T.C.

ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**DIGITAL DIPLOMATIC EVOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION
DURING TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: DIGITAL FOREIGN POLICY –
EUROPEAN UNION CASE.**

MASTER'S THESIS

Mohamed El Meki GHAZOUANE

Department of Political Science and International Relations

Political Science and International Relations Program

June, 2022

T.C.

ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

DIGITAL DIPLOMATIC EVOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION DURING TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: DIGITAL FOREIGN POLICY – EUROPEAN UNION CASE.

MASTER'S THESIS

Mohamed El Meki GHAZOUANE

(Y1912.110048)

Department of Political Science and International Relations

Political Science and International Relations Program

Thesis Advisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz KATMAN

June, 2022

ONAY FORMU

DECLARATION

I hereby declare this work being presented in this thesis is an original piece and was presented and submitted independently and uses only the above sources of literature. declare that this work has not been submitted under any other title. This thesis represents my own work and the ideas are represented in my own words in accordance with the university rules and principles.

FOREWORD

I would like to thank my advisor, Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz Katman for directing and helping me in the completion of this thesis.

I would like to thank all the friends that have been supportive to me and helped me during this process, thank you for the energy that you gave me, always trying to push me to the limits.

I want to thank members of the AISEC Istanbul West organization for encouraging me to do more and helping me integrate into the Turkish culture and enjoy most of my stay here in Istanbul.

June 2022   Mohamed El Meki GHAZOUANE

DIGITAL DIPLOMATIC EVOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION DURING TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: DIGITAL FOREIGN POLICY – EUROPEAN UNION CASE.

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the digital transformation in the European Union public diplomacy and the digital shift towards digital diplomacy. soft power is an important characteristic through which we can classify states and other powerful organizations and diplomacy represent the most common soft power image of any entity. Communicating clearly and honestly with the public, especially the foreign public, assists in projecting the best-perceived image. Therefore, the European Union started implementing digital tools like social media platforms to inform about its political actions and the application of its foreign policy. We conclude that the transformation that happened within the European Union institution was very positive and led to the attraction of many individuals interested in subjects related to the European Union. The change did not happen only on the institutional side but also on the individual side. We observe the transformation in the strategic communication of EU spokespeople, leaning more toward casual messaging and creating more connections with their audience. This step was very important for the European Union since the web is a chaotic arena, where not everything is controlled. Access to fast, correct, and accurate information is crucial in the fight against disinformation. In this work, we aimed to advance the vital key points of the digital transformation of European Union public diplomacy and the role of its institution in this change, along with the changes in the discursive strategies of some EU spokespeople both internally and externally within the social media platform Twitter.

Keywords: Public Diplomacy, Digital Diplomacy, Strategic communication, European Union.

YİRMİ BİRİNCİ YÜZYILDA DİJİTAL DİPLOMATİK EVRİM VE DÖNÜŞÜM: DİJİTAL DIŞ POLİTİKA – AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ ÖRNEĞİ.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Avrupa Birliği kamu diplomasisindeki dijital dönüşüme ve dijital diplomasiye doğru dijital geçişe odaklanmaktadır. Yumuşak güç, devletleri ve diğer güçlü organizasyonları sınıflandırabileceğimiz önemli bir özelliktir ve diplomasi, herhangi bir varlığın en yaygın yumuşak güç imajını temsil eder. Halkla, özellikle de yabancı halkla açık ve dürüst bir şekilde iletişim kurmak, en iyi algılanan imajı yansıtmaya yardımcı olur. Bu nedenle Avrupa Birliği, siyasi eylemleri ve dış politikasının uygulanması hakkında bilgi vermek için sosyal medya platformları gibi dijital araçları uygulamaya başladı. Avrupa Birliği kurumu bünyesinde yaşanan dönüşümün oldukça olumlu olduğu ve Avrupa Birliği ile ilgili konulara ilgi duyan birçok kişinin ilgisini çektiği sonucuna varıyoruz. Değişim sadece kurumsal tarafta değil, bireysel tarafta da oldu. AB sözcülerinin stratejik iletişimlerindeki dönüşümü, gündelik mesajlaşmaya daha fazla eğilerek ve hedef kitleleriyle daha fazla bağlantı kurarak gözlemliyoruz. Web, her şeyin kontrol edilmediği kaotik bir arena olduğundan, bu adım Avrupa Birliği için çok önemliydi. Dezenformasyonla mücadelede hızlı, doğru ve doğru bilgiye erişim çok önemlidir. Bu çalışmada, Avrupa Birliği kamu diplomasisinin dijital dönüşümünün hayati kilit noktalarını ve bu değişimde kurumunun rolünü, ayrıca bazı AB sözcülerinin hem içeride hem de dışarıda toplumsal çerçevede söylemsel stratejilerinde meydana gelen değişiklikleri ilerletmeyi amaçladık. medya platformu Twitter.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kamu Diplomasisi, Dijital Diplomasi, Stratejik iletişim, Avrupa Birliği.

TABLE OF CONTENT

ABBREVIATIONS

EC	: European Commission
EEAS	: European Eternal Action Service
EP	: European Parliament
EU	: European Union
EUGS	: European Union Global Strategy
FPI	: Foreign Services Policy Instruments
GDP	: Gross domestic product
HQ	: Headquarter
ICT	: Information and communications technology
NATO	: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	: Non-government organization
STRATCOMM	: Strategic Communications
UN	: United Nations
US	: United States

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

I.   INTRODUCTION

A. Topic

The topic of this thesis will be the public diplomacy of the European Union (EU) during the twenty-first century and the digital transformation in its diplomatic strategies and discourse. Public diplomacy is currently one of the most important foreign policy tools that no actor in today's international system can afford to ignore, even for actors as unique as the EU. Public diplomacy is related to the ability of a state entity, organization, and different other actors to represent itself externally and communicate with the foreign public, as well as the ability to influence the positive ideas that the foreign public has about that entity.

Public diplomacy is related to the communication strategy and it is not a matter of one-sided communication by state representatives, on the contrary, it is also related to building relationships and long-term partnerships based on mutual understanding of the target groups and taking it into account to implement strategic policies. The EU public diplomacy will be presented in the thesis by analyzing its public diplomacy strategy within its relationship with the United States (US) as a case study.

In the development of this idea, we will try and connect the concept of public diplomacy with digital diplomacy and compare the usage of digital tools such as social media in different diplomatic applications. Digitalization is a very important phase of human history. It had a big impact on many fields, and diplomacy is one of them, this automatically led to various changes in the international relations policies in the whole world, and we have seen multiple transformations in the structure of international politics and diplomacy during the digital area.

The usage of public diplomacy is directly linked to the concept of soft power which the EU is using to strengthen its dimension of influence not only on nation-states that need to worry about their reputation and positive image but also on entities like the EU. Since reputation plays a big role in the implementation of foreign policy,

the EU has to rely on soft power rather than Hard Power because it cannot create the same effect on foreign public opinion.

Technology now controls the way and the speed of information flow - from the telegraph to the internet, the interaction of diplomates has been influenced in many ways. Nowadays, states and organizations have been choosing some famous digital social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter to conduct their acts of diplomacy as a step to embrace it, called the digital diplomacy strategy. Technology seems to be influencing the way diplomacy is conducted as well as the emergence of new and less traditional players. Technology now controls the way and the speed of information.

Since the essential core of diplomatic action is the protection and promotion of national interests are being reframed by the digitalization process, many states find digital interdependence as a key point to put regulations and laws that will protect each courtier's benefits and objectives. Therefore, it is crucial for diplomats and officials related to foreign policies of those countries that are giving big importance to digital foreign policy to protect the right of the citizens and the interests of their national and international companies.

Digital tools have introduced some way of transparency and democracy to the field where it has opened the way for more participants than can impact the policy-making and raise public awareness of concerns of international relations. Not only this, but digital diplomacy has also brought countries from different continents closers to each other in a globalized world, this has pushed many leaders, diplomats, and international organizations to call for more cooperation to find global and fast solutions for universal issues, which makes digital diplomacy a glowing light in international relations is that it kept the core of diplomacy untouched and helped it develop and be more agile.

Later in this thesis, we will shift attention to the EU digital diplomacy and how it is used in the context of strategic communication and the role that the European External Action Service (EEAS) plays in enhancing the EU's digital diplomacy, therefore its public diplomacy. EEAS has had a major role in the EU since it manages its diplomatic relations with non-EU countries and conducts EU foreign policy and security policy.

The European Union is willing to adapt to diplomatic changes and take on the lead with the transformations regarding the digital development that is taking over the world. Changes in the practices and regulations are highly reinforced and supported by the EU's policymakers. The topic is concerned to explore the digital policies of the EU and progress that have been made throughout the 21st century what are the changes that are to be made to give more legitimacy to the digital actions that are made by the Union and to create a harmless digital space where the fundamental rights of all operators of digital services are protected and safe.

B. Aim/Purpose

The digital age of new technologies and Twitter accounts and famous social media platforms has threatened to change traditional diplomacy. The new technologies are providing immediate entree to immediate data and online communication, and diplomats and government officials have begun to use this to their advantage. This research seeks to study how digital diplomacy is affecting international relations and international affairs of the EU. "The new world of diplomacy is more like a quantum mechanical model. State changes can occur nearly instantaneously, at discrete levels, with little wiggle room in between. Social media now spreads information faster than any news broadcast" (Kamen Lovez 2013).

Digitalization in the modern world has urged the call to the usage of the internet and new information and communication technologies in many areas, and diplomacy is directly influenced by it. Therefore, the big role of digital diplomacy is very important considering the actions that are made by many states around the world to influence their way of interaction between other states and different international organizations, and also the control of social-network to influence a group of people or sometimes even nation as a mass.

The European Union and usage of social media show that there are advantages in that regard, these include information exchange and communication, teamwork and work from home, data sharing, sharing hardware and peripherals, services, and education (Drahošová & Balco 2017).

In favor of the European action that is necessary for building a clear path in the future digital age, it is very important to set foreign policies that are going to be

organized and in favor of the organization's plans. The EU has recently come up with a new digital strategy to reinforce Europe's technological and cyber digital sovereignty, the EU is willing to work withing new rules to protect its values in so many different political and international dimensions (Bendiek, C. Kettemann 2021)

Main Research Question:

- Is the European union considering digital diplomacy as a factor in communicating and projecting its policies to the foreign public?

- Research sub-questions:

- Is there a digital transformation in the European Union diplomacy in the twenty-first century?

- What are the main institutions responsible for EU public diplomacy?

- How did the digital shift transform the discourse of political actors within the EU?

- What are the main changes in EU spokespeople' discourses?

Main argument: the European Union is using digital diplomacy to improve and develop better relations internationally and more stability internally and give the best image of itself as a leading entity.

C. Field, Resources, Place-Duration, Limitation and Support

The field will be Diplomacy and Digital diplomacy within the European Union in particular. The data and sources will be collected online, on Twitter, data published by, and based on a literature review due to this pandemic going on in the world. It makes it very hard to find literature materials regarding digital diplomacy since it is a new concept and matter of research. Nevertheless, some sufficient books and articles are providing good and rich information and data in regards to Digital diplomacy and European digital foreign policies.

Due to the shortage of previous data in regards to the interactions and social media usage of EU spokespeople the period of analysis will be 2014 and 2015. This time period was chosen because it provides visible changes in the communication strategies of member of the EEAS as we will observe later in this dissertation.

Literature material like: "What is public diplomacy? Past practices, present conduct, possible future!" written by (Roberts 2007) and "public diplomacy" by (Melissen 2013, p.436–452). "The debate on public diplomacy now dominates research agendas in diplomatic studies. With many newcomers from a variety of disciplines joining this niche sub-field, public diplomacy has become diplomatic studies' best export, as shown by a flurry of public and private advisory reports, books, and articles" (Melissen 2013, p.436–452). These two articles explain the evolution and transformation from traditional diplomacy to public diplomacy. These sources elaborate more on how public diplomacy reshapes foreign policy discussion from happening only between the elites of society but also occurring between the government official members and foreign societies. Moreover, there is a big debate amongst researchers and scholars in regards to how new technologies specifically the ones that are affecting public diplomacy on an international scale.

Brain Hoking in his book "Diplomacy in the digital age" and Kamen Lovez in "the digital diplomacy potential" present two different approaches, supporters of digital diplomacy, believe that digitalization would strengthen public diplomacy (Kamen Lovez 2013, p.22) claims in her article Digital diplomacy plays an ever-increasing role in our volatile world, perhaps even averting future wars. Technology-enabled social networks, when flooded with false rumors and incorrect knowledge, can quickly lead to mass hysteria, confusion, and hostility. But when those same networks connect and engage enough minds having the right knowledge and the ability to communicate across cultural and other barriers, the upside potential is virtually limitless (Kamen Lovez 2013). while some other scholars claim that it would change the classical meaning of diplomacy since we are moving towards something new in the field of diplomacy. "If the term 'digital age' presents us with a complex mix of technological, social, economic, and political changes, then its popular derivative, 'digital diplomacy' is no less problematic. The easiest course would be to focus on social media, but even here the picture is confusing. For many, the role of digital media seems to be equated with the broader public diplomacy function, with diplomats embracing Twitter and Facebook, and their embassies engaging with local audiences in the digital domain" (Hocking 2015).

The conclusion is that the matter of digital diplomacy is very new and it is

quite difficult to come up with certain assumptions aiming to measure the long-term effects and future development of digital diplomacy in the EU. The location will be focused on case studies done in the EU frame and the time of the research will be around 4 months (December 2021-April 2022).

D. Methods and Techniques

The Research methodology with be a qualitative method. The first step is to gain an understanding of the topic. The second step is to analyze some representative case studies relevant to the research topic. Then, at last, the research may include some statistics based on gathering data online, we can have access to direct information from diplomates, ambassadors, and experts from the EEAS and other EU institutions in the field of public diplomacy and previous interviews conducted in the same matter of research

Different approaches will be serving in the data collection in regards to this topic. Digitalization and social media are new concepts in the subject of diplomacy and the EU is still working on creating policies that will shape a better future for its digital diplomacy.

In concerns of the primary data, we will draw mainly from the texts of experts and theorists on soft power and public diplomacy, and digital diplomacy, especially for the purposes of the description contained in the theoretical part of the work.

As for secondary sources of that, academic literature will fulfill that part, multiple scholarly sources, and data published by the European Union itself and its institutions, especially the European Commission and the European External Action Service. In regards to the EU twitter discourse and EU communication strategy, we will use Tweets and retweets from EU spokespeople to try and analyze previously collected data and we will try to expand it more. Certified and verified websites will provide a sufficient range of information in regards to my topic.

II. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: POWER, PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, DIGITAL DIPLOMACY.

A. The concept of Power.

In this part, we will develop the concept of power. Although it is not the basic theme of this research development, diplomatic practices and the growing interest in public diplomacy in our modern world are directly linked to the notion of power. We will briefly define the concept of power based on the reflections of Joseph S. Nye, where he brings about the three dimensions of power. We will work on the following conceptualization of Nye who introduced the concept of soft power that is directly related to public diplomacy.

The first thing we should do is give a definition of power in general, what it means, and what it includes. It is one of the main topics of international relations and was always at the center of all human societies. Representatives of several theoretical schools and international relations theories perceive the concept in different ways. No matter the understanding we have of power, it will always be of big importance to human society, although it is hard to grasp it theoretically and generalize its qualifications which makes it less likely to put forward (Nye, 2008, p:27).

Presenting a unified definition of power is almost impossible because it can take many forms, depending on the needs of those who deal with the issue of power. Machiavelli and Hobbes have shaped the way we perceive power way before in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while Niccolò Machiavelli is the one who puts up power on a decentralized base, he sees it as a means, not a resource, talking about strategic advantages such as military ones. Well as Thomas Hobbes sees power as central and based on sovereignty (Sadan, 1997, p:34).

The concept of power has seen development in the later period, Weber, in the middle of the twentieth century, in his definition, focused on the ability of the so-called 'actor' to enforce its will and achieve its structured goals despite the disapproval of the other party in play (Sadan, 1997, p:35). Weber's view of power

was then followed up by Robert Dahl, he introduced a basic definition of power, according to which power can be defined as an ability to achieve the chosen objectives through the potential to influence the actions of other actors. Power, therefore, is the ability of the actor to persuade other actors to do something they would not under any circumstances and not of their own free will (Dahl 1957, p.203; Nye, 2004, p:1-2).

1. The three dimensions of Power:

Joseph S. Nye presented his concept of soft power with the assumption that contemporary politicians tend to neglect the changing nature of power and also the growing importance of the "Soft Power Dimension" (Nye, 2004). Hence, during his examination of power, Nye introduced his understanding of the matter over several years of analysis and brought up the idea of the three dimensions of power: "Hard power" dimension, "Soft Power" dimension, and the last "Smart Power" dimension.

Although we will base our work on the concepts of Nye, it does not mean that no one else has tried to put power in different categories. From a realist perspective, E.H. Carr also similarly addresses the topic. Carr, at the beginning of the eighties-exactly in the year 1981, defines and categorizes it into three basic categories: Military power, Economic Power, and Power Over Pinion to which he gave much more attention because it is very difficult to measure and control by consequence (Baird, 2006, p:1).

In this context, one can be easily flattered by the concept of soft power and which is of better characteristics and values than hard power, which can be achieved under some conditions that are perceived as a negative dimension of power. Nevertheless, such attribution of properties is not very fitting, it is necessary to take into consideration that even soft power can be abused, as Joseph Nye mentions: "No one wants to be manipulated, not even through soft power". All forms of power and even its 'Soft' dimension can be used for different purposes, no matter we consider them as good or bad according to our own subjective judgment (Nye, 2008, p:43).

a. Hard Power:

The first dimension of power that we will talk about in this section is hard power. This form of power corresponds to the traditional and above all realistic understanding of power, it has long prevailed over the discourse of power by all

other approaches. When we talk about the fact that any actor has strong hard power, it means that he is enforcing his own will using hard pressure, threats, and even persuasion to achieve his own particular goals. Sources from which such power emerges, are usually of material nature and privileged positions occupied primarily by military force and financial resources. This dimension of power is often referred to as the commonly known metaphor, "showing carrots or sticks" (Nye 2004, p:5, 2011, p:20).

b. Soft Power:

Power is traditionally perceived by the majority to be related to the dimension mentioned above which is hard power. Therefore, military superiority associated with the concept, together with the economic, and technological one has been the dominant factor to determine the power of the actors and states with these assumptions that shape our modern world events. Although this reality is valid to some extent to this day, hard power is in no way to be ignored, relying purely on the 'hard' form of power is no longer appropriate in its entirety, this approach can no longer answer to the changing reality of international relations in the present circumstances, it is necessary to take into consideration a wider range of sources from which power can be derived and what form power can take (Keohane, Nye 2012, p:9).

Nowadays, power is no longer considered to be only associated with force, pressure, and threats. On the contrary, today's actors who are moving into the international sphere already realize that their desired goals can be achieved by different means other than coercion and bribes. Actors willing to exercise their power have their attractiveness at their disposal as a form of power, it will help them convince other actors and change their perspective to match their preferences, this is the foundation of the so-called soft power, which in the most general sense can be introduced as the ability of 'ACTOR A' to influence the preferences of 'ACTOR B' (Nye 2008, p:29).

In contrast to the ability to influence the actions of other actors using hard power, soft power as mentioned before is the ability of the actor to shape others' perspectives relying on the attractiveness of certain acceptable values, placed to project political objectives that seem correct to both parties in play, and not just what

they are forced to do under pressure (Nye 2008, p:31). Within this frame, we must be vigilant and not compare attraction with influence because soft power is not related to influence. Nye highlighted that the usage of power self-influence is also part of hard power and when related to soft power, then it will be apparent as a way of influencing itself.

The sources from which these two dimensions of power springs can be found in the difference between them. As mentioned in the previous section, hard power is based mainly on material sources. But in the case of soft power, its sources are based on opposite ones. Soft power is founded on intangible resources, for instance, ideals, positive values, institutions, culture, and the legitimacy of the actors (Nye 2011, p:21). Nye presents three primary sources of power (Nye 2004, p:11):

A) Culture.

B) Political values, if they are actually enrolled by the actors.

C) Foreign policy, thus only if legitimately perceived abroad.

Though, actors using soft power often include for example economic factors that can produce both hard power and soft power and connect them with the three categories of the sources of soft power (Nye 2011, p:85).

c. Smart Power:

Smart power is the last category that falls into Nye's categorization of power. He introduced this concept in 2004, in an effort to refute the idea that the usage of soft power alone with its resources can conclude to effective foreign policy. Therefore, the complete dependence on the 'Soft' dimension of power is unmaintainable, and in order to pursue an effective foreign policy strategy, one should efficiently combine soft power and hard power to strengthen and support each other. (Nye 2011, p:23) (Wilson 2008, p:115).

Nye rejects that foreign policy will be attracted mutually into coalition, he emphasizes the need to interconnect the two approaches to achieve certain goals and influence the behaviors of others. Undeniably, it remains true that hard power and soft power can affect each other in some cases, and in other cases using both categories of power can see connection and support, as can be portrayed in the table below:

	Hard	Soft
Spectrum of Behaviors	Command coercion inducement	agenda setting attraction Co-opt
Most Likely Resources	force payments sanctions bribes	institutions values culture policies

Figure 1 Spectrum Of Behavıour And Resources Of Soft And hard power

Source: NYE, J. S. (2004). Soft Power: the means to success in world politics. Public Affairs.

2.   The concept of Normative Power:

The concept of normative power is often used in relation to the European Union. The main idea of the concept of normative power is that the actor with Normative power can determine what it is and what is not perceived as acceptable in international relations, which later on will be considered ordinary. The actors, thus, would be able to promote their values and opinions beyond their borders and be accepted on a large scale within the system in which they take action. Accordingly, the notion of Normative power can be compared with Carr's "power over opinions", since it focuses on the capability to convince others of the correctness of some specific forms of values (Azpíroz 2015, p:6; Scheipers, Sicurelli 2007, p:435; Manners 2002, p:238).

Even though normative power may appear much similar to soft power, at first sight, they are not exactly identical notions. At first, if we relate an actor with normative power, we indicate, not only the power it has, but also what power it is, and how it diffuses norms and norms and values to those it connects with. Furthermore, the concept of soft power could be presented as a descriptive concept, not an ideational one, since it focuses less on what is right and what is wrong. On the other hand, Normative power is an ideological concept that is based on value judgment (Nielsen 2013, p:727).

B. Public Diplomacy

The general description of public diplomacy as advanced by many scholars is the country's efforts to create and maintain relationships with foreign international publics to advocate policies and actions (Melissen & Wang 2019). Public practices need to be reconceptualized for public diplomacy to keep up with evolving models of public-private collaboration and communicative behaviors in the increasing distributed system of states and global society (Melissen & Wang 2019). Public diplomacy is considered an important part and a keynote in the practices of diplomacy, we might say that the less inclusion of public diplomacy the less diplomacy can be observed.

Public diplomacy and the power to attract and persuade become increasingly important, but public diplomacy is changing along the way with technological advances. The cost of processing and transmitting information has dramatically decreased. Therefore, it has led to a burst of data and information and caused a 'paradox of plenty' (Melissen & Wang 2019).

People have a hard time focusing on a certain type of information due to the dense volume of information they have to process (Nye 2019). The political struggle of actors of public diplomacy whether, states, IGOs, NGOs, etc., is visible over the foundation or demolition of the credibility of those actors. Here we can assume that reputation becomes more important today than in the past.

Public diplomacy as a strategy is considered to be successful when it is attracting more audiences to agree on certain policies. To reach the targeted audience, social media platforms have added more complexity to public diplomacy. Free access with no paid services that these social communication mediums present themselves as being built in a way where the user is actually the product. The information and data generated by their likes, shares, and comments driven by their casual and personal interests and intentions are being sold to advertisers. This big amount of data allows the targeting of a narrowed audience selected to stay engaged in certain debates and directed towards more centered perspectives suggested by well-designed advertisement algorithms (Nye 2019).

1.   New Public Diplomacy:

Public diplomacy is no longer neglected in the diplomatic discourse of our modern world. To grasp the meaning of new public diplomacy, it is not wise enough to put forward a projection of past events and historical practices into our present global environment, it is not either helpful to stick to the image of past diplomatic practices. The new public diplomacy is going to be an important component of overall diplomatic practices. Although many states and foreign ministries are still having a hard time putting forward the concept of public diplomacy into practice in a multi-actor global environment. But missing parts of public diplomacy should not create ambiguity to not see the role of this practice, making it a pillar of diplomatic mainstream activities (Melissen 2005, p:24).

Paul Sharp gives a short and simple definition of public diplomacy which conveys it as 'the process by which direct relation with people in a country are pursued to advance the interest and extend' (Sharp 2005). Hans N. Tuch, in the year 1990, defines public diplomacy as follows: 'a government's process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions, and culture, as well as its national goals and policies' (Tuch 1990).

Tuch's definition looks very interesting and persuasive, especially because it does not see public diplomacy as if it can only be related to state activity, even if the definition stresses the practice of states. Non-state actors and supranational actors are also developing their public diplomacy strategies and policies. The European Union Commission under José Manuel Barroso's period as prime minister has advanced and gave more importance to the EU's public communication strategy (Melissen, 2005). Nevertheless, the EU was not giving much attention to public diplomacy training of its operating staff in the international parameters, which means that they are not well-formed in concerns to public diplomacy (Hemery 2005).

2.   Key Elements of Public Diplomacy:

When it comes to public diplomacy, we cannot talk about a clear model to follow to set exact steps leading to an effective policy of diplomacy. Nonetheless, many leaders of thought of public diplomacy tried to decompose the concept and analyze individual elements of public diplomacy and put the practice of public

diplomacy in a straight line.

Considering the important effort of Nicolas J. Cull to advance a certain classification of public diplomacy. He introduced 6 elements of public diplomacy (Cull, 2009b, 18-25):

- Listening: this element is generally considered as the base while building new strategies and initiatives. Within it, we talk about the ability of the actor to gather the necessary information about the targeted groups, because "gathering information on nation friends and enemies has always been a key characteristic of diplomacy.

- Advocacy: this step is conducted through active communication with the target audience, gaining support for a selection of policy actions. Establishing a relationship between embassies and local media is highly important to convey the message to the public in an efficient way, this includes press departments, individual offices, or strategic departments of Ministries of Foreign Affairs.

- Cultural diplomacy: states or organizations can influence the public in the international environment by promoting their values. We can include, for example, exchange programs of a cultural or educational aspect. Another important example of cultural diplomacy is cultural centers and libraries.

- Exchange programs: this element focus only on cultural exchange programs of an educational nature to present information exchange.

- News (Broadcasting): in the case of broadcasting, we are mainly talking about the role of Information and Communication Technologies such as television, radio, internet, and social media, as an effort to stay in contact with the foreign public and provide them with objective information.

- Psychological warfare: the component is considerably controversial; it is about achieving the goals of public diplomacy actors in the period of conflict or war through communication with the public of the enemy state.

Every actor can choose what element he wants to focus on depending on their objective. Their public diplomacy strategy can include all the above components or select only some of them. As an example of the selective approach, the United States of America focuses mainly on strategies that will defend its advocate position (Cull 2009b, p:24) whatever point the actor chooses to work with, they should always give space and prioritize the first mentioned component which is Listening. Therefore, they will always have information about the target public and this will provide the success of their public diplomacy strategy. Monitoring and collecting necessary information about foreign publics and their environment plays an important role in achieving the goals of public diplomacy initiatives and will help build the next step of that initiative (Cull 2010, p:12).

The actors can also initiate any strategy he decides upon at any given time, in the practice of public diplomacy. Nonetheless, there is an essential rule they must apply, the foundation of public diplomacy is its credibility, it is whether the actors are actually acting according to the principles and ideals they seek to promote using public diplomacy. Therefore, if the action and words do not go hand in hand and are not coherent, the probability of their public diplomacy strategy's success will decline and will not give the expected results (Cull 2009b, p:27, Cull 2010, p:13).

C. Concepts Related to Public Diplomacy:

1. Traditional Diplomacy:

The distinction between public diplomacy and traditional diplomacy is in fact quite obvious: traditional diplomacy is viewed as the relationship between state representatives or other international official actors, whereas public diplomacy focuses on the connection between foreign publics in other societies who are considered non-official individuals, groups, or organizations (Melissen 2005, p:5).

The traditionalist view of diplomacy is portrayed as a game where the role and responsibilities of actors in international relations are clearly delineated' (Melissen 2005, p:5). This means that the communication between state officials is the key to diplomacy and it is mainly their role to act on diplomatic operations in the international dimension.

As we have shown previously the importance of public diplomacy, we are

noticing transformation happening in modern diplomatic practices. This will not happen at the expense of traditional diplomacy. It is unlikely that there should be a replacement for secret diplomacy, as it is irreplaceable in many aspects. Using public diplomacy is regarded as a new tool and simply a response to the changes that are happening within the evolving environment of diplomatic practices (Melissen 2005, p:5; Neag 2014, p:162).

## 2.	Nation-Branding:

Nation-branding as a practice needs much more coordination and greater effort than public diplomacy. This concept factually means creating a branding that includes mobilizing whole components of nations that can be part of promoting its image to foreign publics. Unlike public diplomacy, the objectives of nation-branding are much wider and more ambitious (Melissen 2005, p:19-21).

## 3.	Propaganda:

For some scholars who are criticizing public diplomacy, it is simply described as a euphemism for propaganda. They consider public diplomacy as a sort of further developed stage of propaganda that shares common historical roots and main characteristics with traditional propaganda. It is true that if we perceive propaganda in a completely natural sense and without any value of judgment, then it is possible to find similar concepts between propaganda and public diplomacy since both concepts in the hand of governments are tools used to influence and inform the foreign public. Though, propaganda just by itself is a concept with a much larger tradition than in the case of public diplomacy, because it has a significant negative connotation due to its direct linkage with ruse and manipulation. Thus, public diplomacy in the long term is more effective because of its credibility and transparency, the criteria of which propaganda does not have (Melissen 2005, p:16-17; Cull 2009b, p: 23).

The problem of the relationship between public diplomacy and propaganda also arises at a time when public diplomacy in practice is degraded to stimulate propaganda. Public diplomacy can become a sort of propaganda if it is used in a different way and for abnormal objectives, which can lead to a weakening of the Soft Power of the actor who initiated the process.

D. Digital Diplomacy:

Diplomacy is facing many challenges in the digital age in regard to the transformation and innovation of information and communication technologies (ICTs). Diplomacy is responding to the domestic and international setting changes, the core of Diplomacy is touched forcing it to adapt its way of communication, negotiation, and representation practices (Hocking & Melissen 2015).

It is very hard to define digital diplomacy even among scholars who are currently working in the field, they often refer to it by using different names: "e-diplomacy", "cyber-diplomacy," "net-diplomacy", and "Twiplomacy", although each of these name focus on different aspects of digital diplomacy, for instance, "cyber" prefix is used often when discussing issues of security in the cyberspace, and "Twi" is used in concerns with posts and declarations on the social media platform Twitter (Hocking & Melissen 2015)

A more complete definition was put forward by the organization Diplofoundation, it has done multiple types of research, produced Blogs and articles, and held online webinars to discuss the important relationship between digital innovation and diplomacy. The organization refers that digital diplomacy "describes new methods and modes of conducting diplomacy with the help of the internet and ICTs, and describes their impact on contemporary diplomatic practices." (Diplofoundation n.d.). Diplomats and political elites currently find themselves using social media and new technologies to improve their digital communication with the foreign public and enhance their presence in the international sphere to promote the interests of their countries.

Societies are much closer to each other now, ICTs have made that possible, international organizations diplomatic institutions have improved their dialogue with their public international audience through digital apps like "Instagram", "Facebook", and "Twitter". Many countries in the European Union such as Poland, France, and Sweden took the initiative to adopt new digital tools into their embassies and consulates to procure interactive websites, diplomates, and state departments must have Facebook and Twitter accounts. This way, Data gathering, and analysis will be easier to collect from foreign publics to get a direct response from the established discourse and posts on the ground (Bjola & Holmes 2015).

Digital diplomacy is defined also as a form of "change management", Holmes claims that "Digital diplomacy is defined as a strategy of managing change through digital tools and virtual collaboration" (Bjola & Holmes 2015). He puts in light the importance of the cooperative side of diplomacy both face-to-face and online which is not affected by digitalization.

1.   Digital Diplomacy as Soft Power:

Digitalization is shifting the balance of power between states. Today states and Foreign Ministries use digital diplomacy as a sort of soft power in response to the state's cooperation and negotiation. There are currently many debates that are trying to find a placement for the role that digital diplomacy plays in the international relations system. Theoretically, digital diplomacy should not be seen as a way of replacing or radically changing the traditional methods of conducting diplomacy, rather it must be interpreted as a way of managing public diplomacy and projecting states or international organizations' foreign policies, and influencing the international public opinion.

The decisions of big organizations, governments, and even individuals are highly influenced by soft power. Joseph Nye, in 1990 after the end of the cold war, defined soft as world politics agenda to serve in persuading, alluring, and attracting someone through beliefs, values, and ideas, not through military force or economic pressure (Nye 1990, p:170). He also argues that soft power is "a means to succeed in world politics" (Ikenberry & Nye, 2004). Developed countries are seen as such because they are using soft power to project the best image of their states. The combination of soft power and public diplomacy is used by some countries for "self-branding" purposes and polishing their image, or strategic intentions, for example, Eastern European states who want to join the EU and NATO (Sotiriu, 2015).

Digital diplomacy has been considered a soft power, and it is embraced by multiple Foreign Ministries. Sweden has been promoting digital diplomacy by boosting its online communication strategy. Carl Bildt, the former prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Sweden was given the title of "best connected Twitter leader" with now over seven hundred thousand followers on his official Twitter account (Adesina, 2017). France mentioned in 2008 that digital technologies are going to be used as the developer of its soft power. Germany, in its foreign policy

review in 2014 has introduced (ICTs) platforms to the public as crowdsource opinion (cave, 2015).

2.   Digital Foreign Policy

Foreign policy as a concept is viewed as a set of guidelines for the activities relating one state to another and framing their interactions, it is mostly influenced by the internal interests of the states, and the behavior of the other states. while diplomacy is one way of shaping foreign policies. In the twenty-first century, we have seen major digital development, it directly affected many fields and foreign policy is one of them. This brings to mind, the absolute importance of analyzing the digital transformation that accrued during that period in the field of diplomacy since it is the beating heart of foreign policy and the way of articulating the strategies of one state in regards to another. Multiple organizations and states are looking for new ways to cope with digital change and relate foreign policy with digitalization (diplo, n.d).

Since the essential core of diplomatic action is the protection and promotion of national interests are being reframed by the digitalization process, many states find digital interdependence as a key point to put regulations and laws that will protect each courtier's benefits and objectives. Therefore, it is crucial for diplomats and officials related to foreign policies of those countries that are giving big importance to digital foreign policy to protect the right of the citizens and the interests of their national and international companies.

There are ways to control and manage digital interdependence knowing that every country now depends on the internet directly, from zoom meetings and daily regular communication to central banks and economic transactions, every department needs to be protected, and by setting strong and reliable interdependent infrastructures that will keep digital fields and their aspect safe and protected.

Currently, there is a combination of innovative and traditional diplomatic techniques in use to build and develop digital policies at different levels. Multilateral summits were held for the discussion of digital governance, it stated in Geneva (2003) and Tunis (2005), and the UN Government Group of Experts (2004). Now the International Telecommunication Union, and other international organizations hold many significant venues and webinars on the theme of digital governance to plan and

create new digital foreign policies and reflect on current ones (Diplo, n.d).

Digital foreign policy has a big challenge that can decide its future, it is the development of digital policies and it consists of three different levels:

- **The rearrangement of diplomatic services**: the main focus will be to appoint digital ambassadors. Their role will be to add a digital touch to the traditional foreign policies same as it was done in many countries, especially in Europe. In France, Henri Verdier is the current ambassador for digital affairs since 2018, he is a direct coordinator of his department and directors within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Europe. and works on the growth of France's position in the implication of digital transformation and issues related to it. Denmark, another European country that placed Anne Marie Engtoft Larsen as Tech Ambassador in a role to represent the Danish government in global digital global governance forums on emergence technologies. Anne Marie and her team have a physical presence in Silicon Valley, Copenhagen, and Beijing, transcending borders and regions in rethinking the traditional understanding of diplomatic representation as mentioned on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark-Office of Denmark's Tech Ambassador.

- **The inclusion of a whole-government approach**: it is the case where ministries and governmental departments must be involved in policy and standard making by regulators, in regards to technical infrastructure and important web resources such as domain name systems and internet protocol numbers. Foreign Affairs and security ministries must take action regarding cyber security negotiations, international legal diplomatic experts must bring to the table the discussion about cyberattacks since it affects different aspects from individual to high level of governance including states secrets (Kurbalija 2021). Synchronization of foreign policy in high levels of international relations is very crucial because it will help states have common grounds and come across different issues such as data governance, Artificial Intelligence, and digital Human Rights.

- **Whole of society approach**: many non-state actors already participate in international multi-stakeholder processes or are interested in joining them. They can have a big role in developing national efforts to cover a wide range of large numbers of digital policy processes and initiatives that are currently in use worldwide. To implement digital foreign policies, civil society, national actors, and businesses must be engaged and put into account to build and maintain representation in the field of digital governance and foreign policy (Kurbalija 2021).

III. HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK: POWER POSITION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE LISBON TREATY TRANSFORMATION.

A. Power Position of the European Union:

As we have already mentioned in the previous theoretical part of this thesis, the usage of public diplomacy as a foreign policy tool assists the actors in utilizing their soft power resources to achieve some potential foreign policy goals. Therefore, in this part, we will discuss the power position of the European Union and how it is standing currently, we will also relate the concept of soft power with the European Union. Later on, we will discuss EU public diplomacy practices after adopting the Lisbon treaty and the new bodies created to create better communication with the foreign public using social media as digital diplomacy.

In the previous chapter, we have pointed out the connection between the concept of normative power and EU activities, which we often mentioned in this work about the power of the union. Though, it is very hard to fully identify soft power within the notion of normative power, even if these two concepts are closely related. In the case of the European Union, its association with normative power is due to the main ideals they try to go by with. But certainly, also because of some precise action in which it portrays these ideas, as if they are aiming for humanitarian assistance striving to achieve environmental sustainability, multiculturalism, and support for the human right, to say "development" in general (Cross & Melissen 2013, p:1)

1. European Union and Soft power:

In the case of the European Union, when we try to analyze its power using the conceptualization of power presented by Joseph S. Nye, we find that at first sight, the EU's Soft power is significantly much used than hard power. This goes hand in hand with the point of view on how the European Union presents itself to the foreign

public and the type of image it is trying to reflect and promote.

The EU is very cautious about its image and is trying to use history and current achievements to help in building a positive image. In order to shape that form, the EU uses the history of the integration process as one of the most successful post-war peace projects and also its capabilities to perform as a fighter for the promotion of the principles of democratic values, active humanitarian aid provider, and human rights. By forming such an image, we are demonstrating it recurrently every day through many reflections. It is enough to observe how the EU reacts to the wave of immigrants and refugees and conflicts taking place near its borders. The EU showing its capability for peaceful conflict resolution, promoting solidarity, and helping others with their suffering, is reflected subsequently in some specific policy measures implemented at the European level and are the basic premises presented by official representatives of the Union (Neilsen 2013, p:728).

In the context of the numerous problems the Union is currently facing, they are showing repetitive interest in hard power and the need to own its resources, thus, in comparison with soft power, the reach of the EU's hard power is much smaller and the Union rarely takes enforcement action in the international sphere using coercion and intimidation and tries its best to avoid it.

Regarding soft power resources, as mentioned in the theoretical part, the three primary resources we have introduced are culture, political values, and foreign policy. In the case of the EU, 'culture' is to a certain degree a problematic factor, because the Eu is a grouping of a multitude of diverse inter cultures. Thus, it always claims protection and promotion of cultural diversity resulting from the different member states. therefore, a sort of pan-European culture can only be based on a very minim number of unifying elements, and culture itself remains fully in the hands of the member states. those member states often use the cultural component of public diplomacy to promote their national image and achieve their foreign policy objectives (Neilsen 2013, p:728).

Since the EU is very diversified regarding its cultural environment, consequently it could give the idea that this soft power source is very hard to activate in the case of the Union as a whole and very difficult to make full use of the potential of soft power to increase its dimensional power and capability. Alternatively, this dimension of power has the opportunity to support it using other factors and from

different angles. For instance, we can include historical events of peaceful integration between different states as it received for it a noble prize in 2012 praising its huge contribution to advancing peace and reconciliation, democracy, and human rights. Although those states had little in common and defined themselves to have different interests from a historical point of view (Neilson 2013, p:730).

However, in the last few years, the EU has been trying to raise the idea of common culture and single European identity that could be employed as an active source of soft power. The motto of the EU, "United In Diversity" shows how Europeans built a connection to work on peace and prosperity, also, there are active efforts to use cultural diversity in the international sphere as an example that led to the creation of the Cultural Diplomacy Platform, which was established at the beginning of 2016 (Azpiroz 2015).

If we consider political values and basic principles as soft power sources, therefore EU's soft power is built around basic principles that the EU follows. Promoting its ideals and principles is a key element for the EU, for example, we can see that they are well defined in *Article 10a* of the Lisbon treaty was a big step and was considered an effort to grow its capacity concerning soft power. These principles include Democracy, the rules of law, the universality of human rights and fundamental freedom, respect for human dignity, equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law. But the Union does not limit its principles to the ones mentioned above leaving room for more open ideas.

We can observe the reflection of these principles in multiple EU institutions and their foreign policy conduct and also shapes the form of their actions. For example, the European External Action Service (EEAS) is the official EU diplomatic service and the main institution responsible for the EU's public diplomacy. Accordingly, this image is supposed to help legitimize the EU's foreign performance and communication.

The fact that there are many states interested in joining the EU can only indicate its significant success of attractiveness and soft power implementation in general. However, interest in potential membership is not only a demonstration of the attributes of the EU's soft power but is also directly linked to the expression of its normative power, as the potential candidate must demonstrate an inclination to adjust

their conduct according to the EU principles and join the Union's international and domestic scene (Nye 2004, p:78; 2011, p:85).

B. The Practices of EU Public Diplomacy Following the Adoption of the Lisbon Treaty.

The Lisbon treaty brought fundamental changes immediately after its adoption. These changes have significantly affected the form of public diplomatic features and structures within the European Union. The adoption of the treaty amendments has brought significant changes to the field of public diplomacy and external relations and helped its development.

Before the Lisbon treaty, practices of public diplomacy were very fragmented and were carried out by a number of the EU institutions, without much synchronization. The primary responsibility for public diplomacy lies with the secretariat of the council of the European Union and the European Commission which has the responsibility for providing up-to-date information to EU citizens as well as foreign publics outside its own borders. Problems associated with the management and coordination of public diplomacy in the pre-Lisbon treaty period were mainly because of the poor interconnection of institutions in public diplomacy matters. In addition, there was also the problem of insufficient financial support and inadequacies associated with the implementation of EU public diplomacy at the European level. Thus, this problem persists and is very often criticized in the literature (Duke 2013; Lynch 2005).

As for the Lisbon treaty is concerned, one of its most important goals is to strengthen the position of the EU on the international level. This goal was primarily achieved with the help of institutional changes implemented as a result of its adoption.

Figure 2 Lisbon Treaty political leaders.

1. Main Institutional Actors ın the European Union Public Diplomacy After (2007).

After the adoption of the Lisbon treaty, the Council Secretariat and commission have lost their position in the application of EU public diplomacy and a new body was established and entered these structures which is the European External Action Service (EEAS).

Through the establishment of this body, strategic elements were to be linked and the most important ones are communication and public diplomacy. This will directly involve key stakeholders in order for the much-needed coordination to take place. In addition, it was one of the main goals of the Lisbon treaty to create a single communication assembly that could be used by all EU institutions engaged in external relations which will therefore enable the union to have a unified voice internationally (Duke 2013, p:11).

However, the establishment of this institution was not the only change and main innovation introduced during the Lisbon assembly which directly affected public diplomacy, there was an introduction of three new institutions and positions of power directly linked to our matter of research. The first was the establishment of a permanent and not rotating presidency of the European Council which was entrusted

among other things with setting EU foreign policy priorities. Thanks to the permanent nature of this position, diplomatic representation has been a big focus of the Union, to ensure greater continuity in the setting of political priorities, which was reflected in the final implementation of the public diplomatic strategic plan.

Another institution was established by the adoption of the Lisbon treaty was the already mentioned European External Action Service, chaired by the high representative for foreign affairs and security policy, whose position was also established based on the Lisbon amendment, in which he represents the personal connection between the European Commission and the Council of the EU (Azpiroz 2015).

a. European Commission:

Prior to the adoption of the Lisbon treaty amendment, the European Commission, together with the Council Secretariat, was a key actor responsible for the public diplomacy of the European Union. The commission lost its primary position on the first of January 2011, but it still plays an important role in the public diplomatic structure of the EU.

The commission plays an important role in the distribution of information and appropriate communication with the foreign public in addition to its role in creating specific programs. For effective broadcasting, the commission uses, for example, its audio-visual media services agency – European Commission Audio-visual Service-which provides radio and television broadcasting in 23 languages, and within the presented content it focuses on current issues concerning the European Union (European Commission 2005; Pagovski 2015, p:23). The commission also manages the Euronews channel, through which it operates and informs about world events from a pan-European region point of view and thus provides up-to-date information from the EU perspective. Then, this information is distributed in seven different languages to reach an estimated 150 million households in the world (Pagovski 2015, p:24).

The European Commission is considered a major player in this field because it influences budget allocation for individual activities and the establishment of an important instrument through which they are financed, and also many public diplomatic initiatives of the EU . This tool is called Foreign Services Policy

Instruments (FPI). This very important service works within the structure of the European Commission and is responsible for operational matters and works closely with the European External Action Service and individual delegations in partner countries.

Among the tasks of the FPI, we can include, the implementation of budgetary measures for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, implementation of crisis and preventive measures through the instrument for peace and stability, cooperation with industrialized countries as well as the implementation of an instrument known as Partnership Instrument (European Commission 2016a) (EEAS 2013).

b. European External Action Service

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the EEAS (European External Action Service) was launched as a result of the adoption of the Lisbon treaty. Specifically, it was founded based on the Council Decision of 26 July 2010 and led to the establishment of the European External Action Service, with an indication of the need to put this body into practice as soon as possible because of its important role (EEAS 2010).

Following this decision, the EEAS became a functionally autonomous EU body with a unique character. It is, therefore, a singular entity that is not a subject to the direct authority of the council or the European Commission and as it is not an integral part of the European Commission, we cannot consider its establishment as a mere extension of a previously functionating system, but rather for its modification, to which results of the interplay of several external dimensions that ensured relations of the European Union and a unified approach of the whole Union to third countries (spence 2015, p:49)

The aim and purpose of the European External Action Service are to ensure efficient implementation of the European Union's foreign policy, which it pursues with the help of its networks delegation. In addition, the EEAS is also responsible for crisis management and related missions with Common Security and Defence Policy. It is thus the main coordinator of EU external policies, including issues related to trade, development, energy security, climate change, and migration. A wide range of activities and topics makes the EEAS diverse and sanctioned according to geographical and thematic principles. (EEAS 2013).

If we were to describe the role of the EEAS in one word from a pure public diplomatic point of view, it would be the "coordinator". The service plays an important coordinating role and is in charge of managing the activities of all actors involved in the preparation and implementation of public diplomacy (Duke 2013, p:13). It is by fact that the EEAS is the coordinator component of the whole Union system and is also responsible for the Union's external relations. European External Action Services activity is the first institution of the EU that provides an equal representation of officials coming from three specific sources, the European Commission, the Council Secretariat, and last but not least one-third consists of temporary diplomats from diplomatic missions' services of individual member states. the composition of the EEAS employees put in this way is for its functioning is important, as for each group of these officials has a different experience with which they contribute to the activities of the EU (Spence 2015, p:51-53; Duke 2013, p:28).

We find public diplomacy within the internal structure of the EEAS Strategic Communication Division (STRATCOMM), according to the EEAS website "public dimension of the EU diplomacy' includes activities designed to promote the EU policies and values, both at the domestic and global levels, therefore, it focuses on the domestic and external dimension of EU public diplomacy and provides support to high representatives, in all matters related to public diplomacy and the media. It is also a division within the EEAS that is responsible for developing communication strategies and appropriately formulating messages that are then projected externally (EEAS, 2016a) (EEAS, 2016b).

Among the activities for which the STRATCOMM division is responsible are relations with the media, publishing articles and usage of the web and social networks, preparation of speeches, graphic design, and promotion of audio-visual materials. It has then another important role included in the relation of the delegations themselves, as it provides them with the practical advice on how to proceed in the implementation of the final communication strategies developed in Brussels and distributed to delegations. In addition to external cooperation, STRATCOMM is also responsible for internal communication within the EEAS and manages the internet and other information and communication channels (EEAS 2016b).

Thus, the European External Action Service is the heart of the European

Union in Brussels, due to its international reach, which is provided by a wide network of delegations representing it abroad and representing the EU in general. Now in Brussels, the EEAS and the European Commission are developing and shaping the EU's public diplomatic strategies and implementing a large number of initiatives that take place through a network of delegations (Azpiroz 2015, p:7).

C. European Union and Digital Communication Transformation.

The EU diplomatic service, represented in the European External Action Service is a body through which orientated to engage in digital diplomacy is exerted. Digital diplomacy, generally refers to the intersection of diplomacy and ICTs and therefore represents one part of diplomatic Patrice that has seen some kind of transformation through interaction with new media technology.

When the EEAS was launched in 2010, it had an important task to strengthen EU diplomacy with much focus on increasing visibility and reaching the public audience. The new environment and technological change were considered both a ground for opportunities and challenges. One can say it was by chance that the EEAS was formed during the protests that happened in the Middle East as a form of revolution led by social media activists, thus, social media was considered a tool to reach the public in general. But those events showed just a small part of the predicament between global politics and new media technologies. Right after, in 2014, the EEAS will be challenged during the Ukraine crisis when the EU was confronted by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs when they directly addressed EEAS's official Twitter account. It was later discovered that Russia has overcome the EU's diplomatic efforts in the East European region with massive propaganda and false information campaign both politically and militarily.

The Brexit campaign in 2016 was considered very successful using digital communication tools to convince the majority of British supporters to exit the EU. Therefore, the EU being able to communicate itself to the foreign public and show its important role in the world is a must and very much needed at this period. In 2016, all of this has led to the introduction of the new EU Global Strategy. EU Foreign policy and new media were put as a matter of discussion after the series of communication contests that the EU has faced already, even if the EEAS was formed at a time when many high-risk political events happened that increased the

engagement of the public all around the world in foreign policy (Hedling, 2018).

IV. DIGITAL DIPLOMATIC EVOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION DURING TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: DIGITAL FOREIGN POLICY – EUROPEAN UNION CASE.

A. Public Diplomacy ın the Context of the European Union

To capture the understanding of public diplomacy, it is possible to use a metaphor presented in 2013 by Manners and Whiteman. According to these authors, public diplomacy remains a "Cinderella" of the EU's global affairs strategy even after creating the EEAS during the Lisbon treaty. From an EU perspective, the main objectives of public diplomacy are to improve the visibility, understanding, and perception of the European Union in global politics. This is why we notice given importance of strengthening and improving the sharing of collective EU norms, identities, and values beyond the limits of diplomatic interaction. Cooperation between the EU and civil societies of third world countries partners is very important for the Union. Their criticism of the EU underestimates the importance of cooperation with the general public and neglects the increasing need to build relations with the public and civil societies outside the border of member states (Manners & Whiteman 2013).

On the other hand, if we look at other authors' perspectives in publications regarding public diplomacy of multilateral organizations, Pagovski, 2015, claims that nowadays these organizations are more inclined to use public diplomacy, together with other tools for international communication, to create and maintain long-lasting and strong relationships with the target foreign public, Nation-states already know that they are not the only actors who use these tools to promote their interests.

1. Public Diplomacy as Understood by the European Union

A relatively interesting fact about the European Union's approach to public diplomacy is that for a long time, this particular term in official statements and documents did not appear at all, nor did the actors involved in public diplomacy

activities that were not called public diplomacy. Pagovski (2015) is trying to explain the EU's flashy approach and present several causes for public diplomacy. The first possible reason for this reluctant approach of the Union and specifically, the European Commission to use the term "public diplomacy" hides in the inadequate combination of public diplomacy and propaganda. Some other authors disagree with this point of view, for instance, Lynch (2005).

As we have already dealt with this association in the theoretical part of this thesis, it seems that despite the theoretical distinction between the two concepts, the difference is not always visible in practice and the imaginary boundary between them is very thin. Another possible reason that can explain the absence of this term branches from the hesitancy of Member states of the Union themselves to promote the concept of a central coordinative public diplomacy, which could contribute to the supranational character of the European Union and could become a competitor for member states initiatives (Pagovski 2015, p:15).

As a result of the absence of the term "public diplomacy" from its actual practice, it was then replaced by some terms like communication or dissemination of information by the institutions responsible for its implementation (Duke & Courtier 2011, p:3). However, this approach is not entirely appropriate, as these terms cover only two public diplomatic practice components, which we have shown previously in the theoretical part, and that it contains more factors that help us understand public diplomatic strategies.

Nevertheless, nowadays the situation is quite different and the term public diplomacy is becoming more integrated we can notice the usage of this term today in official speeches of the EU representatives, as well as in official documents. According to a statement of the former European Commission Vice-President Margot Wallström, public diplomacy has been overlooked by traditional diplomats for a long time and is an important part of external relations of the European Union. Wallström considers communication activities related to public diplomacy to be very necessary as part of the diplomatic practice and in her opinion, the EU alone will no longer be enough with communication with key state officials, but on the contrary, it must create a much wider communication network of a global reach (Wallström 2008).

At the same time, Wallström distanced public diplomatic activities from

propaganda and nation-branding, which represents approaches that are not used by the EU due to their inefficiency, in regards to the categories of public diplomatic activities according to the Eu, we include dialogues on topics such as gender equality and social environment, energy, global warming, aid development, free trade, and democratization and human rights. All these topics are directly related to political initiatives that need global support for them to succeed, both from official representatives of the states and the public (Wallström, 2008).

Certainly, this approach is also reflected in the European Union's external relations practices. Today, we can identify public diplomacy elements in several important foreign policy initiatives of the EU, such as European policy, Neighborhood Policy, the Eastern Partnership, and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (Davis & Cross, 2015).

As we have already discussed in the theoretical part of this work, several possible public diplomacy definitions are in use by different actors in their diplomatic practices. For the EU uses mainly one of them provided by the European Commission according to its public diplomatic practice, which is carried out to influence public opinion and public sentiment. İt is trying to promote the interests of the EU through understanding, information, and influence. It is conducted by a clear explanation of the EU objectives, policies, and activities as well as promotes the understanding of these objectives through dialogue with individuals, groups, institutions, and the media. With the help of dialogue and public diplomacy, the EU seeks to address stereotypes that represent the Union as artificially created or an organization led only by the strongest states (Duke 2013; Pagovski 2015).

B. Case Study: EU Public Diplomacy Strategy ın the United States.

Before we start looking at the various elements of European Union strategy in the United States, we need to recognize that some elements of this concept interconnect and influence each other. Activities falling in one category can therefore stand on features of another category. We take for example the use of social media and ICTs; we can place them in the advocacy category as well as the news (broadcasting) and can also fall into the first category related to listening because through social networks the EU can get an idea of the target public opinion and the situational atmosphere of the target region.

1.   Listening:

The first component of the diplomatic strategy that can be used by a political actor according to Cull, is Listening. If we look at our investigation case which is the US and the EU public diplomacy strategy, we are going to focus on the work of the EU delegation in Washington which was implemented in regards to this point. The agenda of the delegation consists of observation activities and monitoring current events in the US , as well as providing up-to-date information to other actors involved in the public diplomatic structure, especially with EU institutions in Brussels.

A clear example of such activities was, for instance, the participation of members of the delegation at the pre-election congress of the democratic and republican parties in 2016. On this occasion held several additional events, at which members of the delegation could receive and analyze information and pass on information through panels attended by both the public and representatives of the American political domain (Rivera 2016).

The second idea of this component of the EU public diplomatic strategy is reflective reporting that also concerns the cooperation of the delegation with individual embassies of Member States in the US. Cooperation with these actors and regular meetings and coordination and networking positively affect the creation of analyses of the situation in specific regions and the exchange of information and regular reporting and information processing in Brussels. All of these cooperative actions are very welcomed and appreciated by the US from the EU Delegation itself and some other Member States. Thus, the delegation has a bigger capacity and more resources in addition to its cooperation with other embassies, due to fast access to access to new information and data generation which is very convenient for the US (Maurer & Raik 2014, p:10).

2.   Advocacy

This element of the public diplomatic strategy is firm in case we examine it in association with the previous element. Its main focus is initiatives aimed at communication between foreign nonstate actors and the provision of relevant and updated information.

Getting To Know Europe is a very specific project that can be included in the

category of advocacy. This project was funded under the sponsorships of the European Union Partnership Financial Instrument, specifically as a fourth objective: the public promotion of EU diplomatic activities. In this initiative, hard efforts were focused on the US' coordination with the EU delegation in Washington, and the promotion of mutual understanding and accessibility to information by the EU, also its role in the international system, specific policies, culture, and more about the values and ideals that are considered very important for the transatlantic partnership, specifically with local and regional communities in the US. a total of 17 institutions were supported under the program, which was implemented in 2015, whose projects were selected within the competition for successive implementation in that period. These institutions, with the help of the EU delegation in the US, mediate Updated information on the EU and hold a series of debates and conferences, and provides educational projects aimed at both students and teachers (EUintheUs 2017).

In addition to these initiatives, we can include the so-called EU Rendezvous in this category. This initiative is implemented by and through the EU Delegation in the US and EU and US representatives have the opportunity to discuss matters at joint meetings on common interests and the future of the transatlantic partnership (Duke 2013). These events are usually attended by some EU and US officials and also the contribution from the invited public to discuss specific important current topics that were in the subject matter of the event selected. This initiative can also serve as an example of the cooperation between the EU delegation and Member States embassies, as some events are requested in close cooperation with these embassies of which they are members and active participants in the discussions (EUintheUs 2020).

3.   Cultural diplomacy:

Cultural Diplomacy is the third category of public diplomatic strategy. It is implemented on a wide scale by the European Union in the US. It is also included in the majority of its initiatives that always consist of a culture-oriented part. The United States is a very important targeted area of the European Cultural "product", which is strongly linked to its importance for the transatlantic partnership in the current international relations atmosphere. European culture itself is in a very good position in the US and is perceived as a high status by the Americans. Furthermore, we can say that because of their common past European culture is the fundamental

building block of the American culture. At present, there is a very popular stereotype that consists of perceiving the European culture as more authentic and more sophisticated than the American culture no matter what are these stereotypes, they cannot be ignored since they are based on the mind of many American citizens (Cross 2014, p:16).

EU Ambassador to the US David O'Sullivan had also shared his opinion on the subject, he points out that we often forget that culture is one of the driving forces of economic growth, thanks to the cultural industry, which generates about 3% of the world GDP and produces about 30 million jobs. On behalf of the delegation, emphasizes the importance of the cultural part of the delegation's programs and the importance of cultural interaction for maintaining positive relationships within the global partner's level.

Currently, the promotion of the European culture within the programs of the EU delegation in Washington is very topical and May has been declared the month of European culture (European month of culture). On this occasion, the delegation and its partners call for a range of events and accompanying programs that present European Culture diversity. During this month, EU member states' Ambassies and also EU delegations in the US are filled with a diverse range of cultural events showcasing theatre, film, dance, music, art, fashion, and also linguistic diversity (Whiteside 2017).

During the month of May, several workshops, events, conferences, seminars, and several other projects have been employed. One of them was requested to be held annually as an initiative known as the EU Open House, which is the conclusion of the whole month of the European culture (Whiteside 2017). Thanks to this shared initiative of embassies between the EU Member States and the EU Delegation in Washington, US citizens had the chance to experience European culture in a direct practical way, without having to travel abroad or leaving the US borders.

This program with an eleven-year tradition is a clear symbol of effectiveness and coordination between member states' diplomatic missions and EU Delegation in the US, which regularly plays a coordinating role, for example, the release of a special application, which made it easier for visitors to find their way around individual programs provided by the institutions. As for the specific activities held during this event, the delegation planned a series of interactive games for children

and adults and a program that was adequate for everyone interested in the European culture. Visitors experienced the possibility to taste several dishes typical to different individual member states and at the same time have the opportunity to informally meet high representatives of many EU institutions like those of the European Central Bank, the European Investment Bank, and also ambassadors of the Lisbon Office of the European Parliament (Vest 2017).

4. News (Broadcasting):

As previously indicated in this work, the European Union in the United States must deal with the non-positive inclined media sphere, which lacks relevant stimulus for regular information the EU matters. Except that the actors performing public diplomacy in the US must establish relations with media representatives in order to use modern ICTs by which they can address the general public and provide them with up-to-date information that reflects the EU perspective and is not manipulated by the preconceptions the channels in-between.

Nowadays, the use of websites and custom profiles on social media networks is not looked at from an affirm perspective, not only from the individual user perspective but also from other major actors. Therefore, the EU is no exception, forcing it to include new terminologies and paradigms in its diplomatic practices such as Digital Diplomacy, sometimes referred to as Twiplomacy. This form of integration in social dialogue through social media networks plays a critical role in the implementation of communication strategies and daily online interaction with the foreign public (Mann 2015).

In 2015, Michael Mann, as head of the High Representative Strategic Division, spoke about the support for the use of social networks and Twitter and describes it as a major revolutionary diplomatic tool for the EU he devoted several very important activities regarding social media network attention during his mandate.

The EU Delegation in the US also uses the capabilities of the council's social media networks to inform about current events of the EU and EU programs in the US, which also includes its activities and regular information, giving here the example the Twitter account created in November 2010 (@EUintheUS), and it used for publishing the latest information daily. As of April 10th, 2021, the delegation's

current data has over 55 thousand followers on the Twitter platform, showing that it is currently reaching a larger audience.

Figure 3 @EUintheUS Twitter profile. website:

Source: https://twitter.com/EUintheUS.

Similarly, the delegation is also present on the Facebook platform (European Union In the United States) where we can observe the same effort and contribution while sharing information as on the Twitter platform but with different followers and a larger reach of over 84 thousand followers. Additionally, these two social media platforms allow the public to respond and interact with shared information, provide valuable feedback to the delegation, and open doors for better improvement.

YouTube is another platform where the delegation is active under the name (EUintheUS), in this platform we can find informative videos that are dedicated to the visual content for more explanatory and audio-visual transmission of information. The delegation did not find big success in getting more followers and audience since the total number of views on its YouTube channel is not exceeding 92 thousand views since it first joined the platform in September 2013.

Even though these social networks give the possibility of engaging in a real-live dialogue, extensive discussions in fact do not occur. However, the public has a choice on some of these networks to provide the delegation, which means the

European Union, direct feedback through which the Union gets an idea about the public opinion in general.

To control the information transmitted to the American public and other foreign publics, the EU has created in addition to the distribution of traditional promotional materials, a network of libraries with the official publication by the European Union. The collections related to different subjects such as the development of the Union's trade policies, transport, agriculture, energy and green deals, and many more other subjects. There is a total of three libraries like such that have been built at American universities whose activities are related to educational programs and play an important role in broadcasting relevant information and raising awareness of the EU affairs and preventing disinformation (EUintheUS 2001).

C. European Union Digital Diplomacy in the New Era of Strategic Communication:

In this chapter, we will study EU digital diplomacy and base the research on the European External Action Services body which will help in the development of a political approach to the role of social media networks in politics and understand it from both a methodological and theoretical part. The subject of digital diplomacy is being evaluated and is being tested under the scope of the developments happening in the scope of EU foreign policy.

In the chapters below, we have shown the important role of the EEAS in enhancing EU public diplomacy, in this part of the work we will analyze the how it is using digital diplomacy to fulfill its most important objective which is ensuring efficient implementation of the European Union's foreign policy and consolidating its diplomacy. The EEAS was pushed to react to the dishonesties and false information that was spreading concerning the EU after the Ukraine crisis and the process of integration within the Union. Thus, digital diplomacy was transformed into a way of containing and opposing propaganda and not its ordinary role of being a responsive tool of information.

When the EEAS was given its first mandate in regards to strategic communication which accordingly opened the doors for other areas of communication, we have seen some changes in its communication culture and

formed a new way of understanding digital diplomacy. Officials at the EEAS consider that associating digital diplomacy with strategic communication is a key element of EU foreign policy. Therefore, this chapter will explain the practices that transformed EU strategic communication and enhanced its role, specifically the important part that Federica Mogherini played in institutionalizing strategic communication and facing the changes in the international specs.

1.   EEAS Role to Enhance EU Digital Diplomacy.

In late 2010**,** the EEAS was launched after its introduction in the Lisbon Treaty, many scholars have attempted to understand its role in the fortification of the EU diplomatic practices. It had the task of reuniting the EU's external image, although it was argued that EEAS in its first years was not well-formed and was depending on the pre-Lisbon structure, and separated its conduct from both the commission and the Council Secretariat (Spence, 2015). As mentioned before, the need for a clear and unified narrative concerning EU public diplomacy has led to the creation of the EEAS. But the attempt to accomplish a positive structural transformation and advanced diplomatic practice alongside the EEAS development was criticized by the diplomatic standards and traditional practices.

When we want to analyze the role of the EEAS in public diplomacy, Cross (2015) argues that it was a matter of "image resilience". This means that EU soft power is preserved by maintaining a positive external image, while the EU has neglected the importance of external perception as a tough strategy for a large duration of time. European Union Communication Strategy restrains always had a problem with image resilience and was considered a fundamental topic of discussion. The formation of the EEAS during the Lisbon treaty reflected led to the creation of new public diplomacy, stressing the importance of image resilience and setting it as a long-term strategy to gain control of the EU's public external perception (Cross, 2015). This argument is backed up by the latest mandate that included EU visibility enhancement, promotion of better clarifications of the EU's position, action, and goals, and advancement of the positive perception of the EU's influence on partner countries. Hence, we can immediately assume that the EEAS had an important role in the creation of an attractive image post-Lisbon treaty and polishing the EU narrative in regards to its positive and effective policy aspects.

Digital diplomatic strategies implied by the EEAS has seen big success, an example of positive and powerful usage of digital diplomacy is during the recent Iran talks, Twitter was a favorable atmosphere where information was shared with the foreign public giving them access to the instant update in regards to the negotiations and overcoming the mazes of disinformation.

Figure 4 EEAS tweet during Iran Talks

Source: https://twitter.com/eu_eeas

While the press was pushing for leaked news, EEAS digital diplomacy was playing a big role in updating the world on what is happening behind locked doors. Tweets and re-tweets kept both the media and the public informed to block any interference all through key moments covered during the negotiation period in Lausanne (Mann, 2015).

2. EEAS Transformation Under Federica Mogherini:

The introduction of the new EU Global Strategy happened during the governance of Federica Mogherini which led to multiple changes in the EU communication ways. The EEAS crossed the threshold into a new era of EU foreign policy clarity which was mentioned as the "Mogherini effect" since EU foreign policy is generally discussed behind closed doors of the EU Foreign Affairs Council (EEAS 2016). The Mogherini effect was described as the action that will lead to a strong EU foreign policy narrative in terms of communication strategy, and increase media visibility and precision in terms of the quality of information delivered.

Nevertheless, what made Mogherini the center of attention was her media literacy and her ability to influence and involve the public, as while she was climbing the ladder of her career, she had written a persuasive blog about her lifestyle and was able to actively auto manage her social media accounts using them as her prime channels of communication and always open to interviews and camera recordings, whereas Mogherini's Twitter account (@FedericaMog) has over 520 thousand followers with more than 10 thousand tweets, proving her successful social media channels management.

Figure 5 Federica Mogherini Twitter account (@FedericanMog)

Within the EEAS, media logic from the perspective of Federica Mogherini was understood to be very different from her forerunner and it was distinguished by her encouragement of communicative tools in the policy development. Michael Mann described Mogherini as a "driver of digital diplomacy" because of her impressive ideas regarding the adoption of social media platforms:

From relatively humble beginnings on Twitter, our reach has grown exponentially and at an even greater pace since the beginning of the mandate of the new EU High Representative and Vice President of the Commission, Federica Mogherini. She recognizes the importance of teamwork in successful Digital Diplomacy, the need to break down the silos, and insists that all staff contribute the raw materials, rather than leaving communication as an afterthought. Inspired – and trusted – from above, we have been able to undertake a major push, reinforcing our

Digital Diplomacy Strategy for HQ and EU Delegations, providing pre-posting training for all new Ambassadors and working closely with the other EU bodies, something which is not always a given (Mann, 2015).

Mogherini was often described as a "driver" because of her leadership which was considered parallel with the "institutional entrepreneurship" and she was perceived as a powerful entrepreneur in her way of utilizing social media to transmit strategic EU foreign policy. Thus, the shift she has created in EU communication emphasizes the role of digital diplomacy, although these practices were considered as still being in the experimental process lacking strategic consistency.

3.   **EU Global Strategy and Strategic Communication:**

Protecting the image of the EU and countering disinformation was the objective behind strengthening strategic communication. Therefore, there was a call at the EEAS for more innovation and growth within the political communication global practice and a demand for new digital diplomatic actions. The possible threats of fake news have also put the term "strategic communication" under the light and was debated to be the most important tool that can be used, formerly, a new concept of digital diplomacy has been introduced. Digital diplomacy had initially the role of hosting dialogue between the leader and creating direct engagement with the foreign public, this puts digital diplomacy in the same spot as strategic communication. Therefore, the role of digital diplomacy has shifted to the projection of narratives and it can sometimes go on to the case of perception and contesting real international events.

Following the steps of other international political organizations, the EU has made changes within its strategic communication management, which will mirror the importance of this step, recognizing that some MFAs had already far more innovative strategic communication than the EEAS and since 2014 more improvements have been noticed in the EUGS (Pamment, 2016). The strategy implemented was that there must a greater focus on communication rather than simply transmitting information to the public in the interactions made on social media and this technique has better potential for all EU agencies (Communication Handbook for EU Agencies 2013). This had led to the EU's different communication strategies to focus more on the engagement of the target public not only aiming on

targeting them, this shows that the EU was letting go of its primary focus in the past, which was the communication of the legitimacy of its actions through the democratic process, to the gain of political recognition for its political action.

The focus on public diplomacy is well defined by the EUGS, always referring to its importance after being introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. Knowing that public diplomacy was referred to as diplomatic communication with the international public, this pre-Lisbon treaty understanding was a sort of an obstacle Infront of the EU in order to share its foreign policy and increase its internal legitimacy, as it is clear in the EUGS declaration:

The EU will enhance its strategic communication, investing in and joining-up public diplomacy across different fields, in order to connect EU foreign policy with citizens and better communicate it to our partners We will improve the consistency and speed of messaging on our principles and actions. We will also offer rapid, factual rebuttals of disinformation. We will continue fostering an open and inquiring media environment within and beyond the EU, also working with local players and through social media (EEAS 2019).

The EUGS has pointed to the importance of assembling public diplomacy and communication, which includes strategic communication and the fight to counter disinformation. Therefore, three Strategic Communication Task Forces were established (South, East, and Western Balkans), within the EEAS to point out the importance given to this specific sector. This will help the EU fight against disinformation and mirror a positive image of itself to the world and specifically global partners and also Europeans (EEAS 2019).

In the table below, we can see the actual plan that is implemented by the EEAS to put a map and clarify the steps that have been taken to reach the goal of EU digital diplomacy and Strategic Communication which is credible and responsive EU.

Table 1 Four Key Pıllars of the Actıon Plan provided by the EEAS

FOUR KEY PILLARS OF THE ACTION PLAN	
IMPROVE DETECTION, ANALYSIS AND EXPOSURE OF DISINFORMATION - Invest in digital tools, data analysis skills, and specialized staff within the EU institutions and member states. - Assess the reach and impact of disinformation.	**STRONGER COOPERATION AND JOINT RESPONSE TO DISINFORMATION** - Rapid alert system consisting of EU institutions and EU Member states to set up. - Rapid Alert System to provide alerts on a disinformation campaign, share insights and facilitate coordination
MOBILISE PRIVATE SECTOR TO TACKLE DISINFORMATION - Implementation of EU-wide Code of practice on disinformation - Major internet companies such as Google, Facebook, Twitter, and Mozilla have signed up - Regular reporting and possible regulatory action in case of unsatisfactory results	**RAISE AWARENESS AND IMPROVE SOCIAL RESILIENCE** - Targeted companies in Europe and beyond - Active participation of civil society in identifying and exposing disinformation - Supporting independent media and fact-checkers.

Source: (EEAS, 2019)

D. European Union External Communication and Social Media:

EU institutions have never considered communication to be important for their diplomatic practices, policy discussions happened only behind closed doors and transmitting the outcome through official spokespeople. Not until recent years, the issues of communication with the public have challenged EU institutions questioning the European Union's "organizational culture" (Krzyzanowski 2011). Since the EU was becoming a supranational organization, it was required to gain trust and support and create stronger connections with neighbors and international partners, the only way to do so was to switch from its intra-institutional mystery, therefore, EU institutions adopted online communication to reinforce its way of communicating its policies.

EU related debates on social media specifically pollical ones, made it the rationale for EU spokespeople to engage in those debates and inform about EU actions in order to fight disinformation, and some EU institutions have developed their own "spokesperson services" operating and cooperating with a national representative of the European Commission.

1.   EU Spokespeople: Twitter Behavior and Discourse Analysis.

In this part, we will try to explore the tendencies and change in regards to the interactive and discursive behavior of the European Commission Spokespeople on the social media platform Twitter, with a comparison observed during the years 2014 and 2015. The pathways of analysis will be separated into two categories, the first category is the interactive strategies that represent twitter behavior related to social media communication of the EC Spokesperson (tweets and re-tweets, 'internal' and 'external' interactions, thematic and specific issue interaction). The second category is the discursive strategy which will be from two levels:

- Entry Level: analysis of key themes and thematic Areas

- In-depth Level: discursive strategies in Tweet text and attached images, videos, and images.

The second strategy focuses on the key argument advanced by the spokesperson and the purpose of the argument of the Twitter discourse, and whether it has an intra-organizational origin or an external influence.

a. Interactive strategies

The number of tweets and retweets of EC spokespeople collected in April 2014 was a total of 316, while in 2015 Ts and RTs were about a third less with a total of 203. Hens, the cumulative number of Ts and RTs and the Ts to RTs ratio was approximately 60%, the same in both periods (189 retweets (59%) in 2014, and 125 retweets (61.5%) in 2015).
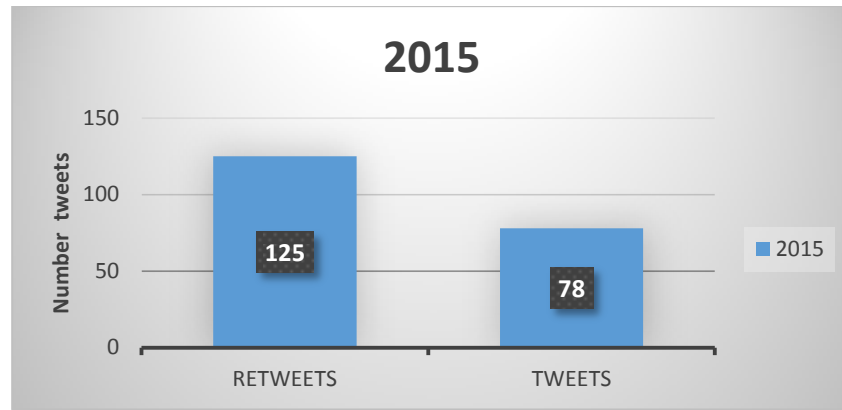
Figure 6 Number of tweets and retweets of EU spokespeople in 2015

Source: Krzyżanowski, M. (2018). Social media in/and the politics of the European Union. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *17*(2), 281–304.
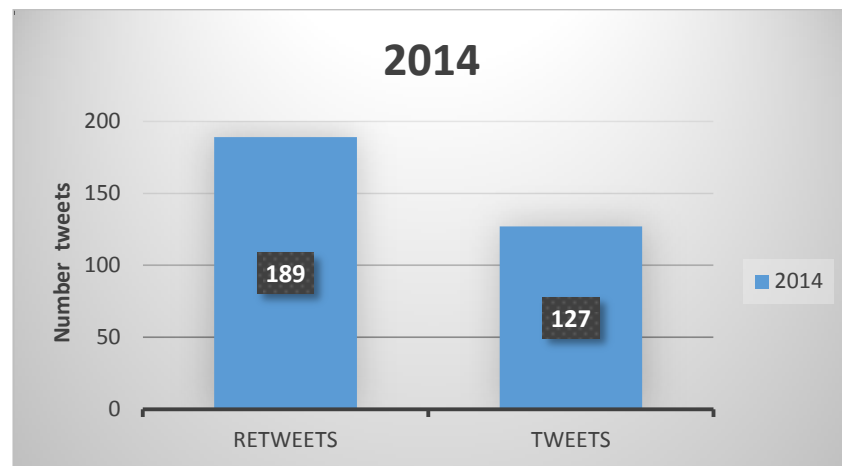

Figure 7 Number of tweets and retweets of EU spokespeople in 2014

Source: Krzyżanowski, M. (2018). Social media in/and the politics of the European Union. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *17*(2), 281–304.

Despite the cumulative difference in the total number of tweets and retweets, the EU inter-institutional retweets ratio in comparison with non-EU accounts is also approximately close and in favor of the EU institutional retweets, with nearly 75% of all the retweets of the analyzed accounts being EU related (138 retweets as 73% in 2014, and 97 retweets as 77% in 2015).
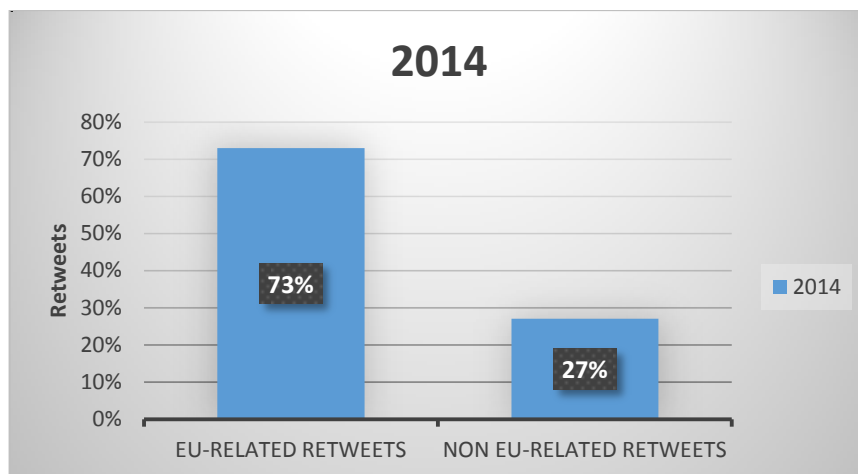
Figure 8 Percentage of EU-related tweets and non-EU-related tweets in 2014

Source: Krzyżanowski, M. (2018). Social media in/and the politics of the European Union. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *17*(2), 281–304.
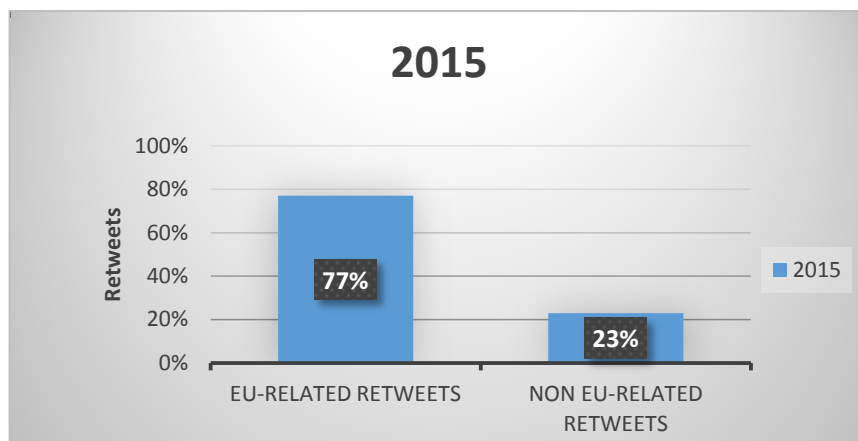

Figure 9 Percentage of EU-related tweets and non-EU-related tweets in 2015

Source: Krzyżanowski, M. (2018). Social media in/and the politics of the European Union. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *17*(2), 281–304.

Table 3 illustrates a more detailed source of retweets, as well as the trends in EU spokespeople's discourse. Within the EU internal sources, there is a definite sense of continuity, which did not change over time. Other EU spokesmen and EU politicians, particularly EC members, were the primary sources of retweets. Accounts of European Commission Directorates-General and European Commission Field Offices, as well as accounts of European Parliament members, are other noteworthy EU internal sources. Each of these accounts is interacting within its sphere of knowledge. Retweets from EU official accounts like @EU and @EU-Commission are also included.

Table 2 Outline of sources for retweets within the analyzed EU spokespeople accounts (April 2014 and 2015)

Retweets Sources	2014	2015
EU-Internal Sources	EC spokespeople	EC spokespeople
	EU politicians (especially EC members)	EU politicians (especially EC members)
	EC DGs and services	EC DGs and services
	Field offices and reps	Field offices and reps
	EP members	EP members
	EU agencies Generic profiles (@EU, @EU_Commission)	EU agencies Generic profiles (@EU, @EU_Commission)
EU-External Sources	Journalists (especially ext. national media)	Ext. organizations (e.g., EBF, German Marshall Fund)
	EU member state politicians' Pro-EU think tanks and NGOs (e.g., Euractiv)	Econ. consultancies Journalists
	Political parties	EU member state politicians Non-EU politicians

A significant change can be observed in regards to the External source accounts of EU Spokespeople retweets during the period of analysis. In 2014, pro-EU journalists, were the main external sources, along with EU national media like @LeFigaro in France and think tanks that focus on EU political and economic problems, and other NGOs with EU-related perspectives, for example, @Euractiv. On the other hand, the EU-Eternal sources have changed significantly. The main source during this period of analysis was different international organizations and economic consultancies. This change means that new EU spokespeople that were in charge in 2015, were giving more attention to non-EU organizations and bodies.

b. Discursive strategies

The analysis of the discursive strategies focuses on the themes of EU Spokespeople discourse. In 2014, the thematic emphasis in their Twitter discourse was mainly related to EU internal events and mostly the European Parliament elections that took place in May of the same year. Other events that were also Tweeted about are the 10th anniversary of the EU Enlargement, and the Euro-group and Greece event aimed to solve economic issues and stabilize the European Monetary Union. Well as in 2015, Euro-group and Greece was the only EU-related

theme dragged from 2014. Later on, a new major theme was strongly present in the EU Twitter discourse which is "migration crises" known as EU-wide "refugee crisis". The 2015 discourse was richer in a way that some topics had included EU-policy debates for example Capital Market Union (brought through the EU Commissioner for Financial Stability, Financial Services), other competition policies, and Google anti-trust case.

In regards to EU-external topics, in 2014, they were very limited and mainly focused on the Ukraine Crisis and events related to this matter, and this theme remained as part of the EU-external discourse in 2015 as well. Consequently, tweets about the Nepal earthquake took the lead in a way where the Eu spokespeople try to show support and solidarity with Nepal. In 2015 there was a policy-oriented discussion about the abovementioned EU migration crisis from the perspective of non-EU members and actors, the other theme was about the African countries and alliances of that region, for instance, the African Union and EU-Africa relations and common policies.

Table 3 key themes of the analyzed 2014 and 2015 EC spokespeople discourse (#HASHTAG)

Themes	2014	2015
EU-Internal (Event-related)	- EP Elections 2014 - 10 years of 2004 EU enlargement	- EU migration crisis - Euro-group and Greece
EU-Internal (Policy-related)	- N/A	- Capital Markets Union - Google and competition
EU-External (Event-related)	- Ukraine Crisis	- Ukraine Crisis - Nepal earthquake
EU-External (Policy-related)	- N/A	- European migration crisis - EU-Africa relations

Source: Krzyżanowski, M. (2018). Social media in/and the politics of the European Union. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *17*(2), 281–304.

The in-depth analysis of the discourse strategies deployed by the EU spokespeople in 2014 was a form of personalization and familiarization strategy, which mean less official tone and shows that these officials can also have a social

life, make jokes, and not only represent their official professional role. Accordingly, this helps create commonality and a familiar atmosphere with the Twitter audience.

Many Tweets and Re-tweets can exemplify this discourse strategy, in April 2014, Cecilia Malmström (@MalmstromEU) uploaded a Tweet tanking the press for the great Brussel press revue annual event for journalists and the EU which include sketches about the EU done by the spokespeople and journalist. Then, Oliver Bailly (@OliverBailyEU) and Patricia Reilly (@trishcavan) joined in the discussion to share their experience regarding the same event. These Re-tweets show that the relationship between EU politicians and officials is not more of a casual one rather than typically professional.

Figure 10 Cecilia Malmström (@MalmstromEU) tweet concerning the Brussel Press Revue (April 6,2014).

Figure 11 Tweets as interaction to Cecilia Malmström (@MalmstromEU) concerning the Brussel Press Revue (April 6,2014).

Regarding the 2015 discourse of EC spokespeople, they were implying a

discursive strategy aimed to construct the EU as an international leader. the EU was represented as a leader of international activities in humanitarianism and other related areas by deploying online and offline political organizational communication. This discourse was very needed especially when the EU was reacting to different short-term events (earthquakes and other disasters), and long-term ones (European refugee crisis). EU spokespeople always reflect the image of the EU as an international leader in humanitarian and other types of global crisis.

Figure 12 Margaritis Schinas (@Margschinas) Tweet in regard to development in the Mediterranean (April 19, 2015)

Figure 13 Retweet from David Daly (@DavidDalyEU) to the European Commission Tweet concerning the Nepal Earthquake (April 26, 2015)

V.   CONCLUSION

As we have shown in this thesis the digital transformation of the European Union's public diplomacy is quite visible and it became an integral part of EU strategic communication with the foreign public and EU citizens. Digital diplomacy has demonstrated the urgency to change EU discursive strategy and at the same time use it as soft power. The EU was always facing many threats from disinformation, particularly from Russia; therefore, the adoption of a new public diplomacy strategy was important to transmit pertinent and correct messages to the public.

We have seen the case study of the EU public diplomacy strategy in the US, from where we learned the soft power side of the EU and it is using social media and other ICTs in order to broadcast the perfect image of itself to inform about events happening within the EU and EU programs in the US using its social media accounts on Twitter, Facebook, and even YouTube channel. This answers our main question proving that the EU is actually using digital diplomacy as a communication strategy to inform and project its foreign policies to the international public.

Furthermore, the Lisbon Treaty was a very important step in EU communication strategy. The EEAS has been given a very important role to enhance EU public diplomacy by using digital diplomacy as a tool, that led to ensuring the efficient implementation of the European Union's foreign policy and consolidation of its diplomacy. In this work, we have shown that the EEAS has a very significant role in enhancing EU digital diplomacy knowing that image resilience is very important to the EU. Therefore, the EEAS is using different tools to maintain the positive external image of the Union, and social media is one of them.

Officials in the EU have also confirmed the positive transformation that happened in EU public diplomacy. Federica Mogherini was one of the pioneers of this transformation, her communication strategy was very strong on social media platforms (e.g., Twitter) with hundreds of thousands of followers and more than ten thousand tweets and retweets. Mogherini was often described as a "deriver" because of her leadership, described as a powerful institutional entrepreneur because of her

inspiring way of utilizing social media to convey strategic EU foreign policies, and recognizes how important teamwork is in positive digital diplomacy.

EU global strategic communication is another important topic we have discussed. Protecting the image of the EU and the war against disinformation led to the creation of an action plan advanced by the EEAS. The EUGS made it clear in its declaration stating that the EU will eventually enhance its strategic communication, and invest in honest and clear communication with its citizens and the foreign public about its foreign policy. Consequently, the speed and consistency of messaging will be improved, and rapid refutation of disinformation will be considered one of its priorities in EU actions and principles.

Communication is considered to be vital by EU institutions in their diplomatic practices and policy discussion. Hence, we have analyzed the behavior and the discourse of EU spokespeople on the social media platform Twitter. We have observed the changes in EU spokespeople's interactive and discursive strategy between the period of 2014 and 2015. In 2014, their interactive and discursive strategies were focused on EU-Internal issues and intra-organizational communication. Whereas in 2015, there were more interactions with other foreign partners and was giving more importance to international events aiming to construct the EU as an international leader, especially in regard to the humanitarian crisis.

The result of the research-backed up the main argument of this thesis statement that the EU is using digital diplomacy to improve and develop better relations in the international sphere and sustain its image as a leading entity. But then again, digital diplomacy is an emerging field in politics currently being tested and the EU is doing its best to improve it.

Finally, I would like to indicate that digital transformation is inevitable in politics and mainly diplomacy. Posts and tweets now can change the perception of individuals in regard to the legitimacy of an entity. Any organization can utilize digital diplomacy to have positive results in their communication strategy and reflect on the fast development happening in international politics opening the doors to the new age of strategic communication and a different definition of social power.

VI. REFERENCES

BOOKS

BJOLA, C. & HOLMES, M. (2015). **Digital diplomacy: theory and practice**. Routledge, Cop.

CROSS, D., & MELISSEN, J. (2013). European public diplomacy: soft power at work. In Raphaela Henze, & Gernot Wolfram. **Exporting culture which role for Europe in a global world?** Wiesbaden Springer Vs.

CROSS, D. (2014). **Transatlantic Cultural Diplomacy**. Exporting Culture, 13–24.

CROSS, MAI'A K. DAVIS (2015). 'The Public Diplomacy Role of the EEAS: Crafting a Resilient Image for Europe' in David Spence & Jozef Batora (Eds). **The European external action service. European diplomacy post- Westphalia**. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

CULL, N. J. (2009). **Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past** (p. 12). Figueroa Press.

HEMERY, J. IN MELISSEN, J**.** (2005). **Public diplomacy in the foreign policy of states**. Palgrave Macmillan.

MELISSEN, J. (2005). **Public diplomacy in the foreign policy of states**. Palgrave Macmillan.

NYE, J. S. (2004). **Soft Power: the means to success in world politics**. Public Affairs.

NYE, J. S. (2008). **The powers to lead**. Oxford University Press.

NYE, J. S. (2011). **The future of power**. Public Affairs.

ROBERT OWEN KEOHANE, NYE, J. S., & FAREED ZAKARIA. (1977). **Power and interdependence**.

SADAN, E. (1997). Empowerment and community planning: **Theory and practice of people-focused social solutions**. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad.

SHARP, P. IN MELISSEN, J. (2005). **Public diplomacy in the foreign policy of states**. Palgrave Macmillan.

SOTIRIU, S. (2015). Digital diplomacy: Between promises and reality. In C. Bjola & M. Holmes (Eds.), **Digital diplomacy: Theory and practice** (pp. 33–51). New York, NY: Routledged.

ARTICLES

KAMEN, L. & MURRAY, A. (2013). "**The digital diplomacy potential**." KMWorld 22(6).

MANNERS, I., & WHITMAN, R. (2013). Normative Power and the Future of EU Public Diplomacy. **European Public Diplomacy**, 183–203.

PAMMENT, J. (2016). Digital diplomacy as transmedia engagement: Aligning theories of participatory culture with international advocacy campaigns. **New Media & Society**, 18 (9), 2046-2062.

SPENCE, D. (2015). The EEAS and Its Epistemic Communities: The Challenges of Diplomatic Hybridism. In: Spence, D., & Jozef Bátora. **The european external action service : european diplomacy post-Westphalia**. Palgrave Macmillan.

TUCH, H. N. (1990). **Communicating with the world: U.S. public diplomacy overseas**. St. Martin's Press.

THESES

HEDLING, E. (2018). Blending Politics and New Media: Mediatized Practices of EU Digital Diplomacy. **Doctoral Thesis**. Lund University.

INTERNET SOURCES

ADESINA, O. S. (2017). Foreign policy in an era of digital diplomacy. *Cogent Social Sciences*, *3*(1), 1–14. Date: 17.03.2022, Web Address:

https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/23311886.2017.1297175https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/23311886.2017.1297175

AZPÍROZ, M. L. (2015). **Soft Power and Public Diplomacy: The Case of the European Union in Brazil**/Poder blando y diplomacia pública: el caso de la Unión Europea en Brasil. Access Date: 05.01.2022, Web Address: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323525382_Soft_Power_and_Public_Diplomacy_The_Case_of_the_European_Union_in_BrazilPoder_blando_y_diplomacia_publica_el_caso_de_la_Union_Europea_en_Brasil.

BAIRD, J. (2005). *Soft Power and Hard Views: How American Commentators are Spreading over the World's Opinion Pages*. Access Date: 27.04.2022, Web Address: https://shorensteincenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/2006_01_baird.pdf

BENDIEK, A.; KETTEMANN, M. C. (16, February 2021): **Revisiting the EU Cybersecurity Strategy: A Call for EU Cyber Diplomacy**. In: **SWP Comment 2021/C**. Access Date: 13.04.2022, Web Address: https://www.swpberlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/comments/2021C16_EUCyberDiplomacy.pdf

CAVE, D. (2015). **Failing to exploit the net for foreign policy gain limits our global influence**. Access Date: 18.02.2022, Web Address: https://www.smh.com.au/opinion/global-diplomacy-has-gone-digital-and-australia-has-been-left-behind-20150922-gjs6tg.html

CULL, N. J. (2010). Public diplomacy: Seven lessons for its future from its past. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, *6*(1), 11–17. Access Date: 14.02.2022, Web Address: https://link.springer.com/article/10.1057/pb.2010.4

DAHL, R. A. (1957). The concept of power. *Behavioral Science*, *2*(3), 201–215. Access Date: 03.02.2022, Web Address: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/bs.3830020303

Digital diplomacy in 2021: What is? How to develop? Where to learn more? (n.d.). Diplofoundation. Access Date: 29.03.2022, Web Address: https://www.diplomacy.edu/topics/digital-diplomacy/

DIGITAL FOREIGN POLICY: actors, trends and issues in 2022 | Diplo. (n.d.). Access Date: 22.01.2022, Web Address: https://www.diplomacy.edu/topics/digital-foreign-policy/#geopolitics

DRAHOŠOVÁ, M., & BALCO, P. (2017). The analysis of advantages and disadvantages of use of social media in European Union. *Procedia Computer Science*, *109*, 1005–1009. Access Date: 07.04.2022, Web Address:
https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1877050917311286

DUKE, COURTIER, S. (2011). *The European External Action Service: Cosmetic Exercise or Intended Change* Access Date: 08.02.2022, Web Address:

https://www.lboro.ac.uk/microsites/research/dseu/Documents/Policy_Pape rs/DSEU_Policy_Paper07.pdf

DUKE, S. (2013). The European External Action Service and Public Diplomacy. *European Public Diplomacy*, 113–136. Access Date: 13.05.2022, Web Address: https://www.clingendael.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/The%20European%20 External%20Action%20Service%20and%20Public%20Diplomacy_0.pdf

EEAS (2010). *Council Decision of 26 July 2010: establishing the organisation and functioning of the European External Action Service (2010/427/EU)*. Access Date: 07.04.2022, Web Address: https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/eeas_decision_en.pdf

EEAS (2013). *EEAS Review*. Access Date: 09.04.2022, Web Address: http://collections.internetmemory.org/haeu/20160313172652/http://eeas.eu ropa.eu/library/publications/2013/3/2013_eeas_review_en.pdf

EEAS (2012). *INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION HANDBOOK FOR EU DELEGATIONS IN THIRD COUNTRIES AND TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS.* Access Date:18.04.2022, Web Address: http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/delegations/ghana/documents/press_corner/ 20121231_en.pdf

EEAS (2016*). European Union Global Strategy (EUGS), 2016. Shared vision, common action: A stronger Europe. A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy*, June 2016. Access Date: 05.05.2022, Web Address: https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/top_stories/pdf/eugs_review_web.pdf

EEAS (2019*). THE EUROPEAN UNION'S GLOBAL STRATEGY THREE YEARS ON, LOOKING FORWARD* Access Date: 09.05.2022, Web Address: https://www.eeas.europa.eu/sites/default/files/eu_global_strategy_2019.pd f

EUINTHEUS (2001**). Depository Libraries in the US Access** Date:11.04.2022, Web Address: www.euintheus.org/resources-learning/academic-resources/depository-libraries-inthe-us/

EUINTHEUS (2017). *Getting to Know Europe*. Access Date:11.04.2022, Web
Address: www.euintheus.org/what-you-can-do/apply-for-a-grant/getting-
to-know-europe/

EUINTHEUS (2020). *European Union Visitors Program*. Access Date: 20.04.2022,
Web Address: www.euintheus.org/whatwe-do/participate-in-
our.programs/europeanunin-visitors-program/

EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2005). *Audiovisual Service: Mission*. Access Date:
09.02.2022, Web Address:
https://ec.europa.eu/avservices/about/index.cfm?sitelang=en

EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2013). *Communication Handbook for the EU
Agencies*. Access Date: 17.05.2022, Web Address:
https://europa.eu/european-union/sites/europaeu/files/docs/body/2013-12
10_communication_handbook_en.pdf.

EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2016a). *About Us*. Access Date: 19.04.2022, Web
Address: About us (europa.eu)

EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2016b). *What we do*. Access Date: 19.04.2022, Web
Address: What we do (europa.eu)

FEDERICA MOGHERINI **Twitter account** (@FedericanMog): Access Date:
12.04.2022, Web Address: https://twitter.com/federicamog

HOCKING, BRIAN & MELISSEN, JAN. (2015). **Digital Diplomacy in the Digital
Age**. Access Date: 09.02.2022, Web Address:
http://library.cdri.org.kh/newgenlibctxt/View?From=Library&CatId=2776
2&OwnLibId=1&LibraryId=1

IKENBERRY, G. J., & NYE, J. S. (2004). Review of *Soft Power: The Means to
Success in World Politics*. *Foreign Affairs*, *83*(3), 136–137. Access Date:
11.03.2022, Web Address: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20033985?seq=1

KRZYŻANOWSKI, M. (2018). Social media in/and the politics of the European
Union. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *17*(2), 281–304. Access Date:
29.03.2022, Web Address: Social media in/and the politics of the
European Union | John Benjamins (jbe-platform.com)

KURBALIJA, J. (Ed.). (2021, January 26). *2021: The Emergence of Digital
Foreign Policy*. Access Date:17.01.2022, Web Address:
https://www.diplomacy.edu/blog/the-emergence-of-digital-foreign-policy/

LYNCH, D. (2005). *In strategic partnership with the King Baudouin Foundation Communicating Europe to the world: what public diplomacy for the EU? THE FUTURE OF CFSP*. Access Date: 10.02.2022, Web Address: https://www.epc.eu/content/PDF/2005/EPC_Working_Paper_21_EU_public_diplomacy.pdf

MANN, M. (2015, March 28). *The European External Action Service and Digital Diplomacy*, guest blogpost Access Date: 20.04.2022, Web Address: : http://twiplomacy.com/blog/the-europeanexternal-   action-service-and-digital-diplomacy/

MANN, M. (2015, April 28). *The European External Action Service and Digital Diplomacy* **Affairs** -05-05. Access Date: 22.04.2022, Web Address: http://www.fiia.fi/en/publication/415/pioneers_of_a_european_diplomatic_system/

MAURER, H., & K RAIK. (2014). *Pioneers of a European Diplomatic System: EU Delegations in Moscow and Washington*. The Finnish Institute Of International. Access Date:09.03.2022, Web Address: http://twiplomacy.com/blog/the-europeanexternal-action-service-and-digital-diplomacy/

MELISSEN, J. (2019). *Debating public diplomacy: now and next*. Brill Nijhoff. Access Date:13.02.2022, Web Address: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/335491495_Debating_Public_Diplomacy_Now_and_Next

MELISSEN, J., & WANG, J. (2019). Introduction: Debating Public Diplomacy. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, *14*(1-2), 1–5. Access Date:06.02.2022, Web Address: Introduction: Debating Public Diplomacy in: The Hague Journal of Diplomacy Volume 14 Issue 1-2 (2019) (brill.com)

NEAG, M. (n.d.). *REVISTA ACADEMIEI FORŢELOR TERESTRE NR. 2 (74)/2014 PROMOTING SECURITY THROUGH PUBLIC DIPLOMACY*. Access Date:08.01.2022, Web Address: https://www.armyacademy.ro/reviste/rev2_2014/NEAG.pdf

NIELSEN, K. L. (2013). EU Soft Power and the Capability-Expectations Gap. *Journal of Contemporary European Research*, *9*(5). Access Date:20.01.2022, Web Address: https://www.jcer.net/index.php/jcer/article/view/479

NYE, J. S. (1990). Soft Power. *Foreign Policy*, *80*, 153–171. Access Date:18.11.2021, Web Address: https://www.jstor.org/stable/1148580?seq=1

NYE, J. S. (2019). Soft Power and Public Diplomacy Revisited. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, *14*(1-2), 7–20. Access Date:18.11.2021, Web Address: Soft Power and Public Diplomacy Revisited in: The Hague Journal of Diplomacy Volume 14 Issue 1-2 (2019) (brill.com)

PAGOVSKI, ZAHOKICA ZACH (2015). *Public Diplomacy of Multilateral Organizations: The Case of NATO, EU, and ASEAN*. Los Angeles: Figueroa Press. Access Date:12.01.2022, Web Address:https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/useruploads/u33041/Public%20Diplomacy%20of%20Multilateral%20-%20Full%20June%202015.pdf

RIVERA, T. (2016). *Europe at the RNC & DNC – Renewed Commitment to EUUS Cooperation*. Access Date:17.04.2022, Web Address: http://medium.com/euintheus/europe-at-the-rnc-dnc-renewed-commitment-to-eu-uscooperation-19967b8bccce

THE EEAS OFFICIAL ACCOUNT: @eu_eeas. Access Date:20.04.2022, Web Address: https://twitter.com/eu_eeas

VEST, C. (2017, May 4). *We invite you to the 2017 EU Open House!* Delegation of the European Union to the United States. Access Date:03.05.2022, Web Address: https://medium.com/euintheus/we-invite-you-to-the-2017-eu-open-house-8ec01fe0efbd

WALLSTRÖM, M. (2008). EUROPEAN COMMISSION. *Public Diplomacy and its role in the EU's external relations*. Access Date:03.05.2022, Web Address: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-08-494_en.htm?locale=en

WHITESIDE, C. (2017, April 27). *Join us for the 2017 European Month of Culture!* Delegation of the European Union to the United States. Access Date:15.04.2022, Web Address: https://medium.com/euintheus/join-us-for-the-2017-european-month-of-culture-1d70b8a4c1f9

WILSON, E. J. (2008). Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *616*(1), 110–124. Access Date: 07.02.2022, Web

Address:http://www.ernestjwilson.com/uploads/Hard%20Power,%20Soft%20Power,%20Smart%20Power.pdf

VII. RESUME

Name/Surname: Mohamed El Meki Ghazouane

EDUCATION

- ❖ 2015: High school baccalaureate degree option Physics at Assam Najah school Marrakech-Morocco.
- ❖ 2017-2018: Associate University Degree in English Literature at Cadi Ayyad University Marrakech-Morocco
- ❖ 2019: Bachelor Degree in English Literature option Linguistics at Cadi Ayyad University Marrakech-Morocco
- ❖ 2022: Master Degree in Political Science and International Relations at Istanbul Aydın University

WORK EXPERIENCE

- ➢ 2016-2017: Costumer service (technical issues) at Majorelle-Phone Group
- ➢ 2018-2019: Team Leader for Out-Going Global Talent at AIESEC Marrakech
- ➢ 2020-2021: Team Leader for In-Coming Global Volunteer at AIESEC Istanbul West.
- ➢ 2020 -2021: Education consultant At Zafar consultancy in Istanbul

LANGUAGE SKILLS

- ▪ Arabic: Native Language
- ▪ French: Advanced
- ▪ English: Advanced
- ▪ Turkish: Beginner