) in the cultural category. This clearly indicates the strong focus these countries have on exporting and showcasing their culture through social media (Twitter). With regard to Japan for instance, these results support the country's long-standing historical effort in cultural exchange (e.g. see Cull, 2008; Auslin, 2009).

In contrast, South Korea only tweeted three times about culture out of their 51 total tweets (about 6% of their total tweets). Belgium also had significantly lower cultural tweets with 5 out of 57 (about 9%) being coded in this category. Turkey tweeted a total of 45 times during the study timeline, of which four were in cultural category (also about

210

9% of their total tweets). Finally, China, a country with a rich cultural history and emerging cultural diplomacy programs, only had four tweets that could be coded in the cultural category (also about 9% of their total tweets of 45).

Among the other big cultural diplomacy programs, the United Kingdom had 10 out of 62 (16%) of their tweets in the cultural category. Although it is statistically significantly higher than many other countries, its much lower than countries such as Japan, Spain, the Czech Republic, or Russia. Cull (2009a) noted that France is one of the largest spenders when it comes to cultural diplomacy. However, this study found that the French embassy in the U.S. did not conduct significant cultural diplomacy activity on Twitter during the time of this study. Of the 251 times France tweeted, 64 of those (about 26%) were coded in the cultural category.

The study shows that culture was a prominent category of tweets for many embassies. The importance of cultural diplomacy in public diplomacy is also evident in the literature. For example, a 2005 U.S. Department of State report called cultural diplomacy the linchpin of public diplomacy (U.S. Department of State, 2005).

Exchange:

Cull defines exchange diplomacy as "an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by sending its citizens overseas and reciprocally accepting citizens from overseas for a period of study and/or acculturation" (2009a, p. 20). Two types of exchange primarily exist: educational and cultural. As a result, exchanges can overlap and be confused with cultural work. However, exchanges as a tool for public diplomacy are frequently used for specific policy and/or advocacy purposes. These

211

include targeted sectoral development or promoting military interoperability with allies. At the same time, the popularity of study abroad programs as part of international exchanges is continuously increasing. Cull suggests the growing potential for international exchange as a central pillar for public diplomacy (Cull, 2008).

This study found exchange to be in the middle of the five categories analyzed, with 376 tweets out of 3,059 (12.3%) belonging to this category. This makes exchange a slightly more often used category than advocacy. This shows that there is an increasing interest in exchange as a tool for public diplomacy.

Among the 27 embassies investigated in this study, the embassies of the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Japan, France, and Australia listed high in terms of exchange-related tweets, whereas, South Korea, Canada, China, the Czech Republic, Hungary Russia, and Spain were the countries with the lowest number of exchange tweets. The Netherlands had an exceptionally high percentage of exchange tweets, with 69 out of their 261 tweets (26%) being in this category. It is important to note that in January 2020 some tech companies from the Netherlands attended the 2020 Consumer Technology Association (CES) event in Las Vegas. The Dutch embassy shared a significant amount of information about this event and the exchange that went with that.

Belgium also ranked high in the exchange category with 13 out of its 57 tweets (23%) being coded as containing elements of exchange. Switzerland had a total of 106 tweets in the sample, of which 20 (or 19%) had elements of exchange in their content. Japan had 27 out of their 149 tweets (18%) in the exchange category. France also shared a significantly high percentage of exchange-related tweets. Among their 251 tweets, 43 or

17% fit into this category. Finally, Australia had a total of 99 tweets in January, of which 16 were in the exchange category. Most of these tweets focused on U.S. firefighters helping fight the Australian bushfires that were devastating the southern part of the country at that time.

In contrast, South Korea was the only country with no exchange-related tweets, although they tweeted a total of 51 times in January 2020. Canada only had one exchange-related tweet out of the 39 total tweets. China also had a very low number of exchange tweets, only three out of their 83 tweets. The Czech Republic also had only one out of 23 total tweets being coded in this category (about 4%). Hungary only tweeted about exchange twice among their 48 total tweets (just over 4%). Although Russia tweeted 26 times about exchange-related activities, this number was not significantly higher compared to other categories their tweets were coded in, as it only accounted for about 5% of their tweets. Finally, Spain only tweeted five times about exchange out of their 99 total tweets.

This reveals that although many countries are not focusing on exchange diplomacy via Twitter, many other countries are showing significantly high interest in exchange diplomacy via the platform. This can potentially indicate what Cull (2009a) suggested as increasing potential of exchange diplomacy.

International Broadcasting:

Cull defines international broadcasting as "an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by using the technologies of radio, television, and the Internet to engage with foreign publics" (2009a, p. 21). He also suggests that when states

213

implement international broadcasting as a tool of diplomacy it can often overlap with all the other public diplomacy functions including listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, and exchange.

That is exactly what the study found. International broadcasting was often applicable to most tweets regardless of its other co-categories. However, according to Cull the "best reason for considering IB as a parallel practice apart from the rest of public diplomacy is the special structural and ethical foundation of its key component: news" (2009a, p. 21). Therefore, the study first looked at international broadcasting as a tool of public diplomacy by itself and then it was broken down into four categories based on the source of "news" or information in the tweet.

In the combined analysis, while most of the countries ranked high in terms of international broadcasting tweets, there were few exceptions. Canada, Greece, and South Korea were exceptionally high in terms of sharing tweets with an international broadcasting component, whereas Italy, Turkey, Spain, and Hungary did the least amount of international broadcasting among the 27 embassies included in the study. Canada, Greece, and South Korea had 100% of their tweets in international broadcasting category, the total tweets for these embassies in January 2020 were, 39, 130, and 51 respectively. In contrast, Italy had 95 of its 122 tweets (about 78%) in this category. Turkey tweeted a total of 45 times and 36 of those (80%) were coded in the international broadcasting category. Spain also had a significantly higher number of tweets in this category with 85 out of 99 (about 86%) of its total tweets. Hungary had 41 out of its 48 tweets in this category (just above 85%) of its total tweets. Out of the 134 total tweets for Ireland, 118 (or 88%) were coded in the international broadcasting category.

Sources of international broadcasting information: As indicated above, the researcher further divided the international broadcasting category into four categories based on the type of source from where the information came: state/public media, commercial media, the embassy itself and other. The study found that state/public sources for international broadcasting were the most common with 1,145 out of 3,059 (or 37.4%) tweets originating from these sources. The respective embassies themselves were the second most often used source of information, with 1,140 out of 3,059 (or 37.3%) of the total tweets originating from embassies themselves. Commercial media were found to be the third most common source of information the embassies used in their tweets, with 350 of the total number of tweets (or just above 11%) originating from these sources. Finally, the Other category comprised 250 of the total number of tweets (about 8% of total tweets).

These findings support literature that shows most embassies have their own social media channels and can directly distribute content to their audience and interact with them (e.g. Luqiu & Yang, 2020).

Traditionally, the scope of international broadcasting was linked with images of news services using the electromagnetic spectrum of radio or television. However, the development of information and communication technology (ICTs) has dramatically changed the reality of modern international broadcasting (Hacker & Mendez, 2016). Additionally, the digitalization of the broadcasting landscape has created a rise in state-funded international broadcasters (Rawnsley, 2015). Specially with social media and the popularity of SNSs, government agencies are becoming broadcasters themselves. Crilley et al. (2020) argue that state-funded international broadcasting campaigns are frequent in

SNSs. These campaigns are often carried out by government agencies in partnership with traditional news media outlets (Rawnsley, 2015).

Findings from this study finding suggest that embassies themselves are now often assuming the role of traditional broadcaster. Although this opens significant opportunities for embassies in terms of expanding their presence among their audiences and controlling the content they distribute (Tulisova, 2017), it raises also concern about credibility (Chuang, 2020). In this study, the qualitative analysis of replies from the audience illustrates this challenge (see below).

Tweet Categories and Engagement:

The study tested for correlation between the taxonomy categories of tweets and engagement measure using count of favorite, retweet, and reply. Only the advocacy category had a positive correlation with audience favoriting the tweets. Other variables such as listening, exchange, culture and international broadcasting were not significantly correlated. The finding suggests that engagement does not vary significantly based on the categories of the tweet. The researcher could not find another study that examined Cull's (2008) taxonomy of public diplomacy and its relationship with engagement. However, given that only advocacy is weakly positively related to favorites, the researcher suggests that there must be other factors that drive engagement. For example, Wadhwa et al. (2017) examined the impact of tweet characteristics on user engagement and demonstrated that characteristics such as including multimedia or hashtags and the time at which tweets were published increase engagement. However, they did not find any significant difference in engagement based on the topic of the tweet.

216

The same correlation test revels some interesting additional insights. For example, several of the content categories are either positively or negatively related to each other. Advocacy was negatively correlated with listening, culture, and exchange. This might be due to the nature of these categories. Advocacy by definition is promoting the interest of an entity. Thus, some audiences might find tweets in this category to be provocative and challenging (Hendrix & Wong, 2014). Whereas listening is essentially an open invitation; culture, and exchange both are about inviting and encouraging people to want to explore a country. Additionally, it would be hard to construct a tweet with advocacy and listening, as they are in some way contradictive in nature. However, constructing a tweet with both culture and listening components is more intuitive.

International broadcasting was positively correlated with advocacy, exchange, and culture, but not with listening. This can indicate that tweets with listening components are not about publicizing information per se, but more about asking for and receiving feedback, while information in tweets in the other three categories is more in line with promotion in one form or another.

Nature of the Conversation:

The study qualitatively analyzed 617 comments from 17 tweets by six different embassies to look at the nature of the conversation in the replies. The researcher divided the results in four sections, namely tweet topic/content, sentiment toward the tweet, emotion expressed in the comments, and type of comments. Results show that tweets that focus on controversial and political issues are the most replied-to tweets. The majority of the comments were against the tweet, while resentment was the most common emotion

217

observed in the sample. This finding is similar to what Chen et al. (2018) noticed in their study of verbal aggression on Twitter comments. The trend of negativity somewhat continued to the type of comment category as well, as the leading category there was response to other comments and complaining and condemnation. This finding aligns with Kreis' (2017) finding that the majority of Twitter users express negative feelings and engage in debate on the platform.

In the tweet type category, the type of tweet that received the most replies were about international politics, and almost all of them were controversial in nature. Some prominent examples include the Chinese embassy tweeting to refute the claim from the U.S. Department of State about Uyghurs and other minorities being oppressed in the Xinjiang region. This tweet prompted more than a hundred replies, mostly speaking against the tweet, showing resentment towards the Chinese government, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), president Xi, and the mistreatment of minorities in China. In another instance, the Russian embassy tweeted about the Red Army's role in World War II, suggesting that they liberated Poland and Warsaw. This tweet drew several comments, mostly against but some in favor of the Red Army's sacrifice during the war. The comments that were against mainly focused on how the Red Army did not help during the Warsaw uprising, and did not allow the British Royal Air Force to drop supplies in the occupied area or help refuel. Many of the commenters pointed out that Russia or the then Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) only joined the allies after Nazi Germany invaded the USSR.

Following an advocacy tweet from Germany with a joint statement of Chancellor Angela Merkel, President Emmanuel Macron, and British Prime Minister Boris Johnson

on the situation in Iraq after a U.S. airstrike killed the Iranian General Qasem Soleimani at the Baghdad International Airport in Iraq many replies both supported and opposed the statement. Some called it "weak." However, several of the comments were primarily about then U.S. President Donald Trump, and his decision to order this airstrike. The conversation in this tweet is a good example of how time, a significant event and controversy draws a bigger audience than the category of tweet.

Another example of the audience going interpreting a tweet in different ways is a tweet form Russia that read, "Good Night, #America!." The tweet contained an image of Russian tradition of Epiphany bathing, showing a naked man in the freezing water from a distance. This tweet drew an interesting range of audience members that were either blaming Russia for something that is not related to the tweet or making sarcastic remarks about it being a threat to United States Senator Lindsey Graham.

Another noteworthy finding is that the majority of the comments are actually in response to what other people said in their comments and not in direct response to the tweet itself. Audiences tagging people they follow or know in Twitter to bring them into the conversation, was also a commonly observed phenomenon. Moreover, in the comments, although there were many questions directed at the embassy, in the 17 tweets analyzed, no embassy ever responded to any of the questions from the audience. This might be because of the confidential and restrictive nature of how embassies function and what can they comment about or not.

In summary, the short qualitative analysis gave the researcher a glimpse into the nature of the conversation in the comments of most replied original tweets. Based on

these preliminary findings, the researcher suggests that public diplomacy practitioners should post engaging tweets, in a timely manner about relevant issues of the time. This will help draw more traffic and might help increase followers. Additionally, responding to select questions from the audience in response to some tweets should help build trust and rapport with the audience and facilitate the path toward collaborative public diplomacy. Overall, the findings from the qualitative analysis imply the need for embassies to seek positive engagement to further their public diplomacy goals.

Concluding Summary:

In less than two decades "digital diplomacy" has reshaped the structure of centuries-old diplomatic institutions. What started as an experiment by a handful of diplomatic pioneers and foreign ministries, has now become standard diplomatic practice around the world. Over the past two decades, the utilization of ICTs in public diplomacy has been widespread and increasingly diverse, making it now a global phenomenon.

Most foreign ministries and ither diplomatic actors such as embassies are increasingly using social media tools like Twitter. Literature suggests that the digitalization of public diplomacy had changed it from a broadcast model to a dialogic model of communication, based on collaboration. This has been mainly facilitated by social networks which enhance their users' ability to engage with the public, promote cultural understanding, and encourage informed debate – primary goals of public diplomacy. It also enables public diplomacy practitioners to engage with a broader audience than had been the case with traditional public diplomacy.

Based on this premise, this study aimed to analyze the social media content of select foreign embassies based in the U.S., using the Taxonomies of Public Diplomacy developed by Cull (2008). The overall goal was to understand how embassies use social media as a communication channel. The study specifically looked at the Twitter landscape of these embassies, analyzed the content of tweets and engagement measures like retweet, replies, and likes.

The study found that although the embassies are using Twitter frequently, they are still using it in the traditional one-way broadcast model, therefore not fully utilizing the benefits that social media (such as Twitter) present to its users. Listening on social media was notably the public diplomacy strategy the embassies use the least, while international broadcasting was the most frequently used. This suggests that the emphasis on dialogic communication found in the literature is more theoretical in nature than this study showed to be the case among the embassies studied. This has implications for the potential benefits embassies' public diplomacy efforts on social media/Twitter have for them. Additionally, given the importance Cull (2009a) attaches to listening as a public diplomacy practice, it has implications for their overall effective and efficient use of social media tools in their diplomacy efforts. By not using social media listening more frequently, the embassies are potentially missing out on valuable insight into their target audience. Additionally, as listening is regarded the foundation of public diplomacy activity, embassies seemingly giving the least amount of priority to listening indicates that they are not using Twitter optimally in their public diplomacy efforts.

The study also found a correlation between Twitter content like hashtags and media and engagement. However, given the weak correlations between these variables, it

221

is hard to argue that tweet content such as media type or hashtags alone can drive engagement. It is also important to note that tweets are episodic in nature. Tweets that use trending or viral hashtags will receive a higher reach, therefore increasing the potential of higher engagement. Similarly, specific tweets about significant events or tweets that contain provocative or compelling messaging are more likely to get seen by more people just because how the Twitter algorithm works. In an exploratory qualitative analysis of the nature of conversation in the users replies to tweets, the study found mostly negative sentiment and emotions. This finding, though limited, suggests that embassies should aim to establish a more positive engagement with their audiences.

Overall, the findings of this study suggest that there is a significant difference in what the literature suggests the digital public diplomacy should be and the benefits this new way of engaging with audiences could present to public diplomacy efforts, and what it is in practice. As noted throughout the study, public diplomacy practitioners could implement several strategies to improve their success in conduction public diplomacy via Twitter. These strategies could help them realize more fully the benefits of a new public diplomacy landscape via a new set of digital media tools that are not only increasingly available to them but on which research shows, they already have a presence.

Possibilities for Future Studies:

Based on the results of the study and the insights the researcher gained while collecting, coding, and analyzing data, the following possibilities for future studies emerged:

222

- Replicating the study using tweets from the same sample of embassies over a longer period of time to see whether a longer time period or a bigger sample of tweets indicates similar or different use of Twitter as a public diplomacy tool. Similarly, the study can also be repeated with certain time intervals to see whether this change would render similar or different results. This will allow future researchers to examine if the sample of embassies used Twitter in a similar or different way in January 2020 as opposed to other periods of time. Additionally, this will allow researchers to investigate if or how different embassies change their public diplomacy strategies via Twitter over time.

- Introducing ideological and political structural differences between countries (e.g. levels of democracy) as a measure to see if countries with different political structures, for instance, use Twitter with similar or different agendas. Theoretically it can be argued that individual countries might have different diplomatic agendas and that they would potentially use social media in different ways to achieve those agendas. Adding the ideological and political measures will allow researchers to investigate if countries with certain ideology types tend to use the social media in the same way. Additionally, this will help researchers identify any grouping or clusters that might exist among countries.

- Future studies can benefit from taking a closer look at why certain countries are outliers when it comes to use of social media (e.g. Twitter) for public diplomacy. For example, South Korea stood out as an outlier in this study having the smallest audience but the highest percentage of local audience. Similarly, China was an outlier in terms of having both the largest total audience and the highest

percentage of original content. Ireland particularly stood out regarding its active audience, ranking highest in terms of both retweets and likes per tweet, while it ranked below average in terms of audience size. Further analyzing these embassies' use of social media for public diplomacy will help researchers understand what makes them unique.

- Another possible avenue for future studies is taking a closer look at how embassies with a high level of state-owned media use international broadcasting as a means to get messages to their audiences. Some questions to consider could be: is the use of state-owned media by an embassy correlated with any other category from Cull's taxonomy? What type of information do state-owned media primarily share? What are the differences in types of information embassies share from state-owned media compared to other forms of media? Answering these questions will allow researchers to get more insight into whether embassies are trying to further the same agenda as their state-owned media or if they are using state-owned media more frequently because of the organizational proximity.

- Furthermore, it would be of interest to research what elements facilitate audience engagement? For example, this study showed that Ireland is very successful in terms of raw engagement with its audience. Questions that future research could look into could be whether this engagement is caused by what a country like Ireland does (i.e. engaging with diaspora) or by how it uses specific media (e.g. pictures) to engage with its audience, whether it is the type of messaging they use (e.g. provoking people to respond or engage through certain types of messages), or whether it is just because of cultural similarity with the U.S. (e.g. language,

traditions, history) that audiences engage with messages more. Understanding

what drives engagement will allow future research to recommend paths to other

embassies on how to successfully engage with their audiences via social media.

References

Abrahams, A., & Leber, A. (2020). Framing a murder: Twitter influencers and the Jamal Khashoggi incident. *Mediterranean Politics*, 1-13.

Adhikari, K., & Panda, R. K. (2018). Users' information privacy concerns and privacy protection behaviors in social networks. *Journal of Global Marketing*, *31*(2), 96-110.

Agichtein, E., Castillo, C., Donato, D., Gionis, A. & Mishne, G. (2008). Finding high quality content in social media in Najork, M., (ed.) *Proceedings of the 2008 International Conference on Web Search and Data Mining*. pp. 183-194.

Ahmed, W., & Lugovic, S. (2019). Social media analytics: analysis and visualisation of news diffusion using NodeXL. *Online Information Review, 14*(1). pp. 149-160

Albert, R., Jeong, H., & Barabási, A. L. (1999). Diameter of the world-wide web. *Nature*, *401*(6749), 130-131.

Alkashri, Z., Alqaryouti, O., Siyam, N., & Shaalan, K. (2021). Mining Dubai Government Tweets to Analyze Citizens' Engagement. In Al-Emran, M., Shaalan, K., & Hassanien, A. E. (Eds.). *Recent Advances in Intelligent Systems and Smart Applications.* pp. 615-638. New York, NY: Springer.

Allen, J. (2007). Aristotle on the disciplines of argument: Rhetoric, dialectic, analytic. *Rhetorica*, *25*(1), 87-108.

Almalki, S. (2016). Integrating quantitative and qualitative data in mixed methods research --Challenges and benefits. *Journal of Education and Learning*, *5*(3), 288-296.

Anderson, M. S. (2014). *The rise of modern diplomacy 1450-1919*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Arceneaux, P. & Powers, S. (2020). International broadcasting - Public diplomacy as a game in a marketplace of loyalties. In Snow, N., & Cull, N. J. (Eds.). *Routledge handbook of public diplomacy 2nd Edition*. (pp. 50-63). New York, NY: Routledge.

Archetti, C. (2012). The impact of new media on diplomatic practice: An evolutionary model of change. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, *7*(2), 181–206.

Aristotle. (2019). *Aristotle's "Art of Rhetoric"* (Bartlett, R.C., Trans.). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 350 B.C.E)

Arndt, R. T. (2005). *The first resort of kings: American cultural diplomacy in the twentieth century*. Washington, DC: Potomac Books, Inc.

Atkinson, C. (2010). Does soft power matter? A comparative analysis of student exchange programs 1980–2006. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *6*(1), 1-22.

Auslin, M. R. (2009). *Negotiating with imperialism: The unequal treaties and the culture of Japanese diplomacy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ayhan, K. J. (2019). The boundaries of public diplomacy and nonstate actors: A taxonomy of perspectives. *International Studies Perspectives*, *20*(1), 63-83.

Ayhan, K. J. (2020). Competition for hearts and minds: Cold War public diplomacy. *International Studies Review, 22*(4), 988–989.

Azimi, A. (2020). Why Iran plane disaster protests mark most serious test yet. *BBC News. January*, *18*.

Bailey, K. (1994). *Methods of Social Research* (4th ed.). New York, NY: The Free Press.

Bátora, J. (2005). *Public diplomacy in small and medium-sized states: Norway and Canada*. Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations.

Beer, F. A. (2001). *Meanings of war and peace*. College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press.

Bélanger, F., & Crossler, R. E. (2011). Privacy in the digital age: a review of information privacy research in information systems. *MIS Quarterly*, 1017-1041.

Benabdelkrim, M., Savinien, J., & Robardet, C. (2020, March). Finding interest groups from Twitter lists. In *Proceedings of the 35th Annual ACM Symposium on Applied Computing* (pp. 1885-1887).

Benabdelkrim, M., Savinien, J., & Robardet, C. (2020, March). Finding interest groups from Twitter lists. In *Proceedings of the 35th Annual ACM Symposium on Applied Computing* (pp. 1885-1887).

Berelson, B. (1952). *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Bernays, E. L. (1923). *Crystallizing public opinion*. New York, NY: Boni and Liveright.

Berners-Lee, T., Cailliau, R., Luotonen, A., Nielsen, H. F., & Secret, A. (1994). The world-wide web. *Communications of the ACM*, *37*(8), 76-82.

Berridge G. R. (2015). *Diplomacy: theory and practice*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bhor, H. N., Koul, T., Malviya, R., & Mundra, K. (2018, January). Digital media marketing using trend analysis on social media. In the proceedings of *2018 2nd International Conference on Inventive Systems and Control (ICISC).* pp. 1398-1400.

Bjola, C. & Holmes, M. (2015). *Digital diplomacy theory and practice*. Oxford: Routledge.

Bjola, C., & Jiang, L. (2015). Social media and public diplomacy. In Bjola, C., Holmes, M. (Eds.) *Digital diplomacy: Theory and practice*, 71-88. New York, NY: Routledge.

Bjola, C., & Kornprobst, M. (2013). *Understanding international diplomacy: theory, practice and ethics*. London: Routledge.

Black, J. (2010). *The age of total war, 1860–1945*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Blanchard, J. M. F., & Lu, F. (2012). Thinking hard about soft power: A review and critique of the literature on China and soft power. *Asian perspective*, *36*(4), 565-589.

Blank, G. (2017). The digital divide among Twitter users and its implications for social research. *Social Science Computer Review*, *35*(6), 679-697.

Bloodgood, E. A. (2011). The interest group analogy: international non-governmental advocacy organisations in international politics. *Review of International Studies*, 93-120.

Boesche, R. (2002). *The first great political realist: Kautilya and his Arthashastra*. New York, NY: Lexington Books.

Bortree, D. S., & Seltzer, T. (2009). Dialogic strategies and outcomes: An analysis of environmental advocacy groups' Facebook profiles. *Public Relations Review, 35*(3), 317–319.

Brady, W. J., Wills, J. A., Burkart, D., Jost, J. T., & Van Bavel, J. J. (2019). An

ideological asymmetry in the diffusion of moralized content on social media

among political leaders. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, *148*(10),

1802.

Britannica, Encyclopedia. (2019). Diplomacy. Retrieved from: https://academic-eb-

com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/levels/collegiate/article/diplomacy/106182.

Brown, J. (2008). Options for influence: Global campaigns of persuasion in the new

worlds of public diplomacy. *American Diplomacy*. Retrieved from:

http://www.counterpoint-

online.org/download/587/Options_for_influence_PDF_download.pdf

Brown, R. (2012, April). The four paradigms of public diplomacy: Building a framework

for comparative government external communications research. *International

Studies Association, San Diego, CA*. pp. 1-19.

Budiman, A. (2020). Key findings about U.S. immigrants. *Pew Research Center*.

Retrieved from: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/08/20/key-findings-

about-u-s-immigrants/

Bukh, A. (2014). Revisiting Japan's cultural diplomacy: a critique of the agent-level

approach to Japan's soft power. *Asian Perspective*, *38*(3), 461-485.

Cain, A.J. (2020). Taxonomy. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from:

https://www.britannica.com/science/taxonomy

Carrotte, E. R., Prichard, I., & Lim, M. S. C. (2017). "Fitspiration" on social media: A

content analysis of gendered images. *Journal of medical Internet research*, *19*(3).

Retrieved from: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5390113/

Casero-Ripollés, A., Micó-Sanz, J. L., & Díez-Bosch, M. (2020). Digital public sphere and geography: The influence of physical location on Twitter's political conversation. *Media and Communication*, *8*(4), 96-106.

CERN. (nd.). The birth of the Web. Retrieved from: https://home.cern/science/computing/birth-web

Cha, H., Yeo, S., & Kim, B. (2014). Social media's dialogic communication of foreign embassies in Korea and public diplomacy: Based on dialogic communication theory. *Advanced Science and Technology Letters*, *63*, 175-178

Chen, J., Yan, S., & Wong, K. C. (2018). Verbal aggression detection on Twitter comments: Convolutional neural network for short-text sentiment analysis. *Neural Computing and Applications*, 1-10.

Chuang, S. H. (2020). Co-creating social media agility to build strong customer-firm relationships. *Industrial Marketing Management*, *84*, 202-211.

Chung, S., & Cho, H. (2017). Fostering parasocial relationships with celebrities on social media: Implications for celebrity endorsement. *Psychology & Marketing*, *34*(4), 481-495.

Cialdini, R. (2016). *Pre-suasion: A revolutionary way to influence and persuade*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

Cialdini, R. B. (2006). *Influence: the psychology of persuasion*. New York, NY: William Morrow.

Clarke, D., & Duber, P. (2020). Polish cultural diplomacy and historical memory: the case of the Museum of the Second World War in Gdańsk. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, *33*(1), 49-66.

Coffey, F. (2002). Our crippled public diplomacy. Remarks to USIA Alumni Association,

    September 2002. Retrieved from:

    http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/CrippledPD.pdf

Collins, R. L. (2011). Content analysis of gender roles in media: Where are we now and

    where should we go?. *Sex Roles*, *64*(3-4), 290-298.

Constantinou, C. M., Kerr, P., & Sharp, P. (Eds.). (2016). *The SAGE handbook of*

    diplomacy. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Converse, P. E. (2006). The nature of belief systems in mass publics. *Critical review*,

    18(1-3), 1-74.

Coombs, C. L. (2015). Cities and political prowess. *Diplomatic Courier*. Retrieved from:

    https://www.diplomaticourier.com/posts/cities-and-political-prowess

Cooper, A. F., Heine, J. & Thakur, R. (Eds.). (2013). *The Oxford handbook of modern*

    diplomacy. London: Oxford University Press.

Cope, E. M. (1877). *The rhetoric of Aristotle: With a commentary*. Cambridge: The

    University Press.

Cortés, J. J., & Jamieson, T. (2020). Incorporating research design in public diplomacy:

    The role of listening to foreign publics. *International Journal of Communication*,

    14(18). 1214–1231.

Cowan, G., & Arsenault, A. (2008). Moving from monologue to dialogue to

    collaboration: The three layers of public diplomacy. *The Annals of the American*

    Academy of Political and Social Science, *616*(1), 10-30.

Cowan, G., & Cull, N. J. (2008). Public diplomacy in a changing world. *The Annals of*

    the American Academy of Political and Social Science, *616*(1), 6-8.

Crawford, K. (2009). Following you: Disciplines of listening in social media. *Continuum*, *23*(4), 525-535.

Creswell, J. W., Clark, V. L., Gutman, M. L., & Hanson, W. E. (2003) Advanced mixed methods research designs. In Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C. (eds.). Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. (pp. 209–240)

Crilley, R., Gillespie, M., & Willis, A. (2020). Tweeting the Russian revolution: RT's# 1917LIVE and social media re-enactments as public diplomacy. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, *23*(3), 354-373.

Cronk, B.C. (2012). *How to use SPSS: A step-by-step guide to analysis and interpretation, 7th ed*. Glendale, CA: Pyrczak Publishing.

Cull, N. J. (2008). Public diplomacy: Taxonomies and histories. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *616*(1), 31-54.

Cull, N. J. (2009a). *Public diplomacy: Lessons from the past*. Los Angeles, CA: Figueroa Press.

Cull, N. J. (2009b). The cold war and the United States information agency: American propaganda and public diplomacy, 1945–1989. *Naval War College Review*, *62*(2), 121-123.

Cull, N. J. (2012). *The decline and fall of the United States Information Agency: American public diplomacy, 1989–2001*. New York, NY: Springer.

Cull, N. J. (2013). The long road to public diplomacy 2.0: The Internet in US public diplomacy. *International Studies Review*, *15*(1), 123-139.

Cull, N. J. (2019a). *Public diplomacy: Foundations for global engagement in the digital age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cull, N. J. (2020). Public diplomacy before Gullion: The evolution of a phrase. In Snow, N., & Cull, N. J. (Eds.). *Routledge handbook of public diplomacy*. (pp. 39-43). New York, NY: Routledge.

Cull, N. (2019b). Public opinion and US foreign relations. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History.* Retrieved from https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-718.

Cummings, M. C. (2003). *Cultural diplomacy and the United States government: A survey*. Washington, DC: Center for Arts and Culture.

Dania, A., & Griffin, L. L. (2021). Using social network theory to explore a participatory action research collaboration through social media. *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, *13*(1), 41-58.

De Blasio, E., Marianne, K., Wolf, S., & Sorice, M. (2020). The ongoing transformation of the digital public sphere: Basic considerations on a moving target. *Media and Communications Studies. 8*(4), 1-5.

De Carles, N. R. (Ed.). (2016). *Early modern diplomacy, theatre and soft power: The making of peace*. London: Springer.

De Magalhães, J. C. (1988). *The pure concept of diplomacy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Department of State, U.S. (2005). Cultural diplomacy: The linchpin of public diplomacy.

      U.S. Department of State Archive. Retrieved from: https://2009-

      2017.state.gov/pdcommission/reports/54256.htm

Di Martino, L. (2019). Conceptualising public diplomacy listening on social media. *Place*

      Branding and Public Diplomacy, 16:131–142.

Di Martino, L. (2020). The spectrum of listening. In Snow, N., & Cull, N. J. (Eds.).

      Routledge handbook of public diplomacy 2nd Edition. (pp. 21-29). New York, NY:

      Routledge.

Diamond, L., & McDonald, J. W. (1996). Multi-track diplomacy: A systems approach to

      peace. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.

Diel, S. (2017). New media, legacy media and misperceptions regarding sourcing. *Kome*,

      5(1), 104-120.

Diraditsile, K., & Gamakabadi, G. (2018). The effect of social media on student

      engagement and collaboration: The use of Facebook at the University of

      Botswana. *Lonaka J. Learn. Teach*, *9*, 70-83.

Dobson, A. (2014). *Listening for democracy: Recognition, representation, reconciliation*.

      Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dodd, M. D., & Collins, S. J. (2017). Public relations message strategies and public

      diplomacy 2.0: An empirical analysis using Central-Eastern European and

      Western Embassy Twitter accounts. Public relations review, 43(2), 417-425.

Dorman, A., & Kennedy, G. (Eds.). (2008). *War and diplomacy: From World War I to*

      the War on Terrorism. Washington, DC: Potomac Books, Inc.

Drisko, J. W., & Maschi, T. (2016). *Content analysis: Pocket guides to social work research methods*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Dunn, D. H. (Ed.). (2016). *Diplomacy at the highest level: The evolution of international summitry*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dunne, C., & Shneiderman, B. (2013, April). Motif simplification: improving network visualization readability with fan, connector, and clique glyphs. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (pp. 3247-3256).

Ellis, H. & Müller, S.M. (2016). Educational networks, educational identities: Connecting national and global perspectives. *Journal of Global History*. Retrieved from: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/46565314.pdf

El-Nawawy, M. (2006). US public diplomacy in the Arab world: The news credibility of Radio Sawa and Television Alhurra in five countries. *Global Media and Communication*, *2*(2), 183-203.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication, 43*(4), 51–58.

Entman, R. M. (2004). *Projections of power: Framing news, public opinion, and US foreign policy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Everts, P., & Isernia, P. (2015). *Public opinion, transatlantic relations and the use of force*. New York, NY: Springer.

Faucher, C. (2016). Cultural diplomacy and international cultural relations in twentieth-century Europe. *Contemporary European History*, *25*(2), 373-385.

Fiedler, A., & Frère, M. S. (2016). "Radio France Internationale" and "Deutsche Welle"

in francophone Africa: International broadcasters in a time of change.

Communication, Culture & Critique, *9*(1), 68-85.

Fisher, A. & Bröckerhoff, A. (2008). Options for Influence: Global campaigns of

persuasion in the new worlds of public diplomacy. London: Counterpoint

Fisher, A. (2013) *Collaborative public diplomacy, how transnational networks influenced*

American studies in Europe. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Fishkin, R. (2018, October). SparkToro's New Tool to Uncover Real vs. Fake Followers

on Twitter. *SparkToro*. Retrieved from: https://sparktoro.com/blog/sparktoros-

new-tool-to-uncover-real-vs-fake-followers-on-twitter/

Fishkin, R. (2020). Less than Half of Google Searches Now Result in a Click. SparkToro.

Retrieved from: www.sparktoro.com/blog/less-than-half-of-google-searches-now-

result-in-a-click

Fishkin, R. (personal communication, September 24, 2020). Explained how SparkScore

is calculated.

Foreign Affairs Committee. (2017). Foreign and Commonwealth Office Annual Report

2016-17. London: The Stationery Office. Retrieved from:

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attac

hment_data/file/625651/FCO-annual-report-2017-web-accessible.pdf

Frederick, H. H. (1993). *Global communication & international relations*. San Francisco,

CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Freeman, C. & Mark, S. (2020). Diplomacy. Encyclopædia Britannica. Retrieved from:

https://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomacy

Fuchs, C. (2011). Web 2.0, prosumption, and surveillance. *Surveillance & Society*, *8*(3), 288-309.

Fullerton, J. A., & Kendrick, A. (2017). *Shaping international public opinion: A model for nation branding and public diplomacy*. New York, NY: Peter Lang Inc.

Gallarotti, G. M. (2020). How to measure Soft Power in international relations. *Polis. Political Studies*, *1*(1), 89-103.

Gangula, R. R. R., Duggenpudi, S. R., & Mamidi, R. (2019, August). Detecting political bias in news articles using headline attention. In *Proceedings of the 2019 ACL Workshop BlackboxNLP: Analyzing and Interpreting Neural Networks for NLP* (pp. 77-84).

Gilbert, M. (2014). *The Second World War: A complete history*. New York, NY: Rosetta Books.

Gilboa, E. (2008). Searching for a theory of public diplomacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *616*(1), 55-77.

Goda, N., & Čiefová, M. (2019). Cultural diplomacy of selected countries in a comparative perspective. *Folia Geographica*, *61*(2), 172-189.

Goff, M. P. (2020). Cultural diplomacy. In Snow, N., & Cull, N. J. (Eds.). *Routledge handbook of public diplomacy 2nd Edition*. (pp. 30-37). New York, NY: Routledge.

Golan, G. J. (2013). An integrated approach to public diplomacy. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *57*(9), 1251–1255.

Goodman, L. A., Wilson, J. M., Helms, J. E., Greenstein, N., & Medzhitova, J. (2018). Becoming an advocate: Processes and outcomes of a relationship-centered advocacy training model. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *46*(2), 122-153.

Graham, S. E. (2016). *Culture and propaganda: The progressive origins of American public diplomacy, 1936-1953*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Gregory, B. (2011). American public diplomacy: Enduring characteristics, elusive transformation. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, *6*(3-4), 351-372.

Gruzd, A., Lannigan, J. & Quigley, K. (2018). Examining government cross-platform engagement in social media: Instagram vs Twitter and the big lift project. *Government Information Quarterly, 35*(4), 579-587. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.giq.2018.09.005

Günek, A. (2018). A new type of soft power: Country branding. *Uluslararası Kültürel ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi (UKSAD)*, *4*(1), 252-259.

Guth, D. W. (2009). Black, white, and shades of gray: The sixty-year debate over propaganda versus public diplomacy. *Journal of Promotion Management*, *14*(3-4), 309-325.

Haass, R. N. (2014). *Foreign policy begins at home: The case for putting America's house in order*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Hacker, K. L., & Mendez, V. R. (2016). Toward a model of strategic influence, international broadcasting, and global engagement. *Media and Communication*, *4*(2), 69-91.

Hakala, U., Lemmetyinen, A., & Kantola, S. P. (2013). Country image as a nation-branding tool. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*, *31*(5), 538-556.

Halabi, S. F. (2018). Yes, there is such a thing as too much transparency. *JOTWELL*, 1.

>   Retrieved from: https://scholarship.law.missouri.edu/facpubs/752

Hamad, E. O., Savundranayagam, M. Y., Holmes, J. D., Kinsella, E. A., & Johnson, A.

>   M. (2016). Toward a mixed-methods research approach to content analysis in the

>   digital age: the combined content-analysis model and its applications to health

>   care Twitter feeds. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, *18*(3), e60.

Hampton, T. (2011). *Fictions of embassy: Literature and diplomacy in early modern*

>   *Europe*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Han, S. (2012). *Web 2.0*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Hansen, D., Shneiderman, B., & Smith, M. A. (2010). *Analyzing social media networks*

>   *with NodeXL: Insights from a connected world*. Burlington, MA: Morgan

>   Kaufmann.

Harbutt, F. J. (1988). *The iron curtain: Churchill, America, and the origins of the Cold*

>   *War*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Harris, B. (2013). Diplomacy 2.0: The future of social media in nation branding. *The*

>   *Journal of Public Diplomacy*, *4*(1), 3.

Hasić, J., Karabegović, D., & Turković, B. (2020). Locally embedded civil society

>   organizations and public diplomacy: the advocacy roles of the "Mothers of

>   Srebrenica" in promoting a culture of remembrance. *Studies of Transition States*

>   *and Societies*. Retrieved from:

>   http://publications.tlu.ee/index.php/stss/article/download/907/700

Hasnat, I., & Steyn, E. (2019). Toward a "Beautiful Bangladesh": the bleed-over effect of

>   tourism advertising. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 16, 165–173.

Hayden, C. (2012). *The rhetoric of soft power: Public diplomacy in global contexts*.

    Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Heinrichs, J. (2017). *Thank you for arguing: What Aristotle, Lincoln, and Homer*

    Simpson can teach us about the art of persuasion. New York, NY: Three Rivers

    Press.

Helmers, H. (2016). Public diplomacy in early modern Europe: Towards a new history of

    news. *Media History*, *22*(3-4), 401-420.

Hendrix, C. S., & Wong, W. H. (2014). Knowing your audience: How the structure of

    international relations and organizational choices affect amnesty international's

    advocacy. *The Review of International Organizations*, *9*(1), 29-58.

Hentschel, M., Alonso, O., Counts, S., & Kandylas, V. (2014, May). Finding users we

    trust: Scaling up verified twitter users using their communication patterns. In

    Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media

    (Vol. 8, No. 1).

Herman, M. (1998). Diplomacy and intelligence. *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, *9*(2), 1-22.

Herzstein, R. E. (1978). *The war that Hitler won: The most infamous propaganda*

    campaign in history (Vol. 1977). New York, NY: Putnam Publishing Group.

Higham, J. (2001). *Hanging together: Unity and diversity in American culture*. London:

    Yale University Press.

Hocking, B., & Melissen, J. (2015). *Diplomacy in the digital age, Cligendael Report*.

    Cligendeal Netherlands Institute of International Relations.

Holmes, M. (2015). Digital diplomacy and international change management. In Bijola, C. & Holmes, M. (Eds.) *Digital Diplomacy.* pp. 27-46. New York, NY: Routledge.

Howard, M. (1979). War and the nation-state. *Daedalus*, 101-110.

Hrynkow, C. (2018). Different faiths, common action: Religions for Peace's Multi-Track Diplomacy. *International Journal on World Peace*, *35*(4), 37-71.

Hu, S. (2020). Weibo – How is China's second largest social media platform being used for social research? LSE Impact Blog, published March 26, 2020. https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/impactofsocialsciences/2020/03/26/weibo-how-is-chinas-second-largest-social-media-platform-being-used-for-social-research/

Huckfeldt, R. (2009). Interdependence, density dependence, and networks in politics. *American Politics Research*, *37*(5), 921-950.

ICEF. (2015). Four trends that are shaping the future of global student mobility. ICEF Monitor. Retrieved from: https://monitor.icef.com/2015/09/four-trends-that-are-shaping-the-future-of-global-student-mobility/

Isar, Y. R. (2015). "Culture in EU external relations": an idea whose time has come?. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, *21*(4), 494-508.

Jagals, D., & Van der Walt, M. S. (2016). Exploiting metacognitive networks embedded in narrative focus group interviews using NodeXL. *The Qualitative Report*, *21*(10), 1868.

Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, *1*(2), 112-133.

Jones, P. (2020). Best practices in Track Two Diplomacy. *International Negotiation*, *1*, 1-
4.

Jonker, J., & Pennink, B. W. (2010). *The essence of research methodology: A concise*
guide for Master and Ph.D. students in management science. Heidelberg:
Springer Verlag.

Jönsson, C., & Hall, M. (2005). *Essence of diplomacy*. New York, NY: Springer.

Kahle, K., Sharon, A. J. & Baram-Tsabari, A. (2016). Footprints of fascination: Digital
traces of public engagement with particle physics on CERN's social media
platforms. *PLoS One, 11*(5), 1-22. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0156409

Kampf, R., Manor, I., & Segev, E. (2015). Digital Diplomacy 2.0? a cross-national
comparison of public engagement in Facebook and Twitter. *The Hague Journal of*
Diplomacy, *10*(4), 331–362.

Kaufman, J. P. (2017). *A concise history of U.S. foreign policy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman
& Littlefield.

Kennedy, G. A. (2007). *Aristotle on rhetoric: A theory of civic discourse: Translated*
with introduction, notes and appendices. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Keohane, R. O. (2019). International multiple advocacy in US foreign policy. In
Caldwell, D., & McKeown, T.J. (Eds.), *Diplomacy, force, and leadership* (pp.
285-304). New York, NY: Routledge.

Khatib, L., Dutton, W., & Thelwall, M. (2012). Public diplomacy 2.0: A case study of the
U.S. digital outreach team. *The Middle East Journal*, *66*(3), 453-472.

Kiehl, W. P. (2012). *The last three feet: Case studies in public diplomacy*. Washington,
D.C.: Public Diplomacy Council.

Kim, H. (2017). Bridging the theoretical gap between public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy. *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, *15*(2), 293-326.

Knowles, E. S., & Linn, J. A. (Eds.). (2004). *Resistance and persuasion*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Kreis, R. (2017). # refugeesnotwelcome: Anti-refugee discourse on Twitter. *Discourse & Communication*, *11*(5), 498-514.

Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Krippendorff, K. (2011). Computing Krippendorff 's Alpha-Reliability. Departmental paper (ASC). Retrieved from http://repository.upenn.edu/asc_papers/43

Krippendorff, K. (2013). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Krotz, U. (2007). Parapublic underpinnings of international relations: The Franco-German construction of Europeanization of a particular kind. *European Journal of International Relations*, *13*(3), 385-417.

Kruckeberg, D., & Vujnovic, M. (2005). Public relations, not propaganda, for U.S. public diplomacy in a post-9/11 world: Challenges and opportunities. *Journal of Communication Management*, *9*(4), 296-304.

Kunal, S., Saha, A., Varma, A., & Tiwari, V. (2018). Textual dissection of live Twitter reviews using naive Bayes. *Procedia Computer Science*, *132*, 307-313.

Larkin, M. T. (2013). *Language in the philosophy of Aristotle* (Vol. 87). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Lee, G., & Ayhan, K. (2015). Why do we need non-state actors in public diplomacy?: Theoretical discussion of relational, networked and collaborative public diplomacy. *Journal of International and Area Studies*, 57-77.

Leguey-Feilleux, J. R. (2009). *The dynamics of diplomacy*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Leiner, B. M., Cerf, V. G., Clark, D. D., Kahn, R. E., Kleinrock, L., Lynch, D. C., Postel, J., Roberts, L. G. & Wolff, S. (2009). A brief history of the Internet. *ACM SIGCOMM Computer Communication Review*, *39*(5), 22-31.

Lemay-Hébert, N. (2017). Exploring the effective authority of international administrations from the League of Nations to the United Nations. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, *11*(4), 468-489.

Leonard, M. (2002). *Public diplomacy*. London: The Foreign Policy Centre.

Leonard, M., Stead, C., & Smewing, C. (2002). *Public diplomacy*. Foreign Policy Centre. Retrieved from: https://fpc.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2006/09/35.pdf

Lindlof, T.R. & Taylor, B.C. (2011). *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Lin-Steadman, P. (2020). *Studying abroad and intercultural outcomes: Differences experienced between international exchange students and US study abroad students* [Unpublished Doctoral dissertation]. East Tennessee State University.

Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public opinion.* New York, NY: Harcourt, Bruce and Company Inc.

Lortie, M., & Bédard, S. (2002). Citizen involvement in Canadian foreign policy: The summit of the Americas experience 2001. *International Journal*, *57*(3), 323-339.

Lowy Institute. (2019). Global Diplomacy Index. 2019 Country Ranking. *Lowy Institute for Diplomacy and Public Opinion*. Retrieved from: https://globaldiplomacyindex.lowyinstitute.org/

Lu, J. (2018). Fear the government? A meta-analysis of the impact of government funding on nonprofit advocacy engagement. *The American Review of Public Administration*, *48*(3), 203-218.

Lund, T. (2012). Combining qualitative and quantitative approaches: Some arguments for mixed methods research. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, *56*(2), 155-165.

Luqiu, L. R., & Yang, F. (2020). Weibo diplomacy: Foreign embassies communicating on Chinese social media. *Government Information Quarterly*, *37*(3), 101477.

Mackenzie, S. (2014). The Second World War in Europe: Second Edition. Oxfordshire: Taylor & Francis.

Macnamara, J. (2011). Pre and post-election 2010 online: What happened to the conversation? *Communication, Politics & Culture, 4*(2), 18–36.

Macnamara, J., Sakinofsky, P., & Beattie, J. (2012). E-electoral engagement: How governments use social media to engage voters. *Australian Journal of Political Science, 47*(4), 623–39.

Madurai, V. (2018). Web evolution from 1.0 to 3.0. *Medium*. Retrieved from: https://medium.com/@vivekmadurai/web-evolution-from-1-0-to-3-0-e84f2c06739

Malone, G. D. (1985). Managing public diplomacy. *Washington Quarterly*, *8*(3), 199-213.

Manheim, J. B. (1994). *Strategic public diplomacy and American foreign policy: The evolution of influence*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Manor, I. (2016a). *Are we there yet: Have MFAs realized the potential of digital diplomacy?: Results from a cross-national comparison*. Leiden: Brill.

Manor, I. (2016b). What is digital diplomacy, and how is it practiced around the world? A brief introduction. *The 2016 Annual Review of the Diplomatist Magazine*, *3*. Retrieved form:

https://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/sites/www.odid.ox.ac.uk/files/DigDiploROxWP2.pdf

Manor, I. (2018). The digitalization of diplomacy: Toward clarification of a fractured terminology. *DigDiploROx Working Paper No 2 (Jan 2018)*. Oxford Digital Diplomacy Research Group.

Manor, I., & Crilley, R. (2019). The mediatisation of MFAs: Diplomacy in the New Media Ecology. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, *1*(2), 1-27.

Manor, I., & Segev, E. (2015). America's Selfie: How the US Portrays itself on its social media accounts. In C. Bjola & M. Holmes (Eds.), *Digital diplomacy: Theory and Practice* (pp. 89–108). Oxford: Routledge.

Mark, S. (2009). *A greater role for cultural diplomacy*. Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations.

Mark, S. L. (2010). Rethinking cultural diplomacy: The cultural diplomacy of New Zealand, the Canadian Federation and Quebec. *Political Science*, *62*(1), 62-83.

Marsh, C. (1985). Back on the bandwagon: The effect of opinion polls on public opinion. *British Journal of Political Science*, *15*(1), 51-74.

Martín, E. G., Lavesson, N., & Doroud, M. (2016). Hashtags and followers. *Social Network Analysis and Mining*, *6*(1), 12.

McClory, J. (2017). *The Soft Power 30: A global ranking of soft power*. London: Portland.

McClory, J. (2019). *The Soft Power 30: A global ranking of soft power*. London: Portland.

McClory, J., & Harvey, O. (2016). The Soft Power 30: getting to grips with the measurement challenge. *Global Affairs*, *2*(3), 309-319.

McCombs, M.; Reynolds, A. (2002). News influence on our pictures of the world in Bryant, J. & Zillmann, D. (ed.) *Media effects: Advances in theory and research*. New Jersey, NJ: Taylor & Francis.

McDonald, J. W. (2012). The institute for multi-track diplomacy. *Journal of Conflictology*, *3*(2), 8.

McKechnie, D. B. (2020). Government Tweets, Government Speech: The First Amendment Implications of Government Trolling. *Seattle University Law Review*, *44*(1), 69.

McLay, R. (2019). Political Spaces: Urban-Rural and Digital Divides in the Political Practices and Views of Atlantic Canadians. [Master's thesis, Dalhouse University]. Retrieved from: https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/handle/10222/76310

McNutt, K. (2014). Public engagement in the Web 2.0 era: Social collaborative technologies in a public sector context. *Canadian Public Administration*, *57*(1), 49–70.

Melissen, J. (2005). The new public diplomacy: between theory and practice. In: J. Melissen (Eds.), *New public diplomacy: soft power in international relations* (pp. 3-27) New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Melissen, J. (2011). *Beyond the new public diplomacy*. Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations.

Melissen, J., & de Keulenaar, E. V. (2017). Critical digital diplomacy as a global challenge: The South Korean experience. *Global Policy*, *8*(3), 294-302.

Metzgar, E. T. (2012). Is it the medium or the message? Social media, American public relations & Iran. *Global Media Journal*, 1–16.

Mickoleit, A. (2014). Social media use by governments: A policy primer to discuss trends, identify policy opportunities and guide decision makers. *OECD Working Papers on Public Governance*. No. 26, OECD Publishing, Paris.

Miller, A. H. (2006, September). Promoting democratic values in transitional societies through foreign aid. In *Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago* (Vol. 3).

Mogensen, K. (2015). International trust and public diplomacy. *International Communication Gazette*, *77*(4), 315-336.

Moore, D., Vasquez, G., & Dolan, R. (2021). Residents with Irish ancestry are in all 3,142 U.S. counties and make up 20% of the population in some. *U.S. Census Bureau.* Retrieved from : https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2021/03/happy-saint-patricks-day-to-one-of-ten-americans-who-claim-irish-ancestry.html

Morgenthau, H. J. (1967). *Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace*. New York: NY: Knopf.

Mulcahy, K. V. (2017). *Public culture, cultural identity, cultural policy*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mulligan, W. (2017). *The origins of the First World War* (Vol. 52). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Murugesan, S. (2007). Understanding Web 2.0. *IT professional*, *9*(4), 34-41.

Nanyonga, S. (2019, August). How globalization has changed diplomacy. In *Proceedings of the 14th International RAIS Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities* (pp. 146-152). Scientia Moralitas Research Institute.

Natarajan, K. (2014). Digital public diplomacy and a strategic narrative for India. *Strategic Analysis*, *38*(1), 91–106.

Nedumkallel, J. P. (2020). Interactivity of digital media: Literature review and future research agenda. *International Journal of Interactive Communication Systems and Technologies (IJICST)*, *10*(1), 13-30.

Newhouse, J. (2009). Diplomacy, Inc.-The influence of lobbies on U.S. foreign policy. *Foreign Affairs. 88*(3), 73-92.

Northedge, F. S. (1986). *The league of nations: Its life and times, 1920-1946*. New York, NY: Holmes & Meier.

Nussbaum, M. C. (1996). Aristotle on emotions and rational persuasion. In *Essays on Aristotle's rhetoric*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press

Nye, J. Jr. (2004) *Soft power: The means to success in world politics*. New York, NY: Public Affairs.

Nye, J. S. (1990). Soft power. *Foreign policy*, 80, 153-171.

Ociepka, B. (2012). Impact of new technologies on international communication: The case of public diplomacy. *Information Science*, *59*, 24–36.

Olberding, J. C., & Olberding, D. J. (2010). "Ripple effects" in youth peacebuilding and exchange programs: Measuring impacts beyond direct participants. *International Studies Perspectives*, *11*(1), 75-91.

Önder, I., Gunter, U., & Gindl, S. (2020). Utilizing Facebook statistics in tourism demand modeling and destination marketing. *Journal of Travel Research*, *59*(2), 195-208.

O'Reilly, T. (2009). *What is web 2.0*. Newton, MA: O'Reilly Media, Inc.

Osborne, R. (2018). Letters, diplomacy, and the Roman conquest of Greece. *Letters and Communities: Studies in the Socio-Political Dimensions of Ancient Epistolography*, 185-204.

Oxley, Z. M., & Clawson, R. A. (2020). *Public opinion: Democratic ideals, democratic practice.* London: SAGE Publications.

Ozdemir, Z. D., Smith, H. J., & Benamati, J. H. (2017). Antecedents and outcomes of information privacy concerns in a peer context: An exploratory study. *European Journal of Information Systems*, *26*(6), 642-660.

Pace, M. (2005). *The compassionate listening project: A case study in citizen diplomacy and peacemaking* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Syracuse University.

Pacher, A. (2018a). Strategic publics in public diplomacy: A typology and a heuristic device for multiple publics. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, *13*(3), 272-296.

Pacher, A. (2018b). The ritual creation of political symbols: International exchanges in public diplomacy. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, *20*(4), 880-897.

Pamment, J. (2012). *New public diplomacy in the 21st century: A comparative study of policy and practice*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Pamment, J. (2014). Articulating influence: Toward a research agenda for interpreting the evaluation of soft power, public diplomacy and nation brands. *Public Relations Review*, *40*(1), 50-59.

Pamment, J. (2015). A contextualized interpretation of PD evaluation. In Golan, G. J., Yang, S. U., & Kinsey, D. F. (Eds.). *International public relations and public diplomacy*. New York, NY: Peter Lang. 363–378.

Pamment, J. (2016). *British public diplomacy and soft power: Diplomatic influence and the digital revolution*. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Park, S. J., & Lim, Y. S. (2014). Information networks and social media use in public diplomacy: A comparative analysis of South Korea and Japan. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *24*(1), 79–98.

Park, S., Fisher, C., Flew, T., & Dulleck, U. (2020). Global mistrust in news: The impact of social media on trust. *International Journal on Media Management*, *22*(2), 83-96.

Pashakhanlou, A. H. (2018). Intelligence and diplomacy in the security dilemma: gauging capabilities and intentions. *International Politics*, *55*(5), 519-536.

Petzold, K., & Moog, P. (2018). What shapes the intention to study abroad? An experimental approach. *Higher Education*, *75*(1), 35-54.

Potter, E. H. (2008). *Branding Canada: Projecting Canada's soft power through public diplomacy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Potter, E. H. (Ed.). (2002). *Cyber-Diplomacy: Managing foreign policy in the twenty-first century*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Price, M. (2003). Public diplomacy and the transformation of international broadcasting. *Cardozo Arts and Entertainment Law Journal*, *21*(1), 51-85. Retrieved from http://repository.upenn.edu/asc_papers/120

Price, M. E., Haas, S., & Margolin, D. (2008). New technologies and international broadcasting: Reflections on adaptations and transformations. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *616*(1), 150-172.

Pulse (2020). South Koreans are third most frequent users of social media, Band most popular. Pulse.com, published July 9, 2020. https://pulsenews.co.kr/view.php?year=2020&no=923782

Quigley, K. (2013). 'Man Plans, God Laughs': Canada's national strategy for protecting critical infrastructure. *Canadian Public Administration, 56*(1), 142–64.

Ramaprasad, J. (1983). Media diplomacy: In search of a definition. *Gazette*, *31*(1), 69-78.

Rapp, C. (2011). Aristotle's rhetoric. *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Stanford: CA. The Metaphysics Research Lab. Retrieved from: https://stanford.library.sydney.edu.au/archives/win2011/entries/aristotle-rhetoric/

Rawnsley, G. D. (2015). To know us is to love us: Public diplomacy and international broadcasting in contemporary Russia and China. *Politics*, *35*(3-4), 273-286.

Reicher, S. (2012). *Crowd psychology. Encyclopedia of human behaviour*. Oxford: Elsevier.

Reusen, A. K. V. (1996). The self-advocacy strategy for education and transition planning. *Intervention in School and Clinic*, *32*(1), 49-54.

Richmond, Y. (2010). *Cultural exchange and the cold war: Raising the iron curtain*. University Park, PA: Penn State Press.

Riffe, D., Lacy, S., Fico, F., & Watson, B. (2019). *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Roberts, W. R. (1954). *Aristotle: Rethoric and poetics*. New York, NY: Modern Library.

Robertson, K., Anderson, S. G., Diggon, E., Moussa, A., & Smith, S. E. (2013). "More a diplomatic than an esthetic event": Canada, Brazil, and cultural brokering in the São Paulo Biennial and Isumavut. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, *47*(2), 60-88.

Rogers, E. M. (2004). A prospective and retrospective look at the diffusion model. *Journal of health communication*, *9*(S1), 13-19.

Said, A. A., Lerche, C. O., & Lerche, C. O. (1995). *Concepts of international politics in global perspective*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Sainsbury, K. (1986). *The turning point: Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill, and Chiang-Kai-Shek, 1943: the Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran Conferences*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Saliu, H. (2017). The new nature of cultural diplomacy in the age of online communication. *Journal of Media Critiques*, *3*(10), 87-100.

Saliu, H. (2020). The evolution of the concept of public diplomacy from the perspective of communication stakeholders. *Medijska istraživanja: znanstveno-stručni časopis za novinarstvo i medije*, *26*(1), 69-86.

Satow, E. M. (2009). *Satow's diplomatic practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schindler, C. E. (2018). *The origins of public diplomacy in US statecraft uncovering a forgotten tradition*. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Schoonenboom, J., & Johnson, R. B. (2017). How to construct a mixed methods research design. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, *69*(2), 107-131.

Schreiber, H. (2017). Intangible cultural heritage and soft power–exploring the relationship. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, *12*, 44-57.

Schwandt, T. (2015). *The Sage dictionary of qualitative inquiry.* Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Scott, J. (2012). Bill 3 & privacy implications. *Canadian Journal of Administrative Law & Practice, 25*(3), 209–35.

Scott-Smith, G. (2005). Mending the "Unhinged Alliance" in the 1970S: Transatlantic relations, public diplomacy, and the origins of the European Union Visitors Program. *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, *16*(4), 749-778.

Scott-Smith, G. (2008). Aristotle, U.S. public diplomacy, and the Cold War: The work of Carnes Lord. *Foundations of Science*, *13*(3-4), 251-264.

Scott-Smith, G. (2020). Exchange programs and public diplomacy. In Snow, N., & Cull, N. J. (Eds.). *Routledge handbook of public diplomacy 2nd Edition*. (pp. 38-49). New York, NY: Routledge.

Seib, P. (2012). *Real-time diplomacy: Politics and power in the social media era*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Seo, H. (2013). The 'Virtual Last Three Feet.' In R. S. Zaharna, A. Arsenault & A. Fisher (Eds.), *Relational, networked and collaborative approaches to public diplomacy: The connective mindshift.* (pp. 157–69). Oxford: Routledge.

Sevin, E. (2017). *Public diplomacy and the implementation of foreign policy in the U.S., Sweden and Turkey*. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Shearer, E. (2018). Social media outpaces print newspapers in the U.S. as a news source. Pew Research Center. Retrieved from: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/12/10/social-media-outpaces-print-newspapers-in-the-u-s-as-a-news-source/

Siyam, N., Alqaryouti, O., & Abdallah, S. (2020). Mining government tweets to identify and predict citizens engagement. *Technology in Society*, *60*, 101211.

Slaughter, A. M. (2009). America's edge. *Foreign Affairs*, *88*(1), 94–113.

Smith, M. A., Shneiderman, B., Milic-Frayling, N., Mendes Rodrigues, E., Barash, V., Dunne, C. & Gleave, E. (2009, June). Analyzing (social media) networks with NodeXL. In *Proceedings of the fourth international conference on Communities and technologies* (pp. 255-264).

Snow, N. (2008). Rethinking public diplomacy. In *Routledge handbook of public diplomacy* (pp. 23-31). New York, NY: Routledge.

Snow, N. (2012). Public diplomacy and propaganda: Rethinking diplomacy in the age of persuasion. *E-international Relations*. Retrieved from: https://www.e-ir.info/2012/12/04/public-diplomacy-and-propaganda-rethinking-diplomacy-in-the-age-of-persuasion/

Snow, N. (2020). Public diplomacy. In Sandal, N. (Ed.), *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-518

Son, J., Lee, H. K., Jin, S., & Lee, J. (2019). Content features of tweets for effective

    communication during disasters: A media synchronicity theory perspective.

    International Journal of Information Management, *45*, 56-68.

Southern, M. (2019, August). Twitter reveals tweets with video generate 10x more

    engagement. *Search Engine Journal*. Retrieved from:

    https://www.searchenginejournal.com/twitter-reveals-tweets-with-video-generate-

    10x-more-engagement/322523/

Sterling, D. P. (2018). A new era in cultural diplomacy: Promoting the image of China's

    "Belt and Road" initiative in Asia. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, *6*(2), 102-

    116.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and*

    procedures for developing grounded theory (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: CA: Sage

    Publications, Inc.

Strauss, N., Kruikemeier, S., van der Meulen, H., & van Noort, G. (2015). Digital

    diplomacy in GCC countries: Strategic communication of Western embassies on

    Twitter. *Government Information Quarterly*, *32*(4), 369-379.

Struweg, I. (2018, August). Liberty breach: An exploratory usage case of NodeXL Pro as

    a social media analytics tool for Twitter. In the proceedings of *International*

    Conference on Business and Management Dynamics. (pp. 153-163).

Susskind, L., & Islam, S. (2012). Water diplomacy: Creating value and building trust in

    transboundary water negotiations. *Science & Diplomacy*, *1*(3), 1-7.

Syn, S. Y., & Oh, S. (2015). Why do social network site users share information on

    Facebook and Twitter?. *Journal of Information Science*, *41*(5), 553-569.

Szondi, G. (2008). Public diplomacy and nation branding: Conceptual similarities and
  differences. Clingendael Netherlands Institute of International Relations.
  Retrieved from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep05374

Szondi, G. (2009). *Public diplomacy and nation branding: Conceptual similarities and
  differences*. Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations.

Szykman, S. (1995). *Diplomacy: A historical perspective*. Hartford, CT: The Zine
  publications. Retrieved from:
  http://www.diplom.org/Zine/S1995R/Szykman/History.html

Taylor, P. M. (2009). Public diplomacy and strategic communications. In N. Snow &
  Taylor, P. M., (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy* (pp. 12-16). New
  York, NY: Routledge.

The U.S. Department of State Archive. (nd). Strategic Goal 11: Public Diplomacy and
  Public Affairs. Retrieved from: https://2009-
  2017.state.gov/s/d/rm/rls/perfplan/2004/20495.htm

Throntveit, T. (2011). The fable of the Fourteen Points: Woodrow Wilson and national
  self-determination. *Diplomatic History*, *35*(3), 445-481.

Tilton, L. (2009). From Aristotle to Linnaeus: The history of taxonomy. *Davesgarden.*
  Retrieved from https://davesgarden.com/guides/articles/view/2051

Tuch, H. N. (1990). *Communicating with the World: U. S. Public Diplomacy Overseas*.
  Washington, DC: Georgetown University.

Tulisova, V. A. (2017). Transformation of the media from traditional media to new
  media. *Theoretical and Practical Issues of Journalism*, *6*(2), 228-244.

Turnbull, S. (2018). *The art of Renaissance warfare: from the fall of Constantinople to the Thirty Years War*. Philadelphia, PA: Greenhill Books.

Turner, S. F., Cardinal, L. B., & Burton, R. M. (2017). Research design for mixed methods: A triangulation-based framework and roadmap. *Organizational Research Methods*, *20*(2), 243-267.

Twiplomacy. (2020). Twiplomacy study 2020. Retrieved from: https://twiplomacy.com/blog/twiplomacy-study-2020/

Twitter. (nd). About verified accounts. Retrieved from: https://help.twitter.com/en/managing-your-account/about-twitter-verified-accounts

United Nations (nd). United Nations Charter. Retrieved from: https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text

Van Ham, P. (2013). Social power in public diplomacy. In R. S. Zaharna, A. Arsenault & A. Fisher (Eds.), *Relational, networked and collaborative approaches to public diplomacy: The connective mindshift* (pp. 17–28). Oxford: Routledge.

Viviani, M., & Pasi, G. (2017). Credibility in social media: opinions, news, and health information—a survey. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Data Mining and Knowledge Discovery*, *7*(5), 120-139.

Waller, J. M. (2009). *Strategic influence: Public diplomacy, counterpropaganda, and political warfare*. Washington, DC: The Institute of World Politics Press.

Walliman, N. (2011). *Research methods: The basics*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Walters, F. P. (1952). *A History of the League of Nations* (Vol. 2, p. 716). London: Oxford University Press.

Waters, R. D., Burnett, E., Lamm, A., & Lucas, J. (2009). Engaging stakeholders through

    social networking: How nonprofit organizations are using Facebook. *Public*

    Relations Review, 35(2), 102–106.

Webster, N. (1981). *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English*

    Language, Unabridged. London: Merriam-Webster.

Weible, C. M., & Ingold, K. (2018). Why advocacy coalitions matter and practical

    insights about them. *Policy & Politics*, *46*(2), 325-343.

Weinberg, G. L. (1994). *A world at arms: A global history of World War II*. London:

    Cambridge University Press.

White, C. L. (2012). Brands and national image: An exploration of inverse country-of-

    origin effect. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, *8*(2), 110-118.

White, C., & Radic, D. (2014). Comparative public diplomacy: Message strategies of

    countries in transition. *Public Relations Review*, *40*(3), 459-465.

Wichowski, A. (2013). Social diplomacy, or how diplomats learned to stop worrying and

    love the tweet. *Foreign Affairs. April*, *5*. Retrieved from:

    https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2013-04-05/social-diplomacy

Wigley, S., & Lewis, B. K. (2012). Rules of engagement: Practice what you tweet. *Public*

    Relations Review, *38*(1), 165-167.

Wilkinson, D., & Birmingham, P. (2003). *Using research instruments: A guide for*

    researchers. London: Routledge.

Williamson, W. F., & Kelley, J. R. (2012). #Kelleypd: Public Diplomacy 2.0 classroom.

    Global Media Journal—American Edition, *11*(21), 1–19.

Wimmer, R.D., & Dominick, J.R. (2011). *Mass media research: An introduction.* (9th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Wolton, D. (2009). *Informer n'est pas communiquer*. Paris: CNRS Editions.

Xiguang, L., & Jing, W. (2010). Web-based public diplomacy: The role of social media in the Iranian and Xinjiang riots. *Journal of International Communication*, *16*(1), 7–22.

Xing, L. (2019). *The international political economy of the BRICS*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Yepsen, E. A. (2012). Practicing successful twitter public diplomacy: A model and case study of US efforts in Venezuela. *CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy Paper*, 6.

Zaharna, R. S. (2009). Mapping out a spectrum of public diplomacy. In N. Snow & Taylor, P. M., (Eds.). *Routledge handbook of public diplomacy*. (pp. 86-100). New York, NY: Routledge.

Zaharna, R. S., & Rugh, W. A. (2012). Issue theme: The use of social media in U.S. public diplomacy. *Global Media Journal—American Edition*, *11*(21), 1–8.

Zaharna, R. S., Arsenault, E., & Fisher, A. (2013). The connective mindshift. In R. S. Zaharna, A. Arsenault & A. Fisher (Eds.), *Relational, networked and collaborative approaches to public diplomacy: The connective mindshift.* (pp. 144–56). Oxford: Routledge.

Zhang, C., & Wu, R. (2019). Battlefield of global ranking: How do power rivalries shape soft power index building?. *Global Media and China*, *4*(2), 179-202.

Zhao, M., & Buro, K. (2020, October). Comparisons Between Text-Only and Multimedia Tweets on User Engagement. In *2020 IEEE International Conference on Systems, Man, and Cybernetics (SMC)* (pp. 3825-3831).

Appendix 1: Codebook for content analysis of Tweets by foreign embassies

Unit of analysis:

Each written tweet as collected from select foreign embassies, located in the United States with public profile on Twitter. The tweets have been collected by using social media data mining via official API and are in form of a spreadsheet. Each column contains specific information regarding the tweet and are to be coded as described below.

List of select embassies and their assigned code:

1. Australia
2. Austria
3. Belgium
4. Brazil
5. Canada
6. China
7. Czech Republic
8. Denmark
9. Finland
10. France
11. Germany
12. Greece
13. Hungary
14. Ireland

15. Italy

16. Japan

17. Netherlands

18. Norway

19. Poland

20. Russia

21. Singapore

22. South Korea

23. Spain

24. Sweden

25. Switzerland

26. Turkey

27. United Kingdom

Note: Portugal and New Zealand embassy staff did not tweet on official embassy

accounts in January

Identifying and platform variables

Identifying and theoretical variables are coded from metadata of a tweet. These are found

in their respective columns of the spreadsheet of collected tweets.

Variable 1.

Country: Each tweet is tweeted by specific embassy and needs to be identified as such.

Example: Tweets from the handle @AusintheUS (Australian Embassy in the US) is to be

coded as Australia. This variable is found in Column A.

Variable 2.

Hashtags: A word or phrase preceded by a hash sign (#), used on social media websites and applications, especially Twitter, to identify messages on a specific topic. Enter the number of hashtags, if no hashtags are used, enter 0. This variable is found in Column B. Please double check the live tweet link to make sure the count is correct.

Variable 3.

Handles/ Mentions (@): A word or phrase preceded by a hash sign (@), used on social media websites and applications, especially Twitter, to identify a specific user. Enter the number of mentions in the tweet, if no hashtags are used, enter 0. This variable is found in Column C. Please double check the live tweet link to make sure the count is correct.

Variable 4.

Use of Media: Media encompasses photos (except the logo/avatar), videos and links in this coding scheme. If media is present code Photo=1, Video =2, Embedded Link = 3, Multiple Media = 4. If not present code 0. MUST check the live tweet link to determine the presence and category of the media.

Variable 5.

Favorite Count: This continuous variable captured the number of favorite counts for each tweet. This variable is found in Column D.

Variable 6.

Retweet Count: This continuous variable captured the number of retweets counts for each tweet. This variable is found in Column E.

Variable 7.

Reply Count: This continuous variable captured the number of reply counts for each tweet. This variable is found in Column F.

Variable 8.

*Client***:** This variable captured what platform was used to send out the tweet. Code Mobile, Web, and Other accordingly. E.g. Mobile is "Twitter for iPhone" or "Twitter for Android", Web is "Twitter Web App" or Twitter Web Client", and Other is everything else like "Buffer", "TweetDeck" and "Hootsuite". This variable is found in Column G.

Theoretical variables

Theoretical variables are coded by reading and examining the tweets. Each tweet must be read and examined thoroughly and decide which of the variable categories it falls into. A single tweet can fall into multiple categories. Each tweet is to be coded as "Yes" or "No" for all variables below except for variable 13.

Variable 9.

Listening: Listening in public diplomacy is defined as an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by collecting and collating data about publics and their opinion (Cull, 2009). If the content of the tweets contains an invitation to respond (not to confuse with invitation to attend/join/participate a program/event, etc.), question, inquiry, request for comments or feedback, the tweet should be coded in this category. Additionally, any tweet with a poll question or other explicit call for interacting fell under this category.

Example:

Variable 10.

Advocacy: Advocacy in public diplomacy is defined as an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by undertaking an international communication activity to actively promote a particular policy, idea, or that actor's general interest in the minds of a

foreign public (Cull, 2009). If the content of a tweet contains directional push or pull, call to action, and support for a policy/cause/issue, the tweet should be coded in this category.

Example:

Variable 11.

Cultural: In Public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy is defined as an actor's attempt to manage the international environment through making its cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad (Cull, 2009). If the content of the tweet contains promotion, exhibition, showcase, invitation to visit the place or heritage (both online and in person), and examples of cultural activities, the tweet should be coded under this category. Please note that elements of culture include language, symbols, norms, rituals, values, work ethics, artifacts, sports, artists, food and customs.

RT @AuschwitzMuseum: 75 years ago today over 7,000 prisoners of the German Nazi #Auschwitz camp, including ca. 700 children, were liberated...

12:13 AM · Jan 27, 2020 · Twitter Web App

Variable 12.

Exchange: In public diplomacy, exchange diplomacy is defined as an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by sending its citizens overseas and reciprocally accepting citizens from overseas for a period of study and/or acculturation (Cull, 2009). In the social network environment, sending or accepting individuals in person is not possible, however the promotion of such exchanges is. Therefore, promotion of any exchange activities, both online and in person, that involve the primary nation interacting with the host nation on a national topic, person-to-person interaction falls under this category. If the content of a tweet shares, encourages, promotes, and facilitates direct

269

exchange among individuals of the host and guest country (both parties cannot be government officials), the tweet should be coded under this category. Exchanges can happen through citizens, academia, the arts and society. Additionally, any news of in-person exchange programs that are shared via tweet fell under this category.

Example:

Variable 13.

International Broadcasting: Traditionally international broadcasting is defined as an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by using the technologies of

radio, television and Internet to engage with foreign publics (Cull, 2009). Considering

that, by definition, all tweets are international broadcasting. However, for the purpose of

this dissertation, translating the concept into social network environment, international

broadcasting was categorized in four groups: 1) As sharing, promoting and showcasing

work done by a state-owned or sponsored media outlet and taxpayer-supported public

media outlet; 2) A market-driven news outlet without explicit government or public

support); 3) embassy being a broadcaster itself of official/diplomatic or "news

announcement" at the state level, but not involving journalists; 4) other sources outside

the above mentioned categories and not embassy itself. This includes policy

announcements, political statement, treaty announcement/signing, head of state and other

top leadership meetings, etc. (When in doubt, ask yourself, if the announcement would be

some news in a media outlet) Therefore, any tweet that shares in-house or third-party

news/media content shall be coded in this category.

Example:

Variable 14:

Other/Not Applicable: Tweet that does not fit into any of the above 5 categories are to be coded as not applicable. Also tweets that are in a different language than English, are to be coded here. If the tweet is in two languages and English part can identify as above-mentioned categories, then it should be coded.