ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN ENHANCING PUBLIC DIPLOMACY.

A CASE STUDY OF THE U.S.

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN DIPLOMACY, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

NOVEMBER, 2013

DECLARATION

This research is my original work and has not been presented in any other examination body for the award of any academic certificate.

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This research project has been submitted for examinations with my approval as the university of Nairobi supervisor.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents for their immense support.

Their love, patience and strong will made me feel I am equal to the task and get strength

to go on.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This project would have been possible without the support of several people .

First of all I thank God for His mercy, guidance and provision. My gratitude also goes to my supervisor, Mr. Patrick Maluki for correcting and guiding me through the research.

Heartfelt gratitude goes to the university of Nairobi library for providing me with necessary facilities to complete this project.

Also thanks to my parents for the much needed financial support and encouragement they tirelessly provided throughout this process.

ABSTRACT

The wide spread diffusion of the internet, mobile communication, digital media and a variety of social software tools throughout the world has transformed the communication system into interactive horizontal networks that connect the local and global. New form of social media cater to the flow of messages from many to many. They have provided alternative mediums for citizens communication and participatory pluralism. In my view diplomats are very good at reserving the traditions of their profession . Unfortunately despite changes of huge significance to diplomacy that have taken place in recent years the mechanisms of traditional diplomacy have barely begun to adjust. The cold war has gone out of diplomacy, but in many cases diplomatic behaviour remains loyal to it. This include among other things thinking only in terms of power equilibrium. Methods of diplomacy are still strongly influenced by military thinking. To become an efficient tool of good global governance diplomacy needs first to overcome the stereotypes of ideology and military confrontation. It's task today is to search not for the balance of power but for the balance of interest. A partial and balancing approach is an answer to the new geopolitical and economic realities. The objectives of this study were to establish the importance of digital media as part of public diplomacy, to determine the extent to which technology can be incorporated into the practice of state craft, to show that social media as a tool of public diplomacy can be used to support foreign policy goals. To explore the paradigmatic shifts caused by social media and finally to identify how cultural diplomacy can be incorporated in public diplomacy. The researcher noted there is a big relation between the theory of Agenda setting and the role of media. Public diplomacy goals of winning the hearts and minds of people need a powerful and well planned agenda in order to reach it's targets. Therefore, setting the Agenda that suits the target audience who receives the message is one of the pillars the media practitioner should put in place. The researcher did a desktop research where she collected a lot of information from secondary data. The findings were that new media tools have substantially changed diplomacy and therefore diplomatic practitioners should be techno- savvy. The conclusion made was that social media is a vital tool in post –modern diplomacy. The researcher recommended that governments should expand internet connectivity throughout the world. The research also recommends that government should stem the negative use of social media and promote its positive function for protest organizers.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background

Public diplomacy is a new field of practice and scholarship. Its attracted attention in the previous century when diplomacy fell under the scrutiny of the media and public opinion. It became a more substantive area during the cold war dominated by campaigns to garner support for the delicate balance of nuclear weapons and the ideological battle for the hearts and minds of people around the world.

A new phase in the development of public diplomacy started after the September, 11 2010 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington by Islamic fundamentalist.

The new challenges and needs of public diplomacy in the post cold war- post -9/11era have been influenced by three inter- related revolutions in mass communication, politics and international relations (Gilboa 2000, 2001)[1] The revolution in communication technologies created two major innovations; The internet and global news networks, such as CNN international, BBC World, Sky News and Al-Jazeera, capable of broadcasting often live, almost every significant development in world events to almost every places on the globe. The internet and global networks have become a central source of information about world affairs[2]. The internet provides states, non governmental organizations (NGOs), communities, firms and even individuals with ample opportunity to exchange ideas about world affairs. Revolutions in politics have transformed many societies from autocracy to democracy generating growing mass participation in political processes. The revolution in international relations has transformed the goals and means of foreign policy. Favourable image and reputation

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[1] Gilboa, E. (1998) Media diplomacy: conceptual divergence and application Harvard International journal of press/politics 3(3): pp. 56-75
[2] Fredrick, Howard H. (1993). Global communication and International relation Belmort, Wadsworth.

around the world, achieved through attraction and   persuasion, have become more important than territory, access and raw materials, traditionally acquired through military and economic measures[3].

Signizer and Coombs (1992)   defined public diplomacy as the way in which both government and private individuals and groups influence directly or indirectly those public attitudes and opinions which bear directly on another government's foreign policy's decisions (p. 138).. Public diplomacy is now occupying a central place in foreign policy. The rise of non-state actors, the difficulty of   reconciling domestic and foreign information needs, and the two way communication pattern of exchanging information between states[4].

1.1 Public diplomacy takes on social media in the U.S

The U.S department of social media presence extend around the world, thanks to its embassies, consulates and other missions. US diplomats now receive social media training called 21st century statecraft before they head out on assignment.

21st century statecraft is a key initiative started by secretary of state Hillary Clinton to work with traditional foreign policy tools. The idea is to fully leverage the network technologies and demographics of our interconnected world. In other words, it's the state department acknowledging the power and usefulness of social media as a necessary part of   their diplomatic toolkit.

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[3] Holbrooke , R.(October,2001). Get the message out. Washington post , p. 307
[4] Signitzer, B., and Timothy C., (1992). *Public relation and Public diplomacy: Conceptual divergence public relations review.* 18(2): pp. 137-47

For the state department 21st century statecraft month (January2012) department spokeswoman Victoria Nuland took questions from the public selected from their 10 different twitter accounts using the hash tag # ask state. She allocated twitter briefing on every finding in January.[5]

Example

Despite evaluating Syria for security issues, that country US Ambassador, Robert Ford, has contributed using face book and twitter to keep in touch with and help shape the contact with Syria citizens.

The US Ambassador to Russia Michael Mcfaul has been using social media to counter an attacks from the Russia press, he also starred in a YouTube video to introduce himself to the Russia people. He tweets in Russia and English and communicate regularly through facebook. In December 2011 the state department launched a "virtual embassy" in Tehran, Iran. The US hasn't had an embassy in Iran since the country's 1979 Islamic revolution when embassy officials were held hostage for more than a year.[6]

1.2 Problem statement

To varying degrees people feel intellectually and politically liberated by the technology that enable them to be part of the larger world. A nation that does not reach out through public diplomacy today will not be considered a global leader, and it will not be adequately serving its own international interest.

[5] Fisher, A., Lucas, S., (2011). *Trials of Engagement. The future of US Public Diplomacy.* Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
[6] Pincus, W., (2007). *Hybridity or the Cultural Logic of Globalization.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

The need for greater attention to public diplomacy is partly a function of globalised communication, which has sharpened the point at which police and public meet. Proliferation of satellite television and the internet means that people know more and know it faster than at any previous time. This can produce quick explosion, such as during the Danish cartoon controversy of 2006 and has increased volatility among the denizens of "The Arab street", "the Chinese street" and other public. This restiveness affects domestic politics in these countries and complicates the tasks of diplomacy.

Less dependent on government–tied media for information, publics search for information on their own and must be courted directly rather than exclusively through their governments. The public to which public diplomacy is directed is vast, curious and less inhibited about challenging the information they are given. We have moved from an "authority –driven" to an "experience- driven" world.

For public diplomacy practitioners, new media realities change the nature of their work. The days of stately diplomatic process are long gone, and a public diplomacy initiative that lags too far behind the media flow may be ineffective.

Transparency, long considered annoying and even dangerous by many diplomats is increasingly expected by information consumers and can be driven by YouTube ,twitter and other social media. As technological divide narrows more of the world knows about what is going on.

The diplomatic pouch has given way to the BBC, CNN, and Al-Jazeera, and more recently, CCTV, Russia Today, and other international satellite channels. The field is

further crowded by social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and You Tube. This means that when policy determinations are made, the world may learn about them within a minute from a variety of sources that may feature a variety of slants on the information. To meet this wave of information, a parallel public diplomacy plan must be ready for implementation which means public diplomats must participate fully in the policy making process. In addition to quickness, public diplomacy requires imagination in devising ways to capture the attention of global publics. Advancing women's rights, facilitating micro credit programs, championing environmental protection, upgrading public health and public education, and more such ventures are essential in meeting the needs of the publics that a country wishes to influence.

The government is not competitive in information dissemination; also considering the popularity of social media its adoption has been relatively slow; some diplomatic practitioners are resisting learning to use and implementing social media out of a desire to cling to traditional methods and hold on to semblance of control over the messages about their product and services. The research seeks to show that social media is an important emerging tool of facilitating public diplomacy and the faster its adopted by the practitioners the better.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study is to establish the importance of digital media as part of public diplomacy.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

  i)   To determine the extent to which information technology can be incorporated

         into the practice of statecraft.

  ii)   Explain that social media as a tool of public diplomacy can be used to support

         foreign policy goals.

  iii)   Explore how social media can bring about revolutions in authoritarian

         regimes.

  iv)   Identify how cultural diplomacy can be incorporated in public diplomacy

1.4 Hypotheses

  i)   Social media as a new communication tool represents a paradigmatic shift in
         the practice of public diplomacy.

  ii)   The advent of internet has made public diplomacy more public and more
         prominent.

  iii)   Evolving internet forms have led to a   freer and more open flow of
         information in the conduct of public diplomacy .

  iv)   New media tools are challenging public diplomats to be techno-savvy.

1.5 Justification

For many governments, this new reality is a rude awakening. Social media demands

transparency. Loss of control is a risk we are willing to take understanding how to

effectively use social media goes beyond awareness of the current platforms. It involves

being flexible, fast, and nimble to easily adapt to new technologies. It also requires trust,

good judgment, and quick thinking for rapid response and crisis management. In

Venezuela, former president Chavez's government recognized the potential for twitter to

reach the population and shape perception.[7] In the Middle East, citizen activists realize the power of social media to organize movements that spark uprisings, as seen with Arab Spring. In the us the state Department capitalizes on internet culture, using popular memes and real –time chats to communicate with the digital generation on the social networks they visit. Most government have a choice: Disregard the current tools as part of a passing trend, or embrace new technologies to further develop communication programs.[8] Using social media as a tool for public diplomacy is not an end to its self- it's a means to a new beginning. Social media is shaping the way billions of people interact with each other, which, in turn, affects the way businesses' communicate with customers and citizens communicate with governments. Determining the appropriate digital channel for your foreign ministries requires understanding of the current environment and the needs of your citizens and the host country. It also requires a clear vision to set goals and guidelines. The tools will evolve. Twitter and Facebook may or may not be around in 50 years, but either way, something new and entirely unprecedented will likely exist. Like revolutionary mass medias have done before, the internet has catapulted US into a new era. As the old adage reminds us, change is certain, progress is not. It's up to us to use the tools developed for this medium to aid diplomatic efforts as we Endeavour to create a better world.

The findings of this study will assist policy makers in adopting change [may be borrow a leaf from the US] while drafting policies that can form the legal framework for the

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[7] Eyrich, N., Padman, M.L., & Sweetster, K.D. (2008). *PR practitioners' use of social media tools and communication technology.* Public Relations Review, 34, pp. 412-414.
[8] Solis, B., & Breakenridge, D. (2009). *Putting the public back in public relations: how social media is reinventing the aging business of PR.* Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: FT Press

participation of the social media in promoting public diplomacy internationally and promoting the laying of the fibre optic cables.

As the researcher has relied on past scholarly works, so the findings of this study would be used by future scholars in their research work. The study finding also has formed a basis for future research as future scholars and researchers may use the results as a source of reference in subject matters related to media, policy making and diplomatic practice. The diplomatic practitioners will be the ultimate beneficiaries when the findings of this study are used to develop policies and programs that promote their working conditions.

1.6 Literature Review

This section presents and discusses the literature relevant to this study. The literature explored what other scholars wrote on the media and its role on promoting public diplomacy.

1.6.1 The Impact of New Technologies on International Communication

Using social media, users construct their identities through auto presentation and a dialogue with other users.[9] Twitter allows monitoring the public opinion at home and abroad to discover early signs of the coming crisis. The profile on Facebook expresses the identity, and at the same time its interactivity reveals the perception of the profile by other users. It has been used to mobilize supporters while constructing issue alliances, to create networks and turn them into real power. Facebook has now more entrances than Google (2011), which contributes to its growing popularity as a means of foreign policy.

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[9] Smith, B.G., (2010). *Socially Distributing Public relations: Twitter, Haiti and Interactivity in social Media* "Public relations Review", 36, p.330.

Text messaging anticipates real time meeting: it prepares to meeting with the country and society. After the real time encounter, it follows the results — to preserve experiences, acquaintances, memories. It means that the new public diplomacy, while involving social media, stresses mutual benefits by the participants of the public diplomacy process. In this regard, public diplomacy as a network agency is better understood in the frame given by the global but not the international communication. The global dimension in respect to communication means equal patterns of communication of state/ governments and non-state actors. All participants of the process learn to adjust to network society and to the logic of public relations and economize foreign policy by conducting the foreign-image policy.[10] On the other hand, commercial entities learn to adjust to the network society and implement the Corporate Social Responsibility efforts.

1.6.2 Public diplomacy, new media and governance

New actors of international relations such as non-state organizations like Multi National Corporations, [MNC] have an impact which results from the shift of power from the governments. Old and new non- state actors of international communication participate in the networks that incorporate the ability of modern communication to interchange the roles of communicators and receivers. All participants of networks are potential communicators. This change of roles is hardly acceptable for officials, especially ministry of foreign affairs [MFA] officers perceiving international relations hierarchically. Thus, social media give many opportunities for listening and engaging, which did not belong to the traditional, classical skills of diplomats. Foreign

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[10] Hulsse, R., (2009). The notion of foreign image policy comes from The Catwalk Power: Germany's New foreign image policy. *Journal of International Relations and Development,* 12, 293-316.

audiences/consumers turn into stakeholders. These changes illustrate the specifics of global communication as a continuation of the era of international communication. It should be borne in mind that the idea of M. Kraidy, constitutive for his critical transculturalism, that "intercultural relations are unequal"[11] is still valid for global communication.

The frame given to the analysis of public diplomacy by international communication gives lot of significance to the role of the government in public diplomacy. Changes in the international environment described as the emergence of a noosphere[12] signalize still an important but changing role of the state both in international communication and in public diplomacy as its form. The growing participation and significance of non-state actors in international relations (international communication) weaken the position of the state. The development of the sphere of media defines the limits of the controlling function of the state in public diplomacy. However, the same tools used by civil society organizations, resistance / movements, terrorists, when implemented by the authoritarian governments, enable them to keep the citizens under strict surveillance.

Global communication as a frame for public diplomacy adds a new dimension, and new activities: it adds value which governments can build on. The use of the added value depends very much on governments as actors of public diplomacy, but also on the features characterizing other participants of public diplomacy and the environment in which it takes place.

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[11] Kraidy, M., Hydridiyt (2005). *The Cultural Logic of Globalization.* Philadelphia : Temple University Press, p. 153.

[12] Arquilla, J., Ronfeldt, D., (1999). *The Emergence of Noopolitik, Toward an American Information Strategy.* RAND, Sant Monica p. 13 www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR1033/Retrieved 31.07.2013.

Public diplomacy of newcomers to the EU reflects the need of government and non-state actors to adjust to the logic of network society and globalization understood, after A. Giddens, as an intensification of social relations worldwide.[13] Social media illustrate an important step in the development of network society. They provide NGOs, but also governmental agencies, with tools which enable them to initiate networks, coordinate them and to create issue alliances. Following the idea of globalization by A. Giddens, social media give an insight into developments in remote areas and give them relevance, potentially affecting the life of distant communities. Last but not least, they create worldwide communities, contributing to the development of the global public opinion. Ministries of foreign affairs, while adopting public diplomacy, learn to accept the new position of a "knot" in the network of global communication. [14] The idea of knots and networks, as developed by M. Castells, responds well to the current situation of ministries of foreign affairs conducting public diplomacy. Their officials and officers do not operate any more in a hierarchical environment, but they can preserve the co-coordinating function in public diplomacy, serving as "knots" and protecting this position. This change might be explained by the "relational" turn in the approach to public diplomacy, both in theory and practice, derived from the writings of R. Zaharna. The new, symmetric, dialogical public diplomacy tries to adopt the engagement and listening and accepts non-state organizations as actors of public diplomacy, but it hardly suggests the patterns of partnership. In this regard, studying the role of social media within the body of public diplomacy seems to make sense as it possibly brings with itself more stress on relations

[13] Giddens, A., (1991). *The Consequences of Modernity,* Stanford : Stanford University Press, p. 63
[14] Castells, M., & Spolteczenstwo S., (2007). *The rise of the Network Society.* Warszawa: PWN SA.

than power. While adopting social media, the MFAs try to join the digital network and at the same time to play the role of the "knot". International relations and international communication as disciplines try to deal with the consequences of the development of the global network society.

International broadcasting, is an important part of public diplomacy, even if typical of the cold-war understanding of the agency (asymmetrical). Since the creation of Web 2.0, diplomats have been making attempts to use the new tools and adjust to the logic of network society by joining it. Building networks has been implemented in diplomatic agency for many years now. It was achieved by targeting the potential multiplicators and engaging with niche publics. Early programs on cultural diplomacy and academic and student exchange had the aim to build networks. Nevertheless, they defined the ministries of foreign affairs as the power deciding on the participants of networks and their agency. Nowadays, ministries try to join the existing networks and to have an impact on them. Therefore, media might be viewed also as new tools of old networks or "knots" which, as a result, produce new networks.[15]

1.6.3 Digital Media

Social media is a group of internet based applications that allow the creation and exchange of user generated content (UGC) Kaplan and Harniein 2010 . Those applications present tremendous opportunities of networking, collaborating , sharing but

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[15] Zaharna , R.S., (2011). *The Public diplomacy challenges of strategic stakeholder engagement.* In Trials of engagement: The future of US Public diplomacy, edited by Ali Fisher and Scott Lucas, pp. 201-229. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publisher.

practices, communicating and connecting to all nearly unlimited pool of people with similar needs and desires(Patton 2009)[16].

The new genre of media are based on web 2.0 a term used to describe a new way in which software developers and end users use the world wide web as a platform where content and applications are continuously modified by all users in a participatory and collaborative fashion(Kaplan and Haenlein 2010).

Employees discussing their organization online posed a significant risk to the company's reputation (Hath 2009). Social media not only allowed public relations practitioners to reach out to and to engage their publics in conversations, but also provided an avenue to strengthen media relations. Eyrich ,Padman, and Sweetser (2008). Steyn Salehi samari Pitt, parent and Berthon (2010) observed that social media release (SMR) is emerging as a potentially powerful public relations tools in the world of social networking especially when targeted at influential bloggers. In 2006 then secretary of state condoleeza Rice declared her intention to set up "virtual posts" where people could visit a website and chat online with US. Diplomats (Stockman 2006). Then the state department officially launched its own blog "Dipnote ", on public diplomacy[17].

Dale (2010) notes there is limited data to quantify and analyze the US governments new media effectiveness and impact.

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[16] Baron, R.M., & Kenny, D.A. , (1986). The moderator-Mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of personality and social psychology* . 51, 1173-1182.

[17] Clinton, H. (2011). *Internet   rights and wrongs: Choices and challenges in a networked world*. U.S. Department of State, February 15. retrieved on June 6, 2013 from :
http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2011/02/156619.htm.

Matt C. Armstrong (2009) is more optimistic and explains social media has the capacity to break through geographical, cultural and even linguistic barriers democratizing the access to and distribution of information[18]. Abeer Al-Najjar (2009) notes that social media is placing more power in the hands of citizens and therefore governments should take a more pro-active approach in conducting their public diplomacy campaigns and efforts[19].

Comor and Bean (2012)   argued that the Obama administration's dominant concept in public diplomacy is "engagement ", which essentially aims to leverage social media and related technologies to persuade   skeptical audiences to empathize with American policies.

Potter (2008) explains that government need to be very selective about their online representation, however. Hayden (2011) suggests that the confluence of president Obama's personal communication efforts and policy strategy and the global context of Ubiquitous social media technologies indicates a productive moment for US.   Public diplomacy planners and policy advocates capitalize the president's popularity through a reinvigorated strategy of engagement[20].

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[18] Dale, H.. (2010). *Public diplomacy 2.0: where the U.S government meets "new media*". Homepage of Heritage foundation. Retrieved on February 20, 2013. http://www.heritage,org/research/public diplomacy/bg 2346.CFM

[19] Eyrich, N. Padman., M.L., & Sweetser, K.D (2008). PR practitioners' use of social media tools and communication technology. *public relations review*, 34,pp. 412-414.

[20] Fouts, J. (2009). Social media , virtual worlds and public diplomacy, *world politics review*. Retrieved on February 24, 2013 at http://www.world politicsreview.com/article.

Researchers have observed that new media , including social media tools as facebook and twitter, took center stage in broadcasting the protests in North Africa and Middle East in 2011 (Leight Walton Ananian Cruz Enriquez and Tarwaharlal , 2011).

The practice or public diplomacy must attach great importance to building and maintaining credibility (Gass and Seiter 2009). Smart public diplomacy requires an understanding of the roles of credibility, self criticism, and civil society in generating soft power (Nye 2008).

Early studies were that the web information was perceived less credible than traditional news media because the internet is rife with rumors and misinformation (Kiousis , 2001)[21].

Mersham et al (2009), 'social' refers to (two-way) communication activities, and 'media' refers to the platform used for these activities. On this view, social media are interactive and collaborative technologies, a "web of never- ending and constantly shifting cluster on conversations that have collapsed the traditional boundaries of space and time" (mersham. Theunissen, and peart, 2009, P.148).

Solis and Breakenridge (2009) also see the rise of social media as a shift from the traditional 'broadcast mechanism' of communication to a 'may-to may model' of two-way communication, defining the term as a "democratization of content and the shift in the role people play in the process of reading and disseminating information (and thus creating and sharing content)' and "anything that uses the internet to facilitate conversations" (soils and Breakenridge, 2009, p. xvii).

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[21] Glassman, J. (2008). *Public diplomacy 2.0. policy innovations* . Retrieved on February 18, 2013 from http://www.policyinnovations.org/ideas/media/ video/data/000094.

However, Giannini (2010) has the clearest and most succinct definition, labeling social media as "all sites where participants can produce, publish, control, critique, rank and interact with online content" (Giannini, 2010, p. 157)

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study is guided by agenda setting theory.

The theory describes the "ability [of the news media) to influence the salience of topics on the public agenda."[22] That is, if a news item is covered frequently and prominently the audience will regard the issue as more important. Agenda-setting theory was formally developed by Dr. Max McCombs and Dr. Donald Shaw in a study on the 1968 presidential election.   By comparing the salience of issues in news content with the public's perceptions of the most important election issue, McCombs and Shaw were able to determine the degree to which the media determines public opinion.

The theory of agenda-setting can be traced to the first chapter of Walter Lippmann' s 1922 classic, Public Opinion. [23] In that chapter, "The World Outside The Pictures In Our Heads," Lippmann pointed out that the media dominates over the creation of pictures in our head and memory; he believed that the public reacts not to the actual event produced but the picture of the actual event in our memory. Lippmann argue that the mass media are the principal connection between events in the world and the images in the minds of the public.

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[22] Lyengar, S; kinder, D.(1987). *News that matter*: Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
[23] Noelle- Neumann, E., (1977). Turbulences in the climate of opinion: Methodological application of the spiral of silence theory. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 4 (2): pp. 143-158.

The concept of agenda setting was launched by McCombs and Shaw during the 1968 presidential election in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. They examined Lippmann's idea of construction of the pictures in our heads by comparing the issues on the media agenda with key issues on the undecided voters' agenda. They found evidence of agenda setting by identifying that salience of the news agenda is highly correlated to that of the voter's agenda.

Agenda setting occurs through a cognitive process known as accessibility. [24]Accessibility implies that the more frequently and prominently the news media cover an issue, the more instances of that issue become accessible in audience's memories. When respondents are asked what the most important problem facing the country is, they answer with the most accessible news issue in memory, which is typically the issue the news media focus on the most. The agenda-setting effect is not the result of receiving one or a few messages but is due to the aggregate impact of a very large number of messages, each of which has a different content but all of which deal with the same general issue. [25]Mass-media coverage in general and agenda-setting in particular also has a powerful impact on what individuals think that other people are thinking,[26] and hence they tend to allocate more importance to issues that have been extensively covered by mass media.

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[24] Lyengar, S., (1990). The accessibility bias in politics: Television news and public opinion". *International Journal of Public Opinion research* 2: 1-15.
[25] Dealing J; Rogers, E., (1988). *Agenda-setting research: Where has it been, where is it going*?. Communication Yearbook 11: pp. 555-594.
[26] Ibid

1.7.1 The relevance of agenda setting theory on how public diplomacy is influenced by social media

This idea of mass involvement has become more prominent with the advent of the Internet and its potential to make everyone a pamphleteer.[27] Increase in the role of citizens in agenda setting sheds light on a new direction in the traditional agenda-building research.

Kim and Lee [28] noted that the agenda-setting research on the Internet differs from traditional agenda- setting research with respect that the Internet is in competition with traditional media and has enormous capacity for contents' and users' interactivity. Lee, Lancendorfer and Lee [29] argued that "various opinions about public issues are posted on the Internet bulletin boards or the Usenet newsgroup by Netizens, and the opinions then form an agenda in which other Netizens can perceive the salient issue'. Scholars also stated that the Internet plays role in forming Internet user's opinion as well as the public space. Kim and lee[30]found that a person's opinion could be disseminated through various online channels and could synthesize public opinion that influences news coverage. Their study suggests 'reversed agenda effects', meaning that public agenda could set media

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[27] Benkler, Y., (2006). The wealth of networks: *How social production transforms markets and freedom* New Heaven, CT: Yale University Press.

[28]Kim, S.T., & Lee (2006). "New functions of Internet mediated agenda-setting: Agenda –rippling and reversed agenda-setting:. *Korean Journal of Journalism and Communication Studies* 50 (3): 175-205

[29] Lee, B., Karen and Lee (Mar 2005). "Agenda-setting and the internet: The intermedia influence of internet bulletin boards on news paper coverage of the 2000 general election in South Korea". *Asian Journal of Communication* 15 (1): 57-71.

[30] Ibid

agenda. Maxwell McCombs [31] also mentioned "reverse agenda-setting" as a situation where public concern sets the media agenda.

Several real-world provide evidence that the Internet-community, particularly bloggers, can push their own agenda into public agenda, then media agenda, and eventually, into policy agenda. For instance, in 2005 Eason Jordan, the chief news executive at CNN, abruptly resigned after being besieged by the online community after saying, according to various witnesses, that he believed the United States military had aimed at journalists in Iraq and killed 12 of them.[32] Similarly, in 2002 senate majority leader Trent Lott had to resign due to his inappropriate racist remarks that were widely discussed in the blogosphere.[33]   However bloggers attract attention not only to oust journalists and politicians.   An online investigation on technical problems with electronic voting machines started by an activist. Bev Harris in 2003 eventually forced traditional media outlets to address issue of electronic voting malperformance.   This in turn made Diebold, a company that produces these machines, to acknowledge its fault and take measures to fix it. [34]

1.8 Methodology

1.8.1 Introduction

Research is a systematic inquiry to discover facts and generate new knowledge. According to Mugenda and Mugenda research is a diligent inquiry or a critical

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[31] McCombs, Maxwell (2004). *Setting the agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion.* Cambridge: Blackwell Pub. P. 198 ISBN 978-0-7456-2313-9

[32] Seelye, K.Q. (2005) Resignation at CNN shows the growing influence of blogs (http://www.nytimes.com/2005/02/14/technology/14cnn.html). Retrieved 14 February 2013.

[33] Ibid

[34] Ibid

examination of a given phenomenon.[35] It implies exhaustive study, investigation or experimentation following some logical sequence" (2003:1) . Through research we generate new knowledge that is constructed into theories.   Theories in turn help us to interpret and to explain natural and social systems in a very systematic and explicit manner. In this regard "the research result must either produce totally new theories or lead to some change in the status of older theories."   Theories therefore, merely interpret reality in a more systematic, coherent and explicit manner.

Researchers are, therefore people who are consumed by the search for facts and the "truth". Facts that support a particular theory are nothing other than accumulated data from which facts can be constructed.   Therefore, data has particular and special significance in the research processes. According to Mugenda and Mugenda, "data refers to all information a researcher gathers for his or her study" (2003: 12).   Data can be of use to a researcher only if the collected data are accurate and reasonably objective. If the collected data does not fulfill these two criteria, its of no use and therefore should not be used for research purposes. Collecting accurate objective and relevant data requires not only proper judgment but also the necessary technical skills (Bryant and White, 1982) .

Research is conducted with a problem and policy goal in mind and is aimed at providing a scientific explanation to a phenomenon. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) the main objectives of research are to: (1) discover new knowledge; (2) describe and explain a phenomenon; (3) enable prediction; (4) enable control; and (5) develop a theory.

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[35] Mugenda, Olive M., & Abel G., Mugenda (2003). *Research Methods: Quantitative and qualitative Approaches.* Revised Edition. Nairobi, Kenya Acts Press.

According to Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias,"[36] scientific explanations and predictions involve relating the phenomenon to be explained, defendant variable to other phenomena/explanatory or independent variables by means of general laws or theories (1996: 59). Thus, when conducting a research, researchers are interested in finding out the effect of one variable on the other. The relationship is then stated in a more systematic and explicit form of causal relationships. This causal relationship often includes some phenomenon that is to be explained or accounted for   (dependent variable) as w ell as one or more factors (independent variable) that affect or influence the phenomenon that is to be explained (Shively, 1980).   By studying the relationship between the dependent and independent variable, a scientifically proven relationship is established . This relationship is then explained in a scientific systematic and explicit way- a theory. The relationship between two variables could be positive meaning that as the value of the independent variable increases, so does the value of the dependent variable. A relationship could also be negative or inverse indicating that as the value of the independent variable increases , the value of the dependent variable decreases.

1.8.2 Study site

The research was conducted in the Jomo Kenyatta memorial library in the University of Nairobi. The reseacher also consulted various lecturers from the University of Nairobi's Institute of diplomacy and international studies who were very resourceful because they are experts in the field.

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[36] Frankfort N., Chava and David N., (1996). *Research method in the social sciences*. (5 ed.). London: St Martin's Press.

1.8.3 Data collection Method

This research relied on desktop research where secondary data was collected from books, journals , articles, Newspapers, periodicals and the internet.

The researcher also made reference to research projects written by former students at Institute of diplomacy and international studies which are kept at the Africana section of the library . From these she got the format of writing the project.

1.8.4 Data analysis

The study did an in depth descriptive analysis of social media and public diplomacy. The analysis allowed the researcher to examine the interrelationships between the variables; social media and public diplomacy and draw explanatory inferences. In the study the researcher sought to establish other factors that come into play like soft power, cultural diplomacy ,foreign policy and how they affect the said variables.

1.8.5 Scope and limitation

The scope of this research was based on the new media as a strong determinant in the promotion of public diplomacy. The main reference was the United States of America as a case study.

The research was limited to public diplomacy which started during the cold war and more recently after the 9/11 attacks on the pentagon during which information technology developed immensely and brought about new dynamics in the practice of diplomacy, thus ushering in the advent of digital media and media diplomacy. It sought to bring to the fore the efficiency of new media in the world's diplomatic practice and its effects in the advancement of foreign policy which is a main pillar of every nation in it's promotion of international relations. Cultural diplomacy was discussed in light of it being a recommendation to the promotion of public diplomacy. The researcher also look ed at the wave new media is causing especially in authoritarian regimes and how digital media is changing diplomatic reporting.

1.8.6 Ethical considerations

The researcher did her original work and where she referred to other people's work she quoted them. The researcher borrowed books from the University of Nairobi using her school's identity card and returned them at the specified date in perfect condition. She also used the internet services in the Library during the specified times that is on weekdays from 8.00 am to 4.00 pm.

The researcher had cordial relations with all the library staff and formed good rapport which made it easy to access all the sections.

Books were handled with utmost care and returned on time.

1.8.7 Challenges

The computer resources in the library are so few and the University has very many students in need of them. So the time each student has access to the internet per day was two hours which was hardly enough to accomplish any task. The books from the reserve section of the library could only be borrowed overnight. To access the library one had to have a valid school identity card so if one forgot it at home they couldn't enter the library.

Sometimes the internet used to be down and the computers could hang making research impossible. The topic I was researching on was digital media which is a relatively new field of study therefore there are very few published books and therefore I had to rely on articles, periodicals and newspapers. The information on each article was very little and that forced the researcher to look for numerous articles in order to get enough information. This was quite tiring and time consuming.

Thus, the researcher encountered enough challenges but for a worthwhile cause.

1.9 Chapter Outline

The study is organized into five chapters

Chapter one is a presentation of the introduction to the study, literature review, problem statement, objectives and methodology.

The second chapter is a discussion on the evolution of public diplomacy and how culture influences public diplomacy.

Chapter three entails the paradigmatic caused by the new media for example, the democratic processes, civil movements and social protests.

The fourth chapter is an explanation of how digital media in public diplomacy is a tool of foreign policy and how modern technology has changed diplomatic reporting

The final chapter consists of conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Public diplomacy (PD) is a new field of practice and scholarship. It attracted attention in the previous century with the opening of diplomacy to the media and public opinion. It became a more substantial area during the Cold War dominated by the delicate balance of nuclear weapons, and the ideological battle for the hearts and minds of peoples around the world. PD became a critical element of national security and foreign policy, following the emergence of the information age, the end of the Cold War and the September 11 terror attacks on New York and Washington.[37]

2.1 Definition and Historical Evolution

PD is a communication process used by states and non-state actors to influence a foreign government by influencing its citizens. Originally, states used PD in antagonistic relationships in order to achieve long-term results in foreign societies.

The assumption was that if public opinion in the target society is persuaded to accept a favorable image of the other side, it will exert pressure on its government to alter existing hostile attitudes and policy. Thus, during the Cold War, both the US and the Soviet Union extensively utilized PD to shape favorable public attitudes around the world toward their respective rival ideologies. They primarily used international broadcasting, international exchanges and cultural diplomacy.[38]

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[37] Cull , N.J., (2006). *"Public diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories, public diplomacy in a changing World"*. The ANNALS of the America Academy of Political and social science, pp. 31-54
[38] Gilboa, E., (2008). Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 616 (March), pp. 55-77.

The US established radio stations such as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and Britain used the BBC World Service in order to provide citizens in communist countries accurate information about events occurring in their own countries and in the West. The Soviet Union and China used broadcasts in numerous languages to spread their messages around the world. Cultural diplomacy includes participation in festivals and exhibitions; building and maintaining cultural centers; teaching a language and organizing musical tours. The purpose is to cultivate admiration, reputation and good will. Many countries maintain permanent cultural centers in major cities around the world so that citizens can be directly exposed to the cultural world of the state employing cultural diplomacy. Examples include the cultural centers of the British Council, the German Goethe-Institute and the Chinese Confucius Institutes.[39]

International exchanges refer to programs designed to bring overseas students, faculty, intellectuals and artists to study or to work in universities and scientific centers. The assumption is that spending time, studying or teaching, will make foreign students and scholars good will ambassadors for the host state. Examples include the US Fulbright program and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).

2.1.1 The New Public Diplomacy

At the beginning of this century, scholars and practitioners have adopted the term the New Public Diplomacy (NPD). First, they wanted to distinguish between the PD of the Cold War and the PD of the post-war era. Second, they wished to adjust the classic PD to

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[39] Gilboa, E., (2008). Media Diplomacy. In W. Donsbach (Ed.). *Encyclopedia of Communication*. London: International Communication Association/Blackwell Publishing, Vol. VII, pp. 2852-2857.

the opportunities and challenges of the information age. NPD includes the following components: it is pursued by states and non-state actors; it is based on "soft power," two-way communication, strategic PD, information management, nation branding and e-image; it involves domestication of foreign policy and it deals with both short and long term issues. Contrary to popular misunderstanding, the NPD is not propaganda and is not just public relations (PR). It is a communication system designed to create a dialogue with both foes and allies. It requires a capability to effectively use credible information in an attempt to persuade actors to understand, accept or support policies and actions.[40]

Contemporary public diplomacy is related to "soft power." Power is the ability to influence the behavior of others to yield the outcomes one wants. To achieve these outcomes, an actor may employ hard power - that is, military and economic means or soft power, which entails attraction, seduction and persuasion. Soft power arises from the attractiveness of a nation's values, culture and policies. It causes people to act through cooperation rather than coercion. The Vatican, many international organizations and NGOs possess only soft power. Critics suggested that only "smart power"-- a balanced combination of hard and soft power can yield the best results. PD could be viewed as the yielding of soft power.[41]

Classic public diplomacy was pursued only by nations; the NPD is conducted by both states and non-state actors, such as international organizations, NGO's, multi-national

[40] Bascand, G., (2010). *Household use of information and communication technology 2009.* Retrieved July 2013. from Statistics New Zealand.
http//www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/households/householuseofict_hotp 2009.aspx.
[41] Zarrella, D., (2010). *The social media marketing book.* Sebastopol, California: O'Reilly.

corporations, global media networks, terrorist organizations, military alliances and prominent individuals. Classic public diplomacy was one-sided. Messages and information were delivered to the masses, but there was no effort to create a dialogue and listen to the interests and wishes of the messages' recipients. The NPD utilizes two-way communication, a central element in several models of international public relations and public diplomacy, which requires serious listening and suitable responses to messages from other nations.[42]

In this century, PD is likely to become the major instrument of foreign policy due to the continuing decline of military force as a legitimate instrument of settling international disputes, and the continuing increase in the importance of world public opinion.

New Public Diplomacy is not just about using the Internet. It's also characterized by different types of actors, relationships and goals.[43]

First, the tools for public diplomacy have changed and that is related to the Internet and information technologies. A lot of public diplomacy happens through new media now. Exchanges have become much easier with cheaper and faster modes of communication. From e-mail to social networks, the Internet has changed all communication and that of course applies to public diplomacy. There is even online playing games being used for public diplomacy, such as Sweden setting up an embassy on Second Life .Additionally most governments now use social media to further public diplomacy goals. This recent

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[42] Wright, D.K., & Hinson, M.D., (2008). *How blogs and social media are changing public relations and the way it is practiced*. Public Relations Journal, 2(2)

[43] Gilboa, E., (2009). *Public Diplomacy*. In George T. K. (Ed.),*Encyclopedia of Political Science*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

report from the Lowy Institute covers all of the social media the U.S. State Department utilizes, with a large focus on public diplomacy.

In terms of actors, public diplomacy is no longer just contact between a government and another state's people (Cull pg. 12). It has evolved to include many more actors, including NGOs, international organizations and corporations. Even individuals can play a part in public diplomacy. One reason for this is the technology that allows anyone to have a voice via the Internet. But another reason is that goals and objectives have also changed.

Whereas as many might argue that old public diplomacy had similarities with propaganda, because it aimed to speak AT people to convey a message, New Public Diplomacy is about speaking WITH people. It's about creating dialogues and conversations, which means more actors will naturally be involved in the process. Practitioners of public diplomacy have found it more productive to focus on relationship-building instead of top-down communication Cull(pp 26) also emphasizes the importance of listening and responding to what you learn, instead of just attempting to plow through with your message. In the new information age, it is much easier to communicate and carry on these types of conversations as a tool of diplomacy. [44]

2.2 CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

The world is now beginning to recognize the importance of cultural diplomacy as the means of soft power, and it is important to implement and manage diverse cultural

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[44] Cull , Nicholas J., Karen H., (2011) *The Brezhnev Sydrome; Trial of Public Diplomacy as Domestic Performance. In Trials of Engagement*: The Future of US Public Diplomacy, (Eds.) by Ali Fisher and Scott Lucas, pp. 117-132.Leidin:Brill/Martinus Nijhoff Publisher.

exchanges and developing effective communication through information technologies since the Internet has been rapidly evolving and it now affects our daily lives in some way and social media services and bringing nations and people closer. It is hard to detach cultural policy from the on-line environment; hence policy makers need to apply extra effort in developing effective strategies of promoting cultural diplomacy through information technologies along with strategic cultural policy frameworks

2.2.1 Culture

Culture is complex whole including knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs and any other capabilities and habits created by man who is a member of society where a group of people is related to each other through persistent relations, or a large social grouping sharing the scarce geographical or virtual territory, subject to the same political authority and dominant cultural expectations.[45]

Culture in Public Diplomacy is an international actor's attempt to promote the national culture, to give impacts on public opinions of counterparts and to build integrity and credibility through cultural exchanges.[46] It is one of the different ways of practicing public diplomacy such as media diplomacy, cyber diplomacy, aid diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, sport diplomacy and so forth. Hence, culture in public diplomacy implies that cultural diplomacy can be practiced as a means of public diplomacy through the multicultural events, the art exhibition, and through various international festivals.

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[45] Milton C., & Cummings, Jr. (2003). *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey,* Washington, D.C: Center for Arts and Culture.

[46] David H. (1951). , *The Cultural Approach To Inter-American Amity*, World Affairs, Vol. 114, No. 1, pp. 11-13,

2.2.2 Cultural Diplomacy

According to Milton Cummings (2003), cultural diplomacy has been defined as "the exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understandings."[47] It explains cultural diplomacy is in cultural activities that a nation's idea of itself is best represented so as to continue to inspire people the world over despite political differences and cross borders.

Myung-sub Kim (2003) defines cultural diplomacy as self-interest strategies of foreign policy chosen by a nation's cultural interests. He emphasizes it needs to be considered through stereoscope visions because diverse actors such as government bodies, non-governmental organizations and individuals are able to conduct cultural diplomacy.

Cultural diplomacy of the past has focusing on protection and propaganda of the own national culture in the process of international exchange. Under the given accent of globalization, however, the focus cannot be set solely on the interest of nation states any more. Conversely, international cultural exchange cannot be separated from national interests either. Therefore, the influence of public, private and regional actors in the realization of concrete cultural exchange programs is doubtlessly rising. Also the need for an enhanced engagement in people-to-people diplomacy along with a deep understanding of international cultural exchange, has never been more significant.[48]

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[47] Philip M., Taylor, (1934-1939). Cultural Diplomacy and the British Council, *British Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 3, 244-265.
[48] Hocking, B., (2005/7). :*Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy.* In the new public diplomacy: Soft *power in International relations*, (ed.) by Jan Melissen,. New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan pp. 28-46

2.2.3 History of Cultural Diplomacy

The link between culture and politics has evolved since 1930s. France and Germany focused. During the Cold War, the United States government supported exchange programs for students and artists under the 1936 Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural Relations, the model for the numerous exchange programs integral public diplomacy. It helped the spread of American knowledge, skills, and ideas in the war of ideas with Soviet Union. Especially the Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 was successful cultural diplomacy policy to promote better understanding of the United States. However, after Cold War, cultural diplomacy ceased to be a priority until 1970s.[49]

In 1980s, foreign policy has changed considerably as culture has been considered as efficient tools of diplomacy. Mitchell(1986) characterizes the cultural diplomacy by saying it is essentially involved strengthening a country's cultural influence by funding artists' tour or by promoting the study of the country's language and culture in universities abroad.[50]

As the Information Age has arrived, scholars emphasize the importance of the international cultural agenda because cultural products are increasingly swept into the trans-national communication and economic flows caused by globalization. Nye and Owens(1997) stressed that "to be culturally powerful or even culturally significant in

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[49] Bandos, & Arthur A.(2001). Public diplomacy: An Old Art, a New Profession, *Virginia Quarterly review* 77: pp. 424-437.
[50] J.M. Mitchell, (1986). *International Cultural Relations*, London: Allen & Unwin,

today's world, a country must exercise control over these flows,"[51]which implies cultural diplomacy can be defined as the politicization of culture by foreign policy.

2.2.4 Cultural diplomacy as a means of soft power

The relationship between culture and public diplomacy is found in the concept of power. According to Joseph Nye, who initiated the concept of soft power, defines power as "the ability to achieve one's purposes or goals" and "the ability to get others to do what they otherwise would not do."[52]

Joseph Nye's term to indicate the ability to shape what others want, can rest on the attractiveness of one's culture and ideology or the ability to manipulate the agenda of political choices in a manner that makes actors fail to express some preferences because they seem to be too unrealistic. Particularly, he underlines the significance of public diplomacy since soft power grows out of culture, out of domestic values and policies, and out of foreign policy. Further he predicts a greater role for informational and institutional power as a transition to a new age.[53] He emphasizes short-term responses can be fine-tuned through using broadcast capabilities and narrowcasting on the Internet, thus increase budget in soft power and public diplomacy is necessary to raise a nation's profile. He also underlines "the most effective communication often occurs not by distant broadcast but in face-to-face contacts." It is critical to be aware of how soft power can be

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[51] Louis B., (1999). *Redefining Cultural Diplomacy: Cultural Security and Foreign Policy in Canada,* Political Psychology, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 677-699.

[52] Joseph S. Nye, (1990). *The Changing Nature of World Power, Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 105, No 2, Academy of Political Science, pp. 177-192.

[53] Joseph S. Nye, (1990). *The Changing Nature of World Power, Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 105, No 2, Academy of Political Science, p. 182.

used as a means of public diplomacy enemies during the Cold War. When the US assumed the mantle of global leadership after World War II, cultural diplomacy became a central part of its strategy. Cultural activities, foreign confer1950s, and the US Information Agency was created during that period. As the Soviet Union collapsed down, the US took it as an opportunity to disseminate information through educational and cultural exchange. American Centers began to build up its values in positive perceptions of the US abroad. They functioned as libraries and provided a venue for engagement between visiting American experts and local audiences.[54]

Especially cultural exchange programs, such as the Fulbright program and youth exchange initiative called the American Field Service program are designated to cultivate favorable impressions of the US since it has become the greatest military power. The US encourages foreign educational reforms, extends existing foreign exchange programs and improves the access of foreign publics to American institutions and values.

Also the US encourages better cross-cultural understanding and revitalizes American volunteerism abroad. In order to create the favorable images, the US is keen to conduct cultural diplomacy by having skilled and committed diplomats to educate the language, culture, and history of their postings. Hence, it is required that the government should increase fellowship in the study of strategic languages and recruit young people with the requisite language skills into the diplomatic service[55]

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[54] Finn, Helena K. (2003). *Cultural diplomacy: Engaging foreign audience,* Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82, No.6

[55] Louis Belanger, (1999). *Redefining Cultural Diplomacy: Cultural Security and Foreign Policy in Canada,* Political Psychology, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 677-699,

2.2.5 US Cultural Diplomacy

In the United States (US), cultural diplomacy, funded by the CIA and the State Department's Division of Cultural relations, was considered to be significant because policy makers understood the link between engagement with foreign audiences and victory over ideological enemies during the Cold War. When the US assumed the mantle of global leadership after World War II, cultural diplomacy became a central part of its strategy. Cultural activities, foreign conferences and intellectual publications were continuously taken place until the 1950s, and the US Information Agency was created during that period. As the Soviet Union collapsed down, the US took it as an opportunity to disseminate information through educational and cultural exchange. American Centers began to build up its values in positive perceptions of the US abroad. They functioned as libraries and provided a venue for engagement between visiting American experts and local audiences. [56]

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[56]Arndt, R.T., (2005). The first resort of Kings: *American Cultural diplomacy in the twenties century.* Washington D.C: Potomac Books.
[57] Hellyer, D., (1951). *The Cultural Approach to inter-American amity*, World affairs, Vol 114, No. 1.

cultural diplomacy by having skilled and committed diplomats to educate the language, culture, and history of their postings. Hence, it is required that the government should increase fellowship in the study of strategic languages and recruit young people with the requisite language skills into the diplomatic service.[58]

2.2.6 Cultural identity in the information age

Cultural policy makers should generate a fundamental redefinition of the cultural identity, not to state sovereignty but the identity of societies to cope with enormous impacts on culture caused by globalization.

Globalization has had notable effects on basic values and beliefs. As a result of the economic and cultural effects of globalization, together with the impact of mass media such as cable TV, the Internet and mobile phones, modern society is faced with blending identities.

People develop a sense of belongingness to a worldwide culture, by adopting practices, styles, and information that are part of the global culture, which then creates a global identity. However, in parallel, people continue to hold their local identity as well, based on their socialization to their local culture. Accordingly, individual identity is influenced by both a local and global identity. Therefore, it is important for cultural policy makers to maintain a cultural identity by keeping cultural values, social group, and national identity constant. [59]

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[58] Helena K. Finn, *The Case for Cultural Diplomacy: Engaging Foreign Audience*, Foreign Affairs, Vol. 82, No. 6, pp. 15-20, 2003.

[59] Nye, Joseph S., (2004).Soft Power and American Foreign Policy, *political science quarterly,* Academy of Political Science..

Cultural identity can be considered soft power asset because it projects its values, culture and perspectives into cyberspace. Emerging technologies will make it easier to blend cultural activities with traditional diplomatic work by multiplying the opportunities for connections between peoples; thus cultural policy makers should consider human resource and operating procedures to develop cultural identity through technological improvement and innovation.[60]

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[60] Sampler, Jeffrey L., (1998). Redefining Industry Structure for the   information Age, *strategic management journal*, Vol. 19, No. 4, Special issue: Editor's choice.

<center>**CHAPTER THREE**</center>

PARADIGMATIC SHIFTS CAUSED BY THE NEW MEDIA

3.1 Social media support to democratic processes

Many claims are made about the democratizing power of new media. Social media is considered to contribute to government accountability, human rights activism, the development of civil society and practices of citizenship. In terms of accountability and transparency, it is increasingly difficult for governments to hide or manipulate information or to act inconsistently with citizen concerns[61]. The use of mobile phones and the Internet, for example, allow for news of any inappropriate government actions to quickly reach the public and to be challenged. It also allows for people to follow decision-making processes and discuss issues of common concern (Castells, 2007; Garrett, 2006; Mäkinen and Kuira, 2008).

3.1.1 The Youth Bulge

The internationally dominant cliché of an Arab spring revolutionary was a young, network-savvy college-educated members of the middle class. The "youth bulge" in the middle East - where between 55 and 70 percent of the population of any given country is under the age of thirty. ' Previously dubbed the "lost generation", and targeted as potential source of recruits for Jihadist and Islamist groups, the youth are now being hailed as the ' face book generation', and the "internet generation" and the " miracle

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[61] "World Press Freedom Day (2005) Dakar Declaration", *UNESCO*, accessed August 08, 2013, http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/flagship-project-activities/world-press-freedom-day/previous-celebrations/worldpressfreedomday200900000/dakar-declaration/

<center>38</center>

generation" because they have accomplished in less than two months in some places what previous generation had not been able to achieve in over thirty years.

The role of these communication technologies cannot be underestimated in the Arab Spring particularly when considering the population's 'youth bulge'. A demographic analysis manipulated or used to repress, there is an overall benefit from open accessibility. Recently the United Nations, drawing from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, stated that all people have the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. The conscientious technology of social media should be embraced and supported by all actors at all levels.[62] During the 2010 Egyptian uprising in Tahrir Square, masses of people-primarily youth and young adults-organized through Face book and other social media platforms to protest their government's action or inaction on issues that mattered to them, starting the most powerful Arab political movement of this century. Well before the Tahrir Square protests, similar movements employing social media to protest political leadership had taken place in the Philippines, Iran, Belarus and Thailand.[63] These cases reflect the social composition and choice media options of today's generation. Sociological shifts in demographics and power, which have coincided with increased use of social media, have resulted in movement-making with dramatic political implications.

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[62] "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights", *Office of the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights*, accessed August 16, 2013, http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/ccpr.htm

[63] "Media Play a Key Role in Senegal's Election", *International Center for Journalists*, May 07, 2013, http://www.icfj.org/news/media-play-key-role-senegals-election.

For example in the uploaded videos on Facebook of Tunisian dissident Mohamed Bouazizi's self-immolation prior to the overthrow of Ben Ali in 2010. Tunisians' membership to Facebook had increased from 28,000 to 1.4 million users between 2008 and 2010. Due to the increasing access to social media—18 percent of the total population-young Tunisians were able to organize and bring national and international attention to their resulting political upheaval, catalyzing citizens in other Arab countries to do the same.[64]

Disruptions in information management happen in the United States as they do in China and the Arab world. The Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA), a piece of online piracy legislation that was proposed in Congress in 2011. Seemingly out of nowhere, a citizen-based movement took root, and nine million citizens organized themselves indirectly and contacted members of Congress. This movement involved millions of young citizens and reflects a demographic shift in citizen-based participation in the world of policy. Thus, governments need to consider not only the shift from hierarchy to networks of citizens, but also the movement-making of younger citizens who are socially involved via the Internet and social media.[65]

The instances of technology, network and demographic shifts in Tunisia, China and the United States exemplify a basic need for governments to adapt to the changes and challenges of the twenty-first century. Just like in Darwin's theory of evolution to the

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[64] Banda, F., Mudhai, O., and Tetty, W. (2009), *New Media and Democracy in Africa*: A critical Interjection', *Introduction in African media and the digital public sphere*, (Eds.). O. Mudhai, W. Tetty and F Banda, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
[65] Wasserman, H. (2011). *"Mobile phones, popular media and everyday African democracy: transmissions and Transgressions', popular communication,"* Vol 9. No. 2, pp. 146-158.

nature of technology and diplomacy: "It's not the strongest of the species that survive, nor the most intelligent, but those that are most adaptable to change."

Technology has accelerated change, tightening the reaction time of diplomats to relevant events and activities. Furthermore, diplomats must reach the generation of young technology users. These youth are increasing in numbers in both developed and developing countries and, despite their differences, are able to connect with one another through online communities.

3.1.2 Crowd sourcing for human rights

Within a week of the outbreak of violence in Kenya, a small group of concerned Kenyans, located throughout the Diaspora, came together to launch an online campaign called Ushahidi to spread awareness about the violence devastating their country. Ushahidi is part of a tradition of Kenyan digital civic projects dating back at least to 2006, when Kenyan lawyer Ory Okolloh teamed up with an anonymous blogger known as 'M' to create Mzalendo: Eye on Kenyan Parliament, a Web site dedicated to helping hold Kenyan Members of Parliament (MPs) accountable for their votes.[66] In the tradition of Mzalendo several groups of concerned Kenyans. Both in the country and in the Diaspora, gathered in the immediate aftermath of the Kenyan election to launch civic initiatives. These initiatives included fundraising campaigns such as the Help Kenyans in Distress' campaign, which leveraged SMS money transfer technology to support the Red Cross.[67] Another notable example is the blog of Joseph Karoki, who wrote about a young boy who was left crying after his mother was killed in Naivasha. He

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[66] Mzalendo :Eye on parliament, http: www.mzalendo .com/about/.
[67] Clay S., (2008). "*Here comes everybody: The power of organizing without organizations*" New York: Penguin, p. 22.

organized donations for 'Baby Brian,' and kept readers of his blog updated on the progress of one family affected by the violence in Kenya. Far and away the most prominent and successful digital civic campaign was Ushahidi. On January 2, Orv Okolloh provided the spark for the project:

Google Earth supposedly shows in great detail where the damage is being done on the ground. It will be useful to keep a record of this in the long-term. For the reconciliation process to occur at the local level the truth of what happened will first have to come out. A mashup of where the violence and destruction is occurring using Google Maps[68]

David Kobia and Erik l-Iersman, two technologists with roots in Kenya, answered the call. Leading a small group of designers, they designed and launched Ushahidi on January 9. Ushahidi is a mashup, a blending of two Internet applications to relay information in a visually compelling way. The design teams combined Google Maps, which allows users to zoom in and view satellite images of Kenya, with a tool for users, via mobile phone or Internet browser, to report incidents of violence on the map, add photos, video, and written content that document where and when violence occurs. In the tradition of using Google Maps for human rights awareness, Ushahidi follows the Darfur Museum Mapping Initiative, a collaboration of Google Earth and the U.S. Holocust Museum launched in early 2007.[69] This platform allows the user to view professionally collected photos, video, and written testimony from Darfur, as well as view images of destroyed villages and IDP camps.

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[68] Update, January 3, 11.00Pm,Kenya Pundict,http://www.kenyapunict.com/2008/01/03/update-jan-3-455-1100-pm/.
[69] Mental Acrobatics, http://www.mentalacrobatics.com/think/.

An interactive map is a remarkably effective narrative tool for a transnational audience. Tragic violence calls for empathy and action, but it is difficult to feel a connection with a place one cannot imagine. C.J. Menard's famous map of Napoleon's march to Moscow is often hailed as the best statistical graphic ever made, because it is an emotive visual presentation of the decimation of nearly half a million troops in the frigid Russian winter of 1812[70]

3.1.3 Civil movements and social protests

More recently, bloggers in Egypt were instrumental in publicising human rights violations through text and audio-visual materials documenting government and security forces excesses. In Tunisia, bloggers were at times the only sources for information in the recent revolution.

(Ottaway and Hamzawy, 2011).Much of the literature on social media discusses the contribution of social media more generally to the development of civil society and practices of citizenship. New communication technologies have become the infrastructure for sharing and learning about diverse views and for new approaches to political representation and participation (Howard, 2011; Mäkinen and Kuira,2008). In Egypt, the April 6 movement, which relies on Facebook and other social media tools, has provided a structure for a new generation of Egyptians to assemble virtually and communicate about their grievances. [71]They fall outside of the small, traditional group of activists and

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[70] Menard's C.J. *Map of Napolleon's March of 1812,*Donoho Design Group,http://www.ddg.com/LIS/infoDesignF96/Kelvin/napoleon/map.html.
[71] Mäkinen, M., and Kuira, M. W., (2008). Social Media and Post-election Crisis in Kenya, *The International Journal of Press/Politics,* Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 328-335 http://hij.sagepub.com/content/13/3/328.abstract

opinion-makers in the country and represent a new form of civil society organisation (Shapiro, 2009). Howard stresses that new civic associations are emerging throughout the Muslim world due to the supportive information infrastructure provided by information and communication technologies. The formation of such groups is especially important in these countries, where political parties can be illegal (Howard, 2011).[72]

Citizens have also become involved in the public sphere as 'citizen-journalists'. In Kenya, for example, citizens who were dissatisfied with self-censorship of the mainstream media during the crisis became reporters and digital activists. They used blogs to challenge the standard narrative, which resulted in the broadening of views (Goldstein and Rotich, 2008; Mäkinen and Kuira, 2008). In Iran, the active blogosphere is seen to resemble a genuine online civil society (A day, 2010).

Social media is also considered to contribute to mobilization and participation through the development of a community and collective identity.

Communication technologies can foster collective identity across a geographically dispersed population. Individuals may get the sense, through online discussion groups for example, that they are members of a larger community with shared grievances (Garrett, 2006; Aday, 2010). This allows civic groups to find and attract new members and to build affiliations with groups in other cities and countries (Howard, 2011).[73]

Relationships can be strengthened through the maintenance of networks across distance, sharing information and discussion. The creation of community and collective identity

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[72] Howard, P.N., & Muzammil M.H., (2011). The role of digital media *journal of democracy* 22, No. 3
[73] Howard, R., (2004). *Media + Elections, an Election reporting handbook*, (IMPACS Associate).

can in turn facilitate mobilisation in support of collective action (Garrett, 2006; Aday, 2010).[74]

Social media can also facilitate collective action through framing processes. The creation of particular group understandings regarding the meaning and significance of specific events and politics can be crucial to support for a movement. In Iran, for example, social networking services and satellite television circulated videos filmed by mobile phone of the killing of a young woman, Neda Agha-Soltan, during post-election demonstrations in 2009. She became a symbol of the protests and a signal to the general public that the protestors are "like them" (Aday, 2010). This framing was particularly significant in an environment where the government had attributed the protests to foreign agitators.

Effective organisation and leadership are thus still considered to be important to the effectiveness of social media tools and to the success of organisations and movements that rely on horizontal social media (Papic and Noona, 2011). While there is consensus that the Orange. Revolution in the Ukraine would not have occurred without the Internet (which allowed for outreach, training and awareness-raising) centralised top-down leadership of key pro-democracy groups was also essential. The leadership was responsible for the organisation's outcomes, developing the culture of the organization and controlling assets (Goldstein, 2007).[75]

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[74] Aday, S. et al., (2010). '*Blogs and Bullets: New Media in Contentious Politics*', United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC
http://www.usip.org/files/resources/pw65.pdf

[75] Goldstein, J. and Rotich, J., (2008). *The Role of Digital Networked Technologies in Kenya's 2007-2008 Post-Election Crisis*, The Berkman Center for Technology and Society, Harvard University
http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/sites/cyber.law.harvard.edu/files/Goldstein&Rotich_Digitally_Networked_Technology_Kenyas_Crisis.pdf.pdf

The way in which existing regimes respond to the use of social media can also influence the success of communication tools and the success of protests and social movements that relyon them. In some cases, regimes have been caught off guard by new media activism (Ottaway and Hamzaway, 2011; A day, 2010; Howard, 2011). This was the case in Tunisia in 2010-11, where mass protests that spread with the help of Facebook and Twitter and other new technologies caught the government off balance and eventually resulted in the resignation of President Ben Ali (Ottaway and Hamzaway, 2011).[76]

3.1.4 External attention

Reliance on social media tools can also result in greater attention from external actors. The perceptions of protests in the outside world are very often shaped by Twitter and videos uploaded onto You Tube and Facebook. International solidarity and political sympathy can in turn create new opportunities to generate power internally (A day, 2010). Placing domestic issues on the international agenda can also have a significant effect on domestic politics. Some activists believe that it offers them more protection from the government as the regime's actions can be viewed globally (Radsch, 2010). Further, Howard argues that one of the key outcomes of the protest movement in Iran in 2009 is that the world has seen interest in change expressed from within the country. This could prove to be the most destabilizing effect of the protests (Howard, 2011).[77]

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[76] Andy, W., Laura, M., & Freddy F., (2010). *Behind the digital campaign.* London: Hansard Society.
[77] Howard, P. N., (2011). *The Digital Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Information Technology and Political Islam,* New York; Oxford University Press.
http://pitpi.org/index.php/2010/08/24/sample-chapters-for-digital-origins/

3.1.5 Gender, Media and politics

Women and men tend to be treated very differently by the media, worldwide. Similarly, men and women tend to have vastly different experiences of participating in political processes. Men are more visible and dominant in both media and elections; and gender stereotypes prevail in both. These differences are mutually reinforcing in the sense that less visibility of women in the media impacts their political success; and less women politicians means less news stories focusing on women leaders.[78]

Women's participation in politics – as voters, candidates, politicians, civil society activists, and in other roles – is important because it allows women to exercise their fundamental civil and political rights. It is also important because it allows countries to draw on the full range of human resources available to it to progress; and helps to ensure that women's and girl's needs are adequately met in policy-making processes. Gender stereotypes and discrimination are damaging to both men and women because they constrain individuals and society as a whole. [79]

The UN's Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression acknowledges this problem, saying: central to the issues of equal access for women to rights, equal opportunities for the enjoyment of rights, and equal treatment in that enjoyment is the actual extent to which women may exercise their rights to opinion, expression and information without discrimination and the degree to which women actually enjoy the right to participation in

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[78] "*Factsheet: Women's political participation,* International women's democracy centre, accessed August 21, 2013, http//www.iwdc.org/resources/factsheet.htm.
[79] "*Who makes the news",* (2010). (report highlights) Global media monitoring project , accessed August 23, 2013 http://www.medinstgenderstudies.org/wp-content/uploads/highlights_en.pdf.

public life. The Special Rapporteur states again that the problem does not lie in the manner in which international human rights standards have been elaborated but rather in the restrictive and traditional interpretations and applications of human rights law. The Special Rapporteur emphasizes that it is not acceptable for women still to be dependent on men to represent their views and protect their interests nor is it acceptable that women continue to be consistently excluded from decision-making processes that not only affect them but society in general. [80]

A number of factors continue to contribute to the slow progress of women in politics. As stated in a media monitoring manual by IDEA and UN Women:

[s]several studies indicate that the citizens support women candidates, yet the failure to promote their leadership in their own political organizations, the smaller sums of money available for their campaigns, and the cultural conditioning factors that assign them a greater responsibility in family tasks all stand in the way of their full participation [81]

Gender discrimination is also compounded by the general news media. According to the Global Media Monitoring Project, in 2010 men were 79% of news subjects, and "[n]ews continue to portray a world in which men outnumber women in almost all occupational categories, the highest disparity being in the professions", with obvious implications for the visibility of women in politics. The media sector has improved in some ways, however, with a growing number of female reporters in all issue areas – including 'hard'

[80] "Report of the Special Rapporteur on the protection and promotion of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, Mr. Abid Hussain", (January 29),*UN Economic and Social Council*.
1999,http://www.unhchr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/(Symbol)/E.CN.4.1999.64.En?OpenDocument#IIIE
[81] "*Women in Politics: 30 Years in Retrospect*" *, (*2006). Data sheet*, International Parliamentary Union*, accessed August 23, 2013, http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmninfokit06_en.pdf

topics such as security, politics and economics. Women reporters were 6% more likely than male ones to have women as subjects in their stories.

It is increasingly recognized that media have a key role to play in women's participation throughout political life. In 1994 the Inter-Parliamentary Union stated that the media can "help to instill among the public the idea that women's participation in political life is an essential part of democracy (and) can also take care to avoid giving negative or minimizing images of women and their determination and capacity to participate in politics, stressing the importance of women's role in economic and social life and in the development process in general."[82]

New media has provided voice to segments of society whose voices might otherwise not be heard. For example in the UK, one pollster dubbed the 2010 election the 'Mumsnet election,' in which "the parenting website… was changing political debate. Mumsnet's infamous web chats force politicians to address parents as equals, on issues of Mumsnetters' choosing: with other social media it has…given ordinary women the confidence to challenge politicians in new ways….the internet shapes the battleground for female votes."[83] This is an interesting example of the amplifying effects between new and traditional media, in that interactions on a website with a relatively small audience were picked up by the traditional news media which then increased the online interactions.

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[82] "*Plan Of Action to Correct Present Imbalances In The Participation Of Men And Women In Political Life,*"(1994). Inter-Parliamentary Union, Http://Www.Ipu.Org/Wmn-E/Planactn.Htm

[83] Beatriz, L., and Juana, N., (2011).Electoral Coverage from a Gender Perspective: *A media monitoring manual*, Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, p. 11.

3.1.6 Gender neutrality

In cyber space, the social restrictions that exist in reality in some places- such as gender segregation- disappear, providing groups of people who might otherwise never meet and converse the opportunity to connect and recognize what they share in common. Some of the most striking aspects of these uprisings, have seen these young revolutionists' mix of male and female leadership and participation. or women in conservative society where public space is defined as male, Facebook, Twitter and You Tube offer significant avenues for public speaking and leadership.

3.1.7 New Media as Watchdog

New media has begun to play a key part in reinforcing transparency in democratic processes, including elections. Short Message Service (SMS), i.e. text messaging, is now being used around the world by many election monitoring groups for quick gathering and disseminating of information on election irregularities, quick-count processes, as well as other purposes. In Montenegro in 2005, an SMS-based quick-count process helped defuse tensions regarding the integrity of the referendum election count, and thereby helped persuade voters trust the official referendum result.[84]

Citizens use new media to monitor electoral fraud. In the 2012 elections in Mexico, social media networks were used to expose vote-buying, including video posted across social media networks of a warehouse stuffed with grocery give-away, allegedly intended to bribe voters. In addition, "[a]t least three groups…set up sophisticated websites where citizens [could] upload complaints and videos or other material to document irregularities.[85] There [were] also social media sites for reporting alleged fraud in real

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[84] Ibid
[85] Larry, D., (2010). Liberation technology, *journal of democracy* 21 No. 3

time."[86] As a further example, in the 2012 presidential elections in Russia, activists created a new social media platform 'Citizen Control' specifically designed to bring all social groups together to monitor the elections.[87]

Social media is also used to improve candidate behavior and improve candidate-voter interaction. In Malaysia in 2012, Transparency International (TI) asked all elections candidates to sign a voluntary 'Election Pledge.' TI stated "[t]he purpose of the pledge is to recognize that it is the responsibility of every candidate to fight corruption, practice good governance and uphold the rule of law. The pledge also emphasizes the crucial role citizens play in monitoring their politicians by providing a platform where the public can monitor and comment on candidates' performances."[88] What was unusual about this pledge was that it actually *required* candidates to open Facebook and Twitter accounts and to interact with voters on them.

Traditional media's watchdog role is significantly enhanced by its utilization of new media as both a source of information and a mouthpiece for elections reporting. By monitoring social media discourse, observing citizen journalism postings, and by creating new media of their own through blogs and micro-blogs on official media websites, traditional media's elections investigations have become faster, more diverse, and more interactive.

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[86] Women in national parliaments, *Inter-Parliamentary Union*, accessed August 30, 2013, http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm,

[87] "Factsheet: Women's political participation", *International Women's Democracy Center*, accessed August 21, 2013,http://www.iwdc.org/resources/fact_sheet.htm
[88] Ibid

Social media has also been utilized extensively to monitor hate speech, as well as social media 'buzz' that might lead to or signify elections violence. It has also been used to monitor and map on-going elections-related conflict. Tools have been created especially for this purpose. For example, the Ushahidi cloud-sourcing software gathers data from SMS, Twitter and email and combines it on a map using Google maps to show the geographical spread and scale of violence.[89] Similarly in Zimbabwe, Sokwanale digitally mapped reports of election violence and intimidation.[90]

3.1.8 New Media as Public Educator

The decentralized, multi-media, and interactive nature of new media has opened up its potential as a public education tool. For example, Electoral Monitoring Board (EMBs), international democracy promotion organizations, civil society groups and others have made extensive use of You Tube and other video sites to share civic and voter education videos.[91]

EMBs have Facebook profiles to attract new voters and provide information to existing ones, as well as to get feedback. Elections New Zealand, for example, has an active Facebook page with 10,000 likes[92] and the Jamaica EMB's is also considerably active. The UK Electoral Commission puts out almost daily tweets on Twitter with

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[89] "Johanna , M., (2009). *The role media literacy in the Governance Reform agenda;* Washington D.C. The International Bank for reconstruction and Development.

[90] *Plan Of Action to Correct Present Imbalances In The Participation Of Men And Women In Political Life,* (1994*). Inter-Parliamentary Union*, http://www.Ipu.Org/Wmn-E/Planactn.Htm

[91] Marguerite, H., (2008). *Empowering Independent media, US Efforts to Foster free and Independent news Around the world*, Washington D.C: Center for International Media Assistance.

[92] Ibid

announcements of key dates, guidelines, highlights from reports, and so on.[93] There are also a few independent websites that promote voter registration, such as Rock the Vote in the US.[94]

3.1.9 New Media as Campaign Platform

Creative use of new media for political campaigning continues to grow, and candidates and parties now use a full range of tools to woo voters. Many political parties and candidates of course have their own more-or-less sophisticated websites. British Prime Minister David Cameron used the 'Webcameron,' an Internet video diary, to appeal to voters in the 2010 UK elections and beyond.[95] All the UK parties used 'viral' advertisements, which spread through online social media, as a key part of their campaigns in the same elections.[xiv] Barack Obama famously used social media to raise funds and spread campaign messages for his successful 2008 U.S. presidential campaign, which some call the first 'Facebook election'. According to one news article, 60% of people preparing to vote in the 2012 US presidential elections said they expected candidates to have an online presence. [96]In addition, in some contexts the fact that new media is cheaper for campaigning than traditional media means that smaller parties can 'punch above their weight' in terms of campaign exposure. It has yet to be demonstrated that this advantage equates to better electoral performance however. In the 2007 French presidential elections, candidate Ségolène Royal, who ran against Nicolas Sarkozy, spent more money than any other candidate on a diverse and interactive new media campaign,

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[93] Electoral Commission @Electoral CommUK" *UK Electoral Commission* Twitter page, accessed August 24, 2013, http://twitter.com/ElectoralCommUK/

[94] *Rock the Vote,* accessed August 24, 2013, http://www.rockthevote.com/

[95] *Webcameron*, accessed August 24, 2013, http://www.conservatives.com/video/webcameron.aspx

[96] Gaby, H., "*Web 2.0: the new election super weapon," The Observer*, April 10, 2012,http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2010/apr/11/new-media-election-campaign

thereby generating a large amount of public online activism which likely gave her a higher profile than had she focused on traditional media.[97]

However in the 2010 elections in the UK, social media monitors such as Tweetminster's analysis fairly accurately predicted the winners and losers in the electoral debates. Election campaign managers now use monitoring of social media (called sentiment analysis) extensively to understand voter opinion patterns. One commentator on the 2012 US presidential elections stated that "[t]he 2012 campaign may not be *decided* by social media…but those tools offer a wealth of information about the national mood….Twitter [is] a focus group in the wild — hundreds of thousands of tweets, offering raw responses to each debate or speech, as seen on cable TV."[98] The campaign led by Goodluck Jonathan in Nigeria (2011) was credited with the successful use of social media.

3.1.10 Media as Open Forum for Debate and Public Voice

In many countries, new media has become one of the most vibrant platforms for people to voice views, share information, interact with leaders, and debate key elections issues. New media offers the advantages of being 'democratic,' allowing anyone to post their opinions on blogs and micro-blogs, share links, send and forward emails, create websites, and so on. It also has the advantage of working in real-time, thereby allowing people to keep up with dynamic and ever changing developments. Finally, new media is also much more difficult to censor or silence, as governments cannot easily suspend blogger

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[97] Election 2012: "*How Social Media Will Convert Followers into Voters*", *PCMag*, January 30, 2012,http://www.pcmag.com/slideshow/story/293078/election-2012-how-social-media-will-convert-followers-into-v
[98] Ibid

"licenses", raid offices of Twitter users, or prosecute someone for posting links on Facebook.

The use of new media in the Arab Spring uprisings is an example of the contribution of these new tools to political change. As some analysts writing in mid-2011 put it: Seeing what has unfolded so far in the Middle East and North Africa, we can say more than simply that the Internet has changed the way in which political actors communicate with one another. Since the beginning of 2011, social protests in the Arab world have cascaded from country to country, largely because digital media have allowed communities to unite around shared grievances and nurture transportable strategies for mobilizing against dictators. In each country, people have used digital media to build a political response to a local experience of unjust rule. They were not inspired by Facebook; they were inspired by the real tragedies documented on Facebook. Social media have become the scaffolding upon which civil society can build, and new information technologies give activists things that they did not have before: information networks not easily controlled by the state and coordination tools that are already embedded in trusted networks of family and friends.[99]

New media continued to be important in the wave of elections following the Arab Spring revolutions. one Egyptian commentator noted that during the lead up to the presidential elections social media was dominated by elections opinions and debates.[100] He observed that Facebook "users posted images with political messages defending their own

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[99] Thus far and no farther: The potential-and limits-of the internet in political campaigning, *the economist*, March 18, 2010, http://www.economist.com/node/15719160.

[100] Lara, F. A revolution and a presidential election: Egypt's social media mania, *Memeburn, march* 07,2012, http://memebun.com/2012/07/a recolution-and-a-presidential-election-egypts-social-media-mania/

candidates or criticizing their opponents, adding their own commentary." Meanwhile, popular activists wrote opinionated blogs, regular news media carried out non-stop real-time online coverage, speeches from presidential candidates were shared on YouTube, and Twitter was buzzing with micro-debates on the elections.[101]

Uncensored debate on new media has started to impact electoral outcomes. The *Malaysiakini* online journal in Malaysia is an example of new media which provided an alternative voice and has had a significant electoral impact. "In March 2008, the [ruling party] made its worst showing at the polls in half a century, losing its two-thirds parliamentary majority for the first time since independence. Facilitating this was the growing prominence of online journalism, which diminished the massive advantage in media access and "shocked the country" by documenting gross police abuse of demonstrators, particularly those of Indian descent.[102]

New media has also allowed traditional media to dodge censorship. According to an article in *Journal of Democracy*, for example, "[w]hen former Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez forced Radio Caracas Television off the air in May 2007, it continued its broadcasts via YouTube."

The Internet poses a challenge to traditional views of media conduct in elections. Pre-polling blackouts on campaign coverage, for example, are difficult to police because of unregulated web sites. Meanwhile, in the 2012 French elections, an embargo on reporting

[101] "The Mumsnet Election", *Mumsnet*, accessed August 21, 2013 http://www.mumsnet.com/media/mumsnet-election
[102] Macedonia: "*Use of new media in election campaign,*" *Global Voices*, posted May 23, 2008,http://globalvoicesonline.org/2008/05/23/macedonia-use-of-new-media-in-election-campaign/

results was ignored by online media in neighbouring Switzerland and Belgium, which published results 90 minutes early.[103] A characteristic of the Internet that makes it difficult to regulate is its international nature. Attempts by national regulators to close down websites are met by the creation of mirror sites (replicas) beyond the country's borders. Self-regulation by new media users is also more difficult if not impossible, and new media has sometimes ignored conventions that have been widely accepted by 'traditional' media (for example by not reporting exit polls before voting has ended).

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[103] "*Social media monitoring for the presidential elections in Egypt 2012,*" (a report by Interact Egypt), *Slideshare*, uploaded June 2012, http://www.slideshare.net/interactegypt/egyptian-presidential-elections-over-social-media

CHAPTER FOUR

HOW SOCIAL MEDIA AS A TOOL OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY CAN BE USED

TO SUPPORT FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

4.1 Integrating Diplomacy and Social Media

In the period leading up to the overthrow of political authorities in the Middle East, young activists used social media to spread dissident discourse, organize protests and transmit live footage of revolutions across the world. Simultaneously, stubborn autocrats clung to political survival tactics by blocking their citizens' access to social media sites like Twitter and Facebook in order to disrupt the gathering momentum of a networked people determined to change their governments.[104]

How can a new generation of diplomats across sectors, corporations and states-use new communications tools to advance their nation's interests? What institutions should be responsible for managing 21st Century Statecraft? A variant of this discussion is taking place in every government on this planet. It is new to everyone no matter the age.

4.1.1 Foreign policy

The purpose of diplomacy is to promote the interests of the state within the international system. The U.S. government's top national security priority, according to many veteran diplomats, is to advance the interests of the United States within a world made more stable by effective and democratic governance.[105] In the new era, policymakers will need

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[104] Guile, B.R (1985). *Information technologies and social transformation*; Washington, D.C: National Academy Press.

[105] Aday, Sean et al., (2010). *"Blogs and Bullets: New Media in contentious politics*," Peace works No. 65; Washington, DC: United States Institutes for Peace. http:// www.usip.org/files/resources/pw65.pdf.

to recognize that progress toward this goal will be affected not only by what other governments do, but also by the interconnected social networks of global citizens. To get their messages across, American leaders will need to speak directly to all people. According to the White House's 2012 "Update to Congress on National Framework for Strategic Communication," executive leadership has laid out the framework for interdepartmental cooperation in communication strategy. Alec Ross, Senior Advisor for Innovation in the Office of the Secretary at the U.S. Department of State, emphasized that the U.S. State Department has become a frontrunner for employing technology in diplomatic engagement. Two years prior, the "Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review" (QDDR) set forth initiatives in influencing public opinion, opening economic possibilities and engaging women in the public sector through the tools of technology. With people worldwide sharing information easily and rapidly through communication technology, Ross emphasized, the State Department needs to stay ahead of the game and "know about the revolution before everyone else knows about it."[106]

While the U.S. Department of State leads significant government innovation in the domain of technology and diplomacy, policy and strategy on engagement and communications with other countries is not limited to this department. Various other government entities and agencies contribute to developments in this field including the Department of Defense (DOD), the Intelligence Community (IC) and the Broadcasting

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[106] Nye, Joseph S. (1990). The Changing Nature of World Power, *Political Science Quarterly,* Academy of Political Science. Vol. 105, No 2. (2004). *Soft Power and American Foreign Policy*, Political Science Quarterly, Academy of Political Science.

Board of Governors (BBG).[107] Interagency planning and coordination has been particularly useful in U.S. government efforts to achieve its strategic goals.

Although the U.S. government has prioritized technology across key agencies in supporting global communication and policy, additional investment would help greatly to advance its commitment to and use of communications technology. Indeed, new technological tools lead to disruptions in government structures. The U.S. government and governments across the world will need to adapt to these new challenges.

Keeping in mind the new challenges in diplomacy, Alec Ross, Senior Advisor for Innovation in the Office of the Secretary at the U.S. Department of State, outlined the significant power shifts and ubiquitous disruptions to political systems caused by changes in technology, networks and demographic shifts. Access to technology and social media has expanded the means by which citizens make a national and global impact.

Over the past decade, the United States has adjusted its diplomacy approaches to account for the technology, frameworks and demographics of the twenty-first century. This new phase in transformational diplomacy is referred to as "21st Century Statecraft." According to Alec Ross, the U.S. Department of State defines 21st Century Statecraft as a means of complementing traditional foreign policy tools with newly innovated and adapted instruments of statecraft that fully leverage the networks, technologies and demographics of our interconnected world.[108]

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[107] ibid

[108] Walter Laqueur, 'Save Public Diplomacy', *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1994, vol. 73, no. 5, p. 20.

4.1.2 New Opportunities in Diplomacy

With the advent of social media in the early twenty-first century, diplomats and foreign policymakers are now faced with new approaches to engaging with publics abroad. The world's increased access to online media tools holds implications that extend beyond a period of global access to advanced, personalized communications tools. A side : effect is that the "street"-or, public opinion-has become virtually empowered. That is, a foreign public's collective voice can be emailed, posted, tweeted-instantly transmitted-to a global audience that can respond in kind. Diplomats will need to embrace and rethink how new technology can accelerate political, social and economic change throughout the world. For example, communications technology could be streamlined to maintain face-to-face contact and file-sharing across distances[109].

Public diplomacy comprises the efforts of the state to influence, inform and engage with foreign publics. It is the state's intended audience that distinguishes public diplomacy from traditional state- to-state diplomacy. Public diplomacy's origins as a foreign policy tool consisted of efforts to counter German propaganda during World War II. As a long-term strategy, public diplomacy leads to decisions about which foreign publics are being influenced and informed, i.e. what foreign policy the state is going to present to them, and how the state plans to reach them.

In sum, public diplomacy consists of the state's efforts to inform or influence the population of a foreign state through direct (public meetings, media broadcasts) or indirect communication (professional and educational exchanges, cultural exhibitions).

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[109]Carpenter, Charli and Daniel, D., (August 2010). International relations 2.0: The implications of New Media for an Old profession, *International studies perspective* 11:3 pp. 255-272.

This public access to information, and the shifting role of governments as gatekeepers of information.[110]

Business diplomacy is yet another form of diplomacy domain. The importance of public-private partnerships in 21St Century Statecraft should be emphasized. These partnerships bring to the table new stakeholders capable of introducing new ideas on trade and other international political economy decisions.

Through their direct engagement with public authorities, private partners and consumers abroad, businesses are effectively conducting their own brand of diplomacy-one that can affect the economic, social and political interests of the state. Drawing on the concept of business diplomacy, businesses have the capabilities to listen to private actors abroad better than governments can. Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright added that the leadership of multinational corporations should be included in meetings on diplomacy and statecraft in order to represent the variety of existing stakeholders in the system. Therefore, the roles of the business and public sectors are not necessarily mutually exclusive.[111]

This notion emphasizes the opportunity for public-private collaborations that focus on managing the use of technology in the diplomatic realm. Former Secretary Albright suggested that expanding public- private partnerships would mark a new beginning for diplomacy, especially for partnerships in the Middle East. As seen during the Arab

[110] John, N., (15 July 2003).Librarians are Public Diplomats, *National Journal*, vol. 128, issue 12, 18.

[111] ibid

Spring-or as Alec Ross coined it, the "Great Wave"-technologies of the private sector such as Facebook and Twitter increase the scale of access to information. Indeed, Facebook Vice President Elliot Schrage suggested that using social media from the private sector would greatly enhance a number of diplomatic functions, particularly in listening to the local populations.[112]

Modern technology has tightened the nexus connecting these diverse levels of diplomacy. Citizens, business practitioners and politicians now have the ability to engage and influence one another through various social media and online platforms. Certainly, the tension between the policies of world powers and foreign public opinion has been a constant throughout the history of foreign affairs. But today, the agendas of citizens, corporations and the state exist at omnipresent, virtual loggerheads. This has created a new set of demands for state and governing officials traditionally perceived to be the most powerful decision makers throughout the world. [113]

Of course, the potential benefits of today's communications technologies are tempered by a new set of challenges. On the one hand, the rapid pace of technological evolution has prompted an information abundance that has made information dissemination and correction a growing challenge to diplomats. On the other hand, diplomacy is a delicate and time-consuming process that may take years to accomplish broad goals. As former

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[112] Comments during speech at the conference 'Communicating with the World: Diplomacy that Works', held at Georgetown University, 30 April 2003.

[113] Drezner, D.,(Spring/summer 2010). Weighing the scales: The Internet's effect of state society relations, *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 16:2 pp. 31-44.

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright quips, "The advent of technology is almost the opposite of diplomacy." [114]

Brought to the diplomats notice are three broad but potentially negative consequences from increased use of social media technologies: pervasive surveillance, cyber war and loss of privacy. In terms of pervasive surveillance, governments around the world have sophisticated technology to create what some people refer to as a total information awareness environment. In the United States, there is need to safeguard her own freedoms with a clear rule of law on how to treat their own capabilities. While the United States needs to be vigilant in safeguarding its freedoms, it also needs to be concerned about what is taking place in the 194 countries that are not the United States. As networks of technology give capabilities to citizens, they also give capabilities to government officials who could use these technologies to suppress their people. [115]

Next is the challenges in cyber war. Cyber war is an increasing concern as states legally conduct offensive and defensive operations in the cyber domain; interstate conflicts and cyber-attacks are both state-based and non-state based in nature. As commercial and non-commercial espionage threats are increasing, the cyber domain appears to be more conflict-based than competitive. Its estimated that the annual loss of intellectual property in the United States from commercial espionage is $150 billion per year. The challenge for policymakers is balancing the new norms in information sharing while

[114] The White House, "National Framework for Strategic communication," March 2012, 4 Available online: http:mountainrunner.us/files/2012/03/president response to – NDAA-1055-of-2009.pdf.
[115] Jordan, A.(Eds.). American National security,(6th ed.), Baltimore Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009, pp. 234-239.

taking caution in protecting sensitive government information in the interest of U.S. security.

The new technology age has a different set of cultural norms around privacy and the way people treat information. The generation of people ages 35 and younger are considered "digital natives." This generation is accustomed to sharing what people once considered private information via the Internet. The challenge for policymakers is balancing the new norms in information sharing while taking caution in protecting sensitive government information in the interest of U.S. security. [116]

Information abundance has also led to challenges in accountability. Former U.S. Ambassador to Iraq and Dean of the University of Denver's Josef Korbel School of International Studies Christopher R. Hill, for example, expressed concern about the problems associated with the lack of accountability for the outcome of a rapid spread of information among populations using online networks. Lack of accountability leads to a host of problems that can impact the stability of nations. [117]

Thus, these movements are led by the collective strength of the networked citizenry. This reflects the impact of networked public opinion on government decision-making. Public opinion matters a great deal to politicians in republics such as the United States, and the world has already witnessed the outcome of mass public dissidence toward authoritarian regimes in the Middle East. The new paradox is that as information abundance persists, governments become increasingly subject to public opinion. How the world's diplomats

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[116] Kaplan, A. & Michael, H., (January 2010). Users of the world, unite The challenges and opportunities of social media, *Business Horizons* 53:1, pp. 59-68
[117] Keck, M., and Kathryn, S., (1998). *Activists beyond borders.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press

deal with their home and host governments' respective understandings and responses to international networks of informed citizens provides additional impetus for the integration of technology into diplomacy.[118]

As information abundance persists, governments become increasingly subject to public opinion. But how can technology be integrated into the highly institutionalized diplomatic realm? While technology could facilitate more transparent communication between the diplomatic community and private sector, the world's foreign ministries may not always have the cultural, procedural or institutional disposition or the abundance of information derived from these tools to effectively integrate them into policy. Technology may enlighten diplomats about public opinion, but diplomatic institutions still lack protocol in absorbing this information.

4.1.3 Fundamental Shifts in the Nature of Democracy

Institutions must be aware of the fundamental shifts in the nature of democracy over time. This shift has significant policy implications for incorporating the tools of technology into policy. The technology revolution denotes a shift from representational democracy to direct democracy as politicians respond immediately to publicity. The tendency towards direct democracy generates difficulties in compromise and reconciliation, thus possibly hindering long-term decision-making. Direct democracy... makes the ability to achieve compromise exceedingly difficult. Diplomats should consider the implications for promoting democracy alongside this fundamental shift in global communications "Isolated independence threatens cohesive community." How

[118] Misuraca, G.C., (2007). *E-Governance in Africa from theory to practice – a handbook on ICTs for local Governance,* Section 3 and 4, New Jersey: Africa World Press, /international development research centre Ottawa.

should officials in the diplomatic realm advocate how democracies work? government officials should deconstruct the impact of the Internet on the government and focus on the broader work of helping other countries adopt tools of 21st Century Statecraft, i.e. advancing access to communications technology while creating a new protocol to apply it effectively. [119]

4.1.4 New Foreign Policy

Mexican Ambassador Arturo Sarukhan affirmed that as a result of social media, considerations for new ways to conduct foreign policy-or even to create new foreign policy-are essential.

There is a resistance to change from the top-down in every single democracy. For instance, Twitter could potentially help ambassadors reach more citizens abroad, yet currently, few ambassadors effectively use social media.[120]

Foreign ministries should reform policy to allow embassies more independent communication, specifically in regards to social media. In order to allow a certain level of discretion. Foreign ministries could also partner with private organizations. There is a certain degree of risk associated with giving more independence to embassies and partnering with private organizations, but the new diplomatic realities within the communications revolution may warrant such action.

In keeping with Secretary Aibright's observation that government is historically slow to adapt to social change, there are considerable challenges ahead for the world's diplomatic

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[119] Livingstone, S.L., (2011). Africa's evolving info systems: A pathway to security and stability: *Research paper No. 2*. Boulder Colorado: Africa center for strategic studies.
[120] Ibid

corps as they engage with an expanding "network" of foreign publics. While the current State Department continues to pursue contemporary strategies through its Innovation team, the bureaucracy of the department itself must be willing to break hierarchy in order to adapt to the disruptive pattern of technological change.

The U.S. State Department's Innovation team currently provides social media training to all newly appointed ambassadors. This training helps narrow the void of social media and tech use at U.S. embassies abroad. An ambassador who does not use these technologies is "out of the game." There is need for smart communication in government in order for more countries to achieve the third wave of technology. To do so, government officials need to understand the social dynamics beyond traditional engagements.[121]

For example, when the publication of a cartoon depicting the Prophet Mohammad in a Dutch newspaper caused widespread Muslim protest in Europe, U.S. Ambassador Thomas Korologos created a local forum in Belgium for people of all faiths to discuss the issue. That kind of forum can now be expanded with online enhancements, e.g., blogs, online debates and tweets. There are diverse possibilities in which governments can promote technology and leverage its power in consort with more traditional face-to-face activities[122].

The challenge that arises, however, is identifying the cap for state-citizen relations through social media and other tech tools. No doubt, a government wishes to remain in

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[121] Monroe, Haas & Drew, M., (2008). New Technologies and International Broadcasting: Reflections on adaptation and transformation. "The ANNALS of the American academy of political and social science 161" quoted in Gregory, October 5, 2009.
[122] Ibid

command over the information regarded as sensitive to its missions abroad. But where is the balance that permits a state to conduct its foreign policy effectively while maintaining leverage with a more informed network of global citizens? This is an issue of trust that deserves closer attention in the years to come.

The next generation of diplomats will introduce a new culture of inherent use and comfort with technology tools. Preparation must include updated etiquette and protocol with headquarters, use of technology across bureaus and departments, and social media training introduced at the Foreign Service Institute early and often throughout a diplomat's career. If the major interest of the United States in formulating Middle East policy is consistent stability, then the United States may pursue using technology to help these societies resolve their internal challenges so that these challenges do not become overwhelming factors that lead to instability. While these issues are technological in nature increased access to information, accelerated social mobility en masse, the dangers of the government's pervasive surveillance they hold political implications for U.S.-Middle East relations. Simply, Middle Eastern youth want to know why the United States supports settlement building in Israel, Saudi Arabia's crackdown on the unfinished Bahraini revolution, and drones in Yemen. These matters are all the more present in Middle Easterners' daily discussions within an enriched information environment. Simultaneously, the governments of the world have the opportunity to access Middle Eastern public opinion like never before.[123] The degree to which foreign public opinion is considered, if at all, by the United States when it has the capabilities to do so, appears to

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[123] Morozov, E, (2011). Facebook and Twitter are just places revolutionaries Go, *Guardian, 7 March*. Http://www. Guardian.co.uk/commerntisfee/2011/mar/07/facebook-twitter-revolutionaries-cyber-utopians.

be of greater urgency in this context. Given these factors a populace with a virtual omnipresence in their governments' domestic and international relations the United States will be forced to deal with a newly empowered element in its foreign policymaking equation. Building trust, therefore, will require not only the U.S. government's attentive ear, but also voice and action that respond in kind. [124]

Sometimes the state is not always the best messenger of information. An unofficial or indirect approach may actually be more attractive to foreign publics. Part of an NGO's strength is that such organizations are typically not linked directly to government. Therefore, they often have more ability to gain the trust of publics abroad. There is often considerable overlap in their respective efforts to promote stability and human development and the U.S. State Department may sometimes work with these entities to solve issues. This does not assume that State would exploit an NGO or business. Rather, where there is consonance, it will sometimes behoove State to let the NGO, for example, get in front of an issue. [125]

Social media online tools have already empowered other people and formed communities of scale. These tools are in the hands of the masses." Information tools have traditionally rested in the hands of the world's most powerful decision makers in international affairs. But they are now shifting to a network of private citizens and organizations around the world. The State Department and other foreign ministries throughout the world should

[124] Garetti, R.K., (2006). *Protest in an information society. A review of literature on social movements and New ICTs', information , Communication, and society,* vol. 9, No. 2 pp. 202-224.
[125] Riordan, S., (2005/7). *Dialogue-based public diplomacy: A new foreign policy paradigm. In the new public diplomacy: soft power in international relations* (ed.) By Jan Melissen, pp. 180-195 New York and London: Palgrave Macmillan.

incorporate social media and other technologies as a means to strengthen public diplomacy. On the other hand, diplomats must accept the considerable leverage of a global citizen network. Diplomacy is no longer a game just for the elites. There will be no stopping these technologies and more and more members of society will have access to them. [126]

4.2 Diplomatic reporting

The internet is changing the way that countries relate to one another. Diplomatic relations and activities, whether sampling visas or taking part in high level multinational negotiations, are profoundry affected by online tools. Some tools are making it easier to deliver better diplomatic services faster. Others have diplomats watching what they say and who they say it to.

 Social media was bound to infiltrate warfare at one point or another, but the Israel army has proven to be one of the most enthusiastic innovators in this space. When a botched 2010 Israeli raid on Gaza bound Flotilla left nine dead the Army turned to YouTube to carry out a real time propaganda war , releasing videos of what it claimed were acts of aggression against Israeli soldiers that prompted the violence. The video has over 2 million views.[127]

One of a diplomat key tools in analyzing the political and economic climate of a country, as well as negotiating on his home country behalf , is information. Before the internet a diplomat had to travel physically to a location in a country to determine the situation on the ground, independent of host government's propaganda. Now, he simplify needs to

[126] Mary, M., (2010). United States Protocol: *The guide to official diplomatic etiquette*, Lanham: Littlefield Publishers.
[127] http://www.haaretz.com/newa/national/premium-1.541580.

follow the right people on Twitter.   A multitude of press reports and government communications, previously difficult to obtain items in far –flung postings , are available at the click of a mouse.

4.2.1 Security

The internet has had a profound effect on the secrecy and security inherent in diplomatic negotiations and communications. One of the premier examples is wikileaks, the whistle-blowing website. Since 2006, this website has published sensitive documents provided by activist in governments and private companies. That culminated with the site's release of thousands of classified American diplomatic communications in 2010.

The communications detailed U.S diplomatic procedures and the comments of a ambassadors about leaders and events in a variety of countries. Unlike a whistle-blowing incident such as a reporter receiving a classified document from a source, wikileaks used the internets to publish the documents to any one with a web connection and to publish thousands of the documents at once.[128]

4.2.2 Consular activities

Another main function of diplomats and embassies is to aid the citizen of their own country who are visiting the host country or who live there. Embassies can expedite this process by providing basic visa information, emergency numbers and office hours on the embassy's website. Diplomat can also use online tools to aid citizens better abroad by having regular access to email, forum and web help in times of crisis.

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[128] Fergus, H., (November 2010). *A digital DFAT: Joining the 21st century,* lowy institute for international policy, http://www.lowy institute.org/publication.asp=1432/accessed 2 march 2013.

4.2.3 Reduction of Bureaucracy

The ease of communication with home government and officials in home government is made easier by the internet. Whereas in the past, an important communiqué from a diplomat needed to be passed physically up the chain of command to a leader, emails and electronic communications help to reduce the bureaucracy , previously in place in the diplomatic system That means important information can more easily be passed to decision makers in a home government, making diplomat's jobs easier and giving the more of a voice in diplomatic operations.

One functional definition of diplomacy is that it constitutes interaction, among principals working through emissaries or intermediaries. The principals are state in the shape of their political leadership. Diplomat are the emissaries whose primary responsibility is to report directly to their principals.[129]

The report that diplomat produce have a lot in common with report produced by journalists and by academics. The challenge for the diplomat is to preserve a space where the diplomatic report can be seen as adding special debt and foresight and the journalistic narrative, while bringing relevant and immediacy top the academic analysis.

In the way it is evolving internet forms part of the age- long contest pointing towards a freer and more open flow of information. This explains why the recent wikileaks exposure has on the whole garnered instinctive support at the more popular level. It has done so in spite of many questions and misgivings with which the event is surrounded.

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[129] John, D., (April 2011). *Government 2.0 The challenge of social media in modern diplomacy:* FCO global conversations, http://blogs.fco.gov.Uk/rouer/duncan/entry/government-20-the challenge- of (accessed 09/04/2011)

And in spite, perhaps even because of, the general disapprobation even condemnation at more official levels .Diplomats have been particularly engaged with the latest wikileaks exposures. This partly because this leaks have invaded an inner sanctum of diplomacy- the area of reporting.

In diplomatic reporting a number of issues can be considered in this connection. One issue relate directly to the question of the free flow of information.

If the historical trends is for freer flow of information, what could be wrong with the disclosure of the reports produced by diplomats? Is the issue mainly a question of timing? Access to diplomatic archives dealing with issues on the past is a matter of routine. Reports dealing with current issues are however out of bounds. Who should draw the line, and how? Do the diplomats themselves, who produce the report, have a say in the matter? In the diplomatic field one of the most immediate and visible aspects relates to the way the drafting process has been affected. Reports today are quicker to produce, richer in content, and more susceptible to collective working together than ever before.[130]

This has improved the timeliness and quality. The basic tools required for these improvements – especially word processors and search engines – are within reach of all.
 The collaborative facilities provided by the internet have also invaded diplomatic life. In many respect the use of blogs, facebook and twitter constitute a natural and legitimate extension of the public dimension of diplomacy.

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[130] Khson M, Lord and Richard F., *Managing 21st century diplomacy: lessons from global corporations*; center for a new American security <http://www.cnas.org/node/54367

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

Social media is one of the fastest growing tools of modern public diplomacy. The advantage of social media provides the opportunity to reach citizens of other countries in near real time. Social media platforms also provide spaces for interaction increased engagement and thus furthering the goals of public diplomacy. The potential ease with which social media an be assessed and the low cost in comparison to other methods make it an attractive tool for many embassies, as well as other government offices, that are facing budget cuts and demands to increase engagement. Numerous platforms allow for the use of more dynamic content, such as videos, photos and links, than traditional methods of giving lecturers or passing out pamphlets. In addition social media are key channels in reaching youth populations, a major goal of current public diplomacy efforts.

Public diplomacy not only reaches a youth audience it listens and understands young publics, their thoughts aspirations information seeking and sharing behaviors along with the actions they take as a result. With this insight, there is greater potential to engage and collaborate with key communities rather than broadcast to a target audience.

Social media change the way governments conduct public diplomacy and has impact on foreign policy because it helps publics communicate with leaders about the issues that matter the most to them. It allows governments to listen more effectively to the crowd. The goals of public diplomacy are:- to inform to advocate, to listen to connect, to engage and best case scenario to build capacity that enhances international relations and foreign policy implementation.

with constant digital presence authoritarian regimes are forced to become more transparent and accountable. A good example occurred February this year when China was pressured to address its environmental standards. The U.S Embassy in Beijing operates its own evolution monitor, releasing hourly figures by twitter. In the past two years, citizens noticed large discrepancies between the official Chinese figures and the U.S ones and the public began to question whether the Chinese statistics had been fulfilled.

Without digital outreach, Beijing may not have taken emergency action; shutting down factories and taking a third of official cars off the road. Because of the U.S embassy broadcasting directly to foreign audiences, Beijing is now vowing to cut air pollution by 15 percent over the next three years, something that citizens may not have been able to do without the online forum. Social media has taken the world by storm. Citizen journalists are increasing pressure on diplomats to deliver timely and accurate reporting of what is happening on the ground.[131] The biggest impact social media has in terms of diplomatic reporting is making it more immediate and less formal. With the post 9/11 move in the U.S government from a 'need to know' to a 'need to share, the US Department of state became an example of one diplomacy machine that has embraced social media and is seeking to maximize existing tools to promote the sharing of information.

With public diplomacy coming more and more to the fore front as an international tool of engagement, social media has a huge part to play in diplomatic use Twitter to get instant updates about what is happening on the street or to float an idea in cyber space to informally sound out public opinion, this microblogging tool is rapidly becoming part of the diplomats reporting tool box.

Social media gives the policy makers numbers that can distinctly say what people are feeling and how they are communicating about issues , countries, international politics and these numbers mean more than simple polls because it's truly what people feel and believe and talk about with their most valued contacts.

The researcher thought it of necessity to look at cultural diplomacy as a means of soft power because cultural diplomacy has been referred to as The "Linctipin of public diplomacy" hence cultural activities have the possibility to demonstrate the best of a nation. In this way, cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy are intimately linked.[132]

Cultural diplomacy a type of public diplomacy and soft power that includes the "exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their

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[131] Rawnsley, Gary D., (2009). *China talks back public diplomacy and soft power for the Chinese century.* In Routledge handbook of public diplomacy, New York: Routledge pp. 282-291.

[132] "Cultural diplomacy, political influence and integrated strategy," in strategic influence: Public diplomacy, counter propaganda and political warfare, (ed.), Michael J. Walker (Washington, DC Institute of World Politics Pres, 2009), p. 74.

peoples in order to foster mutual understanding [133] The purpose of cultural diplomacy is for people of a foreign nation to develop an understanding of the nation's ideals and institutions in an effort to build broad support for economic and political goals.[134] Cultural diplomacy can and does play an important role in achieving national security aims.[135] Cultural diplomacy can create an environment in which a nation is received as basically good, which in turn can help frame its actions in a positive light. Participants in cultural diplomacy often have insights into foreign attitudes that official embassy employees do not. This can be used to better understand a foreign nation's intentions and capabilities. It can also be used to counter hostile propaganda and the collection of open source of intelligence . Overall cultural diplomacy has the potential to demonstrate national power, create an environment conducive to support and assist in the collection and interpretation of information. This in turn , aids in the interpretation of intelligence, enhances a nation's prestige and aids in garnering support for policies abroad. All of these factors affect a nation's security , thus, cultural diplomacy has an effect on and a role to play, in regards to National Security.[136]

From the perspective of public diplomacy social media tools could not only be deployed on issues such as cultural exchanges but also on the tough questions such as engaging in direct diplomacy with authoritarian regimes.

Hence, social networking tools should be used not only as a way to support opinion leaders but can also be used as a powerful tool for engaging in the dialogue of nations. It's a trajectory form o f public diplomacy which countries should be heading towards.

5.2 Conclusions

Public diplomacy has been an essential element of American foreign policy for decades.

It was an important tool in influencing public opinion during the Cold War with the

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[133] Mary N., Maack, "Books and Libraries as instruments of cultural diplomacy in Francephone Africa during the cold war," Libraries & Culture 36 No. 1 (winter 2001) p. 59
[134] United States Department of State advisory committee on cultural diplomacy, *diplomacy report of the advisory committee on cultural diplomacy,* p. 3.
[135] "Cultural diplomacy, political influence and integrated strategy," in strategic influence: Public diplomacy, counter propaganda and political warfare (ed.) Michael J. Waller (Washington , DC: Institute of World Politics Press, 2009), pp. 78-79
[136] Ibid

former Soviet Union. Since the attacks of September 11, 2001, the term has come back into vogue as the United States government works to improve their reputation abroad, particularly in the Middle East and among those in the Islamic world. Numerous panels, including those sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations, have evaluated American efforts in public diplomacy since 9/11 and have written reports recommending that the United States take various actions to improve the effectiveness of their public diplomacy.

Standard diplomacy might be described as the ways in which government leaders communicate with each other at the highest levels, the elite diplomacy we are all familiar with. Public diplomacy, by contrast focuses on the ways in which a country (or multi-lateral organization such as the United Nations) communicates with citizens in other societies. A country may be acting deliberately or inadvertently, and through both official and private individuals and institutions. Effective public diplomacy starts from the premise that dialogue, rather than a sales pitch, is often central to achieving the goals of foreign policy .

The rapidly increasing rate of internet penetration in middle East and North Africa(MENA) region –consequent availability of social media- did bolster existing popular engagement; with anti-regime sentiments and consequent participation in protests. Social media can best facilitate protest participation when it builds upon existent social ties, such as those created civil society group.

Political participation, a key aspect of democracy, has recently become an important facet of Internet activity. This new "participatory Internet" has shown the greatest potential for institutional political change in revolutionizing peer-to-peer communication. The Internet

has eliminated the challenge imposed by the prohibitive costs of other forms of communication. Any individual can now become a reporter, a :pundit, or an organizer through the web and blogs, especially, have become one of the key source of individual expression in the Middle East and are beginning to cause alarm within authoritarian regimes.

There is no doubt that the state still holds the majority of power, but the tools of power have diversified and advanced. In a globalized world marked by constant transnational flows of information the power of the citizen journalist and the online dissident, the power of framing and the power of the audience should not be underestimated. Nor should the role of ICTs and media be downplayed. It is they that make these powers possible and strengthen civil society at the cost of tyrants.

Social media served to boost international attention to particular events by facilitating reporting from places where the traditional media has limited access to, and by providing a bottom-up, decentralized process for generating news stories. Second, the positive use of social media by many protesters during the Arab Spring to discuss ideas and plan protest activities is being increasingly countered by its use by governments eager to repress the activities of protesters and to stem democratic movements.

Attempt should be made to stem the negative use of this tool, and promote its positive function for protest organizers. Social media enables activists to connect in the same way as they would via membership in civil organizations. Social media's ability to offer membership in virtual civil society groups boosted participation in protests, highlighting the importance the tool played in facilitating social unrest. Social media also increased

international attention to local events in MENA, which may have raised morale and increased pressure on local governments. Though, there is increased exploitation of social media by governments- to repress the activities of protesters fighting for change; underscoring the double-edged nature of the role social media.

5.3 Policy Recommendations

However, given the great potential of social media to be an effective tool in facilitating social unrest by changing how people interact, share information and organize themselves, the following policies can help to create an environment that would elicit the maximum potential of social media in bringing about social unrest that would be aligned with U.S. interests.

Social media sites should postpone planned upgrades or maintenance that may cause service interruptions during periods of particularly high protest activity.

Because social media facilitates the spread of information, is a tool for organization of unrest, and makes it harder for regimes to oppress their people with impunity, the U.S. Government (USG) should request that social media websites maintain service during periods of protest activity.

Where social media was used extensively to mobilize and organize protests, authoritarian governments often responded by shutting down or restricting access to social media. Although there is much debate on the effectiveness of these restrictions, such disruptions certainly did not help the population to achieve their goal. Therefore, the USG should attempt to minimize the disruption of communication by investing in mechanisms and

tools to circumvent such censorship. This will become increasingly necessary because authoritarian regimes are becoming more adept at censorship and cyber warfare.

While the Obama administration is "leading a global effort to deploy "shadow" Internet and mobile phone systems that dissidents can use to undermine repressive governments that seek to silence them by censoring or shutting down telecommunications networks," Despite possible diplomatic concerns and the apparent lack of use of such tools currently, the U.S. should promote and provide tools to circumvent Internet censorship to those struggling against authoritarian regimes, such as Syria, that are committing egregious human rights violations against their own people.

Accelerate the effort to expand Internet access in order to increase the number of people with access to social media.

In order for the U.S. to expand the access to the virtual platforms for sharing information, stimulating discussions and organizing political movement, it is meaningful that the USG divert greater efforts in expanding the Internet connectivity throughout the world. In many countries across MENA, the low Internet penetration rate could potentially have been one of the factors that explains why the social media's role in affecting the course of social unrest was much less pronounced than some had expected. Hence, it makes sense to strengthen its effort to enhance communications infrastructure through its foreign assistance, such that people worldwide would gain better and cheaper access to the Internet. This can include efforts such as providing technical assistance for developing IT system or providing computers to Least Developed Countries. These efforts may not bear fruits immediately but patient and firm effort to expand the number of people connected to Internet, especially in those countries that have authoritarian regime, can help prepare

an environment that would tap the latent strength of the social media in bringing social changes.

However, merely having the infrastructure to connect to the Internet is not sufficient in mobilizing its full potential. In reality, there are many repressive government that extend their control over the Internet through means such as monitoring, filtering and in the worst case through outright censorship. Hence, as the USG has been repeatedly reiterating, it should continue to strengthen its effort to achieve greater Internet Freedom. This could include efforts such as taking initiatives in strengthening the existing international normative frameworks like International Telecommunication Union (ITU) that sets standards on global Internet Freedom.

With the arrival of the information age, information technologies are having a sweeping effect on cultural policy makers and their interaction with the public. Also it influences national identity because a new culture has been formed in cyberspace and both the local and individual identities are affected. Accordingly, cultural identity of a nation has been blended due to rapid evolution of information technologies.

Information technologies are transforming diplomacy in many of the same ways that they are transforming societies. In accordance with the transition, cultural policy makers should provide advanced training and professional development opportunities for public affairs officers having responsibility for public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy throughout their careers, with particular attention to research, polling, and the use of new media.

It is necessary to have information technology teams inside embassies to effectively respond and obtain international goodwill, political advantage and business opportunities

given that over a billion of the world's citizens have access to the Internet. The expertise of diplomats at posts can be harnessed in virtual teams with links across the globe and apply emerging technologies fully. The use of information technology is to help conduct international relations. With the arrival of the information age, information technologies are having a sweeping w cultural policy makers would interact with the public. Also it influences national identity because a new culture has been formed in cyberspace and both the local and individual identities are affected. Accordingly, cultural identity of a nation has been blended due to rapid involving information technologies.[137]

5.4 Suggestions for further research

The influence of new media and social media in particular is only starting to emerge. There are plenty of opportunities for further research in the area of new media and its effects on the individual, on intergroup relations, on collective action, on regime policies, on external attention, and on grassroots political organization. The researcher was merely able to give an overview, but the trends she outlines suggest that in the struggle between Twitter and tyrants, the former might prove to be more useful than many scholars and observers want to give it credit for. As the events in the Middle East continue to unfold, we will have to stay tuned in to find out.

Nonetheless, social media remain vitally important tools- in our collective arsenal to promote democracy and fight tyranny. By granting individuals unprecedented power to voice their opinions and leverage the power of free speech to catalyze change, social media are revolutionizing the ways in which citizens shape and define the world in which they live and the world the next generation will inherit.

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[137] Ibid

Another question for the future will be how new media can be used not only for having a revolution, which is the "sexy" part that the mainstream media usually focuses on, but also for the hard challenges that follow — for reconciliation and peace-building, for establishing democratic state institutions, for supporting an active civil society, and for strengthening human rights. In the Arab world as well as in other places, it is likely that new media will be one important factor in transforming and stabilizing countries, just as they were one important factor out of many during the revolutions.

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