



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences

Department of International Relations

**PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PRACTICES OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTS
TOWARDS THE ISLAMIC WORLD AFTER 9/11**

Zübeyde Selcen IŞIKLAR

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2018

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PRACTICES OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTS TOWARDS
THE ISLAMIC WORLD AFTER 9/11

Zübeyde Selcen IŞIKLAR

Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of International Relations

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2018

ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

The jury finds that ZÜBEYDE SELCEN IŞIKLAR has on the date of 12 JUNE 2018 successfully passed the defense examination and approves his/her Master's Thesis titled "Public Diplomacy Practices of American Presidents Towards The Islamic World After 9/11".



Prof. Dr. Yonca ANZERLIOĞLU (Jury President)



Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Kadri Kaan RENDA (Main Adviser)



Prof. Dr. Mehmet Seyfettin EROL

I agree that the signatures above belong to the faculty members listed.

Prof. Dr. Musa Yaşar SAĞLAM

Graduate School Director

DECLARATION

I promise that my thesis/report is completely my own work and that I have provided a source for every quotation and citation. I give permission for paper and digital copies of my thesis/report to be kept in Hacettepe University's Graduate School of Social Sciences' archives under the conditions indicated below:

- ☒ My thesis/Report can be accessed in full from any location.
- ☐ My thesis/Report can only be accessed from Hacettepe University premises.
- ☐ I do not want my thesis/report to be accessed until year(s) later. After this amount of time if I have not applied to an extension of time, my thesis/report can be accessed in full from any location.

12.06.2018



Zübeyde Selcen IŞIKLAR

YAYIMLAMA VE FİKRİ MÜLKİYET HAKLARI BEYANI

Enstitü tarafından onaylanan lisansüstü tezimin/raporumun tamamını veya herhangi bir kısmını, basılı (kâğıt) ve elektronik formatta arşivleme ve aşağıda verilen koşullarla kullanıma açma iznini Hacettepe Üniversitesine verdiğimi bildiririm. Bu izinle Üniversiteye verilen kullanım hakları dışındaki tüm fikri mülkiyet haklarım bende kalacak, tezimin tamamının ya da bir bölümünün gelecekteki çalışmalarda (makale, kitap, lisans ve patent vb.) kullanım hakları bana ait olacaktır.

Tezin kendi orijinal çalışmam olduğunu, başkalarının haklarını ihlal etmediğimi ve tezimin tek yetkili sahibi olduğumu beyan ve taahhüt ederim. Tezimde yer alan telif hakkı bulunan ve sahiplerinden yazılı izin alınarak kullanılması zorunlu metinlerin yazılı izin alınarak kullandığımı ve istenildiğinde suretlerini Üniversiteye teslim etmeyi taahhüt ederim.

- **Tezimin/Raporumun tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılabilir ve bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınabilir.**

(Bu seçenekle teziniz arama motorlarında indekslenebilecek, daha sonra tezinizin erişim statüsünün değiştirilmesini talep etseniz ve kütüphane bu talebinizi yerine getirirse bile, teziniz arama motorlarının önbelleklerinde kalmaya devam edebilecektir)

- **Tezimin/Raporumun tarihine kadar erişime açılmasını ve fotokopi alınmasını (İç Kapak, Özet, İçindekiler ve Kaynakça hariç) istemiyorum.**

(Bu sürenin sonunda uzatma için başvuruda bulunmadığım takdirde, tezimin/raporumun tamamı her yerden erişime açılabilir, kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınabilir)

- **Tezimin/Raporumun.....tarihine kadar erişime açılmasını istemiyorum ancak kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisinin alınmasını onaylıyorum.**

- **Serbest Seçenek/Yazarın Seçimi**

16 / 07 / 2018

Zübeyde Selcen IŞIKLAR



ETİK BEYAN

Bu alıřmadaki bütn bilgi ve belgeleri akademik kurallar erevesinde elde ettiđimi, grsel, iřitsel ve yazılı tm bilgi ve sonuları bilimsel ahlak kurallarına uygun olarak sunduđumu, kullandığım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadığımı, yararlandığım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduđumu, tezimin kaynak gsterilen durumlar dıřında zgn olduđunu, Dr. đr. yesi Kadri Kaan RENDA danıřmanlıđında tarafımdan retildiđini ve Hacettepe niversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstits Tez Yazım Ynergesine gre yazıldıđını beyan ederim.



Zbeyde Selcen IřIKLAR

ABSTRACT

IŞIKLAR, Zübeyde Selcen. *Public Diplomacy Practices of American Presidents towards the Islamic World After 9/11*, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2018.

This thesis examines the public diplomacy activities of the United States, mainly by focusing on the period after the September 11 attacks. The US, known as the inventor and best implementer of public diplomacy wanted to activate its soft power besides its hard power as an important component of its national power, for its war on terror strategy. Along with its strategy of fighting against terrorism, the US tried to restructure and institutionalize its public diplomacy activities which it had stopped at the end of the Cold War following the collapse of the Soviet Union with the belief that there was no more need for it.

The research question of the thesis, therefore, is whether the US has been successful in the policies conducted with the aim of increasing its soft power, summarily winning hearts and minds, as the main part of its public diplomacy alongside with its military power that is also utilized within the scope of the US' war on terror strategy. In this context, the public diplomacy policies implemented by different American Presidents since September 11, 2001 are examined. As a result of the study, it has been found out that despite short-lived successes during some Administrations, the public diplomacy strategies carried out by the US to improve its image failed in general, mainly because of two reasons; disregard for the different characteristics of the nations it addressed and failure to comprehend the sources of negativity especially in the heavily Muslim populated countries.

Keywords

Public diplomacy, soft power, September 11 attacks, the USA, negative image

ÖZET

İŞIKLAR, Zübeyde Selcen. *11 Eylül Sonrası Amerikan Başkanlarının İslam Dünyasına Yönelik Kamu Diplomasisi Uygulamaları*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2018.

Bu tez çalışması Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerini başlıca 11 Eylül 2001 terör saldırıları sonrasındaki döneme odaklanarak incelemektedir. Kamu diplomasisini ilk oluşturan ve en iyi uygulayan devlet olarak ABD, terörle mücadele stratejisinde de, askeri gücünün yanı sıra, ulusal gücünün en önemli unsurlardan birisi olarak gördüğü, yumuşak gücünü de devreye sokmak istemiştir. ABD, bu çerçevede Sovyetler Birliği'nin dağılmasını takiben Soğuk Savaşın sona ermesi ile artık ihtiyaç duymayacağını düşündüğü kamu diplomasisi faaliyetlerini bu kez terörle mücadele konusunda yeniden tasarlamaya ve kurumsallaştırmaya çalışmıştır.

Bu tezde incelenen araştırma sorusu, ABD'nin terörle mücadele strateji çerçevesinde kullanmakta olduğu askeri gücünün yanı sıra, kamu diplomasisinin ana unsurunu oluşturan kalpleri ve zihinleri kazanmak olarak özetlenebilecek yumuşak gücünü arttırmak amacıyla yürüttüğü politikaların başarılı olup olmadığıdır. Bu çerçevede, 11 Eylül 2001 tarihinden bu yana farklı Amerikan Başkanları döneminde yürütülen kamu diplomasisi politikaları incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın sonucunda ise, farklı yönetimler sırasında olumlu adımlar atılmakla birlikte, özellikle nüfusunun çoğunluğu Müslüman olan ülkelerde olumsuz düşüncelerin kaynağını ve hitap ettiği halkların özelliklerini göz ardı ettiği için ABD'nin imajını geliştirmek konusunda uyguladığı kamu diplomasisi stratejilerinin başarısız olduğu görülmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Kamu diplomasisi, yumuşak güç, 11 Eylül saldırıları, ABD, olumsuz imaj

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL	i
DECLARATION	ii
YAYIMLAMA VE FİKRİ MÜLKİYET HAKLARI BEYANI	iii
ETİK BEYAN	iv
ABSTRACT	v
ÖZET	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND ITS SCOPE	4
1.1 DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	4
1.1.1 New Diplomacy	16
1.2 CULTURAL DIPLOMACY	19
1.2.1 The Role of Exchange Programs in Cultural Diplomacy	23
1.2.2 Digital Diplomacy	26
CHAPTER II: THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	30
2.1 INITIAL STAGES of PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN THE US	30
2.2 POST-9/11 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY POLICIES OF THE US	34
2.2.1 September 11 Attacks and Afterwards	36
2.2.2 The Iraq War	39
CHAPTER III: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DURING BUSH'S PRESIDENCY	45
3.1 GROWING HOSTILITY FOR THE US AFTER 9/11	45
3.2 MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF US PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DURING BUSH PRESIDENCY	54
CHAPTER IV: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DURING OBAMA'S PRESIDENCY	61
4.1 OBAMA'S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE WAR ON TERROR	61
4.2 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE WAR ON TERROR	72
CHAPTER V: CURRENT STRUCTURE AND STATUS OF US PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	82
5.1 CURRENT STRUCTURE OF US PUBLIC DIPLOMACY	82
5.2 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TENDENCIES IN DONALD TRUMP'S PRESIDENCY	88
CHAPTER VI: THE UNITED STATES' FAVORABILITY IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES	97

6.1	OPINION POLLS ABOUT UNITED STATES' FAVORABILITY IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES.....	98
CONCLUSION		123
REFERENCES.....		128
APPENDIX 1: ORIGINALITY REPORT		139
APPENDIX 2: ETHICS COMMISSION FORM		141



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BBG	Broadcasting Board of Governors
CAMU	Council of American Muslims for Understanding
DOD	Department of Defense
DOT	Digital Outreach Team
ECA	The State Department Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs
FCO	UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office
GEC	Global Engagement Center
IBB	International Broadcasting Bureau
IPP	Bureau of International Information Programs
IVLP	The US Department of State International Visitor Leadership Program
NFSC	National Framework for Strategic Communication
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NSS	National Security Strategy
OGC	The Office of Global Communications
PA	Bureau of Public Affairs
PD	Public Diplomacy
QDDR	Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review
R/PPR	Office of Policy, Planning and Resources
SC	Strategic communication
USA	United States of America

USA PATRIOT Act	The Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act
USAID	US Agency for International Development
USIA	United States Information Agency
USIS	United States Information Service
VOA	Voice of America



LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Opinion poll asking respondents “Do you have a favorable or unfavorable view of the U.S.?”	999
Table 2. Opinion poll asking respondents “Do you have a favorable or unfavorable view of the American people?”	999
Table 3. Opinion poll asking respondents “How much confidence do you have in the U.S. President (Trump '17, Obama '09-'16, Bush '03-'08)?”	99100
Table 4. Opinion poll asking respondents “Does the U.S. government respect the personal freedoms of its people?”	100
Table 5. Opinion poll asking respondents their views on the U.S.’ reaction to the war on terror.	101
Table 6. Opinion poll asking respondents their views of U.S.	101
Table 7. Opinion poll asking respondents whether U.S. hegemony and Mid-East policy bothers	102
Table 8. Opinion poll asking U.S. favorability between the years 1999 and 2002.	1033
Table 9. Opinion poll asking respondents whether they favor the war on terrorism and whether the U.S. considers others	1044
Table 10. Opinion poll asking respondents whether the U.S. could become a military threat.....	1044
Table 11. Opinion poll asking respondents whether the U.S. could become a military threat.....	1077
Table 12. Opinion poll asking respondents whether they prefer removal of U.S. & NATO troops in Afghanistan	1077
Table 13. Opinion poll asking respondents if the US partner or enemy.	1088
Table 14. Opinion poll asking respondents the US favorability and confidence in Obama between the years 2009 and 2011.....	1099
Table 15. Opinion poll asking respondents the US favorability.	11010
Table 16. Opinion poll asking respondents What TWO steps by the United States would improve your views of the United States the most?..... Hata! Yer işareti tanımlanmamış.	11
Table 17. Opinion poll asking respondents Which TWO of the following factors do you believe are most important in driving American policy in the Middle East?	1122
Table 18. Opinion poll asking respondents the U.S. favorability.	11414
Table 19. Opinion poll asking respondents their views on the U.S.	11414
Table 20. Opinion poll asking respondents whether they have confidence in Obama on world affairs	11515
Table 21. Opinion poll asking respondents whether they give support to the U.S. for their actions against ISIS.....	11515
Table 22. Opinion poll asking respondents from Russia and Israel, whether gain confidence in the U.S. president	1177
Table 23. Opinion poll asking respondents from the Middle East about U.S. favorability	1177
Table 24. Mixed ratings for American soft power	1199
Table 25. Percentages of global median based on 37 countries	1199
Table 26. Global views of Trump’s characteristics.....	12020

Table 27. Global leadership approval.....	12121
Table 28. The percentage of respondents saying they have a very or somewhat favorable view of the US.....	1222
Table 29. Comparison of the Presidents’ public diplomacy record.....	123

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map showing the changing views of the U.S.	117
Figure 2. Changes in U.S. Leadership Approval from 2016-2017	121



INTRODUCTION

In order for a country to prosper in the present day, it should closely follow new developments and new trends in the world. In terms of foreign policy, public diplomacy is a new component which would benefit all the actors in the international arena by winning hearts and minds of foreign public and gaining support for world affairs. For this reason, it is significant to examine characteristics of public diplomacy and best examples of it. In this case, the United States as the first and the best practitioner of public diplomacy should be examined for elaborating on the issue. Public diplomacy is a policy used to attract foreign publics, thus to advance national interests. It is mainly related to the attractiveness of culture, political ideologies and policies. Despite the fact that the US has been considered as the best applier of public diplomacy, it faces credibility and negative image problem recently. Upon September 11 attacks, the country questioned underlying reasons behind these incidents. As an answer, the widespread perception of the US' negative image mainly in the eyes of Middle Eastern countries was found out. In accordance with that answer, the US has started to give impetus to public diplomacy activities in order to win hearts and minds of foreign public, especially Muslims. However, focusing on only conveying their message and demonstrating how great the US is has not worked out for achieving the aforementioned goal. Even though there exist various reasons for this failure, the fundamental problem was the lack of efforts made by the US to understand these nations, in this case, the Arabian people. Without understanding their problems, background, goals, US public diplomacy efforts have proved useless.

In line with these, the first chapter of this thesis focuses on explaining what public diplomacy is, how it is conducted, its significance and sub-branches. The second chapter examines the evolution of US public diplomacy and determinant incidents for it to evolve its condition in the 21st century. The third chapter explains the public diplomacy conducted during Bush's presidency. The fourth chapter analyzes the public diplomacy activities and approaches during Obama's presidency. The fifth chapter explains the structure of US public diplomacy and condition of public diplomacy during

Trump's presidency. As to the sixth chapter, it analyzes US favorability polls conducted mainly by the Pew Research Center.

The research question of this thesis is whether the US has conducted successful policies to win hearts and minds of the foreign public, which constitutes the main policy of its public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is the inseparable part of foreign policy in the globalized era. It can be considered under the umbrella of soft power. Even though public diplomacy has been used for a long time, its importance has recently started to be seen by the states. Having seen how influential it is, raising awareness about it and encouraging states to follow public diplomacy policies benefit to both states and the international community. For this reason, this thesis aims at demonstrating its influences.

The United States lost credibility in the eyes of the international public, especially in the Muslim world. The stance the US adopted towards the Middle East and policies it has been pursuing after 9/11 are the main reasons of it. To illustrate, the US has focused on merely informing the foreign public but disregarding the power of engagement. In order to eliminate the negative opinions with regard to itself and its foreign policy, the US needs active and new public diplomacy policies and these have to take into consideration the culture, expectations and most importantly the background of those communities.

Sharing similar concerns and reflecting that the US understands the unique conditions of those nations are compulsory to be successful in this new policy area. Taking into account how torn the Middle East region and the US' impact in this situation, reevaluating public diplomacy policies for the US is a must in order to decrease the hostilities among the nations.

With the new administration's policies under Trump's presidency, mutual understanding and increasing positive image in the Muslim world does not seem likely in the near future. The importance given to public diplomacy is below the required level to improve the image of the US and it is even less than the previous administration (Obama term). It seems the US has diverted its interests in the new era to improving the economy of the country rather than its soft power. In addition to this, the new administration should consider the fact that the crises in the Middle East do not

constitute a suitable platform in certain countries for conducting policies with regard to spreading values and creating sympathy effectively either, and take actions in accordance with these.

The concept of “public diplomacy” and its conduct are used as a base in this research. Incidents taking place are analyzed in terms of the scope of public diplomacy. The research type is qualitative which is based on a subjective view of the author and analyzing already existing information. However, quantitative research was also used in the last chapter by using information from mainly Pew Research Center. In terms of its scope, this study is a case study. This research focused on learning why and how US public diplomacy has been implemented with regard to the Middle East. Library research is done by analyzing historical records and documents. Techniques are recording of notes, content analysis, tape and listening, statistical compilation when necessary. Primary data encompassing questionnaires, observations, interviews and schedules and secondary data which includes already published data are used during the thesis preparation period.

CHAPTER I

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND ITS SCOPE

1.1 DEFINITION AND HISTORY OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy as its sub-branch is worthy to study especially for shedding light on certain activities of the states in terms of their underlying reasons, followed roadmap by the countries and their benefits to the countries. Intensified public diplomacy activities in the wake of September 11 attacks made the concept more visible to ordinary citizens as well as other countries which had ignored it before. Upon arising benefits of such activities, the significance of public diplomacy has become clearer, and the states have begun to study comprehensively and apply public diplomacy widely. In order to examine the US public diplomacy thoroughly, it is essential to know what public diplomacy is, what purposes it serves and how it is conducted. Furthermore, considering attached importance to the field by a significant number of countries, public diplomacy should be studied for understanding conditions of the present day in the international relations. Public diplomacy can be defined as attracting foreign public of a particular state by using soft power of the country, especially in the cultural, economic, societal areas so that the foreign public holding a positive opinion about the country helps it to promote its national interests. Public diplomacy field offers the ideal path for a country to achieve its goals due to the fact that public diplomacy helps it to win the hearts and minds of the people and there exists no need for using force thanks to public diplomacy.

Public diplomacy can be described as contacting with the foreign public in order to create favorable ideas about one's own country. As a result of public diplomacy activities, practitioners anticipate support from that country or at least a slim support from the foreign public while conducting policies in the target country (Gilboa, 2008, p. 57). With the rise of public diplomacy, diplomacy has been accepted as an entity consisting of two parts; these are government to government diplomacy also known as traditional diplomacy and the public diplomacy (Roberts, 2007, p. 45). The general aim of the traditional diplomacy is enhancing national interests through the relations with official government representatives of foreign countries. As to public diplomacy, it aims

to support those national interests through crafting a good image in the eyes of foreign publics (Ross, 2002, p. 75).

Public diplomacy is conducted through providing information and spreading the good image of one's country. It focuses on three areas. The first one is daily communication which necessitates having contact with and informing the press about government actions so that a country can express itself clearly. Daily communication is expected to be quick and timely, for example in cases of clearing country's name against accusations. The second one is making arrangements to enhance a determined theme which can be named as campaigns to champion a specific goal. The third one is creating a bond with the foreign public through exchange programs, training, conferences, etc. (Nye, 2008, pp. 101-102).

Despite the fact that the term public diplomacy is newly used, its practices can be traced back to even early history. A king not being able to overlook the reaction of its public can be given as an example to this, or the aim of France trying to create a good image abroad was to consolidate their power in the world (Melissen, 2005, p. 3). Significant names like Metternich and Talleyrand were also aware of the importance of public opinion and benefited from that. In addition, Napoleon and Louis XIV knew that image is a part of power politics in the quest of acquiring goals of the countries and acted upon this fact (Melissen, 2005, pp. 29-31).

Trying to spread policies to the foreign public in the peacetime is, however, a new concept. In the past, people were accustomed to seeing such activities in the wartime. The name of such kind of activities was not public diplomacy, however. It was labeled as "international information and cultural programs" for some time. There appeared three decisive factors that turned those early activities into public diplomacy today. The first one is the invention of the radio. Through radio, governments got to reach foreign publics easily. The second one is the policies of Bolsheviks and Nazis per se, who used radio to mobilize people (Roberts, 2007, p. 37). As to the third one, it is France's decision to establish a department for enhancing cultural activities to engage in foreign publics in 1923 (Roberts, 2007, p. 38). With regard to the studies related to public diplomacy, they have gained momentum after 9/11 attacks even though the term used for it was coined and its official practices began in the 1960s (Sevin, 2017, p.19). To illustrate the practices started in the 1960s, the US had started radio broadcastings called

Voice of America in order to influence foreign public during the Cold War, and the Soviet Union used to block broadcastings of Voice of America (Kelley, 2010, pp. 296-297).

Since the United States is the inventor of the term and practice of public diplomacy, most known exercises and experiences belong to this country, and the one shaping “public diplomacy” is generally this country (Melissen, 2005, p. 6). Therefore, it is said that the United States is the primary focus of public diplomacy, but other states and even third world states also resort to public diplomacy. To illustrate, Indonesia had to use public diplomacy to attract tourists after a bombing in their country (Melissen, 2005, p. 10).

Widespread internet use has given acceleration to public diplomacy. However, numerous information circulating in the internet sometimes benefited countries sometimes harmed them based on the content of given information (Roberts, 2007, p. 46). While information revolution changed public diplomacy, traditional diplomacy was also affected by this revolution. For instance, heads of government do not need envoys to communicate now; they only get in touch with each other via video calls and mission of diplomats has also changed in a way that they all have to know public diplomacy well and conduct it properly (Roberts, 2007, pp. 49-50).

In present years, reputation and fame have become more important than territorial or direct economic gains for states. Accordingly, the significance of public diplomacy has increased as an instrument to gain reputation and fame (Gilboa, 2008, p. 56). However, credibility is much more critical compared to reputation since people need to have a credible actor to believe within plenty of information sources. Therefore, a country conducting public diplomacy has more to do compared to old times by focusing on giving information about their country. Now, they have to show the target audience which information they should take into account among numerous ones, which also once again reveals that the public diplomacy is related to attraction. For public diplomacy, the target audiences are generally influential people like journalists, educators, political leaders, the youth of the target country, and the ones whom can be reached via media tools like TV, radio and the internet (Pamment, 2012, p. 53). As to how to decide whether public diplomacy works or not, it is through the number of

people changing their minds in accordance with the conducted foreign policy of external state (Nye, 2008, pp. 100-101).

Public diplomacy policies of the countries arose out of necessity to achieve a certain goal such as overcoming hardship in their country or giving a message to the world after an unfortunate event. To exemplify this, one can mention France's activities after the defeat in WWII to give the world the message that they were not weak or EU candidate countries' activities such as Bulgaria and Turkey to give the message that they are worthy to be a member of the EU (Melissen, 2005, p. 9). However, more importantly, public diplomacy evolved on its own as the requirement of the age. The collapse of communism can also be regarded as the requirement of the age since the Soviet Union could not remain as a closed society due to the impacts of information revolution and was under the pressure of public diplomacy activities (Roberts, 2007, pp. 48-49).

As time goes on, new requirements in the world system appeared and accordingly, number of the areas to resort to public diplomacy has risen following the Cold War. Its reason is the increase in number of democratic countries with the trend coming due to the end of communism (Nye, 2008, pp. 99-100). Diplomacy has extended its sphere to the public because states have got to a position in which understanding public was essential to take decisions in the foreign policy area. In addition, the public has also started to supervise government actions via communication technologies and governments feel more pressured to take the demands of the public into account while shaping their foreign policies (Kelley, 2010, pp. 292-293). Consequently, public opinion has the utmost importance in a democracy, and once a country takes their citizen's opinion into account, it is a hard issue to be ally of this country without the consent of its citizens. On the other hand, it can be seen that diplomacy expanded its sphere without interruption of anybody, but with the effect of unprecedented developments in the world (Kelley, 2010, pp. 292-293).

At this point, public diplomacy comes into play. A country with a significant hard power can have a say in world affairs, but it cannot ensure people's willful and sincere support to it. On the other hand, a country with effective public diplomacy would have a say in world affairs due to the support coming from the foreign public which would make its position in the world arena more permanent (Taylor, 2006, p. 50). For this reason, attracting foreign citizens has become more and more essential.

As we have seen lately, the countries took the notion that the most powerful are the ones implementing public diplomacy successfully into account. In other words, the country whose culture and values are dominant all over the world is the most powerful one. For this reason, recently, it has been a must for certain countries to conduct public diplomacy policies in their target regions. To illustrate the target regions, it is Canada and Europe for the US and other East-Asian countries for East-Asians (Melissen, 2005, p. 11).

Another reason why states attach importance to public diplomacy or new diplomacy is that they sensed they are losing control over foreign policy with the emergence of new actors in an unsecured environment in which borders have no meaning. Especially after 9/11, this fact has become more apparent, and the states took various measures accordingly (Kelley, 2010, p. 293). By means of the public diplomacy, states remind themselves to the foreign public and show them as an actor in the international fora that they are still the most powerful. All of the points mentioned are acquisitions of public diplomacy and considering all these gains, it is inevitable for a state to carry out public diplomacy.

In order to conduct a proper public diplomacy policy, in other words, achieve the goals, creating an image or a label to be remembered by certain specialty is essential. To illustrate, famous tourism centers, having a strong economy to attract foreign investments and so on are parts of having a good image in the eyes of the foreign public. While using these characteristics to advertise the country, states also make efforts to attain these specialties for using it in public diplomacy policies. Therefore, one can claim that public diplomacy has multiple gains for a state (Melissen, 2005, p. 31). Aside from this, by focusing on earning sympathy from the foreign public and being friends with some certain states to ensure their goals are a continuation of public diplomacy policy, in fact, it is the fundamental aim and acquisition of the public diplomacy (Melissen, 2005, p. 23).

Apart from these, once a country decides to improve its image and choose public diplomacy as the solution, just applying it does not ensure the emergence of expected results immediately since public diplomacy has multiple challenges to overcome. These are winning hearts and minds, reversing opinions of enemies, forming new policies to work on and selling the country's unique culture, values, ideology and so on. What is

necessary to pay attention is that determinant factor is not what is said but what the audience hears. That means expressed words may not reach as it is to the target audience. Face to face meetings are also more influential than other activities in conducting public diplomacy since it renders conducted policies more genuine (Ross, 2002, p. 77). Public diplomacy has various tools, but the most effective one is through direct human contact. The impact it creates is more permanent, widespread and reaches to a significant number of people (Synder, 2013, p. 69).

In public diplomacy, R.S. Zaharna puts forward that knowing your own culture is as much essential as knowing others' culture since it will be a need to compare the publics' cultural characteristics and find a more suitable way for success (as cited in Gregory, 2011, p. 355). There must be a strategy, also, before starting public diplomacy activities. Random activities may only lead to waste of time and resources, but a roadmap guides one to acquire the desired impact. According to Gregory (2011), "dialogue, openness to the opinion of others, reasoned argument, mutual understanding, breaking down stereotypes" are key for successful conduct of public diplomacy (p.357). "Advocacy" activities are also essential to further public diplomacy of the country in order to persuade people and then move forward for winning hearts and minds, which is the next step (Gregory, 2011, p. 360). However, it should not be forgotten that starting a relationship with the foreign public is the first step to break down existing barriers.

A country which is in need of positive public opinion should invest in its soft power and public diplomacy, and get rid of the probability of conflict with other countries (Brown, 2017, p. 122). Experiences of the years of public diplomacy conduct showed that there are key points to pay attention to get fruitful results: being consistent with the words expressed and actions taken and establishing a bond with the audience consisting of mutual understanding. With reference to the saying "Actions speak louder than words", it can be said that public diplomacy should conform with the government's activities, too (Nye, 2008, pp. 101-102). According to the previous examples, it has also been proved that actions create more impact as in the case of Norway. They wanted to sell their image as a peace provider by participating in peacekeeping missions or similar operations and now are remembered by these efforts. While words also can contribute to one's public diplomacy, it has the potential to ruin it by stating an opinion which does not appeal foreign public and angers them but appeal only the local ones (Nye, 2008, p.

104). Moreover, understanding thoughts of the target audience is the key to the success of public diplomacy because the main aim is to make them want what the country conducting public diplomacy wants. By figuring out their opinions and feelings, a suitable way to present the message of the practitioner country would be found out in an easier way. In addition, plainly explaining the information desired to spread is not the perfect way to follow due to the fact that values and culture of the target audience might prevent perceiving what is told as it is (Nye, 2008, p. 103).

Also, a state conducting public diplomacy should make efforts to have good relations with local and foreign newspapers in order to ensure good comments will be written about them. Although the news is read via the internet recently, the public of some countries has difficulty in reaching the internet. They should be informed through printed instruments. Power of the internet may not work everywhere unlike the common beliefs. Apart from that, the language used in those activities is essential for effective public diplomacy. For example, while it may not create a problem using English in a country in which number of people speaking English is a lot, there emerges a necessity to use native language in another country where people do not know English. Therefore, the state pursuing public diplomacy policies must take the cultural characteristic of the target country into account (Ross, 2002, pp. 79-80). While conducting public diplomacy, what is needed to pay attention is not insisting on conducting a policy which does not suit to the target public or are opposed by majority of the public, because it is against the nature of public diplomacy which is to win hearts and minds when an idea or belief is forcefully tried to make someone accept (Roberts, 2007, p. 51). For this reason, satisfying the public is vital.

On the other hand, public diplomacy cannot be effective in case military and political policies contradict each other. This was the case for the US while carrying out operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. Since actions speak louder than words, activities of the US demonstrated that the country was insincere in its rhetoric used for public diplomacy by acting on the contrary of their pledges as in the Abu Ghraib incident. While promoting human rights, the US was the main actor of human rights violation there (Melissen, 2005, p. 7).

Even though public diplomacy is conducted somehow, which path is ideal to follow is a mystery for states. A policy considered successful in a certain period for a particular

country might differ when the period of the target country changes. However, to reveal the methodology used in a certain successful policy to follow its pattern for other cases, one should know the impact of public diplomacy through measurement. For measurement of public diplomacy results, there exist various ways (Brown, 2017, p. 121). One of them belongs to Broadcasting Board of Governors in the name of Impact Model. Data from polling, surveys, digital platforms and narratives are used as metrics. In this one, the researcher applies to both qualitative and quantitative indicators. However, the one devoting herself to measure public diplomacy effect should persevere since it is a work necessitating long time, enough resources and to be equipped with knowledge. Moreover, in ABCDE marketing model as a different measurement path, one should determine the target audience and the message to be given before practicing PD. Tactics of public diplomacy involve also methods to assess outcomes of public diplomacy. Yet, each public diplomacy case should be evaluated with the methods which are unique to itself since there does not exist a single universal path to observe something related to social sciences. Through the metrics of public diplomacy, countries can come to a conclusion on what the foreign public thinks of and feel for their countries (Brown, 2017, p. 122).

With technological advancements, public diplomacy has begun to be equated with a type of diplomacy blurring the distinction between traditional diplomacy and itself (Gilboa, 2008, p. 58). Now, diplomacy has been transformed into a new formation consisting of both traditional and public diplomacy. New actors are in the stage, and new techniques are required to be learned and carried out. With these advancements, the importance of the role played by the state has been diminishing day by day (Gregory, 2011, p. 372). Multiple practitioners are ranging from government to non-governmental organizations, media to celebrities, businessmen to students, in other words, anybody aiming at consolidating the image of their country. The idea of involvement of citizens into affairs of diplomacy derives from the discourses that it is a right and responsibility for citizens, they should complement government's activities and compensate for the things that the government fails to do (Gregory, 2011, p. 360).

When the practice of public diplomacy is in question, the involvement of ordinary citizens or private institutions as representatives of a certain country sometimes appeals foreign public more than government officials taking care of diplomacy. Yet, the

legitimacy of new diplomats or approval to be given to them constitutes a controversial issue. The methods used by new diplomats and traditional diplomats are a part of this problem. Whilst traditional diplomats tend to cooperate with other states and have political legitimacy, non-state actors use their advocacy skills and have moral legitimacy (Kelley, 2010, p. 293). For instance, as a celebrity diplomat, activities of Bono from the band U2 and Angelina Jolie are well known. These people act upon the influence they gather from their occupation and draws attention in this way. By means of this, Bono who is also famous by his efforts in eliminating poverty in Africa had even performed in the opening of the G8 summit in 2005 and drew public attention to the conference. These previously known positive characteristics of his had increased the chance of getting approval from the public for these activities. However, celebrities' involvement in diplomacy is not embraced by a lot of people for a variety of reasons, be it perceived the negative image of the celebrity by some or notion of exceeding of authority by celebrities as being ordinary people, in fact. According to a survey held in 2007, forty-nine per cent of the questionnaires are opposed to celebrities' involvement (Kelley, 2010, pp. 299-300).

Moreover, there is an argument over whether non-governmental organizations should pursue public diplomacy activities or not. While some agree with their involvement, there are some others indicating deficiencies in doing so. For example, a non-governmental organization engaged in public diplomacy is generally one of private media organizations and their aim in making campaigns to promote country's reputation is generally for the sake of maximizing profits. If they do not get the advantage of enhancing country's reputation, they end their activities. For this reason, this can create some problems for the maintenance of the policies. On the other hand, the state is the only source to continue these kinds of activities without any break considering it does not have to consider monetary issues as much as a private company. However, states lack credibility in front of the foreign public from time to time. To prevent an adverse effect, it is suggested that private foundations funded and led by the government should take care of public diplomacy. Therefore, attracting foreign public might be easier (Nye, 2008, pp. 105-106).

However, it is a fact that public diplomacy cannot be implemented without a variety of actors and unless all the actors collaborate (Melissen, 2005, p. 5). It is due to the fact

that this era entails interdependence of all of the actors. For this reason, diplomacy is now carried out by various actors, and these are generally classified as NGOs, the private sector, religious leaders, celebrities, intelligentsia. Among them, the influence of civil society organizations is remarkable especially in human rights issues (Kelley, 2010, pp. 296-297).

As to soft power which is a controversial term in terms of making a distinction between public diplomacy and soft power, it is accepted as a structure involving public diplomacy. A country willing to achieve its goals resorts to using its power whether it is hard power or soft power. Hard power is associated with military power, while soft power has more to do with convincing concerned parties (Nye, 2008, p. 94). In the world affairs, hard power and soft power are intermingled with each other in practice. Without paying necessary attention to soft power, it is hard to implement a successful hard power. In the post 9/11 era, especially the US experienced this when they carried out restrictive visa policies and declined a number of the students in accordance with related applications (Melissen, 2005, p. 33).

Soft power was essential to be the victor in the Cold War as it is now in the fight against terrorism. Commonly reiterated phrase “To win hearts and minds” is something only can be achieved through soft power means since hard power contradicts even in the beginning with the concept itself which contains a love oriented word “heart.” Soft power cannot be restrained by only influence since its key features distinguishing itself from others are persuasion but more importantly attraction. The fact that a country possesses variety of soft power means does not mean it is also successful in pursuing such activities properly. While soft power can be referred as a culture, values and foreign policies of a country, public diplomacy is the activities of attracting others by using soft power of a country (Nye, 2008, p. 95). Apart from these, public diplomacy sometimes diverges from soft power. There might be times when public diplomacy reflects hard power policy of the states (Melissen, 2005, p. 34). Its reason is that public diplomacy is a method for achieving not only soft power goals but also hard power goals like military aims (Melissen, 2005, p. 14).

Aside from these, different types of public diplomacy have been emerging day by day such as salsa diplomacy, soap opera diplomacy and so on. These are mainly used when a trait of a country is famous and admired by others through focusing on that field and

advertising it abroad. A former diplomat John Brown has started to name these types of public diplomacy on his blog and has already collected more than thirty (Sevin, 2017, p. 6). Public diplomacy is intermingled with many different concepts and practices. Among them, cultural diplomacy, international broadcasting and nation branding can be counted.

Cultural diplomacy plays such a prominent role within public diplomacy that sometimes it shoulders all burden of the public diplomacy. The term cultural diplomacy has been considered equivalent to public diplomacy. Even some countries like Britain name their all public diplomacy activities under the title of cultural diplomacy in the British Council (Sevin, 2017, p. 7). Public diplomacy is indeed more related to cultural affairs rather than giving political messages. However, cultural activities also differ from public diplomacy since its only aim is to improve national interests while public diplomacy may have a variety of goals. After figuring out how limited the conducted public diplomacy before 9/11 was, the public diplomacy policies, especially in the 21st century, have been focusing on also social responsibilities like promoting human rights, spreading democratic values and so on. Today's public diplomacy does not necessitate the interaction to take place by means of only government, any actor can get involved in such a relationship (Melissen, 2005, pp. 21-22).

Nation-branding and lobbying stand as terms that are confused with public diplomacy. For the similar activities public diplomacy also deals with, the term nation-branding are sometimes preferred by countries generally in transition like Liechtenstein and Estonia because of the name "branding" reflects a powerful connotation. However, branding hardly comes up with a concrete result due to the fact that it is too complicated for a country to change overnight and build up a new image. Its sphere of influence is also limited since it revolves around only the existing fact (Melissen, 2005, p. 20). Apart from this, it should be kept in mind that lobbying activities and public diplomacy are two different things as well. The ones practicing lobbying are generally private interest groups, and they endeavor to change minds and votes of legislators for their sake (Lobbying, 2017, para 1). Lobbying activities target only the policymakers while the area of impact of public diplomacy is wider.

Public diplomacy is also in relation with many different disciplines such as international relations, media, public relations and journalism. (Gilboa, 2008, p. 56). However, it

constitutes a single discipline on its own and public diplomacy was made a part of social science by founding a department in various universities such as the University of Southern California and George Washington University. Izadi (2016) defines the names used for public diplomacy as “Different terminologies for public diplomacy is suggested such as new public diplomacy, dialogue-based public diplomacy, culture-centered public diplomacy, network-oriented public diplomacy and multi-stakeholder diplomacy” (pp. 13-14).

Even though public diplomacy has relationship with many other fields and similar activities, it differs from those. Public diplomacy differs from cultural internationalism in terms of the actors leading foreigners to engage in relations with that country. For example, if it is an outcome of globalized act like following the popular culture, it can be described as cultural internationalism. However, when an institution of that country persuades a member of the foreign public to engage in relations with them, this is known as public diplomacy (Gregory, 2011, p. 359). Apart from that, practices of propaganda and public diplomacy are generally confused. Propaganda is usually considered as delivering wrong or missing information under government monopoly. It can also be conducted for harmful intentions of the one side against another. Deception is seen as legitimate in propaganda, too, while public diplomacy does not approve it. To sum up, one of the main differences of propaganda from public diplomacy is it lacking credibility. (Nye, 2008, pp. 101-102) Another most significant difference of public diplomacy from propaganda is its generating two-way communication (Seib, 2015, p. 12). It endeavors to form relationships between countries and publics. On the other hand, propaganda focuses on only delivering information.

Apart from these, Roberts (2007) claims “Public diplomacy is accepted as selling policies to the public” (p. 36). Public relations techniques are the source of the emergence of the public diplomacy seeing that the same techniques lead the foreign public, too, think and act in the planned way determined by the performer of the PD. This is also the case for the domestic public when corporations, politicians and so on target them through applying public relations techniques. Likewise, these techniques can result in the change of minds of public from hostile to friendly and then perhaps to a supporter when they are adjusted to the conditions of international society (Taylor, 2006, p. 49).

Synder (2013) argues that public diplomacy is for achieving political ends (p. xx). Public diplomacy uses creativity to this end. Even though creativity is associated with arts and the aim of the public diplomacy is political, which contradicts with art, those two go hand in hand when it comes to public diplomacy. Many artists, too, got involved in propaganda for a great cause especially in war times, used art for this and it worked out. In order to conduct good public diplomacy, the technique should be the focus point which means that message should be conveyed clearly so that everyone understands what is intended to be told (Synder, 2013, p. xx). As Synder (2013) puts, “The more professional or public diplomacy looks – the more, in effect, it looks like art – the more effective it will be in carrying the message we want to communicate,” (p. xxi) public diplomacy needs to be elaborately conducted by the help of experts.

Despite all these developments and facts, public diplomacy as part of diplomacy remains as a part given less attention, but it is necessary to take measures for increasing its share in state policy to catch up with today’s requirements. Since the term “public diplomacy” was coined in the 1960s, the real impetus was gained in post-Cold War era especially with the effect of 9/11 events. Following 9/11 events, almost every country in the world regardless of their characteristics such as democratic or authoritarian, wealthy or poor, large or small has started to pay attention to and engage in public diplomacy (Melissen, 2005, p. 8). 9/11 attacks both increased its importance and showed that the current public diplomacy policies are inefficient in this conjuncture (Sevin, 2017, p. 20). Together with the difficulties the public diplomacy encountered budget cuts and closing the associated institutions, it has become more visible that public diplomacy needed a reform process (Melissen, 2005, p. 6).

1.1.1 New Diplomacy

Diplomacy is a way of achieving political goals without having a need to use military power in an environment in which mutual respect is prevalent (Kelley, 2010, p. 286). It has two types consisting of track one and track two diplomacy (Sevin, 2017, p. 3). While track one diplomacy corresponds to traditional or official, track two diplomacy refers to new diplomacy or public diplomacy as a part of it. The difference between traditional and new diplomacy mainly stems from the actors involved. Whilst the traditional diplomacy was conducted among states, new diplomacy involves the actors

ranging from individuals to multinational corporations (Melissen, 2005, p. 5). Track two diplomacy, in other words, new diplomacy, has been preferred mostly because official diplomacy results in the loss of one side. However, track two diplomacy has an advantage for the states since it lets participants to discuss the matters freely without feeling pressure to acquire a concrete result immediately. Such kind of diplomatic practices do not result in major changes in foreign policy but helps shape the foreign policy by holding informal negotiations, conducting cultural, social campaigns and so on. For this reason, track two diplomacy is seen as less risky (Tucker, 2008, p. 7).

However, disadvantages of new diplomacy may also occur due to various reasons. For instance, accountability of these new actors creates problems since they do not have a stable organization to carry out this mission (Kelley, 2010, p. 289). For this reason, there is nobody to hold responsible when their policies go wrong. In addition, the sphere of new diplomacy is so broad that anybody with an internet connection has the power to ruin well-functioning foreign policy. The legitimacy of new diplomats' mission is also unstable since they can conduct the policy they determine as long as there is support from the public. Once the policy is not supported, they cannot pursue carrying it out (Kelley, 2010, p. 300). Since there appear times when agenda of new diplomats and official diplomats coincides, these two have become also rivals in terms of practicing diplomacy (Kelley, 2010, p. 294).

As to the benefits of new diplomacy in the issues governments are ineffective. Ottawa Treaty, which is about cleaning landmines, can be given as a good example. The conference leading to the treaty had started with the participation of 156 states and NGOs. This led to International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) with the participation of more than 1000 NGOs from 60 different countries, and they put pressure on governments to be involved in it. If it were not for NGOs, one can claim that governments would not take such an action to get rid of landmines (Kelley, 2010, pp. 301-302). Also, new diplomacy treats target audience as equivalents in the shape of peer-to-peer communication by means of new actors appeared in the diplomacy field recently (Nye, 2010, para. 6). This is a factor that warms up foreign public much easier and attracts young generation more compared to the interaction with state officials (Nye, 2010, para. 12)

On the other hand, new diplomacy also covers “public diplomacy,” and it is related to skills for convincing and impressing foreign publics (Melissen, 2005, p. 11). The term “diplomacy” springs to our minds negotiations or communication held between states in the international arena in order to meet the needs of their own states. Since public diplomacy also contains the word diplomacy, it is understood that it is related to international issues and the word public reflects that it is different from the diplomacy we know (Sevin, 2017, p. 3). Unlike other practices of diplomacy, public diplomacy founds a relationship with the target audience, and it is planned to be a long-term one (Melissen, 2005, p. 21).

The change in the conduct of diplomacy has started with the evolution of communication systems, which is first with the invention of the telegraph and telephone and then with the advance of satellite and computer systems. In this way, information has started to be spread quickly. As Joseph Nye stated, information is power and the ones holding power have become the ones controlling information through communication technologies (as cited in Kelley, 2010, pp. 290-291). These innovations were begun to be used by non-state actors to exert influence over the foreign public.

When the other actors involved in an issue and change the direction of the circumstances, it means diplomacy is no longer solely in government control (Melissen, 2005, p. 31). CNN effect is a good example for this. By means of CNN effect, viewers might react more differently than they usually would since the 24 hours broadcasting of news informs the viewers and shows different perspectives of the incidents, sometimes reporters or news media even do that on purpose by determining in which way they want the public to act (CNN Effect, 2017, para. 1).

Apart from these, the non-state actors involved in foreign policy practice are called new diplomats and they even influence the states’ policies with the authority they take from the government to practice diplomacy (Kelley, 2010, p. 289). In the new diplomacy, they cover the parts that the government cannot get involved in (Kelley, 2010, p. 286). Involvement of non-state actors in foreign policy raises some question about whether there is still a need for diplomats or not. Through a variety of opportunities this era brings us, it is claimed that representation of states could be carried out over the internet and by selecting special envoys when a need occurs to show up in a certain foreign state (Gallaga, 2013, para. 6). However, a need for the state to monopolize foreign policy

making by determining which issue has the priority to deal with, who is allowed to take action and so on exists for conducting diplomacy in an orderly manner. Aside from that, it is widely accepted that foreign policy should be conducted by experts since it is a field which is too complicated to let anybody control. This was a statement made by Mayer at the beginning of 20th century. Also, before this term, the significance of the diplomacy was figured out. Thus, Vienna Conventions codified rules of diplomacy in the 19th century (Kelley, 2010, p. 287). To sum up, it is not a subject to let it go with the flow.

Even though public diplomacy has gained momentum for the last 17 years and experienced number of changes, according to the reports on public diplomacy, existing condition of the ministry of foreign affairs of the states indicate that there are still too many deficiencies in applying public diplomacy and there is still room for improvement (Melissen, 2005, p. 40). Despite all the efforts to define public diplomacy, it is a field which will be in a state of flux.

1.2 CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

When it is referred to the word culture, it is generally about the civilization of certain nations, all kinds of art and values both from the ethical and aesthetical aspect. Besides, it has more to do with politics or philosophy. As to diplomacy, it is a term related to the activities diplomat carries out as a messenger of the head of state with the aim of gaining an advantage on various issues for his country. The scope of the diplomacy has broadened by getting in touch with a variety of actors such as public of the target country, non-governmental organizations, or multinational corporations. It spread to the field of culture as well. Utilizing culture with diplomatic aims can be referred to cultural diplomacy. By means of cultural diplomacy, it is possible to maintain peace and stability since intercultural relations create an emotional bond by demolishing the borders between countries, making them insignificant. Moreover, cultural diplomacy serves as a response to “clash of civilizations” claim, showing how the west and others can coexist peacefully (Norrman, 2013).

Functions of cultural diplomacy are enhancing trust between the societies, forming an environment for getting in touch with foreign public, amending deteriorated relations, setting agenda for cooperation (Ang, Isar, & Mar, 2015, p. 369) Culture has an amending effect on crisis caused by politics (Schneider, 2009, p. 262). For this reason,

cultural diplomacy may be useful for peaceful settlement of disputes since it offers common positions to the parties or invite them to try to understand each other's point of view (Norrman, 2013) It tells the story of an unknown country and it helps societies better understand one another (Schneider, 2009, p. 262). It can contribute to the advancement of human rights also due to the fact that it approaches the issues from a humanitarian point of view. It paves ways to the facilitation of forming dialogue among the societies by constituting a forum with its activities conducted for promoting cultural interaction. Cultural diplomacy also furthers the country's nation branding to an upper level with its intense efforts (Norrman, 2013).

Considering the fact that soft power is the most influential and the least harmful way to reach national interests and goals even in the issues necessitating hard power, soft power is used as a complementary power. Cultural diplomacy as a component of soft power is an essential part of states' policy (What is Cultural, n.d., para. 10). Cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy are sometimes used interchangeably. This comes from the culture being the best trait of a nation to advertise and an instrument to express itself (Ang et al., 2015, p. 368). Since the early history, cultural diplomacy practices can be observed. In other words, it is not a new phenomenon. Exchanges of religion, language, philosophy are all exercises of cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy can be driven by state institutions, private sector or by the public itself. In other words, it can be conducted by anybody engaged in introducing the culture of a country to a foreign public. These actors are generally named as informal envoys consisting of teachers, artists, travelers, etc. As to how it is practiced, it is carried out through wide range of activities, but cultural exchange programs, sports competitions, radio/television programs are the mainly resorted ones. (What is Cultural, n.d., para. 1, 3) Cultural traits of a country are not the only thing to advertise as a part of cultural diplomacy. Their political values are also instruments of cultural diplomacy. They are envisaged to be exported as a part of cultural diplomacy as well (Ang et al., 2015, p. 367).

Apart from advancing national interests, carrying out cultural diplomacy is a must in the present globalized world in order to ensure respect and understanding among cultures, world peace, protection of human rights, dialogue among nations and maintenance of interdependence among countries (What is Cultural, n.d., para. 6-7). The points to pay attention while performing cultural diplomacy are ensuring that the contact between the

societies is mutual which requires listening to others while one's telling own story, not carrying out the same path used for a country to a different one, attaching enough importance to young population and popular culture, adaptation to new developments. In case cultural diplomacy is misused, an unwanted outcome might appear. For instance, as a result of misused cultural diplomacy, it has been detected that Muslims think Westerns do not understand them and have no idea about their traditions, culture, values, religion, etc. Practices of cultural diplomacy change how people perceive one another, and after this, governments change their attitude accordingly (Schneider, 2009, p. 276). Whether cultural diplomacy is useful or not can be found out through interviews, observation of changing behaviors as a result of conducted cultural diplomacy, news from press or comments existing on the internet (Schneider, 2009, pp. 264-265).

Apart from these, cultural diplomacy has some hardships in front of itself. Some intercultural activities bear the risk to be pointed as an act of intervention in domestic affairs by the host country if they do not like the given message or conducted activities. When the matter is a fragile concept like ideas and values, it is a slippery ground for all actors (Norrman, 2013). Since cultural diplomacy is not conducted based on a determined path, it is hard to tell cultural diplomacy is a formation of rules and strategies of which are determined. It is a loose concept. (Ang et al., 2015, p. 375).

Even though cultural diplomacy could create a greater impact if it were an organized entity with specific strategies, it still ends up forming a massive influence in the society, since cultural activities draw attention of significant amount of people due to its nature which is attracting people by using emotions (Schneider, 2009, pp. 260-261). Moreover, the support given to the cultural diplomacy has been increasing day by day. The State Department Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs (ECA) has contributed to cultural diplomacy in the US by carrying out various projects and also sparing \$10 million fund which is a significant step considering low amount of allocated funds for cultural diplomacy all around the world (Schneider, 2009, p. 266).

Cultural diplomacy is in different actors' area of interest. Among the states attaching importance to cultural diplomacy, BRICS countries are worth mentioning (Ang et al., 2015, p. 372). While China has been focusing on getting rid of the aggressive country image and soft power has become a part of their foreign policy, Brazil incorporated

international cultural cooperation and information programs not only in the Ministry of Foreign Relations but also in many other ministries (Erthal Abdenur, n.d., para. 6). In addition to this, many non-state actors also take this issue very seriously. To illustrate, multinational corporations are interested in cultural diplomacy since cultural diplomacy activities display them as more reliable and appealing corporations in the eyes of target foreign public by demonstrating how they care about culture and values of that society and how well they know about the society they are serving for (What is Cultural, n.d., para. 12).

Cultural diplomacy focuses on activities ranging from arts to sports, literature to music and so on. Among them, dance has a unique place since dance as a cultural diplomacy tool generate a unifying effect. It creates a bond between people. DanceMotion USA is one of the successful examples of cultural diplomacy, which combined traditions of a foreign country into modern dance. Disney has been assigned to create multicultural animation characters, jazz musicians were sent to other countries to enhance the image of the US by spreading its music; Rhythm Road for spreading music, the Bid Read for introducing literature of their own are other effective examples of the cultural diplomacy (Schneider, 2009, pp. 262-264). Along with these, some programs for facilitating cultural diplomacy activities also exist. For instance, the Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation is a project providing financial assistance or conducting assistance to host country for preserving their cultural heritage. It is considered more impactful than other projects or activities due to its meeting a need of host country.

When those kinds of activities like music, dance and movies are aired on TV or uploaded to the internet, they draw more attention. However, it is a matter of concern whether the examples of those that were produced with the aim of making profits reflect the actual characteristic of the country. Therefore, for conducting effective cultural diplomacy, it is essential to perform those arts in a way that it reveals real traits of that society so that foreign public can form relevant opinions about the practitioner country (Finn, 2002, para.14).

Any kind of art, exchange programs, educational programs, literature, broadcasting constitutes tools and sub-branches of cultural diplomacy (Waller, 2009, pp. 82-87). However, there exists another sub-branch of cultural diplomacy, which is quite distinctive and unusual. It is Gastro Diplomacy which was also first applied by

Thailand. It can be defined as promoting national image by demonstrating and advertising national cuisine of one's own country. Countries like South Korea, Malaysia, Indonesia, Taiwan and Peru are leading countries in this field. This type of public diplomacy works out since the outcome of this activity is tangible, and eating is one of the common pleasures of most people (Ruddy, 2014, p. 29). Over time, cultural diplomacy broadens its penetration area into numerous fields, and it is possible to encounter more interesting fields as part of cultural diplomacy used for attracting the foreign public.

For achieving their goal in the international arena, particularly for spreading democracy, Americans believe that it is essential to promote female literacy, health services, free media and increase English speaking population. There are several reasons why all these are deemed necessary. Firstly, women play a critical role in raising their children with a knowledgeable point of view which makes them aware of rest of the world and raising them healthy enough with advanced health services in the country. Secondly, free media which is able to report on every occasion in the world from trustworthy sources is vital for democracy and English language being spoken by large amount of people so that they can be aware of outside world through foreign sources. The factors stated above are not only relevant for the US but also for all countries. For this reason, it is only natural to build cultural diplomacy policies on these fields (Finn, 2002, para. 11).

Enhancement of culture only brings benefits to the concerned country. Having aware of the significance of culture, founder of the Republic of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk has said: "had I not been head of state, I would have chosen to be minister of culture" (as cited in Finn, 2002, para. 21). Also, it is apparent he had foreseen the potential of women in transforming the country, such that political rights like the right to vote was given to Turkish women even before many developed European countries. Cultural diplomacy is so powerful in terms of change the dynamics that it deserves more attention and more financial resources.

1.2.1 The Role of Exchange Programs in Cultural Diplomacy

Exchange programs whether it is for students or mid-career professionals is a significant part of cultural diplomacy, which contributes to the country's image a considerable

amount. In these programs, generally, people who are selected to participate spend a limited time in a foreign country while getting an education at schools or learning about the field of the profession more. However, the most important parts of exchange programs are observing a different culture and getting a chance to learn different lifestyles of foreign people. As to the primary aim of the exchange programs, it is generally reaching a political goal like decreasing the tension between countries in the long term. French-German high school students exchange program is one of them, which established a close tie for repairing relations after WWII (Scott-Smith, 2008, p. 50).

These kinds of programs unite the group of people interested in similar or the same things (Scott-Smith, 2008, p. 53). For instance, among the exchange programs conducted by the US, the ones for journalists and politicians can create an impact leading an important figure of another country to like the US by observing the country's facts with her/his own eyes and then s/he can adopt pro-American policies in her/his country as Anwar Sadat did in Egypt. For attaining such results, the International Visitor Leader Grant programme as being responsible for mid-career participants plays a great role in the US. On the other hand, Fulbright programme serves for the same goal for students. Private entities like AMIDEAST administrate those programmes, and it provides elimination of concerns over the programmes imposing one-sided beliefs about the US. In addition to its contribution to the practitioner country, these characteristics of the programs ensure they do not harm other nations' interests as well. At the end of or during the process of exchange programs, participants are usually encouraged to tell stories of the US they have seen in the forms of articles, interviews and so on (Rugh, 2017, pp. 5-6). The narratives attract other people from those foreign countries and create sympathy for the country. Therefore, exchange programs as part of cultural diplomacy are essential factors in conducting foreign policy (Kim, 2016, p. 2).

The benefits of exchange programs vary according to its content. For example, while the Fulbright program offers the participants education at the most prestigious institutions having the best and latest opportunities for students, the International Visitors Program gives the professional attendees a chance for meeting counterparts and visiting the US for three weeks. After such experiences, the participants have a permanent memory about what they learned and observed since these kinds of

opportunities are unique in life, and they explain their observations about the host country to others in their home country. In this way, the host country manages to gain reputation abroad by means of the narratives of their guests stating the real side of the host country which is unknown to others (Finn, 2002, para. 12). Exchange programs such as Fulbright and International Visitor Leadership Programs have the potential to create larger impact than it has now considering the participants are important intellectuals of their country whose words are deemed more credible in terms of convincing public to enhance relations or explaining the host country's real characteristics, etc. Based on Fulbright Program's features, it can be foreseen that those participant scholars can become cultural ambassadors creating a bridge between countries and the participant influential people can help the US to be directed towards benign policies driven by those foreign countries (Kim, 2016, p. 3).

In addition to these, exchange programs involve human contact directly with cultural diplomacy affairs, which result in a more vivid interaction between the publics (Scott-Smith, 2008, p. 50). It is believed that face-to-face interactions are much more influential due to the fact that people can express themselves better with the help of gestures and facial expressions alongside verbal communication, and the existence of the country's representatives also creates a warmer environment (Kim, 2016, p. 3). Through exchange programs, opinions are also exchanged by creating a base for mutual understanding (Scott-Smith, 2016, p. 51).

While conducting an exchange program for improving relations with the foreign country and their public, there exist some crucial points to follow in order to achieve the determined goal. First, practices of cultural and academic exchange programs should be conducted mutually since it is necessary for the other part to state its condition while the practitioner explains itself so that it turns into an interaction easing the burden of forming a close relationship. Cultural diplomacy should aim at enhancing tolerance so that a tie between publics could be formed rapidly (Finn, 2002, para. 2). Secondly, in order to provide credibility and get a positive result from an exchange program, it would be more fruitful for it to be out of political influence even if the aim is political. Thirdly, the ones who will become the participants of exchange programs whether it is an educational, a professional or an academic program also matters for the success of the program. For preventing negative incidents, there should be a control mechanism like a

consultant for students (Scott-Smith, 2016, pp. 51-52). An easygoing person who can handle minor problems is better to be sent via exchange programs. In this way, the return of the participant concludes with success (Scott-Smith, 2016, p. 54). In the end, exchange students are identified as “culture carriers” by Ingrid Eide (as cited in Kim, 2016, p. 2). As the term indicates, students represent their country and culture in a foreign land and help promote its culture among host country’s citizens. Those students also help get rid of biases and misunderstandings between the societies. In case of the disappearance of the misunderstandings, it is more likely for the concerned states to be in cooperation rather than conflict (Kim, 2016, p. 2). In a nutshell, exchange programs have a potential to advance the country’s interest considerably.

1.2.2 Digital Diplomacy

As technological improvements change our lifestyles, it has also changed the practices of diplomacy. For instance, airways decreased the duration of travel, and diplomatic negotiation has become more frequent. As in this example, the invention of the radio, television, internet have all transformed diplomacy and moved it into a new dimension. Even Hollywood movies started to be used as a tool of diplomacy, particularly public diplomacy, by the US during the Cold War era. Technology infiltrated in our lives too much that even a term called CNN effect was formed in order to explain the impact 24/7 news create resulting in changes on the foreign policy of the country (Iosifidis & Wheeler, 2016, pp. 152-153). Having been aware of the significance of the media, the United States placed media officers to foreign states in order to observe media activities of that certain foreign state closely (Pamment, 2012, p. 51). These developments exemplify the power of the media since the Cold War times.

The effect of media on cultural diplomacy practices is essential, especially with the advance of the internet. For this reason, a new term is coined in the name of “e-diplomacy,” “digital diplomacy” or “public diplomacy 2.0”. Diplomacy has reached a new phase by utilizing CNN and BBC sources firstly and then Twitter, Facebook and so on. Digital diplomacy created interaction between the actors (states, non-state actors and public) and removed monopoly on the acquisition of information (Iosifidis & Wheeler, 2016, p. 150). Furthermore, digital information sources like social media provide an opportunity to the countries to reach publics where they do not have representatives

(Lozev & Murray, 2013, p. 22). Through public diplomacy practices on social media, one can fulfill national goals, conduct crisis management, attain financial benefits, reach comprehensive information sources as Tom Fletcher, former UK Ambassador to Lebanon, explained regarding his experiences and observations (as cited in Iosifidis & Wheeler, 2016, p. 163).

An example to successful digital diplomacy conduct is Mark Kent, former UK ambassador to Thailand. He was named as “Twitlomat” due to his active social media use such as tweeting about the football team Arsenal to attract Thai followers, praising Thai food or recommending Thailand as a holiday location for British (Iosifidis & Wheeler, 2016, pp. 164-165). Another example is the United Kingdom’s ambassador to Turkey, Richard Moore. He is known for his tweets in Turkish language and humorous and warm responses to Turkish followers. For instance, in one of his tweets he stated Chelsea had become the champion, it was Beşiktaş’s turn then (Beşiktaş is a football team in Turkey with a high number of supporters) drew interests of many and even news media gave coverage to this gesture of his. Apart from that, social media is also a platform giving the opportunity to citizens for voicing their demands (Iosifidis & Wheeler, 2016, p. 154). In present days, being impactful and trustworthy means being present in social media (Iosifidis & Wheeler, 2016, p. 170).

Nowadays, more than half of the world population has access to the internet and they use it in an active manner. In such an environment, governments should take advantage of it and conduct engagement activities with the foreign publics. For instance, questions of people should be answered in social media so that public should be aware of how the related country is interested in their concerns and take them seriously (Shaw, n.d.). In fact, the states are already keen to move their activities into the realm of the internet through Twitter, Facebook or their own websites. Some countries like Russia and China have even formed teams to create a positive image for themselves on the internet. Those teams which are generally composed of PR specialists are responsible from consolidating image of the countries, and governments spare a great deal of financial resources for working with the specialists in this issue (Morozov, 2009, para. 6).

Starting from the emergence of intense advancements in technology, the old information gathering way of diplomats has become outdated and inefficient. Besides, they are not the only source of information anymore. Social media possesses the

leadership in spreading information in the fastest manner. Being aware of this fact, the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) has announced that they will conduct foreign affairs of the country through digital sources now (Lozev & Murray, 2013, p. 22). Resorting to technology in diplomatic affairs is not only limited with the spread of information to the public, but also collecting monetary aid through digital system, forming a reporting line for arresting criminals are other possible and realized activities as in the cases of the US' initiative for Haiti Earthquake and with collaboration of Mexico (Gustin, 2011, p. 46). On the other hand, social media has forced diplomacy to carry out its business in a quicker manner. The number of e-bulletins, tweets, and blogs used by the states has increased since they have to comply with the present day's requirements (Iosifidis & Wheeler, 2016, p. 154).

However, using social media properly is complicated. The given message should have a good content, the one controlling the account should have the skill to handle it, special expertise on the issue and proper equipment are needed (Shaw, n.d.). Moreover, the given message should be accurate and prompt, but it has become harder with the new speedy information age since one needs to catch the time to achieve these (Lozev & Murray, 2013, p. 22). Otherwise, trying to conduct public diplomacy can be risky since a negative result deriving from this may cause a damage on the country's image which may not be easy to correct (Shaw, n.d.). For example, the method the US had applied in using social media was not attractive since their content was based on advocacy rather than giving information to appeal foreign public (Iosifidis & Wheeler, 2016, pp. 162-163). Consequently, their efforts ended in vain.

On the other hand, non-governmental organizations have strengthened their influence via social media activities also. Red Cross collecting \$8 million donations for Haiti earthquake is an example (Iosifidis & Wheeler, 2016, p. 165). NGOs extend their influence by online petitions, forming websites for campaigns, supporting protests with social media activities, organizing charity activities attendance of which is realized on digital spectrum. To illustrate, Amnesty International had tried to draw the attention of the public for putting pressure on states to take measures against human rights abuses (Iosifidis & Wheeler, 2016, p. 166). However, it is found out that NGOs' span of impact is related to its budgetary resources. The ones with limited financial means are less likely to create a large effect. Also, the attention of social media users can be swayed

easily. For most of NGOs, it is hard to ensure maintenance of public's attention since nature of the public attention is defined as zero-sum, as it is seen in replacement of television with the internet, in other words, computer or smartphones. Also, non-state actors are in disadvantage regarding trust competition regarding the information shared since governments have more credibility in the eyes of the public (Iosifidis & Wheeler, 2016, p. 151).

For the states intending to act by getting approval from world public and take steps in accordance with peaceful methods in the international arena, public diplomacy is the panacea they look for. Composed of various sub-fields like cultural diplomacy, digital diplomacy, gastro diplomacy, salsa diplomacy, soap opera diplomacy and so on, public diplomacy has many attractions and methods to appeal foreign public. Rather than using force to realize its goals, winning hearts of publics is more convenient since it has no damage to anybody or to the world, is more permanent given that people are tied to each other by heart, forms connections between the publics and prepares a base for consolidated cooperation between the states. As a nation utilizing public diplomacy probably the most and having the longest history with it, the United States' activities are worthy of examining. In accordance with this notion, the next chapter focuses on the beginning of American public diplomacy and the turning points shaping the public diplomacy in the US.

CHAPTER II

THE EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

For understanding the existing US public diplomacy, it is essential to be informed about turning points leading the country to conduct certain policies. While Cold War conditions paved the way for the US to initiate public diplomacy activities, different circumstances of the following era resulted in a revival of the public diplomacy for the US and changing methods used for attracting foreign public given the fact that the target has also been changed. Since the United States is the inventor and best applier of the public diplomacy, a person interested in this field should examine the paths the US followed up until now and what kind of measures they had to take to counter dangers. However, to comprehend all these, one should know the incidents leading the country to carry out the policies to be mentioned.

2.1 INITIAL STAGES OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN THE US

America has always had an affiliation with public diplomacy since its history even though the actions taken were not named as public diplomacy back then. During the American Independence War, activities of Benjamin Franklin to notify British public about what was happening is one example. However, a necessity to turn public diplomacy into an organized structure arose during the World War II era (Sevin, 2017, p. 77). Moreover, the term “public diplomacy” was first used by US Foreign Service Officer, Edmund Gullion in 1965 (Snow, 2016, p. 226).

The establishment of Committee on Public Information by Woodrow Wilson in 1917 with the aim of informing the public about WWI and the establishment of Foreign Information Service by Franklin Roosevelt in 1941 for preventing the spread of propaganda by Axis powers during WWII are initial stages for public diplomacy (Oktay, 2012, p. 94). The Pearl Harbor incident, in other words entering into World War II, paved the way for the development of public diplomacy for the US. The establishment of Voice of America and appointment of cultural diplomats were the other initial steps having been taken (Cull, 2012, p. 1). However, if one would like to point out the exact date when the US public diplomacy practices began, the history of

public diplomacy in the US can be traced back to the time VOA (Voice of America) started broadcasting (February 1st, 1942) as Walter R. Roberts, who used to be VOA official says (as cited in Sevin, 2012, p. 77).

Two fundamental institutions of American public diplomacy were established during Roosevelt's presidency. These institutions consist of Voice of America currently reaching the nations speaking 45 different languages all over the world with its 24-hour broadcasting and United States Information Service (USIS). Broadcasting as part of public diplomacy was first applied for responding and correcting false information spread and propaganda carried out by the communists in the Cold War era (Sevin, 2017, p. 78). VOA was envisaged to represent opinions and values of all Americans. Due to the fact that the US is a country founded by the people voluntarily gathered together and sharing same values, exporting their ideals has been their national policy. These values are accepted as "freedom, equality, democracy and human rights" (Gregory, 2011, p. 362). Also, as stated above, VOA has been making broadcasts in several languages, which renders itself a much more powerful tool in order to make an impact in the eyes of the foreign public. Even though the universal language is English, others are not neglected due to a widely used characteristic of them by their local public (Snyder, 2013, p. 5). Even if VOA constitutes quite a significant part of broadcasting with the aim of public diplomacy, broadcasting activities of the US is not only limited to VOA. It encompasses wide-range of broadcasting network such as Radio Free Europe, Radio Free Asia, Middle East Broadcasting Network, etc. Those all function under the control of Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG). It controlled overseas TV and radio programs.

As to the cause of the establishment of USIS, it derives from the requirement to inform the citizens about the US policy. For this reason, the institution used to work by containing archive and library within itself. World War II widened its scope of the target audience to foreigners, and they opened some bureaus in London, to begin with. The aim was to inform people of England about the US actions with regard to WWII. Along with changing its name to USIA, the institution became autonomous in 1953 although it was functioning under the Office of War Information with the effect of WWII (Sevin, 2017, p. 79). For the USIA activities, Edward R. Murrow was such a key name that he laid the fundamental principles of public diplomacy which is still in use.

The institution was conveying the US' messages to the whole world (Snyder, 2013, p. 7). Another responsibility of USIA was to carry out exchange programs. As Alvin Snyder stated, the US conducted very comprehensive public diplomacy studies during the Cold War era with the help of the United States Information Agency. Later, the responsibilities of the United States Information Agency were transferred to the State Department (Smyth, 2001, p. 421). Following its closing down, it was not replaced by any similar institution. However, a separate branch was formed in the name of the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB) to deal with broadcasting issues (Smyth, 2001, p. 425). In the 20th century, it became a public diplomacy habit in the US which is forming a public diplomacy related agency to counter a conflict or crisis and then abolishing the said agencies. This was observed in the USIA case as well (Snow, 2006, p. 230).

About the US' stance towards the public diplomacy, once then Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs James Glassman has said that the US did not consider public diplomacy as a popularity contest but a foreign policy tool. This statement conforms with the American policy of public diplomacy which is envisaged to promote national interests, national security and foreign policy goals (Sevin, 2017, p. 75). The US had adopted two-dimensional policy consisting of declaratory which focuses on informing audiences, and educational and mutual which is more about contact with others. This policy is based on the US Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (The Smith-Mundt Act) and constitutes one of the cornerstones of US public diplomacy. Another milestone in US public diplomacy is the Fulbright Hays Act of 1961 focusing on educational and cultural exchange programs (Snow, 2006, pp. 227-228).

As to the duties of state officials with regard to public diplomacy, Foreign Service Officers, Public Affairs Officer, Information Officer and Cultural Affairs Officer were the ones directing embassy and consulate activities, media-related issues and educational and cultural issues respectively. Their working style was generally one-sided which is to convey information (Sevin, 2017, pp. 80-81). In other words, one can conclude that in accordance with its public diplomacy activities, the US invited others to its sphere, but did not create an atmosphere to engage and this results in a one-sided remote relationship (Gregory, 2011, p. 369). Since this policy did not result in positive

gains, it was decided to change it to a reciprocal communication in the late 1990s, which also requires listening to others. However, this objective could be put into practice only after 9/11 attacks in the name of the war against terrorism (Sevin, 2017, pp. 80-81).

Media tools work as a facilitating factor with regard to the issues concerning public diplomacy. The US started to utilize media tools to persuade publics starting from the 1930s. It was first radio and then television, but this tendency remains the same, and the US uses media tools as a first resort for conducting public diplomacy (Snow, 2006, p. 231). In line with this, Americans chose to demonstrate samples of their culture by means of presenting American movies, music, literature to foreign countries, which were supported by the US Information Agency. Their content used to be thoroughly examined before released so that fragile issues would not cause a problem. However, after this application ended due to the budgetary problems, American movies, literature and music have been released without any control of content, especially for commercial reasons. Therefore, some examples of them which damages the US reputation were also presented to the foreign audience. However, a new kind of practice has started to be carried out even though it would not compensate for the said application. American shows aired in Arab countries are now adjusted according to local culture by adding some features of Arabian life like a joke only Arabs can understand in American movies, TV series and so on. This idea lessens the danger of being criticized by locals and increases the possibility of likability of the show. This is something which suits American goals and can be advantageous for US PD (Rugh, 2017, pp. 4-5).

Even if the US failed in public diplomacy most of the times lately, there are successful examples of it, mostly taken place before 9/11 era. An example is that George H.W. Bush's public diplomacy during the first Gulf War ensured the support given to the invasion of Iraq since the liberation of Kuwait was believed to be an obvious outcome of it. Moreover, the US concluded its operation without going further in the region by considering the reaction of the foreign public. Thus, it did not move on with invading Baghdad (Taylor, 2006, pp. 49-50). No matter how successful or unsuccessful the US PD, there are controversial points in US public diplomacy, which splits scholars. While some argue that public diplomacy of the US is about image building necessitating skill improvement, others claim US public diplomacy has no ethics, and this creates negative

views about the country in the minds of the foreign public (Izadi, 2016, p. 13). However, if there is only one certain thing, it is that the US only follows the policies which suit its national interests as other countries do.

2.2 POST-9/11 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY POLICIES OF THE US

Due to worsened situations across the world as a result of the rise of international terrorism, military involvements to Afghanistan and Iraq, growing hatred towards the US, the opinion of every single person has begun to be shaped into a different direction. Given that the countries are tied to each other with growing market for their economy, advanced media technologies and so on, attention to the public diplomacy has risen all around the world in order to shape the minds according to their desires in the international area, but the one needing it the most was the US at the beginning of 21st century. The trouble was that the states do not know which route to follow in fulfilling their desires through public diplomacy (Fouts, 2006, p. 8).

Francis Fukuyama suggests in his book that a system consisting of capitalism and liberal democracy offers the ideal life for people and there would be no need to look for another system. In line with this, history ends due to the fact that the best system is found out and a member of this system is the last man (Fukuyama, 2006, p. xi-xxii). The United States' assumption that their values including capitalism and liberal democracy should dominate the world comes from the same logic. However, these types of systems are not a source of happiness and harmony for every civilization. For this reason, it is difficult to claim there is no need for looking for a better system. This is also the case for the Arabian public. While the US was carrying out its operation in the name of bringing peace to the region via democracy and other components like liberalism, the public of the Middle East having different characteristics than Americans might not find these systems suitable for themselves and has already not favored the idea at all. This kind of thinking backfired and damaged the US' image more.

At the same time, by means of digital revolution, both positive and negative traits of the countries have become more visible (Rugh, 2017, p. 2). Since the tools for disseminating information multiplied and costs for doing this decreased a considerable amount, information circulating all around the world excessively increased (Nye, 2004, para. 3). Now, even internal events have an impact on US perception in people's minds

since through technology, they are informed about these in a way that US government cannot control, which is an unwanted situation for the US. Also, there are some risks deriving from uncontrolled nature of digital revolution. For instance, in case the media organization is biased against the US and deliberately conveys fake news regarding the country, all the efforts to build a positive image can go to waste (Rugh, 2017, p. 3). To prevent such incidents, during the term of Karen Hughes who was Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy, a bulletin in the name of “Rapid Response” was published in order for US diplomats to react quickly to current affairs (Rugh, 2017, p. 5).

Public diplomacy uses soft power of the country which is capable of creating benefit in PD policy. However, even Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy cannot make a distinction between them and mistakes public diplomacy for soft power. As a concept whose definition is even cannot be figured out well, the conduct of public diplomacy is even more complicated. Likewise, the US has some troubles in front of itself in conducting public diplomacy, especially in the Arab world (Rugh, 2017, p. 2). The past’s admiration of the US left its place to dislike in the eyes of Arabs owing to the military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq and Arab Spring. For instance, Barack Obama’s Cairo speech was interpreted as an incentive for Arab Spring by mentioning democratic reform and being against autocratic governments (Dillen, 2016, para. 2). Thus, he was blamed for these incidents. In line with this, it added to growing hatred towards the US.

Moreover, one of the fundamental challenges in front of the US to replace its old status is learning about Arab nations since they constitute over 350 million people in the Middle East and North Africa, which is such a significant number with a variety of characteristics. Due to some social reasons like which sect they belong to or whether they are from a wealthy or low-income family, generalizing them can be harder than expected, but it also seems possible. Also, until a few decades ago, authoritarian Arabian administrations used to make it impossible to carry out an opinion survey, which was a step to understand their opinions, so detecting the deficiencies in the conduct of foreign policy was not possible. Yet, polls are now performed in these states governed by strict administrations (Rugh, 2017, p. 2). In the present day, countries have reports with regard to the opinion of the foreign public on their countries to act accordingly. Deciphering what others say and think is crucial to relay one’s own

message due to the fact that only in this way, a country can figure out how their policy seems in the eyes of the foreign public (Nye, 2004, para. 27).

In recent years, among the wide-spread question on minds that occupies the world agenda, there also exists whether American power declined or not. It constitutes importance for the world since it is also a determinant factor for the US and other states to shape their foreign policies in accordance with this. Various opinions have been expressed for years. One of them belongs to Brian Edwards. He puts forwards that American power declined and it is not a hegemon anymore, and as an indication to this, one can observe American products are not used that commonly as in the past in the Middle East anymore. Yet, it is seen that this claim does not reflect the truth since in the Middle East, most of the products are still imported from the US. Moreover, the United States has the military with the largest budget while it still possesses the largest economy as well. In addition, Fareed Zakaria states that in spite of the rise of China and India, the US can still be considered the most powerful country. On the other hand, Nye claims that the US has never been able to act as a hegemon properly. It could not dominate and control the countries as easily as a hegemon would do (Rugh, 2017, p. 6-7). While there exist various opinions on who is powerful and who is not, one can simply put forward that a country whose capability in question needs to consider its policies because the main source of the arguments must be due to the existence of something going wrong.

2.2.1 September 11 Attacks and Afterwards

September 11 attacks were carried out by 19 terrorists targeting New York City and Washington D.C on September 11, 2001. The attacks consist of hijackings and suicide attacks causing nearly 3000 people's deaths in New York, Pentagon and Pennsylvania. The attacks took place by means of four airplanes. The first one hit the north tower of the World Trade Center. It was thought to be an accident in the first place. The second airplane hit south tower, and it was then understood this was an attack. The third airplane hit southwest side of Pentagon. As for the fourth plane, it crashed in Pennsylvania after the passengers tried to take over the control (Bergen, 2018, para. 1-2). It is believed that route of the crashed airplane would be White House, the U.S. Capitol, the Camp David presidential retreat or a nuclear plant location if the attackers

had not failed as a result of the passengers' taking over control (9/11 Attacks, 2010, para. 21). Along with the death of 3000 innocent people, 19 terrorists also died during the attacks (Bergen, 2018, para. 2). The perpetrators were found out to be from Arab origins, mainly from Saudi Arabia. They were reportedly gathered around the organization al-Qaeda, leader of which was Usama bin Laden at the time. Their justification of the attack was revealed to be due to American support to Israel and its interferences to the Middle East (9/11 Attacks, 2010, para. 7).

With regard to the incidents, President Bush made a statement, "Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shatter steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve" (9/11 Attacks, 2010, para. 14) Also, in the evening of the attacks, Bush announced they would not make distinction between terrorists and the ones harboring them in the process of punishing the perpetrators and getting rid of this threat. With his strict stance and statements in the wake of 9/11 attacks, Bush gained more support for his presidency such that according to poll results, his favorability ratio increased from 55% to 90%. Another unforgettable remark of President Bush took place during rescue efforts when one of the workers had said he could not hear what was said, Bush replied "I can hear you. The rest of the world hears you. And the people who knocked these buildings down will hear from all of us soon" (Bergen, 2018, para. 17).

Impact of 9/11 attacks also multiplied since the attacks were recorded and broadcasted live. The United States received support from all over the world including even Iran with its massive protest of the attack, but the best example of them is French newspaper's headline which was "We are all Americans now." Upon this attack, NATO resorted to Article 5 for collective self-defense for the first time in its history, and the Afghanistan operation was launched on October 7, 2001 (Bergen, 2018, para. 24). As an indication to the policy to be followed upon the attacks, President Bush affirmed that it was no time for diplomacy and negotiating with the enemy, since it was thought the US needed to act urgently before it is too late. As a result of taken steps based on this kind of thinking, the genuine support to the US was reversed soon after even though there was such strong support that the world witnessed the incidents like 'The Star Spangled Banner's being played at Buckingham Palace (Edling, n.d., para. 2).

On 26 October 2001, the US enacted USA PATRIOT Act (the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act) in order to facilitate search and monitoring abilities of FBI and related institutions (Bergen, 2018, para. 24). USA Patriot Act was envisaged to ensure national security and defense even if sacrifices in civil liberties would be needed to realize this goal (Green, 2017, para. 4). In addition to this, new applications like strict security measures in government buildings, airports and so on were conducted (Bergen, 2018, para. 24). In the United States, institutions related to security matters such as Homeland Security, Transportation Security Administration, Coast Guard and Border Patrol expanded their budget a great deal in the wake of September 11 attacks. High numbered deportations including even the ones committing minor crimes paved the way for the public to view America as a country exercising unfair policies. This application was at its highest level during Obama term covering the years 2009-2010. Furthermore, strict control at the airports started after 9/11 attacks were evaluated as sometimes excessive, violating private rights especially for the ones directed towards Middle Eastern foreigners (Green, 2017, para. 26).

During Afghanistan War, thousands of terrorists were either killed or captured causing al-Qaeda and Taliban leaders' going into hiding. Prisoners from al-Qaeda were sent to Guantánamo Bay located in Cuba. The number of prisoners were reported as 800, but it decreased to 175, ten years later. By the overthrow of Taliban government, al-Qaeda lost its secure shelter, and its power diminished considerably (Bergen, 2018, para. 24). After toppling down Taliban, the US did not stop its operation since the country was resolute to remove the base of this terrorist organization along Pakistan's borders also (9/11 Attacks, 2010, para. 28). Taliban's defeat started US' long-lasting war of ensuring that revival of such terrorist organizations will not be possible. As for the leader of Al Qaeda who was at large, President Bush had announced \$25 million would be paid for the capture of Osama bin Laden in September 2001, and on May 2, 2011, his hiding place was detected in Pakistan. As a result of the operation carried out for capturing him ordered by President Obama, Osama bin Laden was killed (Bergen, 2018, para. 40). Thereafter, withdrawal from Afghanistan took place with the announcement of President Obama in June 2011 (9/11 Attacks, 2010, para. 29).

On the other hand, on January 29, 2002, President Bush announced a new concept called pre-emptive war which requires an advance attack to prevent a possible upcoming attack, and he adopted this pre-emptive war doctrine. This was a historic moment for the future foreign policy of the United States. Following this, he declared most dangerous nations for US survival by calling them the axis of evil consisting of Iran, Iraq and North Korea. With Iraq invasion, he also introduced “demonstration effect” to the world. It was believed that in case a nation like Iraq which threatens US survival was prevented with a pre-emptive war; the other threatening states would also be deterred. That was called the “demonstration effect.” Despite it was not proven Iraq’s leader Saddam Hussein had an affiliation with al-Qaeda or Iraq possessed WMD, the war was started by the US on March 20, 2003 (Bergen, 2018, para. 34).

2.2.2 The Iraq War

Iraq invasion and ousting Saddam Hussein was the requirement of the war on terror for the US (Green, 2017, para. 7). However, this issue can be traced back to 1990s. Due to Iraq’s violations of international law with regard to UN weapons ban during the 1990s, the country itself had already made a bad impression in the eyes of international community. Upon the country’s non-compliance with UN resolutions and its hampering UN inspections, the United States had bombed Iraq’s some certain military establishments in 1998 under the name of “Operation Desert Fox” while the international community imposed economic sanctions at the same time. Since then, there exists speculation over Iraq’s possessing weapons of mass destruction.

President Bush claimed that the US’ first goal should be disarming Iraq because the United States was in a more vulnerable state after 9/11 attacks and it was believed Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction and helped al Qaeda. Upon this, the UN urged Iraq to follow UN resolutions and let new inspections done. Although Iraq seemed willing to allow UN inspections, US-UK coalition argued it had tried to prevent the conduct of inspections. On March 17, 2003, Bush put an end to efforts of resolution through diplomacy channels and gave Saddam Hussein 48 hours to leave the country despite the objections coming from other countries (Iraq War, 2017, para. 2-3).

Once the Iraq operation started in 2003, President Bush had made a statement which also contained their justification for the war, “At this hour, American and coalition

forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger.” However, one can also see the perspective of the Iraq administration with this statement relayed through radio, “the evil ones, the enemies of God, the homeland and humanity, have committed the stupidity of aggression against our homeland and people” (War in Iraq begins, n.d. para. 2-3). With the beginning of the invasion, Iraq’s high state authorities including Saddam Hussein escaped, and their connection with the public was only provided through a few audio-tapes (War in Iraq begins, n.d. para. 2-3). Iraq War (a.k.a., The Second Gulf War) is consisting of two phases first part of which was launched by US-UK coalition in March 2003 and ended in April 2003 and the second part of which is US occupation struggled with insurgency (Iraq War, 2017, para. 1).

When coalition forces entered into the country, Iraq was invaded in a short time from Kuwait initially. On April 9, the US army took complete control of Baghdad since resistance was weak. For the northern part of Iraq, the US wanted to locate troops from Turkey, but Turkey did not allow it. For this reason, they cooperated with Kurdish peshmerga. Kirkuk, Mosul, Tikrit were occupied in this way (Iraq War, 2017, para. 6). Consequently, the toppling of Saddam Hussein’s statue remained as an unforgettable image from this operation on people’s minds (Bergen, 2018, para. 34).

Worldwide opposition to Iraq War was exhibited by means of protests, but opposition was more widespread mainly in Europe. According to survey results, between 70% and 90% of the population did not approve American invasion (Bassil, 2012, p. 32). Likewise, Middle Eastern countries also did not approve this invasion, but there were some other calculations. In the wake of Gulf War in 1991, American influence had penetrated to the region with some deals on the region’s resources, the existence of US army in Saudi Arabia and so on. In return, those countries received political support and economic aid by US administration. At the time of Iraq invasion, a summit of the Arab League was held, and Arab countries hesitated to oppose the invasion due to the aforementioned reason although they did not consider Iraq as a threat like the US claimed. They did not ratify support proposal of Syria to Iraq either. These kinds of incidents gave way to the emergence of thoughts regarding how divided Arab countries are when it comes to backing one another in case of a threat, and that fate of Arabian

countries is in the hands of external powers since they cannot control their own lands and states but let others to be involved in (Bassil, 2012, p. 43-44).

In December 2003, Saddam Hussein was captured near Tikrit, which was his hometown, while living in a deep hole. He was charged with crimes against the citizens even to the extent of mass killings and was executed in December 2006. Meanwhile, interim government had been established in the middle of the year 2004 (War in Iraq begins, n.d., para. 5) In the eyes of the Arab population, it was displeasing to see Iraqi Governing Council, members of which were selected by US-UK coalition, appearing at the Arab League. Besides, according to poll results, in many Arab states, the majority expressed their dissatisfaction from Iraq invasion, e.g., 98-99% Jordanian and Palestinian public replied to the questions regarding US favorability negatively. They observed the US as a destabilizing factor in the region, and over time, US' image was so damaged that in 2011, even 25% of the median ratio of support to US policies cannot be seen in outcomes of the polls conducted in this region (Bassil, 2012, p. 44).

Also, bad treatment to prisoners occurring in Guantanamo Bay considerably deteriorated US image. Knowing this fact, years later, President Obama had promised to close it down but could not achieve it. Instead he decreased the number of prisoners. Yet, President Trump made some statements recently over doing the opposite by sending foreign criminals there (Green, 2017, para. 3). Above all, maltreatment to prisoners at Abu Ghraib, which was revealed in 2004, had created a huge effect all over the world and discredited the United States even more. Besides, a commission to investigate the affiliation of Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda could not find evidence to prove the claims, which resulted in another faulty point in US justifications of the war. In contrast to US' claims, weapons of destruction could not be found in Iraq either. Therefore, rightfulness of the war had become the main debate during 2004's presidential elections as a negative impact to Bush. For this reason, Bush's victory turned out to be with a small difference, which one could say he was almost about to lose the elections (Iraq War, 2017, para. 12).

In 2008, the United States and Iraq came to an agreement on withdrawing US troops, which was envisaged to start in 2009 and end in 2011. During the term of Barack Obama, US troops began to leave the country in 2010, and this process was completed in late 2011. However, a transitional force consisting of 50,000 soldiers stayed in Iraq

(Iraq War, 2017, para. 16). Since the withdrawal did not take place completely, this also generated dissatisfaction among Arabs and world population.

Having taken place during the withdrawal process, US image was also damaged by WikiLeaks incident although it did not change the whole perspective of people about the war because there were some indicators already to give a clue about the true face of the war. Along with records regarding Afghanistan war, some hidden facts with regard to Iraq war were revealed. These were wrongly announced number of casualties which were actually high in number, maltreatment by private military companies in Iraq, Iran's arms aid to the Shi'ite population during the civil war. Once the documents were revealed, US and Iraq authorities criticized it and put forward that these are harmful acts for establishing peace and already existing efforts and achievements to this end.

Final assessment of the war for the countries in Europe and the Middle East remained as opposition to the Iraq War even if they concluded that removal of Ba'athist regime would create peace in Iraq and all around the world. Middle Eastern countries believed this war is an act of anti-Arab and anti-Islamism and they condemned the war, considering a similar thing can take place in their own countries any moment by a pretext of the US or other powerful countries. As to American public, there were both the ones protesting the war in the streets and supporters thinking this war was necessary. However, when the casualties increased, even some of the supporters of the war started to disapprove Bush and his administration (Iraq War, 2017, para. 9-10).

After Ba'athist regime collapsed in Iraq, outburst all around the country prevailed, and it turned into civil war even though the US administration rejected using this term and called it a "sectarian violence" instead. The condition of the economy with lots of debts and insufficient oil revenue to cover it, guerilla attacks to occupying forces and newly founded Iraq administration rendered restoring stability impossible. Continuing presence of US army deteriorated status of the country more and more within an environment where Shi'ites and Sunnis are in a civil war (Iraq War, 2017, para. 7).

Result of the invasion were as following; Iraq has become a more insecure place with terror, murder, theft; a transitional government backed by the US appeared in the country; everlasting humanitarian crisis emerged, and free elections were held for the first time after more than 50 years (Bassil, 2012, p. 38). At the end of the war, the total number of casualties in the US side was around 5,000 while nearly 30,000 soldiers were

reportedly injured. However, it is assumed that the actual numbers are even higher. Almost 300,000 soldiers faced psychological problems during and in the aftermath of the war. As for the Iraqi people; approximately 1.2 million dead (mainly civilians), almost 2 million migrants and around 2 million internally displaced people were the result of the war, not to mention the destruction in houses, infrastructure and environment. The war also has economic consequences such as 3-5 trillion dollars US total expenditure for this war, increase in the price of oil and decline in the value of US dollar (Bassil, 2012, p. 45).

Escaping from the dictator rule of Saddam Hussein could not bring peace to the country because of sectarian clashes, and it resulted in improvement in lives of only Shi'ite population while Sunni faction was repressed, and Kurds were in search of separation from Iraq (Schell, 2013, p. 3). Moreover, atrocities of Islamic State remained as a significant threat for Iraq (Green, 2017, para. 9). After all these, what should be kept in mind is the fact that an outsider can neither know the realities of another country nor cannot decide what the best is for them nor does it have any right to do so either (Schell, 2013, p. 3).

As to the structure of the world after all these incidents, according to Joseph Nye, the world is still unipolar in terms of military power, multipolar in terms of economy and nonpolar in terms of international issues (as cited in Seib, 2015, pp. 9-10). Whilst the US was focusing on the war on terror, new powers like China and India emerged. Yet, it is argued that the US had chosen a different way to eliminate this danger, e.g., investing in soft power entirely, maybe the disruption to its image or the target regions would not have been this critical and the country would prosper more. As in the case of impacts of Bill Gates and Steve Job's achievements, the reason why world population admires the United States is not only because of its economy but also because of its fascinating story of the long road they had to struggle during their journey (Edling, n.d., para. 7). The US, accordingly, should have chosen this kind of path against the threat of terrorism.

To sum up, the United States came up with an unusual idea (namely the public diplomacy) to counter Communist threat during the Cold War. This was attracting foreign public and generating sympathy for itself in target countries so that majority of these publics would favor the US and unwanted situations against America would be avoided thanks to the created support of foreign publics towards the US. Even though

the Cold War ended, there remained a need for public diplomacy since unexpected circumstances like September 11 attacks, Afghanistan War and Iraq War required positive opinion of foreigners for the US. In this way, the US would avoid harsh criticisms and get support from other countries to ease its burden in the process of war on terror. Based on the evaluated incidents during the history, one can claim America is a country which uses and needs public diplomacy the most intensely in the international arena. Especially with the effect of September 11 attacks, the US understood once again that it still needed public diplomacy and with growing effect. In accordance with this, this gave impetus to public diplomacy studies in the 21st century.



CHAPTER III

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DURING BUSH'S PRESIDENCY

Upon the shock arising from September 11 attacks, the Bush administration began seeking for its causes and came to a conclusion that American image is wrongly perceived by foreigners, especially Middle Easterners. In order to correct this wrong image, the country revived public diplomacy studies and practices. Starting out with insufficient and faulty policies, the US failed in winning hearts and minds of foreign public and Muslim population in the world. The lacking points were generally identified as US' reluctance to understand the target audience, forming unilateral relations instead of mutual, focusing on disseminating information rather than receiving it. It is noteworthy to analyze US applications in this period to observe the evolution of public diplomacy field since numerous reasons and methods in conducting public diplomacy belong to the United States rather than any other country in the world. Apart from that, phases the US went through should be examined for reviewing US politics closely.

3.1 GROWING HOSTILITY FOR THE US AFTER 9/11

The world order was reshaped upon the end of the Cold War, and this brought new rivalries and collaborations. As Huntington (1997) puts forward in his book entitled "the Clash of Civilizations", the world system has become multipolar (p. 21). The West has become more unified and other civilizations like Islam, Hindu or Sinic remained as different from them. This might be an underlying reason for the war on terror. To be more clear, the cause of such a conflict starting between those civilizations but not within the same civilization because culture is the key for differentiating and defining the societies (Huntington, 1997, p. 21). For this reason, public diplomacy focuses on spreading the practitioner's culture, to begin with, so that sympathy towards this civilization starts in the target public and a way for cooperation is found out (Huntington, 1997, p. 21).

However, public diplomacy was no longer a priority or a significant tool for the US, and the Clinton administration had directed its interest in financial issues in accordance with this. However, it was figured out through 9/11 attacks that the world does not support

U.S. leadership and policies anymore (Snow, 2006, p. 233). After the 9/11 attacks, it was apparent and accepted by even Americans that they failed in public diplomacy especially when it comes to Muslims and the Arab world (Snyder, 2013, p. 2). Due to fallen interest towards public diplomacy and dissolved organizations, American public diplomacy became ineffective, and it brought harmful results to the country. It was articulated by scholars such as Nicholas Cull with these words,

American public diplomacy is a mess. The President knows it. The practitioners know it. ... The global public with which the United States should be engaging knows it. ... Despite its share of flourishes and triumphs, in many ways American public diplomacy has always been a mess (as cited in Pamment, 2012, p. 47).

Having been unaware of the situation, President Bush had even expressed the following words regarding how they did not have a clue about the cause of occurring incidents,

I'm amazed that there is such misunderstanding of what our country is about, that people would hate us. Like most Americans, I just can't believe it. Because I know how good we are. We've got to do a better job of making our case (as cited in Fitzpatrick, 2011, p. 22).

However, even this statement created a worse situation that is contrary to what was aimed since people sensed an arrogant point of view in this speech, which was far from being constructive, cooperative and dialogue-based.

As to the answer to the question “why did 9/11 attacks happen in the US?”, it was that the US diplomacy was ineffective and disintegration of USIA was a mistake. Closing such a significant public diplomacy institution created a disadvantage for the US. For instance, it could not respond to propaganda activities of al Qaeda effectively, and thus, this terrorist organization was able to spread its ideology easily (Snyder, 2013, pp. 2-3). Knowing this fact, the Bush administration took action and appointed Charlotte Beers as Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy in October 2001. She was “a veteran advertising executive.” The expectations regarding her success, especially of Secretary of State Colin Powell, were huge (Zaharna, 2010, p. 30).

The 9/11 attacks created such a powerful effect all over the world that it even changed the direction of international relations through both fight against terrorism and new public diplomacy agenda. An article of Economist gave the world clue about the upcoming period in the US about effects of 9/11 and the methods they will use to solve the problems with these words:

Another sort of war is already under way, one in which journalists are already playing an important role as a conduit or filter, though not just the scribblers and broadcasters from the West. It is the propaganda war. That word has come to have a derogatory meaning, of the dissemination of untruths. In this case, America's task is (in truth) to disseminate truths, about its motives, about its intentions, about its current and past actions in Israel and Iraq, about its views of Islam. For all that, however, this part of the war promises to be no easier to win than the many other elements of the effort (Snow, 2006, p. 234).

The United States started 'Operation Enduring Freedom' against Afghanistan on October 7th, 2001. When the US started its war in Afghanistan, reactions of people including the ones affected by these attacks were disregarded, and this also led to emergence of hostility against America. In addition, the discourse of the US shifted from "terrorism" to "radical Islam" which concerned other Muslim countries like Indonesia, Pakistan, Morocco etc. The US' aggressive rhetoric and its ignorance of other states contributed to its loneliness in the international arena. The sympathy towards the US which had increased due to 9/11 attacks started to decline. People in Tokyo, London, San Francisco and so on marched to protest the war (Zaharna, 2010, p. 16). Before the operation to Afghanistan, world agenda was occupied with the countries supporting the US in its fight against terrorism due to 9/11 events. It was really at such a high level that researches had shown the US sympathy in Europe was 91% while it was 41% in the Middle East (Zaharna, 2010, p. 13).

American public diplomacy was envisaged to get support for the cause of "War on Terror" after 9/11. It was such a substantial cause for the US that between the years 2001 and 2009, \$10 billion was spent to public diplomacy focused on "War on Terror" and most of them were directed towards the Middle East region (Pamment, 2012, p. 48). Response to Terrorism, Gateway to 9/11 Resources, Islam in the US and Muslim Life in America are the websites prepared for getting support for the war on terror and improving its image in the eyes of Muslims (Oktay, 2012, p. 97). In that vein, diplomats who are accustomed to the Arabic world and speaking the language were assigned to express the US' cause on Al Jazeera channel. Muslim journalists were invited to the US in order to create a warm environment by showing the true face of incidents with regard to the US (Oktay, 2012, p. 98). While conducting this policy, the approach of the US

towards occurring affairs has always seemed to be “you are either with us or against us,” and this ends up with marginalizing one group while praising others blindly (Taylor, 2006, p.52). This approach has been maintained in the period both before and after September 11 attacks (Pamment, 2012, p. 48).

Unlike the other states, the US draws the attention of the whole world all the time. For this reason, president of the US addresses the whole world even without intention when he speaks. Each time the US gets involved in a military action, the President is obliged to explain the reason to the public and convince them. Accordingly, the rhetoric they adopt is significant on this. This was also valid in the US’ fight against terrorism. They were obliged to convince the world public that it was necessary to take pre-emptive action against Afghanistan and Iraq. To do that, in December 2002, the USA claimed Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction although the evidence indicated the opposite. To get approval for the Iraq operation, the US even manufactured some evidence about Iraq possessing weapons of mass destruction. Despite the opposition, America waged war against Afghanistan and Iraq, and together with statements of Bush, the country turned into an aggressor from a victim. Also, during the Iraqi invasion, the US president gave speeches which did not suit the reality and the situation of Iraq and American soldiers was much worse than articulated (Snyder, 2013, p. 9)

When it was figured out the US deceived the world for getting support, the impact it created on US image was much worse, and the US lost credibility in the eyes of the world population. Over time, even the US’ allies in “coalition of the willing” also started to withdraw their troops (Zaharna, 2010, p. 18). It is seen that the US failed in convincing others and could get full support from neither the other countries nor the public on the fight against terrorism in the end. Not long ago people used to feel sympathy for America because of unjust attacks carried out by the terrorists (Taylor, 2006, pp. 52-53). However, circumstances changed dramatically. Among all events related to the US, 9/11 was maybe a mere example of such strong support given to the US by the foreign public and the international community (Snyder, 2013, p. 23). America could not take advantage of this support.

In 2003, the Office of Global Communications (OGC) was founded to inform public about the true face of the incidents happening, and their first work was “Apparatus of Lies: Saddam’s Disinformation and Propaganda 1999–2003”. However, it turned out

the one misinforming the public was the US and Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction. After deceiving the international community in order to obtain the UN Resolution to enter into Iraq and as a result of the exposure of Abu Ghraib scandal, the image of the US was deeply damaged.

One of the main reasons why America is hated is that it sets up the rules according to its own interests and acts in accordance with them while claiming the opposite that is generally the right or morally correct behaviors in fact. Also, same tactics are applied in Hollywood, which is used as a public diplomacy tool as well. A pure truth exists, and there is no mid-way like how hero rescues victims by fighting against the pure evil. This is precisely one of the methods used by the US while trying to shape minds and send messages that the United States is a hero. Apart from that, as Nancy Snow argued, the US declaring 9/11 attacks as an act of war but not as a law enforcement issue also made conducting a public diplomacy with dialogue oriented attitudes difficult since they left no room for people questioning the events and came to a conclusion, but they made the decision themselves and relayed it to the world (Snow, 2006, pp. 235-236).

Before all these, right after 9/11 attacks, the US' public diplomacy policy was conducted based on the belief they were only misunderstood, and hatred towards itself emerged because of that. For this reason, Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Beers launched various programs and campaigns. She prepared short-length documentaries to show Muslim's happy lives in the US during Ramadan month of the year 2002. However, these documentaries were not allowed to be broadcast by many countries since it was seen as propaganda of US politics. Also, when Beers tried to make Shared Values public, she encountered with harsh criticisms with the words "You're selling war, we're not buying" (Snow, 2006, p. 234). Shared Values was an ad campaign to refute claims regarding US' being Anti-Islamic, focusing on the easy and comfortable life of Muslims in America. It was estimated that it would have reached more than 300,000 people through this campaign (Zaharna, 2010, p. 34). However, Shared Values and the Council of American Muslims for Understanding (CAMU) were closed down before the Iraq War. (Snow, 2006, p. 234). Both initiatives were for displaying Muslims' good living conditions in the US to the Arabs and the remaining world.

Among the components the US paid attention while conducting public diplomacy, advocacy had the priority, which requires defending American values and interests with multiple methods (Pamment, 2012, p. 49). In terms of advocacy work within the scope of public diplomacy, the US tried to engender a positive vision, marginalize extremism and develop common values and interests (Pamment, 2012, p. 52). However, according to the reports of 2004 and 2005, this hampered improvement of more essential components like listening to others and founding a mutual relationship (Pamment, 2012, p.49).

As for the fight against terrorism, it was seen as a defense of American values. For this reason, public diplomacy studies for infusing American values into Arabian population was inevitable. Beers expressed that it was not easy to change minds of Middle Eastern people but attempting to change it is better than silence. Also, they acknowledged the fact that they were better at informing people rather than influencing them. Messages given by the US were circulating all over the world by means of translations into 30 languages (Zaharna, 2010, p. 32). Thus, the US reached its goal to deliver its message to the world with intense public diplomacy activities after 9/11, but it could not convince people. On the contrary, people started to see the US as bigger threat to the world than Osama bin Laden (Zaharna, 2010, p. 44). In the end, Beers failed while trying to demonstrate the United States as a respectful actor to Muslims.

The necessity to carry out well prepared public diplomacy was understood more and more by the American administration due to the impact of Iraq invasion. Independent Task Force on Public Diplomacy warning the country about the gravity of the situation, the 9/11 Commission detecting the emerging circumstances and the Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy relaying observations on US foreign policy were immediate endeavors performed to amend their deteriorated image (Arsenault, 2013, para. 5). On the other hand, as another evidence for comprehending the level of importance given to the public diplomacy is the fact that \$600 million was spent on public diplomacy projects in 2003. Half of the amount was used for educational exchanges, and \$150 million was allocated only for the activities towards the Muslim population (Snow, 2006, pp. 226-227).

With regard to the misunderstanding between Americans and rest of the world, it was not one-sided but mutual. Islamic states were expressing America's war against

terrorism is actually directed towards the Islamic world (Zaharna, 2010, p. 33). Moreover, people also assumed the underlying incentive of Iraq invasion was the political objectives of neo-cons, exploiting oil, providing security for Israel and Bush's desire to complete his father's job (Taylor, 2006, p. 57). Furthermore, there was some unconfirmed information believed widely by mostly Arabian people that 9/11 is the doing of CIA so that the US can easily invade Afghanistan and Iraq (Taylor, 2006, p. 61). The US tried to refute unwanted claims, and they started to give impetus to public diplomacy campaigns in order to get rid of these kinds of misunderstandings (Zaharna, 2010, p. 29). It put some efforts to prove their assumptions in the form of displaying some evidence to show the world for increasing support given to them. One example is "The Network of Terrorism" which is a booklet published by the US to demonstrate the linkage between 9/11 attacks and al Qaeda (Zaharna, 2010, p. 32).

On the other side, Bush's "axis of evil" rhetoric which includes North Korea, Iran and Afghanistan, casualties in Afghanistan war and Iraq war resulted in the decrease of US favorability in 17 states out of 27 according to the survey of Pew Global Attitudes Survey in December 2002 (Arsenault, 2013, p. 5). The major reason, however, for the dislike towards the US was President Bush, himself. He created such a negative image for himself by disrespecting the international law. Thus, it became impossible for the country to succeed in the field of public diplomacy. Antipathy towards President Bush grew a lot in Europe who used to be seen as friends of the US. At the end, when the elections of 2004 turned out to be Bush's victory again, a British newspaper, The Daily Mirror's front page was covered with the words "ARE THEY MAD?" (Taylor, 2006, p. 53).

In Bush's 2004 re-election campaigns, values were the main theme to focus. It proved that Americans considered values as something more important than terrorism. Likewise, the Bush administration assumed foreign public could also be appealed by this tactic and, in the end, acknowledge US values and related actions. However, it turned out that by following US domestic politics closely, the foreign public came to a conclusion that the US actions contradict with the values it promotes, which involves democracy, freedom and human rights (Zaharna, 2010, p. 26).

In the meanwhile, the US launched multiple initiatives in order to impress Arab nations. Hi magazine is one example, which is a lifestyle magazine targeting Arab youth, but it

did not give expected results, and its publication stopped after three years. The Fulbright Hays scholarship and exchange program of the State Department Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) was for mutual understanding. It also had internet-based education system such as PLUS, BRIDGE and P4L. The main objective was stated as “to incorporate Arab youth into world citizens” (Zaharna, 2010, p. 35). Scholarship and exchange programs are available investments since their cost can be considered cheap compared to other tools of public diplomacy (Snyder, 2013, p. xiii).

Also, in contrast with efficiency of Voice of America in the Arab World, Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) removed it and initiated two different channels instead in the name of Sawt al Arab and al-Hurra, which were proved to be useless soon after by losing many regular Arabian listeners (Rugh, 2017, p. 4). Al-Hurra, which was a satellite station, established in 2004. It was planned to counter the criticisms of Arab channels, but could not succeed. Radio Sawa, which was founded in 2002, was also another undertaking. It was the most visible success among all other TV and radio shows. It had more followers than BBC had (Zaharna, 2010, p. 37). Apart from these, another program, US Agency for International Development (USAID), was aimed to reach people with aid programs (Zaharna, 2010, p. 40).

Another program to attract Arabians was CultureConnect. It used to send American artists as cultural ambassadors, but it did not last long either. Apart from that, Digital Outreach Team (DOT) posts messages about US foreign policy by using Arabic language and targeting Middle Eastern people in the internet domain. With Obama’s presidency, DOT started to work against terrorism as a counterterrorism tool. Its main focus became first al-Qaeda and then has become ISIS since 2013. It also prepares propaganda activities against those terrorist organizations (Izadi, 2016, p. 15).

However, public diplomacy initiatives and foreign policy of the US were contradictory. While emphasizing appealing sides of the country, state policies indicated the opposite. For instance, the number of Muslim people expelled from the US increased after 9/11 and Bush called the leader of Israel as a man of peace. People decided to take the actions of the US into consideration rather than their public diplomacy statements. Also, broadcasts and publications of US did not satisfy people since they did not answer the questions they would like to learn. It is argued that the US should have first made the audience not think that the US hate them to win their hearts, “not because they were

afraid of Arabic people would become terrorists if they fail to win their hearts” (Zaharna, 2010, p. 52).

Despite the fact that deficiencies in public diplomacy were noticed right after 9/11, to create a national strategy took six years for the US. The national strategy of 2007 was also scarce in terms of covering a wide area. It had only indicated a list of goals and a press line for press officers to follow. Also, it was criticized due to its disregard of the measurement of how public diplomacy policy change the image of the country in the eyes of the foreign public and only focused on suggestions with regard to policies to follow (Pamment, 2012, p. 50).

As to the evaluation of the Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy Karen Hughes serving between 2005 and 2007, it can be said that even though she could not figure out how public diplomacy works initially, she formed a base for diplomats about how to conduct public diplomacy policies. By means of her efforts, the diplomats have gotten used to taking risks in public diplomacy since it was told by her that there could not exist public diplomacy without taking risks. She prepared the infrastructure and the Obama administration built upon it (Snyder, 2013, p. xvi).

Aside from numerous new campaigns and activities, significant amount of actors ranging from state officials to scholars tried to find a solution for deteriorated US image. There appeared numerous reports and articles about it. What was agreed on by the state officials was the necessity for better messaging methods which was about stating the content more clearly and defending the ideas to be spread in a more effective way. The scholars and the ones implementing public diplomacy or observers objected to this idea claiming what was to do is forming a relationship rather than just giving a message. Obama also embraced the latter argument, and he started studies on this after his inauguration (Fitzpatrick, 2011, pp. 5-6).

As for the US’ desire to turn Arabians into world citizens may be the cause of core-state conflicts, which breaks out as a result of the imposition of culture by a different civilization as defined in Huntington’s *The Clash of Civilizations* (1997, p. 310). While the US considers its values the best and beneficial to everyone if spread, Arabian public observes these efforts as an intervention in order to gain political power.

The US turned back to the Cold War days regarding necessity and frequency of using public diplomacy. However, the difference is that the method being used during Bush

term was a “bottom-up” approach unlike the past’s “top-down” style (Izadi, 2016, p. 16). Aside from these, the US identified their security with their image around the world. After 9/11, however, what is problematic was not only their image but also their communication mistakes with others (Zaharna, 2010, p. 23). Focusing on merely image building is useless at this age, and what could work for PD was mutual engagement and dialogue in terms of public diplomacy (Izadi, 2016, p. 19).

3.2 MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF US PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DURING BUSH PRESIDENCY

The United States and public diplomacy are regarded as interrelated since the war on terror. The US’ deteriorated image has been always on the agenda, and these required the US’ dependence on public diplomacy as a source of the solution to the challenges it faced (Fouts, 2006, p. 9). However, for other states rather than the United States, it is easier to impress public abroad since it is much easier to shape minds of people who do not know much about that specific country. However, in the case of the US, the world society knows the most about the US than any other country (Taylor, 2006, p. 60). For this reason, one more challenge appeared in front of them in addition to shaping minds, which was changing the already existing negative image.

In order America to improve its image, the essential thing to do was focusing on perception differences between nations since it is also evident that the countries sharing similar perspective have good relations and peoples of concerned countries have positive opinions on each other. Britain-US or Israel-US relations can be given as example to this. The most significant perception difference among Americans and rest of the world is about “power.” While US public considers them exerting power all over the world as beneficial to global affairs and world public, the foreign public perceives it as a threat (Zaharna, 2010, p. 23).

Even though there exist various reasons behind US’ failure in public diplomacy, some of them are due to not being aware of requirements of contemporary world politics, thus, not adopting new approaches and ending some useful applications of previous terms. In the past, US diplomats abroad used to meet with target audience outside of their office, in cultural centers which were a source of American literature as kind of a library, in other words anywhere possible. Yet, starting from the 1990s, because of

security concerns, accession to embassy except for embassy personnel and going out the embassy unless a higher authority officially gives permission to the embassy workers were in strict control. This created difficulty for the conduct of US public diplomacy activities (Rugh, 2017, p. 6).

As for dealing with terrorism issue, the US also should have been aware of information age gives way to spread of any opinion easily. Also, knowing the fact that there are competing ideas and variety of methods to disseminate them to get support is the key to be successful in public diplomacy along with taking caution and acting accordingly (Comor & Bean, 2012, pp. 214- 215). In other words, while the US was strengthening its hand to prove its claims on the war on terrorism, it should have known the fact that their rivals also have claims and means to spread these ideas.

No matter how frequently other causes are discussed, the impact of the media contains all of the causes mentioned and not mentioned since it is the media relaying information to the people. In case of the absence of the media, there would not be large amount of people being aware of the incidents happening around themselves. Therefore, any attempt to improve public diplomacy is depended on media to promote and accomplish its cause. People to people narratives can also play a part but cannot reach media's extent of influence (Taylor, 2006, p. 59). In an environment where the media is that powerful, efforts to consolidate instruments of public diplomacy may remain pointless unless media part of the PD is not dealt with. For an administration willing to be successful in public diplomacy area by avoiding media's interferences, the thing which is essential to focus on is the conformity of their words and actions (Taylor, 2006, p. 65). Thus, the media would have no chance but reflect the reality which conforms with public diplomacy aim and expectations of public, which would benefit both sides in the end.

Although multiple methods were used to impress and direct foreign publics and specifically Arab nations, there seems to be no concrete working method. Surprisingly, even the policies Arab leaders exert on their own public can be accepted considerably more successful. By making so, those governments control their citizens like Nasser leading the citizens to protest in the streets. Having tried numerous ways to find out a way to shape minds of the Arab nation, the US had started to conduct researches starting with the half of the 1990s, and it gained impetus after 9/11 incident. As of now,

the most successful institutions to explore what the Arab nation's opinion about the US are Pew and Gallup (Lynch, 2006, p. 31).

During Bush term, media activities for public diplomacy had a higher budget than other initiatives, but they also remained unsuccessful. For Arab youth, American music and celebrity were entertaining, they liked it but they do not like George Bush or other American politicians. They considered those two as separate things (Zaharna, 2010, p. 46). In other words, the Arab nations evaluate the US' good features with a different angle, even if the country is perceived as a threat in the polls with the rank of 2nd in the world. To be more specific, Arabs also like American products, watch American movies, think that the country is the perfect place for freedom and democracy. In 2010, a poll was taken, and its result turned out to be that 76% of public of six Arab countries (Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Lebanon, Morocco, Egypt and Jordan) watches US movies and shows around 3-7 times a week (Rugh, 2017, p. 2). Especially young population has more tendency to enjoy American popular culture. However, these facts as a consequence of US PD policies directed some criticisms towards the US. Targeting youth by means of entertainment sector raised the questions about ethics since the youth (18-30 years) is the most vulnerable part of society. The United States was once again criticized while trying to strengthen its hand.

On the other hand, the US utilized the internet to reach out Arabian public and to invest in the internet was a wise decision, but seeing the fact that Arab population had limited opportunity to reach the internet access, the expected outcome did not appear (Zaharna, 2010, p. 48). U.S. campaign to win hearts and minds of the Arab and Islamic world proved useless despite the fact that it was the most promising policy according to the American government due to the effort made and money spent on it.

Different features of a country may appeal to someone while some certain features are repelling the same person. In this sense, a person may consider America as non-observant with regard to international rules as in the case of Kyoto Protocol, but also find the country attractive due to its advanced economy (Taylor, 2006, pp. 53-54). The US can be considered the most influential actor who spread its culture to the world. For this reason, the hatred towards the US does not eliminate the admiration towards the country immediately (Snyder, 2013, pp.1-8). However, a separate evaluation of good traits and bad traits cannot last long, and negative incidents would be clearer to detect

after a while if these incidents keep continuing. Iraq War constitutes an example to this since the US' attractiveness was blurred by the shadow of Iraq War (Taylor, 2006, p. 54). Before Afghanistan and Iraq operations, people of the Middle East used to like American values, lifestyle and so on even if they did not like their policies abroad. However, with these events, they abandoned to show interest in past's appealing features but just hated the country in all aspects. As mentioned, the dislike towards the US grew with the news of Abu Ghraib, which created a shock due to maltreatment to Iraqi prisoners by American soldiers (Zaharna, 2010, p. 18).

On the other hand, the mission of Department of Defense (DOD) was extended to cover public diplomacy, and it created confusion regarding the distribution of responsibilities. The scope of PD activities that DOD takes care of was larger than State Department takes care due to the fact that it had a larger budget. As they invested in programs and activities in war areas and with regard to the issues related to war, the founded relations did not have a long-lasting characteristic. Also, compared to State Department's officials, Pentagon's officials were less devoted in public diplomacy issues. In addition, when a PD activity is carried out by the military, it was prone to be perceived negatively by the Arab public, in the region since they represented occupying power there (Rugh, 2017, p. 6). Although the Department of Defense (Pentagon), too, tried to win hearts of especially Arab media by arranging interviews, meetings, picnics, etc., they changed their attitude into an aggressive stance after Al-Jazeera's broadcast with dead and injured US soldiers' footages. In addition, U.S. troops in Iraq have a share in directing public diplomacy. Despite the fact that Pentagon warned the soldiers about comfort and cultural values of Arabic people, a few negative incidents appeared such as Abu-Ghraib. Those soldiers were accepted as representatives of the US, so they badly affected the country's image (Zaharna, 2010, p. 42).

With the oppositions to US military operations, America ended up with losses in many aspects. For instance, there was no support or commitment to join the US' military actions by other countries; US policies could not be implemented due to lack of support and anti-Americanism gave way to decrease in demand to American brands.

Apart from that, dislike towards America had a different side which is "anti-Bush" rhetoric/movement (Zaharna, 2010, p. 18). As long as his presidency continued, people were prone to doubt every action the US took in the international arena. On the other

hand, as much as foreign public shows anti-American tendencies, Americans also despised most of them. The country has a tendency to treat others by humiliating them due to their countries having unfamiliar values or type of regime and so on (Taylor, 2006, p. 55). Likewise, they made fun of Al-Jazeera TV channel of the Arab world by calling it “Jihad TV.” These kinds of incidents increase hostility towards America. As a result of these, it was seen in the researches that neither Americans nor the Islamic world considers each other as being respectful towards one another’s religion and values (Zaharna, 2010, p. 21).

Another repellent feature of Americans can be said that the belief of ‘American exceptionalism.’ Americans think they are superior to others and the only thing foreigners can do is to envy the US for its democracy, and with lots of opportunities it offers to citizens. America can only be the dream world everybody would like to be in. However, this is not the case for many people. Most of the people accept America’s power in economy and military, but for them, this country is arrogant and materialistic. It is a country where the wealthy people has an advantage in winning elections, passing a law they desire through lobby activities of wealthy people and voting is not a concern of the majority of the population (Taylor, 2006, p. 56).

According to President Bush, the criteria to measure rightness of spreading one’s own values to others was American people’s approval, and he stated it with these words, “if the values are good enough for our people, they ought to be good enough for others” (Zaharna, 2010, p. 47). Izadi explains what aforementioned values of Americans are consisted of in the eyes of others, “The two concepts of American exceptionalism and Orientalism fuel the value system of American public diplomacy” (Izadi, 2016, p. 14). American exceptionalism is a concept existing for a long-term, which was first used by foreigners like de Tocqueville and Voltaire (Wooley & Perigoe, 2013, p. 62). “While American exceptionalism focuses on the virtues of the American experience, Orientalism contrasts these virtues to the evils of the opponent.” American exceptionalism, which claims superiority regarding values, political system, cultural and religious characteristics, gives an excuse to US policies abroad. It is seen as something which gives rights to Americans for spreading their superior values no matter what. American exceptionalism also leads emergence of Orientalism that despises other cultures and religions. It considers Islam as a source of threat and terrorism, notion of

which can be traced back to the Iranian revolution in 1979 (Izadi, 2016, p. 15). As expected, it was observed by some researches that with these opinions in mind, Americans does not try to understand sentiments of other nations and disregards them sometimes to the point of scorning (Zaharna, 2010, p. 52).

As Taylor cited Prestowitz's words in his article, not being party to the agreements in fragile issues also has a share in the growing dislike towards America, and it was expressed as follows:

in recent years, America has rejected or weakened several landmark treaties, including the ban on use of landmines, the ban on trade in small arms, the comprehensive test ban treaty, the ARM treaty, the chemical warfare treaty, the biological war treaty, the nonproliferation treaty, the International Criminal Court, and others (2006, p. 58).

Having emphasized the significance of these regulations on all occasions, not complying with them gives the world public the hint that the US is capable of disregarding international rules when it comes to its own interests. As emphasized before and it is seen from the examples, public diplomacy is also about the consistency of words and actions.

Among the challenges in front of the US, the the gap between words and dees is another problem. It can be clarified by saying what the US does and what they say does not match. Despite they all the time emphasize importance of human rights, Abu Ghraib or some similar incident occurs. Americans claim democracy is the only way of humane life, but they support autocratic governments if they need them and once they have nothing to do with that government anymore or had no need to that government at all from the beginning, they look for ways to topple the government by claiming that they violate human rights, etc. (Taylor, 2006, pp. 57-58).

If one evaluates US public diplomacy overall, it is easy to notice policy change in US public diplomacy is up to the elites. Therefore, this renders public diplomacy an unstable policy that can be removed and changed at any time. Accordingly, an inconsistent policy does not generate fruitful results. Besides, American exceptionalism and Orientalism are the concepts harming the US image abroad, which they should have been abandoned. Moreover, given that it is the age of globalization now and everything is depended on it, the US had to follow trends and adjust its policies based on it, but the

country was not able to pursue its old status in dominance over information (Izadi, 2016, p. 19).

As a consequence, following the surfacing of US' damaged image with the effect of September 11 attacks, the United States attached remarkable importance to public diplomacy and invested in reshaping its structure by appointing Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, increasing the budget for these works and so on. However, the efforts could not bring success due to taking steps without having background information on the target audience and trying to understand their sentiments and culture, in this case, particularly Arabs. Along with Afghanistan and Iraq operations, America's insincere actions were perceived negatively due to unmatching promises and actions as result of piling up mistakes and wrongdoings in the eyes of Muslim countries.

CHAPTER IV

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DURING OBAMA’S PRESIDENCY

President Barack Obama’s term started with the efforts of eliminating fairly damaged image of the country. In accordance with this objective, he acted cautiously in his speeches and tried to avoid offending Muslim public. Although the foreign public well received his statements during presidential campaigns, his foreign and public diplomacy policies during the term of office changed the mind of people, particularly in the Middle East, to a negative direction. Even though “disappointment” could be the word which can express the foreign public’s latest evaluation about his period, he was favored the most among last three presidents of the United States. President Obama’s period represented the term when the US focused on improving its deteriorated image following the incidents becoming a turning point in the US history in terms of how it is perceived all around the world. Therefore, intense public diplomacy studies and new aspects of the public diplomacy field can be observed in Obama’s presidency periods.

4.1 OBAMA’S PUBLIC DIPLOMACY UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE WAR ON TERROR

After his inauguration, Obama had to deal with the deteriorated image of the US. Surveys showed the support ratio towards the US leadership was at 31% in 2004 although it was %64 in 2002 (Akçadağ, 2010, p. 2). That was the impact public diplomacy of Bush administration created. Barack Obama’s famous speech in Cairo University was an indication of policy change in public diplomacy. He stated that there was no reason for Americans and Muslims to be opponents, a new relationship based on mutual respect and interest should be established and the image of the US should be corrected in the Muslim world. The fact that Obama had already some relations with Muslim world due to his father being a Muslim and him getting an education in Indonesia before were advantages he could use to correct America’s image in the Muslim world (Akçadağ, 2010, pp. 4-5).

With Cairo speech, he stated the significance of dialogue based public diplomacy (Fitzpatrick, 2011, p. 7). By dialogue based public diplomacy, giving a chance to the public for presenting their opinions and consulting to them in certain issues are meant as general. In this way, it becomes possible to generate a common cause with foreign publics, which will also realize the national interests. According to Riordan, genuine public diplomacy can be formed by making the target audience feel their values and opinions are also valuable and by taking steps without claiming their values and ideas are better (Fitzpatrick, 2011, pp. 10-11). What was planned to do was in this direction during Obama's term with regards to public diplomacy.

To achieve this objective, President Obama refrained from using the phrases like democratization and liberalization of the Muslim world, which created negative connotations for Muslims during Bush term. Instead, he focused on economic growth and development (Akçadağ, 2010, p. 5). "Changing Course: A New Direction for US Relations with Muslim World" report is evidence of how the US paid attention to changing their image in the Muslim World. It was a report written by a group of experts with the aim of reversing extremism tendency in the Middle East by forming closer ties with the regional countries (Goodstein, 2008, para. 1).

In 2008, the US image was harmed by the effect of economic crisis this time. It was accused of being the cause of sufferings of the countries in the world. The arguments were about how poorly the US managed Wall Street and how they failed to prevent the spread of effects of the crisis (Chua & Pang, 2012, p. 150). At first, the Bush administration had tried to handle the effects by denial and good intention methods. They articulated that they were not the sole cause of the crisis, but some other European countries had responsibility due to tight regulations with regard to the market system. However, Obama embraced a different approach for overcoming this problem. When he took office in 2009, his speech in G20 summit focused on the urge to deal with the financial crisis altogether and other countries also were satisfied with this attempt. Additionally, his promise to work for economic growth was a positive impact on the US' image (Chua & Pang, 2012, p. 151).

Because of the strategies used in Obama's first years, the US improved its image worldwide. It was also confirmed by the research conducted by the Pew Global Attitudes Project in 2009. Surveys of Pew Global Attitudes have always been among

the most cited polls both before 9/11 attacks and after (Fouts, 2006, p. 5). On the other hand, the US Global Leadership Project indicated that favorability of the US increased from 34% in 2008 to 51% in 2009. The BBC World Service Pool 2010 demonstrated similar results as well. The common view on these results was that the increase was to the “Obama effect.” The methods used for this result were rhetorical changes conveyed to the public through both traditional ways and media instruments like online sources, speeches which can be informed through direct sources like White House itself and President Obama’s visits to foreign states such as Indonesia and China (Chua & Pang, 2012, p.151). As Hiebert asserts communication is successful if it is credible and when “words match actions” (as cited in Chua & Pang, 2012, p. 152). President Obama made efforts to show the world they keep their promises and he was successful in this issue compared to Bush administration despite the fact that final evaluation of public diplomacy of his term was also in the direction of the US’ not being sincere in their explanations and commitments to the world society.

Obama and his Secretary of State Hilary Clinton gave a new impulse to public diplomacy by focusing on those three: global engagement, mutual respect and understanding (Fitzpatrick, 2011, p. 22). For Obama’s conduct of public diplomacy, Gregory (2011) states “Presidential speeches to global audiences, public appearances by a wide range of officials and diplomats and media outreach are hallmarks of its diplomacy” (p. 361). His administration also increased the budget for public diplomacy in early years of his presidency. Apart from that, he widened the scope of his foreign policy in terms of contacted regions by emphasizing the value given to Africa (Akçadağ, 2010, p. 5).

The Obama administration did not only invest in the Middle East region but also Russia, Latin America and Africa. They also wanted to be visible in humanitarian aid issues and took action against disasters happening around the world. By means of this, it was expected the US would raise its favorability. In 2009, when Obama took office, US favorability increased in Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon although, in countries like Turkey and Palestine, there did not occur much difference in the ratios (Akçadağ, 2010, pp. 8-9). Yet, the positive opinion wave coming through presidential elections changed in the afterward of President Obama’s tenure due to his administration not fulfilling their commitments or being slow in taking action. His stance towards Iraq and acting slowly

in withdrawing troops led the foreign public to disapprove US policies once again. For instance, the Pew Research Center indicates that from 2009 to 2010, US favorability dropped from 38% to 17% in Egypt and from 27% to 15% in Jordan (Comor & Bean, 2012, p. 214).

The first document with regard to public diplomacy in Obama term was “The White Oak Recommendations.” It urges the country to adopt a holistic approach in public diplomacy which widens the extent of public diplomacy. For instance, not in only one region but all over the world, the US should conduct public diplomacy. Number and range of actors involved in public diplomacy should be increased by including NGOs, business and so on. Skills about performing public diplomacy should be improved, and exchange programs should be promoted more and more. These were the other aspects of the document (Akçadağ, 2010, pp. 3-4).

Apart from that, State Department’s 2009 report stated that the US should pursue the goal of engagement by forming mutual and understanding partnerships. In this statement, the engagement mentioned is to be strategic rather than being spontaneous. Use of digital technology for engagement was first mentioned in US public diplomacy in tenure of James Glassman who was last Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs of Bush term. He included engagement in the report National Framework for Strategic Communication and it was envisaged as a one-way policy (Comor & Bean, 2012, p. 205).

Judith McHale, Obama administration’s first Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, announced a strategic framework for public diplomacy in 2009. The core of the new strategy was promoting US foreign policy goals, national interest and national security through informing public and forming relationship with them. Even though US administration put emphasis on modernizing public diplomacy methods, it was not possible to conduct them properly unless it has a functioning organizational structure to deal with public diplomacy (Pamment, 2012, p. 51). Then Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, Judith McHale also followed engagement path by including two elements. These were market research and mass communication. These two were attached importance since market research reveals what current situation is and mass communication also containing Web 2.0 informs and

forms ties with people. Her purpose was to create an environment in the US where people can debate in a friendly manner.

Engagement is seen as another form of persuasion. It uses its functions to persuade in order to create tolerance among the parties. Also, it creates an opportunity for conveying credible messages, making efforts to understand one another, figuring out what the results of one's actions can be and acting based on a plan. Engagement requires the existence of mass communication which takes place with the involvement of large amount of people and their use of mass media for information interchange and more importantly Web 2.0 due to the fact that these tools ensure interaction of people. However, Web 2.0 is a more suitable tool considering its less regulated characteristic. Therefore, it is possible to use wide-range of methods in the social media without being restrained by some authority. To give an example for use of web 2.0 in public diplomacy, the US had started a contest for completing the phrase "Democracy is..." through a video in 2010 and the winner's (who is an Ethiopian) answer was "democracy is a fair play" (Comor & Bean, 2012, pp. 208-210). These kind of activities are possible in the digital domain with lesser effort and cost and sometimes with more productive results.

Another leading document for US public diplomacy is "Public Diplomacy: Strengthening US Engagement with the World" which recommends improvement of relations among publics, combatting against extremist groups and attaching more importance to information. This document also involves a part titled "The World We Face." It informs the US about their rivals in the public diplomacy area, which consist of radical groups, China, Russia in media issues, and Australia and Singapore in education exchange issues (Akçadağ, 2010, pp. 6-7).

On the other hand, the report called "A Smarter, More Secure America" prepared by Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) demonstrated the US needs a new strategy to advance national interests, which is named "Smart Power." Smart Power combines hard power with soft power and focuses mostly in soft power part, and it became the main idea to lead Obama's public diplomacy (Akçadağ, 2010, p. 2). It urges the country to cooperate with other friendly countries in order to get what it wants (Edling, n.d., para. 4). Smart power became the main tenet of Obama's foreign policy

with the impact generated by the role Hillary Clinton played in the process of adoption (Clinton use “Smart Power”, 2009, para. 1).

The US focused on multi-stakeholder instrument regarding public diplomacy during the beginning of Obama term. “Multi-stakeholder Diplomacy” is initiative of President Obama and his Secretary of State Clinton. By multi-stakeholder diplomacy, it is referred to multiple actors engaged in public diplomacy. In accordance with the multi-stakeholder diplomacy, the country’s traditional institutions needed to be adapted into changing diplomacy, but the transformation of the institutions proved difficult due to state structure and culture of the US (Gregory, 2011, p. 351). Rather than adapting to new circumstances which necessitates public diplomacy change, the transformation of the institutions in the US is seen as preferable, but this constitutes hardships for the country since the transformed institutions lack some features to counter dangers arising from the new age and to meet expectancies (Gregory, 2011, p. 371).

Apart from that, the significance of strategic communication and new media tools were emphasized in the report named “The Caucus for Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy” which was prepared by Mark Thornberry and Adam Smith. Therefore, the U.S. government was urged to advance their communication techniques with this report. In addition, the Secretary of Defense identifies strategic communication as the conformity of discourse and action. In other words, it means what is said should be supported by the actions. The US government made some efforts to comply with new technological developments in line with the report. For instance, White House made sure to contain audio and video links within its website (Akçadağ, 2010, pp. 6-7).

As for the institutions dealing with public diplomacy, the scope of their mission varies in line with the determined field of study by the US administration or their own administrations. To clarify; The Open Source Center looks over the news and translates them. Institutions like the Office of Research, the Broadcasting Board of Governors, Pew Research Center, Freedom House, Gallup, IPSOS, Harris Interactive, the BBC through ICM, the Eurobarometer surveys and TNS carries out opinion polls to find out result of conducted public diplomacy or to form a new public diplomacy policy according to the arisen outcome (Pamment, 2012, p. 52). Assessment of American PD (Public Diplomacy) is carried out through polling, focus groups and regional specialists (Comor & Bean, 2012, p. 216). However, opinion polls and the spared fund was not

seen adequate for successful public diplomacy, and it was found out that amount of money spent for it was one-tenth of the amount that would be enough (Pamment, 2012, p. 52). Also, the sources are scarce for coming to a correct and comprehensive conclusion and this influence public diplomacy in a negative way. As a result, it cannot be as effective as it would be (Comor & Bean, 2012, p. 216).

Despite the known fact of the significance of the public opinion and polls since early years of public diplomacy, the Bush administration, too, had not paid attention to these in its first years. According to poll results, politicians and diplomats are generally expected to be flexible to change their policies so that they can contribute to public diplomacy hand of the state (Taylor, 2006, pp. 62-64). However, the direction of the US public diplomacy was wrong from the beginning. It targeted to influence members of Congress who were persistent not to adjust policies according to poll results more than the actual audience since they needed to impress members of Congress first to get funded. In this way, the audience was neglected in a sense even though the main target must have been them (Zaharna, 2010, pp. 29-53).

On the other side, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) and the National Endowment for the Arts mainly conducts cultural programs. However, among those cultural programs, the US Department of State International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP) is seen the most beneficial since 50 percent of world leaders are the participants of that program. The Coalition for Citizen Diplomacy and Business for Diplomatic Action are other useful programs in this field. In media, the State Department with broadcasts of senior officials' speeches, www.america.gov, DipNote which is an official blog, the Bureau of International Information Programs are other entities trying to boost America's image (Pamment, 2012, pp. 53-54).

Even if US administrations have begun to utilize new technological developments in PD, they have not given up on old methods like broadcastings and personal contact (Rugh, 2017, p. 3). Yet, US could not obtain a fruitful result in media activities. For instance, one of the media entities, Al-Hurra which is very well known, ended up unsuccessfully due to the fact that its communication with the target audience was weak since broadcasting revolved around advocacy part of the public diplomacy and lacked credibility (Pamment, 2012, p. 54).

Obama's public diplomacy is mainly based on four documents consisting of the National Security Strategy, the National Framework for Strategic Communication, the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review and the Strategic Framework for Public Diplomacy. National Security Strategy (NSS) states that the US pursues a rule-based international system with the aim of mutual interest. It was drafted with two goals one of which was promoting American leadership in the world and the other one of which was settling the disputes with cooperation. The claimed moral leadership of the US was not to be imposed but rather to be based on mutual respect and mutual interests. NSS also mentions the necessity of engaging American citizens from business, non-governmental organizations, scientists, students, scholars, artists, athletes in order to perform successful public diplomacy. Apart from that, the documents point out the significance of improving skills to this end (Fitzpatrick, 2011, pp. 23-25). Also, National Security Strategy of the year 2010 mentions about the necessity of understanding foreign publics to generate a successful relationship with each other (Akçadağ, 2010, p. 7).

As to National Framework for Strategic Communication (NFSC), it is a document based on entities and organizations' distribution of duty regarding government's communication in terms of public diplomacy. In NFSC document, for the determined features of communication, it was written "strategic, and long-term, not just reactive and tactical, [and] focus on articulating what the United States is for, not just what we are against" (as cited in Fitzpatrick, 2011, pp. 26-27). The US' strategy planned to bring advantages for national goals and achieve "deliberate communication and engagement" was expected to result in change of foreign public view of America towards it being a necessary actor in international arena, having common interest areas as the other countries and being an effective partner (Fitzpatrick, 2011, p. 27). In fact, engagement is conducted in such a manner that only Muslim public would start to empathize with the US rather than a something mutual so that the US would not have to adjust their policies according to others but maintain the policies in line with their interests (Comor & Bean, 2012, p. 213). In 2012, an updated version of "National Framework for Strategic Communication" together with "comprehensive interagency strategy for public diplomacy and strategic communication" letter of Obama was released (Gregory, 2014, p. 7). In the framework, the significance of communications

was reiterated, sharing responsibility with Military (Military Information Support Teams within DOD) was mentioned and the Middle East and North Africa were again indicated as target regions.

According to the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR), public diplomacy is an instrument forming an environment for the country to be able to participate in the issues related to the public, laying a foundation for having connections with other actors and people to people relationships. For the Review, reviving American leadership is essential. Also, various activities can be used for enlarging communication network. “Embassy circuit riders” traveling around regions on some issues and “Strategic Dialogues with Civil Society” program to engage with people are just a few examples (Fitzpatrick, 2011, pp. 28-29).

With regard to Strategic Framework for Public Diplomacy, it is considered as a roadmap to follow for public diplomacy. There exist five items to focus on in this way. These can be specified as; changing the narrative used for informing, inspiring and convincing people, establishing people to people relationship so that goal of mutual trust and respect can be achieved, countering activities of extremist groups in order not to let them expand their influence and to prevent them, preparing an accurate foreign policy in accordance with foreign public’s characteristics, utilizing the ideal tools for solving the problems completely or creating the utmost influence over foreign public. The US should also work on public diplomacy programs like educational or cultural exchanges so that these can be offered to the local public as an alternative to extremism. Also, they can be taken advantage while correcting the misinformation about the US (Fitzpatrick, 2011, p. 31).

Having struggled during Bush term on what to do for public diplomacy, a stable policy arose in Obama term which is called “engagement.” As mentioned above, it requires catching up advancements with regard to public diplomacy tools and methods, and building a “long-term relationship with stakeholders” and “interaction and dialogue with foreign publics.” However, focusing on these does not mean Obama administration gave up on the efforts to delegitimize extremist groups (Comor & Bean, 2012, p. 204). According to Glassman, the US needs to “make moderates hate extremists,” therefore, it can achieve its public diplomacy goals. In other words, the US does not have to be approved by the world community in case it pursues this policy (Comor & Bean, 2012,

p. 207). Additionally, the country also found out the functionality of the internet for convincing people to think in this way (Comor & Bean, 2012, p. 207).

Recently, it has been found out social media is as powerful as news media in terms of influencing masses. Among them, Facebook and Twitter attract people's interests the most. Facebook is evaluated as an instrument to form a relationship with the foreign public, obtain information about them by monitoring their activities on Facebook and act accordingly. Facebook executive Elliot Schrage also confirmed the key role Facebook plays in public diplomacy with these words, "[I]t's about communicating a message, finding a community, and building that community, engaging that community. So, do I see Facebook as being an incredibly valuable tool for public diplomacy? Absolutely" (as cited in Comor & Bean, 2012, p. 211). She also adds explaining the use of Facebook in three ways. These are its being a field for monitoring one another openly, its giving a chance for getting to know one another through one's own perspective not based on some distant sources and lastly its being a reliable source since the informant is the related person himself (Comor & Bean, 2012, p. 211). Even though the US is a pioneer in developing technology, they are not as successful as expected in using them for public diplomacy activities. However, during Obama administration, it was given importance to social media (Gregory, 2011, p. 366). Accordingly, the Obama administration planned to influence foreign publics through Facebook, YouTube, Flickr, Twitter, Instagram, Vimeo, Dailymotion and blogs (Izadi, 2016, p. 15). Apart from these, making social analyses and researches with social media tools, too, is supporting factors for government actors in terms of preparation for shaping public diplomacy (Gregory, 2011, p. 367).

As a whole, the way Obama administration conducted public diplomacy and features of the new public diplomacy were in conformity with each other due to the fact that his administration attached importance to people to people communication and dialogue (Fitzpatrick, 2011, p. 32). Furthermore, it can be noticed that that Obama administration included cultural internationalism activities into public diplomacy and encouraged every kind of actor to pursue cultural internationalism activities also (Gregory, 2011, p. 359). In gradually and relatively improving negative image of the US towards a better condition, then Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, has a share as well. Her preference of

person to person contact in diplomacy, improving skills of diplomats and encouraging civilian involvement brought positive results (Gregory, 2011, p. 351).

Even though the techniques the US uses for improving image are well thought and detailed, it could not be the victor in its war for winning hearts and minds in the Middle East. One of the underlying causes behind its failure in the Middle East is the US' overconfidence in their conduct of PD and not being able to notice existing situation and capability of the rival. In addition, as Comor and Bean argue with the below speech example that the US conducts PD without a thought of changing its policy and with the determinate will to pursue their interests. On Iran's nuclear issue, Hillary Clinton gives us a clue about their exact stance in PD with these words,

We [the United States] have to be willing to sit and listen and evaluate, without giving up what we view as a primary objective of the engagement, which is to do everything we can to prevent Iran from becoming a nuclear weapons state. (Comor & Bean, 2012, pp. 216-217)

As to other reasons why the US is being hated in the Arab world, they are its support to autocratic regimes or rogue states, its efforts to promote neoliberal globalization as one of the fundamental cause of global poverty, double standards executed by the US as in Israel-Palestine issue (Comor & Bean, 2012, p. 213). The support given to the countries known with their wrongdoings like Israel amount to deterioration of image of the country more and more as in the case of Israeli army killing Lebanese civilians who had no affiliation with Hezbollah. No matter how US administration tries to improve public diplomacy policies, as long as such incidents are on the agenda of world society, it is not realistic to believe the foreign public would support the US. On the other hand, in case public diplomacy has an impact on determining foreign policy and the President, ambassadors, etc. reflects the decisions taken for public diplomacy in their daily works, it would be meaningful to expect huge success of public diplomacy, creating a flow of sympathy towards America (Taylor, 2006, p. 51).

Despite the fact that Arabian population was pleased by the President's stance towards the nation upon Cairo speech of Obama, this did not last long. Support given to Israel, Iraq invasion and public diplomacy campaigns focusing on only giving the message of how wonderful the US were the main causes of failure of US in public diplomacy. Unless these were changed, it was not easy to change hearts and minds of people.

However, there is a positive stable contributing aspect to public diplomacy. Despite the concerning events, culture, education and technology of the United States were still respected by Arab youth and their desire to get an education in America stayed the same. This youth is the same as demanding democracy and a fair world during the Arab Spring. For this reason, America's concentrating on youth in its policies and investing in these areas seem like a wise decision in order to attract Arab youth and improve public diplomacy of the country although targeting youth is criticized in terms of its ethical dimension (Seib, 2011, para. 1, 5, 7, 8 & 9).

4.2 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE WAR ON TERROR

The war on terror ended by the declaration of President Obama on 23 May 2013. With its end, the trajectory of public diplomacy programs became unknown since whenever a state of peace or war appears, a new beginning starts for public diplomacy. This was also the case when the Cold War ended. The Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1988 put an end to the functionality of the United States Information Service (USIA), thinking that they were the absolute victor of ideology war and to the extent that they did not need USIA, such a key institution for public diplomacy. As September 11 attacks demonstrated, there is no end for information war, and there cannot exist an absolute winner. Thus, past concerns over winning hearts and minds returned to the agenda. Likewise, the end of the war on terror in 2013 gave way to reevaluate public diplomacy of the country and shape it again (Arsenault, 2013, para. 4)

In the 1990s, the Clinton administration had focused on budget increases for "Dollar Diplomacy" of his, which was based on the efforts to strengthen American commerce and finance through international investments. On the other hand, the budget for public diplomacy had remained limited, but this was changed in the wake of September 11 attacks. The end of the war on terror also made people seek an advantage for the financial situation of the US within public diplomacy policies. Change of conjuncture affected PD in this way at that time. For instance, On June 26, 2013, U.S. Rep. Ed Royce (R-CA), Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee held a session name of which was "The Broadcasting Board of Governors: An Agency 'Defunct'" (Arsenault, 2013, para. 10). The name of the session was taken from then Secretary of

State, Clinton's remark, "the BBG is practically defunct in terms of its capacity to be able to tell a message around the world" (Chairman Royce Announces, n.d., para. 2). Royce questioned how useful the spared budget for PD activities with this statement, "It is time to take a hard look at the BBG and ask if our resources, nearly \$750 million annually, are being spent wisely – are we getting what we need from these broadcasting efforts?"

While informing the public about the end of the war on terror, President Obama did not mention public diplomacy. However, he stressed continuance of war of ideas as it can be seen in the following remarks:

Most, though not all, of the terrorism we face is fueled by a common ideology – a belief by some extremists that Islam is in conflict with the United States and the West... Of course, this ideology is based on a lie, for the United States is not at war with Islam.... Nevertheless, this ideology persists, and in an age in which ideas and images can travel the globe in an instant, our response to terrorism cannot depend on military or law enforcement alone. We need all elements of national power to win a battle of wills and ideas (as cited in Arsenault, 2013, para 10).

Even though the end of the war on terror was an opportunity for the US to form its image again, they could not use it by making some statements leading people to think that the war continues in some other way. Instead of declaring an urge to destroy different ideas, what was supposed to do was establishing a relationship with the foreign public. With this understanding and strength of relationship among nations, it might have been possible to get rid of remnants of the previous war and prevent any future war (as cited in Arsenault, 2013, para. 10-11).

The US' war on terror was declared to have ended, yet their troops were not withdrawn completely (around 8000 troops stayed there). In 2017, President Trump even mentioned the possibility of increasing number of located troops on the ground due to the necessity to strengthen security (Green, 2017, para. 8). As the most damaging factor to public diplomacy, the possibility of increasing military existence of the US in the Middle East is far from being a contributing factor for amending US image.

In the period aftermath of the war on terror, significance of public diplomacy was once again revealed with Wikileaks, Arab Spring and Occupy Movements after September 11

attacks, yet governments were late to notice the necessity to attach significance to a more participatory public diplomacy rather than state-centric applications, after having seen the role played by the public (Zaharna, 2012, para. 1). If the government had been farsighted and used public diplomacy effectively to eliminate chances of unrest, these incidents would have been reversed.

There are some exposed cases in contradiction to what government announces or President states, and it is not exposed only by journalists but also various sources like WikiLeaks. The fact that media exposes US' secret information derives from the country's free press characteristic, which is inherent in the country's system. Therefore, it is neither likely nor right to prevent these from happening. The United States faces difficulties deriving from its own values the moment it moves away from applying them in a fair manner. The country's wrongdoings are detected by free media or entities enjoying the freedom of speech.

WikiLeaks revealed secret documents in 2010 with regard to world states' activities. Among the documents revealed by WikiLeaks, 90,000 of them were related to Afghanistan war, which pointed out the trajectory of the war were not like the government claimed but worse. There were also some other documents in which Americans allege Pakistan for supporting Taliban. As a result of this, public opinion about America in Pakistan decayed more and more. During 2016 American presidential elections, e-mails belonging to Hillary Clinton were revealed by WikiLeaks and affected her position in the elections negatively. Other than what WikiLeaks reveals, Russia's involvement in US elections was claimed, which constitutes another issue, but it has been put forward that as a country which had interfered elections of countries too many times, the US had no right to complain about it (Creswell, 2017, pp. 15-16). Upon exposures of the US' unethical actions, the country has now lost even complaining right about a matter constituting a part of its sovereignty.

Through digital revolution, no information can now remain hidden, so even individuals' independent actions from the government may affect public diplomacy of that particular state. Lately, behaviors of US citizens towards Arabs or Islam also has been damaging US PD. For instance, when Pastor Terry Jones made a threat about burning Koran because of his anger to Muslims, this news reached to the Muslim world, and a commotion appeared as a reaction. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton condemned the

threat articulated by Terry Jones and said that it was regrettable this issue to circulate all around the world by disgracing US' image. Even President Obama felt compelled to make an explanation and said that this aforementioned act was against US values since at the core of US values there also existed religious freedom and respect. American officials tried to stop the Pastor, and even Defence Secretary called him to convince, but, in the end, he burned the Koran, and it resulted in huge protests in the Arab world. American diplomats held some occasions to eliminate effects of this incident by explaining true stance of the US in this occasion. Another incident like this happened in 2012, when the movie "Innocence of Muslims" filmed by American Coptic Christian was released, which was intended to humiliate the Prophet Muhammad and Muslims. Even though Americans tried to head off such incidents, with their failure to do so, another deficiency in American public diplomacy was revealed in this way (Rugh, 2017, p. 4).

Furthermore, domestic actors harm US public diplomacy in other ways too. In 2015, Netanyahu criticized President Obama over the policy followed for the nuclear deal with Iran by saying the President's strategy was wrong and it would result in Iran's threatening the Middle East with its nuclear weapons. However, the crucial point is the existence of Congressmen supporting Netanyahu in his criticism. Since the congressmen gave support to a foreign leader over their own president on a foreign policy issue, it makes the foreign public think a country where their own politicians criticize their own foreign policy cannot be in the right path to be favored by the foreign public. What's more, this foreign leader supported by US Congressmen is a person whose actions are occasionally condemned in the international fora due to the crises taking place between Israel and Palestine. US Congressmen intervening in a field in which they do not have required knowledge and even authority is a contributing factor for US' worsening image given that these facts were even reminded to them by Javad Zarif, the Iranian Foreign Minister (Amiri, 2015, para. 1).

Israel's settlement constructions in Gaza Strip and West Bank is a source of increasing resentment towards US government also. However, the US criticizes this decision of Israel whenever they plan to establish new settlements as it can be seen in one example of Obama's statements uttered in 2009, "The United States does not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlements" (as cited in Creswell, 2017, p. 11). Despite

this, foreign public, particularly Arab population, does not take these statements into account and expect to see actions to prevent these situations from happening. Israel's case shows that allies who have problematic relations with significant states for a certain country have the potential to damage that certain country's image more (Creswell, 2017, p. 13).

Apart from these, America harms itself already by means of some spying and plotting activities without needing to be affected by any other actor's damage to its image. Even years ago, the US had started these kinds of activities given that CIA accepted it had played a part in 1953 Iran coup in its documents (Merica & Hanna, 2013, para. 1). The US' intended dissemination of misinformation like the case of ZunZuneo program towards Cuban people in 2014 is one of the recent examples. USAID produced a messaging program which gathers people for encouraging reform in Cuba. When it was revealed, the US was stuck in a difficult situation, and administrator of USAID Rajiv Shah had to resign because of this scandal. With this incident, the US lost its right to lecture others about respecting the sovereignty of states once again. Such incidents raise suspicions that the US might have intervened in other countries' domestic affairs in multiple ways as well. To illustrate, the possibility that the US arranged 2016 coup attempt in Turkey is believed by most of Turkish citizens, and Putin accuses Hillary Clinton of provoking citizens to perform protests against their government and as expected those kinds of events increases dislike towards the US among Russian elites (Creswell, 2017, pp. 10-11). As well as misinformation and spying activities have no benefit to the one behind it since it is revealed somehow eventually, it also damages the trust to that certain country in the eyes of the foreign public.

On the other hand, the United States is considered the world's strongest power in terms of both military and economy. For this reason, Arabs have a type of perception that the US can manage to do anything unless it is not unwilling to do so. In other words, bad incidents taking place in the Arab world can be prevented by the US, yet it just let things to happen by considering its national interests. Furthermore, Arabs also think that CIA is behind some of the incidents outbreaking in the region. This belief is assured by agreements of some US citizens conveyed mostly through social media. To illustrate, Middle Eastern people suspected interference of the US when Husni Mubarak was ousted, Muhammad Mursi was elected, and he was deposed later. Also, Israel's illegal

occupation in some Arab lands continues because of US support to this nation in the eyes of Arabs. However, there are some points that the Arab nation disregards. For example, American state system in which Jews have a strong position. Apart from these, when Arab Spring came into existence, Obama had stated Bashar al Assad should have left his seat. However, things did not end up like this. Arabian people blamed US administration once again by claiming the reason for this situation was due to changing US interests and the fact that existence of Assad serves US ambitions now. The possibility of Obama's choice of resorting diplomacy instead of violence was overlooked by the Arab nation. While making a decision, US president has to consider Congress' and public's wishes and preferences as well. The power they have in the US state system is not something to underestimate. The task of public diplomacy practitioners, in this case, should also include explaining the internal system and circumstances to the foreign public so that there is no misunderstandings (Rugh, 2017, p. 3).

Moreover, civilian deaths caused by the US army through mostly aerial attacks and drones generates massive reaction as in the case of Afghanistan and Pakistan up to a point even pro-American Afghan president Hamid Karzai was compelled to criticize the US. Also, as in the Kunduz Trauma Center attack taking place on 3 October 2015, the US administration's mere apology by blaming wrong information provided to itself makes it harder to the foreign public to view America favorably. Given US' treasuring its own citizens so much, its causing harm to other country's citizens that recklessly exacerbates the situation more. A way for America to gain the trust of the foreign public is its ending double-standard and acting in accordance with its remarks and commitments (Creswell, 2017, p. 16).

Even though the US withdrew a great deal of its armies, a chaotic environment still prevails in the Middle East. This authority gap gave way to the strengthening of ISIS, and they exist in Iraq and Syria now and have affiliations in many other countries around the region. Its damages to US image is another problem, but President Obama also experienced a credibility loss due to his stance in Syria issue alone. He declared that using chemical weapons was the red line of the US, but he did not take action and let Russia handle the problem according to its will. As a result of this, Russia found an opportunity to support Assad's regime through bombing opposing groups. Besides,

Obama's repeated words "Assad must go" yielded no results and this also damaged US image (Dillen, 2016, para. 12).

Furthermore, when asked about ISIS' power, Obama had replied he did not believe they had gained ground. Soon after, ISIS carried out an attack in Paris with more than a hundred dead and more than three hundred injured. Later, California attack by ISIS took place on December 2, 2015. The casualty was 14 dead and 22 wounded. In between those two attacks, the percentage of the respondent of the poll asking whether Obama can handle fight against ISIS resulted in 57% disapproval and 35% approval. As to the question of whether he could handle fight against terrorism, ratios were 54% disapproval and 40% approval. Not only these attacks refuted his statements but also the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Marine General Joseph Dunford made a statement saying ISIS already took control of Iraq and Syria in 2010. His remarks were challenged even internally with regard to ISIS issue (Creswell, 2017, pp. 13-14).

While taking steps that can be criticized by the domestic and foreign public like waging war, the US is generally prone to demonize the enemy and make it so that people think the US had to start this war because of wrongdoing of the other part. While doing these, it is also US' habit to link the enemy's characteristics to a former enemy like Nazis in WWII, etc. Obama, as well, used this method for the military operation against ISIS by saying, "No God condones this terror. No grievance justifies these actions. There can be no reasoning—no negotiation—with this brand of evil. The only language understood by killers like this is the language of force." It is a common act of governments to resort to demonizing the enemy since they need public support in the case of taking such critical steps (Creswell, 2017, p. 18).

In 2016, when Obama visited a mosque in Baltimore for lessening radical anti-Islamic movements, the press revealed it was his first mosque visit. In this way, the fact that he was very late to do it was also revealed in the eyes of public rather than his efforts to solve problems (Dillen, 2016, para. 8). These all made the world population believe the US is reluctant to take action to put an end to problems and makes statements that they would not stand behind just for saving the day at that moment.

The dislike growing towards the United States exposed the ideas with regard to competition between Islam and Christianity, on the other hand. While Muslims were claiming the US started Iraq and Afghanistan wars against Islam in fact, Americans

pointed out Muslims and Islam as the source of terrorism. The prejudice was mutual. However, there was no point for both parts to be rivals upon religious or ideological differences. As Fuller (2010) states,

If there was no Islam, there would certainly be other religions around playing similar roles under similar conditions. With no religions at all, we would still readily find or create other ideologies to justify the same acts. Thus, a world without Islam does not markedly change the nature of things (Grand Strategy section, para. 9).

In other words, Islam cannot be the source of the problems since clashes and conflicts are destined to arise and religions and ideologies are just tools in these kinds of circumstances. Rather than Islam and Christianity being in a rivalry, East and West are the main opponents since early history and these religions just complied with the fashion as a part of it, not because their perspectives were so different from each other. As for the tendency for terrorism in the region which surfaced with 9/11 attacks, he indicates that it is not related to nature of Islam but sufferings of region's public due to outcomes of Western and American imperialism (Fuller, 2010, Russian Orthodox Suspicions section, para. 7). The solution for this mutual misunderstanding and clashes between the West and Muslims is presented as settling the Israeli-Palestinian dispute by Fuller (2010) since it is seen as the symbol of Western imperialism in the eyes of Arabian people (Anti-Colonial Radicalism section, para. 13). For Bernard Lewis (2004), too, Muslim's resentment towards the US is mainly related to this issue as well as other double-standards implemented by Westerns such as Israel's not being held responsible for its atrocities, their breaches of UN resolutions and so on (pp. 103-113).

According to the poll conducted in 2016 by Pew Research Center, favorability result of Barack Obama was satisfactory in 10 European states, 4 Asia-Pacific states, Canada and the USA. However, the same result was not observable in the Middle East. Also, even in the countries where Obama and US favorability was high, disappointment over the policies having been followed prevailed. For instance, drone strikes of the US to fight against extremists in some countries like Pakistan and Yemen resulted in dismay for the world opinion (Wike, Poushter & Zainulbhai, 2016, para. 3). Even though Obama had pleasing favorability results in most countries except the Middle East, some incidents left a mark by occurring during Obama term. In the end, what Obama will be

remembered by ended up being Obamacare in domestic policy and unstoppable brutality in Syria and Ukraine invasion of Russia in foreign policy (Bromund, 2015, para. 9-10). However, US' operations against ISIS in Iraq and Syria were also perceived positively unlike the Iraq War. In the surveys, respondents in 15 countries replied to this question regarding how they evaluate US actions against ISIS as saying they support the US (Wike et al., 2016, para. 5). France is the country having the most favorable opinion in this cause mostly due to 2015 Paris attacks of ISIS (Mitchell, 2016, para. 19).

As for the perception of US' liberty rights concept, it was also positive except in the eyes of Europeans in the last three years (Wike et al., 2016, para. 17). However, when it comes to the country's record in implementing the respect to liberty rights, a change was observed. Among the causes of this change of minds on US' respecting civil liberties, the incident of disclosure of U.S. National Security System's surveillance programs exists together with the incident of finding out Angela Merkel's cellphone was wiretapped by the US administration (Mitchell, 2016, para. 10).

As a consequence, in the survey of 2016 conducted by Pew Research Center, it was revealed that Europeans think Obama would choose the right path in handling the issues with 77% ratio despite some problematic incidents. As for the Asia-Pacific region, he has a positive image in China, Japan, Australia and India (Wike et al., 2016, para. 10, 12). According to Gallup survey results, Obama's favorability ratio was 57% while leaving his office. Compared to his predecessor, George W. Bush, his favorability was 23% higher. However, it was 10% lower than his first year. The worst result of his favorability was in the year 2014. Thus, the results show an improvement in his favorability ratio in last years of his term (Kopf, 2017, para. 1).

As to US favorability in Obama's last years, it has been found out that it was higher among young people aged between 18-34. Interestingly, this ratio gap was the highest in China among young population and the rest with 25% difference. Also, US favorability differs according to the dominant ideology of a country. For instance, right-wingers are prone to like the US more although the opposite is valid for left-wingers (Mitchell, 2016, para. 6). In sum, US' 2016 favorability ratio is around more than fifty percent in more than half of the countries (Wike et al., 2016, para. 1).

In the last years of his term in the office, Barack Obama focused on improving relations with the countries with whom the US was in bad terms for a long time. This is also one

of the factors raising his image in the eyes of the world population. In the direction of this policy of reconciliation, Obama visited a couple of countries. His visit to Hiroshima has a crucial place in mutual relations by which President Obama's recognition would lessen the burden of hurt feelings of the Japanese public. Hiroshima visit was also critical for reminding the world and presidents of the necessity of a world without nuclear weapons. Apart from that, normalization of relations with Cuba was achieved and Obama described previous 50 years as damage to mutual interests. Also, nuclear disarmament of Iran was achieved through negotiations and diplomacy in Obama's term of office (Kounalakis, 2016, para. 1, 2, 3, 9 & 10).

As a conclusion, having increasing hopes of the foreign public about correcting the US' wrong policies, President Obama could not keep his promises made before taking office. He postponed the decision of withdrawal from Iraq, could not win the war on terror, was accused of encouraging Arab Spring resulting in turmoil, was criticized due to WikiLeaks documents, was accepted as the reason of ISIS' expansion and so on. Despite all these unfortunate incidents, he could manage to increase US favorability and his approval ratings slightly by means of the endeavors to improve relations with critical countries such as Cuba and Japan in the last year of his term. In the end, Barack Obama was the most favored and most successful applier of public diplomacy among America's last three presidents. However, his success is relatively measured by comparing with already infamous names about the field of public diplomacy.

CHAPTER V

CURRENT STRUCTURE AND STATUS OF US PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The dramatic change in US public diplomacy is being observed during Donald Trump's presidency. Up until now, one can claim that President Trump has been making his calculations based on domestic policy rather than with the aim of pleasing the foreign public. From this point of view, the foreign public also considers Trump's foreign policies as threatening to their countries. Apart from that, obstacles deriving from US state system, the world's condition or human nature makes the development of positive foreign public opinion harder for the US. Together with these, the US competes with some certain states not only in merely traditional foreign policy areas but also public diplomacy area. All these factors constitute a different dimension for the US. Even though some are familiar obstacles, the hardships appearing due to Donald Trump's attitudes towards the foreign public are new subject areas for the experts dealing with public diplomacy. Therefore, detecting the source of the current problems and bringing up new solutions would consolidate public diplomacy practices and studies.

5.1 CURRENT STRUCTURE OF US PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

The US PD is defined as following, "The mission of American public diplomacy is to support the achievement of U.S. foreign policy goals and objectives, advance national interests, and enhance national security by informing and influencing foreign publics and by expanding and strengthening the relationship between the people and Government of the United States and citizens of the rest of the world" by Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs (Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, n.d.). The bureaus working with Under Secretary are Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA), Bureau of International Information Programs (IIP), Bureau of Public Affairs (PA), Global Engagement Center (GEC) and Office of Policy, Planning and Resources (R/PPR). The mission of ECA is forming friendly relations with people abroad through educational, cultural, professional and sport exchange programs. IIP deals with digital technology means for performing public

diplomacy activities. PA works on conveying credible and correct information via the media. GEC fights against manipulated information spread by mainly terrorist organizations. R/PPR prepares public diplomacy strategy of the country and evaluates the outcomes of implemented policies (Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, n.d.).

As the most important agency for US public diplomacy, Broadcasting Board of Governors is in control of five important media outlets consisting of Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Free Asia, Office of Cuba Broadcasting and Middle East Broadcasting Networks. BBG defines its mission as “to inform, engage and connect people around the world in support of freedom and democracy” (Broadcasting Board, n.d.). In December 2016, Broadcasting Board of Governors with 9 members has changed to be administered by only one CEO who would have to account for his/her decisions (Bayles & Gedmin, 2017, para. 1). The change with regard to being accountable constitutes a positive development which ensures that public diplomacy is conducted in a more careful manner.

Aside from how existing public diplomacy related institutions works, how public diplomacy is conducted is also worth reviewing. Conduct of public diplomacy changes according to characteristics of periods. Compared to its effectiveness in the Cold War, public diplomacy is in decline during the 21st century. Unlike the past, armed conflicts are observed around the places where civilians reside (Gregory, 2011, pp. 7-8). For this reason, there exists more need for public diplomacy to ease minds of people and make explanations to lessen the potential harm to arise from people’s negative views over the concerned country. The scope of the public diplomacy is extensive in today’s environment. Workload of diplomats is higher with an increased number of fields and people to deal with. Today, public diplomacy can sort out problems in every field such as nuclear proliferation, climate change, natural disasters, crisis and conflicts, cybersecurity, epidemics and so on. Besides, some of these issues are interrelated and required to be resolved in collaboration. Syrian refugees, climate change, economic crises, international crimes are primary examples of this (Gregory, 2011, pp. 10-11).

The United States has experienced being unable to reflect military achievements to political space in the aftermath of September 11 attacks. For this reason, the war on terror evolved into a long-lasting policy. Now, more than half of the world population

views America negatively, and this costs losses in the fields of economy, political hegemony, etc. (Creswell, 2017, p. 1). What the world observed about the US during the war on terror has made them come to the conclusion that America is a bigger threat than terrorism for the world (Schafer, 2017, p. 16). Accordingly, it exacerbates the country's ineffectiveness in justifying the war on terror. Failure in public diplomacy was accepted to have appeared due to poor communication skills of relevant organs or officials. With this thinking, public diplomacy and strategic communication (SC) of the US was decided to be altered and reinforced. Strategic Communication is defined as

Focused United States Government efforts to understand and engage key audiences to create, strengthen, or preserve conditions favorable for the advancement of United States Government interests, policies and objectives through the use of coordinated programs, plans, themes, messages and products synchronized with the actions of all instruments of national power (as cited in Creswell, 2017, p. 1).

It was believed that PD and SC efforts would fight against terrorism and get rid of its effects. However, the reality proved so differently that US government is still engaged in operations against terrorism outside of its country. It also witnessed terrorist attacks within the country although so many years passed since the war on terror started. Besides, its allies are also under terrorist attacks and security threats deriving from terrorism. Obama's war of ideas was assessed as fruitless, and Muslim's perception of US did not change upon the change of administration and new policies. Major underlying causes for this failure are grouped in three items by Michael H. Creswell: i) pluralistic nature of US government system, ii) rapid change in technology and iii) impact of US army's acts (Creswell, 2017, pp. 1-3).

The US Congress confirms its adherence to promote public diplomacy of the country with the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for FY 2010-2011 (Jawaharlal, n.d., para. 2). However, in US government system, the message determined to disseminate for the country's image cannot be voiced however the executive branch wants since there exists an opposition party criticizing the other for the sake of protecting their position. This is how the government system works in the United States. Even congressmen from the same party with the President criticizes him. Aside from that, candidates at electoral campaigns change their rhetoric according to what the strong groups that are to sponsor

a certain candidate expects them to say. For instance, George Bush had said he would make the Congress pass a resolution regarding so-called Armenian genocide, yet he changed his decision when he took office. Likewise, Obama had promised the same thing to Armenians, but he also altered the rhetoric he employed during election campaigns (Creswell, 2017, p. 5). For Joseph Nye, being politically divided also hampers the US' easy growth aside from public diplomacy failures. Examples of these are the cases of not being able to ratify the Law of the Sea. However, no matter how many different obstacles the US faces, the most important obstacle to US' soft power is the impact of the Iraq invasion according to Nye (as cited in Seib, 2015, p. 11).

Presence of democratic and republican party in the Congress is likely to affect the message of the US to be conveyed in both unintended and intended way. It also can happen due to the fact that institutions within the state structure are not working in coordination when it comes to some important information and they may not be aware of what one knows and decides. Besides, hiding information from others is also common practice in US administration system. Media's involvement in transmitting the message can create conflictual situations with the government as well since they can narrate the story differently (Creswell, 2017, p. 7). Thus, this can damage the country's image if it is perceived as dangerous, unjust or indecent by the foreign public.

It is a well-known fact now that favorable public opinion is required for prosperity, security and enriching culture of a country. Even if the immediate results are not very productive, it is a concept which would definitely benefit the country by means of accumulating the gains from public diplomacy. However, there are some questioning the meaning of public diplomacy efforts in the United States. However, there are concrete examples of advantages deriving from public diplomacy. For example, international student's benefits to the country is observed to be \$30.5 billion in terms of economics and development of the country with their abilities in an academic sense. Alternatively, \$52 million contribution to the economy via International Visitor Leadership Program which is a concrete result of public diplomacy to the US can be shown (Brown, 2017, pp. 120-121). However, opposing views of members of Congress lead to spare low budget to public diplomacy activities and this is a hampering factor to succeed. As it is seen, the pluralist structure of American system blocks the image improving attempts of the executive branch (Creswell, 2017, p. 6).

On the other hand, arguments over the insufficient amount of fund spared for public diplomacy is common when it comes to questioning the underlying reason behind the failure of the public diplomacy. The insufficient fund stands as an obstacle in front of pursuing researches, carrying out specific programs, enlarging the public diplomacy field for it to play a part in different areas and so on. However, amount of money spent on PD would not ensure its success because in which direction the fund is used is a determining factor of its efficiency (Creswell, 2017, pp. 19-20). Even terrorist organizations with a small budget can be more effective to change perceptions of the public. For instance, the US failed in the Middle East against them despite all these efforts such as radio programs, advertisements, publishing magazines and so on (Melissen, 2005, p. 7). Therefore, it is essential to take other factors into account and importance of all other areas which can affect foreign policy while allocating budget to public diplomacy activities.

The United States has two fundamental values which the country promotes and spreads all over the world: democracy and liberalism. However, there appear cases that the US has to choose one over another. In order to get commercial benefits or not to lose economic gain, there were times the US disregarded authoritarian leaders' governing foreign countries or strict rules carried out throughout the country and brutality executed to citizens. When Hosni Mubarak was about to be ousted, the US government did not want to withdraw its support immediately in order not to be target for criticisms and when asked whether Mubarak is a dictator or not, John Kerry replied with indirect words saying he would not call him a dictator (Creswell, 2017, p. 12). Apart from their contradiction with each other, exporting democracy and liberalism also contradicts with the country's characteristics of exceptionalism, since democracy and liberalism forms specific characteristics of the country according to the belief in American exceptionalism and a thing that is specific to a country cannot be copied by others (Wooley, 2013, p. 62).

Getting rid of the threat of terrorism and getting approval from all over the world for its policies are the two fundamental purpose of US public diplomacy. However, natural restrictions for public diplomacy to be effective exist for every country. Therefore, a country that is willing to conduct a proper public diplomacy should first consider these

restrictions arising from the root of the concept and condition of the international arena (Creswell, 2017, p. 20).

The US' failure in mediating peace negotiations between Israel and Palestine, US' military actions in Iraq, Yemen and Somalia, unrest in Libya due to Arab Spring are disappointing components of US foreign policy for the public of the Middle East region. Apart from that, US' hiring contractors for performing as military stuff and them taking care of public diplomacy activities are criticized due to the fact that they are not accountable when it comes to consequences for their actions and it has a harmful effect on public diplomacy (Creswell, 2017, p. 17).

Moreover, advancement of technology and social and news media provide advantages for any country to transmit its message but also create difficulties due to the existence of dissenting voices in the same sphere. President Obama paid special attention to getting benefit from social media entities like Twitter and Facebook. For this, he even attended town halls hosted by Twitter and Facebook in 2011 (Creswell, 2017, p. 6). Apart from that, the US established Center for Strategic Counterterrorism Communications with the aim of fighting against ISIS' social media activities (Weinstein, 2018, para. 4). It was replaced by the Global Engagement Center in 2016 (Mccaskill, Shenon, Grunwald, Greenfield & Shafer, 2017, para. 8). However, in the information war with adversaries, American administration could not succeed as it wanted. The terrorist organization ISIS is very good at using information systems for its propaganda and the US is even behind them in this issue. Upon this, an international memo prepared by then Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Richard A. Stengel had been released, which indicates a necessity for forming a communications hub in the Middle East to control and reverse manipulated information transmitted by ISIS and disseminate target message. However, American sponsored or controlled media channels like Al-hurra has not been preferred by the local population in the Middle East and other media institutions like BBC and Al-Jazeera are found more reliable by the public of the region. This constitutes a setback for US' voice's being heard (Creswell, 2017, p. 9).

As a consequence of intense studies and practices over public diplomacy, the United States could manage to amend its image in the eyes of most nations except Middle Eastern publics (Seib, 2015, p. 12). During both Iraq and Afghanistan wars, US image declined more and more, and in the fight against ISIS, the US administration could get

approval from neither its own public nor the Middle Eastern public as to whether it is competent enough to defeat them or not. However, public diplomacy is the ideal way to defeat ISIS since this kind of an act will disappear once they have no supporter and this can be achieved through undermining the basis of their logic by means of conveying solid arguments, which is a practice of public diplomacy (Creswell, 2017, p. 19).

According to polling results of The Soft Power 30, the US is in the third place in mid 2017 in terms of the power of public diplomacy, yet the results were acquired before the decision of withdrawal from the Paris Agreement. It is assumed that if it were involved, the ranking of the US would be lower based on the reactions of people in the social media. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that the US does not lose its place in the rankings that easily given its wide-range of the sphere of influence and accumulated public diplomacy efforts of long years. Apart from the United States, other countries experienced a change according to poll results also. As well as being on the rise due to their economic growth, Asian countries are also on the rise in terms of public diplomacy impacts. Results of the Soft Power 30 polling shows that China, South Korea and Japan climbed up in the ranking compared to previous results (Brown, 2017, pp. 134-135).

As for the US' position in the world, answers are divergent. There exist countries like Japan saying it is less powerful according to majority voting and also the countries like India saying it is more powerful. Due to the reason that Chinese economy is not growing as fast as it was in the past and American economy continues to expand. Seven out of fifteen countries consider the US as a leading power. Yet, the tendency to think like that was not widespread in 2009, but it has started to change in favor of the US since 2012 in particular countries like France, Germany, Britain, Poland and Spain (Wike, Poushter & Zainulbhai, 2016, para. 8).

5.2 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY TENDENCIES IN DONALD TRUMP'S PRESIDENCY

By the time President Trump took office, US economy was in a better state compared to the year 2009, and this was a good start for the current president since Barack Obama was the one having to deal with the remnant of Bush term and eliminated some of the problems already. Also, he left the office by getting approval from many of the countries in the world. In sum, US' records with regard to the international image could

be considered as satisfying. However, a remarkable favorability exception in the results can be seen in Muslim countries with negative views for America because of the existence of new trouble called ISIS in the region and remnant of Iraq war. Apart from that, positive developments of Obama term are either has changed or under the threat of change during Trump's period. For example, nuclear disarmament agreement with Iran and Power Africa which aims at improving condition of Africa were positive developments during Obama term. There were some attempts to strengthen relations with Russia as well. Yet, due to aggression exhibited by Russia in Ukraine and so, improving relations with Russia could not already take place during Obama's presidency. Although Paris Agreement was a positive step taken by the US for strengthening its image, this situation changed with President Trump as in the case of relations with Cuba (Dillen, 2016, para. 15).

Recently in the United States, bias against Muslims has been continually increasing due to its being in the center of discussions in a way that it has been demonstrated as if it is the source of all problems. From 2010 to 2014, favorability of Muslims in the eyes of Americans dropped to 27% from 35%. Moreover, today, only 16% of Trump's supporters are not prejudiced against Islam. Accordingly, the more biased Americans against Muslims, the more skeptic Muslim population against US administration's activities around the world. This is because the Islamic world evaluates the US' policies based on their view on Muslims as well so that they can figure out their real intention, whether these policies would harm them or not (Boduszynski, 2017, para. 2). As a consequence, mutual biases of both parties turn the world into a more divided place destroying previous gains of public diplomacy.

Moreover, one can notice hate crimes also exists in such an environment. Not only Muslims but also African-Americans are pointed for those hate crimes through various methods like racists graffiti. In a situation like this, the US' most urgent need is professional and hard work of institutions related to public diplomacy to get rid of bad impacts of these incidents. For this reason, as the first attempt of public diplomacy, making a distinction between fundamental American values and Donald Trump's values is a factor needed to make foreign public keep in their mind by the officers (Seib, 2017a, para. 2, 8).

Aside from these, recently, during presidential elections, candidates made some statements directed towards only local public by offending Arab nation. Since the candidates' ultimate aim was to be elected, they disregarded future consequences and only focused on domestic affairs. Upon these kinds of incidents, Arab nation's admiration towards the US decreases more and more. Likewise, the election of Donald Trump also increased the ratio of dislike towards the country (Rugh, 2017, p. 5). Trump's victory in the elections and the atmosphere created by Trump's statements in the US made the newspaper *The National* captioned "Hate Crime and Islamophobia Increase After Trump Victory." This can be taken as an example of the reflection of how people perceive the current situation (Seib, 2017a, para. 1).

Up until now, regardless of American presidents' real opinion, US foreign policy had never reflected their opposition to Islam with their statements (Boduszynski, 2017, para. 5). Obama, as well, refrained from using an offensive language towards Muslims and never blamed Muslims for terror attacks. Yet, this is not the case for Donald Trump who claimed Muslims living in New Jersey welcomed 9/11 attacks, called for forming a Muslim database and attempted to ban Muslims from certain countries (Iraq, Syria, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen) to enter into the US. He preferred to emphasize their position regarding Muslims not only during campaign period but also after he took office. In other words, he made it look like opposition to Islam is a state policy. The discourse Trump used during electoral campaign was even criticized by then the Secretary of State John Kerry by saying his discourse was not constructive (Creswell, 2017, p. 6). Besides, Trump did not hold an Iftar in Ramadan month by not following White House tradition of many years. By doing this, he disregarded recommendations of foreign policy advisors as well. These incidents give hard times to public diplomacy practitioners in achieving the goal of getting support from Muslims, since it creates a situation where one's actions reveal how fake their statements are. It looks like the distinction made by the US between extremists and Islam world has been blurred, and now they see both of them as the same (Boduszynski, 2017, para. 5).

American presidents' inaugural address constitutes a significant part in announcing next policies and America's stance. However, Trump's address to the nation and the world contained such controversial points like criticisms to Obama administration that the State Department had to choose milder parts from his speech for posting to social media

(Brown, 2017, p. 65). Also, the world's reaction to inauguration through mocking videos like the one that Netherlands' one of show program prepared in the name of "Netherlands Welcome Trump in His Own Words" video and spread of this trend to other countries was one example of how the world perceives Trump and his victory in the elections. In the videos, one can observe bad treats of the countries are presented as something Trump would favor, and there were imitations of Trump's own words by adapting those to their own countries like "This is Afsluitdijk. It's a great, great wall that we built to protect us from all the water from Mexico." in Netherlands' video (America First, 2017). These words were used in reference to Trump's intent for building a wall in the borderline they share with Mexico.

Also, the fact that Trump did not reaffirm US' commitments to NATO's Article 5, which is about collective defense, also resulted in the emergence of another disappointment in the eyes of the foreign public. While this is the case, internal institutions of the US try to cover up the damage President Trump creates. For instance, Trump's harsh words towards Qatar was tried to be covered up by their ambassador to Qatar through sending a post to Twitter mentioning how strong two countries' relationship are (Brown, 2017, p. 67).

On the other side, on his first visit to the Middle East and Europe, President Trump could not give a good account of himself. In the meeting for woman entrepreneurs in Saudi Arabia, female journalists were not allowed to join, but only male media members. On the other side, Trump's speech taking place at NATO headquarters was responded by the laughter of some attendees in the hall. Trump being more attentive to autocratic leaders, but distant to democratically chosen ones created some questions on his preferences and values too. Even though he claims the significance of "America first" everywhere, these behaviors made the public think not America but he, himself is the one that is prioritized (Brown, 2017, p. 64).

President Trump also has another specific characteristic which is worth to mention. He is an active Twitter user and is aware of the effectiveness of Twitter in relaying his message in comparison to the mass media instruments which might change the context of his speeches while transmitting the message to the audience. Besides, he also knows the number of receivers of the message would be much more than other media tools. Donald Trump utilizes Twitter with 330 million active users. In this way, not only

domestic population but also world population observes his tweets. Yet, the way the President uses Twitter disregards opinions of the foreign public and targets only American citizens with political aims. This yields harmful results to the US. Apart from that, the issues Trump tweets on (like how actually Access Hollywood tapes are fake, which are about his ugly remarks about women; or claims about the birthplace of President Obama being outside of America) changes the agenda and does not serve the country at all. In the end, the world leadership also shifts to another country whose public diplomacy does not damage its country but leverage it to higher levels unlike the United States (Seib, 2017b, para. 1, 2, 7 & 8).

Foreign public, especially the ones in the Middle Eastern countries, resent America. Even though diplomats of the US in Muslim countries make intense efforts to correct American image in the region, they are evaluated as representatives of an Islamophobic country because of contents of President Trump's tweets. Consequently, the negative impact created by President Trump's tweets cannot be reversed. Besides, America's values that are claimed to be at the top level are reflected in the opposite way with these tweets which cannot be limited for being only displayed internally, but read by the whole world. The attractiveness of famous American values is also jeopardized to the point of losing its all importance in the end (Seib, 2017b, para. 5-6).

In that vein, US allies did not welcome Donald Trump's attitude although his poll results measuring the ratio of the support increased up to 41% within the country (Creswell, 2017, p. 6). Besides, "America First" doctrine used by President Donald Trump has also formed a negative image for the US in the world. It is valid for both allies and enemies. In accordance with this, even allies of the US have started to distance themselves from the United States. Polls results, too, like those of Pew Research Center confirm this fact (Brown, 2017, p. 11).

Since President Trump constantly questions how essential the existing agreements to which the US is party or whether they should continue giving assurance for security of allies and so on, his discourse generates an uncertain environment, which leads the countries to equip themselves in line of the possible new world order (Brown, 2017, p. 15). These developments have been observed, and necessary actions have been taken. For European countries, it is now apparent the US and Europe have different point of views on world affairs such as climate change, commerce and so on. As for Canada and

Mexico, they feel burdened to make an attempt to appease or change President Trump's mind over disbanding NAFTA since cooperation is believed to be a necessary component for the continent (Brown, 2017, p. 21). NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) had been signed in 1992 among the United States, Canada and Mexico with the aim of consolidating economy of the aforementioned countries by removing most of tariffs and trade barriers (Bondarenko, 2018, para. 1).

On the other hand, the world now has a new agenda over the shift of power from West to East. The growth of Asia had begun with Japan and South Korea and continued with rapid industrialization in China (Moody, 2016, para. 3). Over time, China's success in terms of economy in the world arena launched an argument over whether the country will take over world leadership from the US or not. President Trump's remarks over abandoning Asian countries resulted in the thoughts of China's being a possible new hegemon in the region based on its recent improved status (Brown, 2017, p. 19). It would not be wrong to assume shift of power can come true or be more visible with this step of Trump. Given that Trump administration already stated main American values like democracy and human rights are not the first matters that were needed to be promoted for the US anymore, American influence may fade away more rapidly with this decision.

With Trump's administration, the world has been witnessing a dramatic foreign policy change in America. US' absence from essential treaties, its being unwilling to secure a just world order or maintain old alliances like the ones with Japan and South Korea and so on makes the other countries search for a new path for themselves. As the founder of NATO, the US administration questions necessity and functionality of NATO for the country recently. Also, security of South Korea and Japan is under the threat of losing American assurance. As an advocator of free trade and open markets, the US abolished validity of Trans-Pacific Partnership, which was expected to launch a new phase between commercial relations of the countries along the Pacific Ocean. Trump also mentions doing the same to the North American Free Trade Agreement (Brown, 2017, pp. 16-17). He withdrew from Paris Climate Agreement, too. The United Nations' spokesman remarked that the US' this action generated a disappointment for the efforts made for preventing climate change and stated that US leadership was crucial with regard to the initiatives taken for climate change (Jacobo, 2017, para. 33). The

withdrawal from Paris Agreement generated reactions not only abroad but also in the US itself. The airline industry, mayors and governors declared they would still fulfill the requirements of Paris Agreement (Brown, 2017, p. 67).

Despite harsh statements of President Trump, freedom provided to Muslim citizens of the US regarding worshipping or maintaining their usual lives as in their home countries may also save the US from dramatic favorability loss. Aside from that, no matter how Trump administration tries to adopt some legislation to the detriment of Muslims, democratic institutions of the US do not allow such kind of things to happen. For instance, judiciary rejected travel ban to the US for the citizens of some Muslim countries. In addition, there exists a group of Americans who protest unfair application of US administration towards Muslims or the attacks of radical groups to mosques or Muslim people themselves (Boduszynski, 2017, para. 16).

Although Donald Trump won the elections by using sentiments of people in the wrong way, it does not mean all country supports whatever he does. In some certain cities like Chicago, Los Angeles and New York, people protest his excessive policies as in the cases of Paris Agreement withdrawal and migration ban to some Middle East countries (Cull, 2016, p. 245). When Trump tried to suspend the US refugee resettlement programs, high level of reaction was observed through Twitter and other social media channels as well. Here, one can also notice that digital diplomacy provides a measurement of public opinion in a sense in most of the occasions (Brown, 2017, p. 88). These characteristics of the citizens and state structure of the United States give hope to Muslims indicating that things cannot go that bad since there appear some people who would prevent these from taking place. As increasing Islamophobia in the US worries almost everyone, some situated values of the US preventing such occasions can be used as a counter-argument to save US image.

President Donald Trump has brought the failure of public diplomacy into question once again because of his indifferent approach towards foreign public opinion. His statements that are far from being delicate makes continuing decline of US image certain given that Barack Obama who was careful in using language even failed in public diplomacy field with regard to Muslim population (Creswell, 2017, p. 4).

President Trump's statements do not harm only public diplomacy but also the economy of the country in terms of the amount of money flowing from foreign countries through

individuals. Even though education is the strong hand of the US, Trump's statements and stance towards immigration caused nearly 40% decrease of applications for education from abroad. The number of tourists visiting the country also dropped a great deal causing 2.3 trillion USD revenue to decrease by around 7 billion USD. It is estimated that underlying reasons are Trump's ban to Middle Eastern visitors, dollars position and other foreigners who do not prefer visiting America because of Trump's policies like 29% of British people (Brown, 2017, pp. 66-68).

Despite all these unfavorable incidents, there is a possibility that one may pay less attention to US stance towards Islam while compatibility of the political stance of oneself and the US may mean much more important. For instance, which side a person support in the Syrian war has the power to change one's perception towards America. The US' fight against ISIS, its contributions to eliminate this threat, and its humanitarian aids to victims of ISIS may overshadow dissenting statements with regard to Islam. Besides, the US' going against Bashar al-Assad regime may form a sympathy or at least prevent the emergence of complete hatred towards the United States for the ones disapproving Assad regime's wrongdoings (Boduszynski, 2017, para. 14).

Considering the poll results and reactions of people all around the world about Trump's policies, it can be put forward that President Trump's aim of promoting America's superpower place in the world by means of strengthening the economy and neglecting other essential parts of state policy does not yield positive results. 'There is only one superpower on the planet. That super power is public opinion' is a perfect phrase said by Simon Anholt to point out the capability of public diplomacy to the extent of changing the trajectory of world history (Cull, 2016, p. 243). Based on this remark, it is obvious that President Trump's desire to "make America great again" can only be realized if he wins hearts and minds of foreign people.

In a nutshell, President Donald Trump has embraced such policies that he completely disregarded foreign public and wasted all the acquisitions of Obama terms and reversed the condition to a point which is worse than that of during Bush term. In a period when Islamophobia is in a considerable level in the West and the United States, he exacerbates hateful attitudes of American citizens by acting with the aim of getting domestic support for his presidency. Having observed all these incidents, the foreign public distances themselves from the new US administration. His activities also

contradict America's original values like liberalism in trade as in the case of cancellation of Transatlantic Trade Agreement. As a way to eliminate damaging statements and activities of President Trump, explaining original American values and demonstrating stance of a significant number of people opposing these policies, especially to the ones towards Muslims could be helpful for the sake of America's image all around the world.



CHAPTER VI

THE UNITED STATES' FAVORABILITY IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES

American image has been very problematic in Muslim countries since September 11 Attacks. Be it Afghanistan war or Iraq war, these kinds of unilateral actions of the United States generated discontent. Despite the fact that there were times favorability of the US was on the rise, US administrations and officials could never manage to get a total approval from Muslims. Iraq War and George W. Bush's policies changed entire Muslim world's America perception. Since then the US has been seen as an occupying power, or a country with bad intentions which is ready to do anything for its own interests. However, main target for the US to realize its ambitions regarding its interests was regarded as Middle East countries. Because of religious and cultural differences, it has been believed that the US despises Muslims and tries to take advantage of them mostly because of oil resources and weak state structure of Middle East region. In order to get rid of these perceptions, American governments have focused on conducting public diplomacy policies, predominantly for Middle East region and Muslim nations.

Obama's term of office was about to change heart and minds of Islam world, yet unpleasant events that create opposing views appeared during his tenure. Despite the fact that President of U.S. Barack Obama obtained good results near his final term, new president Donald Trump has made all these efforts useless with his uncaring characteristic towards foreign policy. Now, Muslim countries alongside rest of the world are uneasy about US policies and their plans and next steps because of what they observe during Trump term and his candidacy period.

On the other side, America still has some attractive sides according to Muslims, which are generally democracy, high-quality education, liberalism, entertainment sector involving Hollywood movies and music. These contribute to America's image a great deal and ensure the country does not turn into a total disappointment in the eyes of the foreign public. Especially among the young population, the US is regarded as attractive, and they are the ones raising US favorability ratings in the surveys. When examined in detail, it is noticeable that youth and females have different mindsets while observing the US and are more sympathetic towards the country than elders and males. This

chapter analyzes the US' favorability ratings based on mainly surveys of Pew Research Center. The graphs below indicate the ratings of the United States ranged from the year 2002 to 2017 with regard to favorability of the US, favorability of Americans, confidence at presidents and the U.S.' respect for personal freedoms record respectively.

6.1 OPINION POLLS ABOUT UNITED STATES' FAVORABILITY IN MUSLIM COUNTRIES

Opinion polls are the most useful tools for evaluating applied policies in terms of public diplomacy. They guide the governments on what to do for improvements or maintaining the current condition and which parts of the applied policies were received well or not. Apart from that, they provide a visual display of the US public diplomacy for the readers. For this reason, a comprehensive evaluation of opinion polls on US image is necessary to see the condition of the US since September 11 attacks. According to performed survey results following September 11 attacks; the United States first lost the sympathy generated upon September 11 attacks due to Afghanistan war, exacerbated already worsened image of itself with Iraq invasion, raised its favorability by choosing Barack Obama as the president and giving hope for improvement in world politics, lost some of the positive image upon Obama's failure in keeping his promises, gained more favorable opinions in Obama's last term by some intense efforts to improve relations with the countries having problematic history with the US, but lost a great deal of positive image with Trump's taking office.

Predominantly Muslim Countries: Percent responding **Favorable, all years measured**

COUNTRY	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Bangladesh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	76	-	-	-
Indonesia	-	-	-	38	30	29	37	63	59	54	-	61	59	62	-	48
Jordan	25	1	5	21	15	20	19	25	21	13	12	14	12	14	-	15
Kuwait	-	63	-	-	-	46	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lebanon	36	27	-	42	-	47	51	55	52	49	48	47	41	39	-	34
Malaysia	-	-	-	-	-	27	-	-	-	-	-	55	51	54	-	-
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Morocco	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nigeria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	81	-	-	69	69	76	66	69
Pakistan	10	-	21	23	27	15	19	16	17	12	12	11	14	22	-	-
Palestinian ter.	-	-	-	-	-	13	-	15	-	18	-	16	30	26	-	-
Senegal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	81	74	80	-	55
Tunisia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45	42	42	-	-	27
Turkey	30	15	30	23	12	9	12	14	17	10	15	21	19	29	-	18
Uzbekistan	85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Full question wording: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the United States.

Table 1. Opinion poll asking respondents “Do you have a favorable or unfavorable view of the U.S.?” Adapted from “Pew Research Center,” PRC. *Opinion of the United States*. Retrieved March, 29, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/database/indicator/1/group/10/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

Predominantly Muslim Countries: Percent responding **Favorable, all years measured**

COUNTRY	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2017
Indonesia	-	-	-	46	36	42	45	54	55	52	-	60	50
Jordan	54	18	21	34	39	36	36	39	44	37	31	31	37
Kuwait	-	71	-	-	-	62	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lebanon	47	62	-	66	-	69	74	69	66	62	61	58	43
Malaysia	-	-	-	-	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	56	-
Mali	-	-	-	-	-	81	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Morocco	-	-	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nigeria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	81	-	-	70	70
Pakistan	17	-	25	22	27	19	20	20	18	12	14	17	-
Palestinian ter.	-	6	-	-	-	21	-	20	-	24	-	25	-
Senegal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	79	58
Tunisia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	44	38	37
Turkey	32	32	32	23	17	13	13	14	16	12	13	20	24
Uzbekistan	83	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Full question wording: Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of Americans.

Table 2. Opinion poll asking respondents “Do you have a favorable or unfavorable view of the American people?” Adapted from “Pew Research Center,” PRC. *Opinion of Americans*. Retrieved March 29, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/database/indicator/2/group/10/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

Predominantly Muslim Countries: Percent responding Confidence, all years measured

COUNTRY	2003	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Bangladesh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	74	-	-	-
Indonesia	-	19	20	14	23	71	67	62	-	53	60	64	-	23
Jordan	1	1	7	8	7	31	26	28	22	24	17	14	-	9
Kuwait	62	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lebanon	17	23	-	34	33	46	43	43	39	37	35	36	-	15
Malaysia	-	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	51	54	61	-	-
Mali	-	-	-	66	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Morocco	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nigeria	-	-	-	-	-	-	84	-	-	53	53	73	63	58
Pakistan	-	10	9	7	7	13	8	8	7	10	7	14	-	-
Palestinian ter.	1	-	-	8	-	23	-	14	-	15	13	15	-	-
Senegal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	78	73	77	-	26
Tunisia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28	24	27	-	-	18
Turkey	8	8	3	2	2	33	23	12	24	29	24	45	-	11

Full question wording: Now I'm going to read a list of political leaders. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs - a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all. U.S. President George W. Bush (2002-2008), Barack Obama (2009-2016), Donald Trump (2017)

Table 3. Opinion poll asking respondents "How much confidence do you have in the U.S. President (Trump '17, Obama '09-'16, Bush '03-'08)?" Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *Confidence in the U.S. President*. Retrieved March, 29, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/database/indicator/6/group/10/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

Predominantly Muslim Countries: Percent responding Yes, all years measured

COUNTRY	2008	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Bangladesh	-	-	58	-	-	-
Indonesia	58	69	63	63	-	56
Jordan	48	49	50	53	-	58
Lebanon	55	87	84	81	-	80
Malaysia	-	63	50	51	-	-
Nigeria	-	70	53	64	74	77
Pakistan	45	54	31	44	-	-
Palestinian ter.	-	66	60	63	-	-
Senegal	-	72	63	65	-	54
Tunisia	-	64	70	-	-	66
Turkey	47	48	49	36	-	45

Full question wording: Do you think the government of the United States respects the personal freedoms of its people, or don't you think so?

Table 4. Opinion poll asking respondents "Does the U.S. government respect the personal freedoms of its people?" Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *U.S. Personal Freedoms*. Retrieved March, 29, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/database/indicator/72/group/10/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

In 2001, the perception of the US in foreign publics' minds was positive including Muslim nations. Yet, this positive perception used to be arisen from what the US represents rather than its actual actions. Looking at the results of surveys, Muslim populations' support for terrorism was also low. Despite Europe's uneasiness towards US leadership in the world, Muslim countries were not annoyed by it. The US was criticized for its over materialistic stance, but the innovations it led in terms of commerce and goods together with technological advancements were admired by most of the nations. On the other hand, countries close to conflict areas like Turkey and Pakistan were dissatisfied by US policies with regard to the Middle East. Majority of people all around the world had expressed their sadness with respect to 9/11 attacks, yet the US' being vulnerable was not a source of sorrow for many of the countries. Again, the majority thought US policy about the war on terror was what was the right thing to do (How the United, 2005).

Two Views of War on Terror		
	<i>Most/Many People Say ...</i>	
	<i>U.S. is over- reacting</i>	<i>U.S. is doing the right thing</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Total Non-U.S.</i>	42	62
<i>Western Europe</i>	27	90
<i>E. Europe/Russia</i>	53	64
<i>Latin America</i>	40	46
<i>Asia</i>	42	63
<i>Mid-East/Conflict Area</i>	62	41
<i>All Islamic states</i>	62	48

Table 5. Opinion poll asking respondents their views on U.S.' reaction for the war on terror. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *America's Image, Post 9/11*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2001/12/19/americas-image-post-911/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

Perceived Popular View of U.S.			
	<i>Ordinary People Have ...</i>		
	<i>Favorable Opinion</i>	<i>Unfavorable Opinion</i>	<i>DK/Ref</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Total Non-U.S.</i>	69	28	3=100
<i>Western Europe</i>	81	17	2=100
<i>E. Europe/Russia</i>	73	20	7=100
<i>Latin America</i>	63	32	5=100
<i>Asia</i>	74	24	2=100
<i>Mid-East/Conflict Area</i>	48	49	3=100
<i>All Islamic states</i>	52	45	3=100

Table 6. Opinion poll asking respondents their views of U.S. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *America's Image, Post 9/11*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2001/12/19/americas-image-post-911/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

Mapping Criticisms of the U.S.

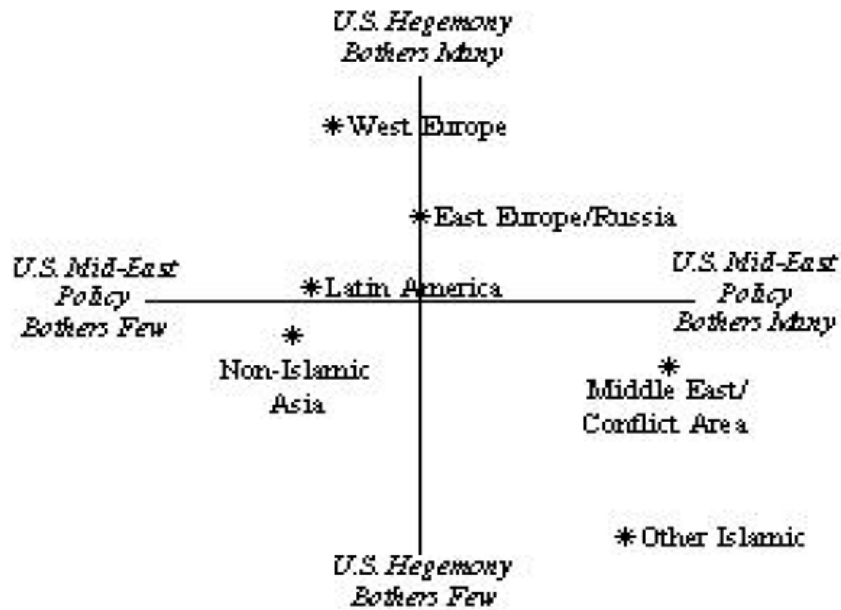


Table 7. Opinion poll asking respondents whether U.S. hegemony and Mid-East policy bothers. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *America's Image, Post 9/11*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2001/12/19/americas-image-post-911/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

According to "What the World Thinks in 2002" survey report by Pew Research Center, using force against Iraq was opposed even by the countries supporting the war on terror. Survey results say the majority of Turks thought America's will for Iraq operation derives from its will to oust unfriendly governments to itself rather than the threat Saddam Hussein created. Along with Iraq Operation, Turkish people rejected the idea of the US' using bases located in Turkey for this operation. From 2000 to 2002, US favorability in Turkey decreased by 22 percent. Being close to conflict area caused by the US led to unhappiness among Turks as well (What the World, 2002).

U.S. Image Slips (Percent Favorable View of U.S.)			
	<u>1999/ 2000</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>Change</u>
West Europe			
Germany	78	61	-17
Great Britain	83	75	-8
Italy	76	70	-6
France	62	63	+1
East Europe			
Slovak Republic	74	60	-14
Poland	86	79	-7
Czech Republic	77	71	-6
Bulgaria*	76	72	-4
Ukraine	70	80	+10
Russia	37	61	+24
Conflict Area			
Turkey	52	30	-22
Pakistan	23	10	-13
Uzbekistan	56	85	+29
Americas			
Argentina	50	34	-16
Bolivia	66	57	-9
Peru	74	67	-7
Honduras	87	80	-7
Venezuela	89	82	-7
Brazil	56	52	-4
Mexico	68	64	-4
Canada	71	72	+1
Guatemala	76	82	+6
Asia			
Indonesia	75	61	-14
South Korea	58	53	-5
Japan	77	72	-5
Africa			
Kenya	94	80	-14
Nigeria	46	77	+31
Countries where 1999/2000 survey data is available. Trends provided by the Office of Research, U.S. Department of State (Canada trend by Environics)			
* Decline not statistically significant.			

Table 8. *Opinion poll asking U.S. favorability between the years 1999 and 2002. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. What the World Thinks in 2002. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2002/12/04/what-the-world-thinks-in-2002/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.*

In 2003, the American war on terror policy decreased favorability ratings of itself in even NATO ally countries, especially Turkey. The drop in ratings with regard to American image surveys was remarkable in Turkey compared to other Muslim countries. Among all Muslim countries witnessing US policies after September 11, Uzbekistan remained as an exception by increasing sympathy towards America and being a partner with it in the fight against terrorism. Even in the countries whose survey results with respect to the US image are unfavorable, almost majority of the population stated they like America's popular culture. However, when it comes to Americanization, even Uzbekistan opposed to this with the ratio of 56%, not to mention other Muslim countries (American Public, 2003).

U.S. Foreign Policy and the War on Terror: Conflict Area				
Conflict Area	U.S. foreign policy considers others		U.S.-led war on terrorism	
	Yes	No	Favor	Oppose
	%	%	%	%
Uzbekistan	56	38	91	6
Jordan	28	71	13	85
Pakistan	23	36	20	45
Lebanon	20	77	38	56
Egypt	17	66	5	79
Turkey	16	74	30	58

Table 9. Opinion poll asking respondents whether they favor the war on terrorism and whether the U.S. considers others. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *American Public Diplomacy in the Islamic World*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2003/02/27/american-public-diplomacy-in-the-islamic-world/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

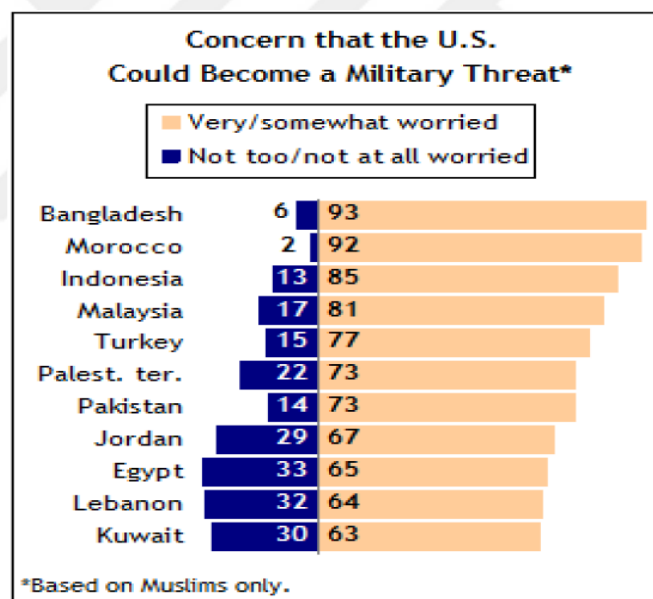


Table 10. Opinion poll asking respondents whether the U.S. could become a military threat. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. Chapter 4. *The Middle East and the Muslim World*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2007/07/24/chapter-4-the-middle-east-and-the-muslim-world/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

According to the survey results for the years between 2005 and 2007, it has been observed that the US image dropped more and more, yet some good treats of the nation was still envied. As an example to this, living conditions in America was preferred even by most nations that disapprove America in case they can find an opportunity to

emigrate. Democracy was another envied feature about the US and Muslim nations also thought that democracy is a system of government which would work in their countries. However, American interference in the name of bringing democracy was not embraced by regional population. Their military existence was perceived as threat together with Israel's existence in the region. In 2007, it was revealed through Pew Research Center's survey that in countries with a majority of Muslim population, there exists a concern over the US' becoming a military threat for their country and this ratio seems to have increased compared to previous years. For instance, 66% ratio in Turkey went up to 77% within two years. As to Israel issue, the Muslim population is prone to believe America favors Israel excessively and they take their side when it comes to conflictual issues between Muslims and Jews. Besides, even more than half of the Israeli people think America takes the side of Israel excessively. Another result to be observed from surveys conducted since 9/11 attacks is that support to terrorism, suicide attacks and Osama bin Laden decreased considerably in Middle Eastern countries. The widespread belief in the Middle East was the US' disguising its invasion for oil sources of the region as a part of the war on terror. Also, the majority of people in the Middle East believed the US do not consider interests of public of the region and works only for its own interests (Chapter 4, 2007).

In 2008, US approval ratings began to improve due to the impact of upcoming elections and hope it gave to people based on the idea that new president would make things better. Despite all the incidents deteriorating US image, some characteristics of the country which ensures a level of positive opinions remained the same again. US popular culture consisting of movies, TV, music, etc.; American people who always receive much better views; democracy; the United States being a dream country to live for foreigners; its science, technology and business were America's main attractive traits. It is a fact that people visiting the US always have more positive opinions and evaluations than those who have not visited the country. As for its being a dream country, it is proven with even survey results that majority of people who immigrated to America answered the questions asking which country was better for living and provided more opportunities by saying America was better in this comparison. The way America does business was also admired and practiced by especially Middle Easterners such as Kuwait with 71% admirers and Jordanians with 51%. It is highly likely to encounter

people listening or watching American songs and music videos in foreign lands, yet there exist some exceptions also. Pakistan, Turkey, Bangladesh and Palestine are just examples which did not contain many positive views about American popular culture in their countries (Positive Aspects, 2009).

On the other hand, the impact of 2008 global economic crisis directed growing anger towards the US again as being blamed for the source of the crisis. Most nations around the world put forward that the trade with America was disadvantageous to their countries. In 2009, nations around the region and NATO allies voted for US' withdrawal from Afghanistan and Iraq in the surveys. US favorability went up to the ratios almost what it was in 2002 in Western countries, especially in Britain. Remarkable increases in terms of US image in the majority of the countries was observed. Indonesia is a good example of this, perhaps impressed by Obama's spending a few years in Indonesia during his childhood. However, when it comes to the countries which have mixed populations in terms of religion like Lebanon, Muslim citizens were prone to vote for negative statements for the US while the opposite was valid for Christians. A decrease in perception with respect to America's being a military threat was recorded in Turkey, which constitutes a significant percentage, 22 percent. Yet, this perception did not change in Pakistan, on the contrary, it increased by 7 percent due to US operations taking place to attack Afghan shelters in the mountains (Chapter 1, 2012).

Table 11. Opinion poll asking respondents whether the U.S. could become a military threat. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *Chapter 1. Views of the U.S. and American Foreign Policy*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/06/27/chapter-1-views-of-the-u-s-and-american-foreign-policy-5/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

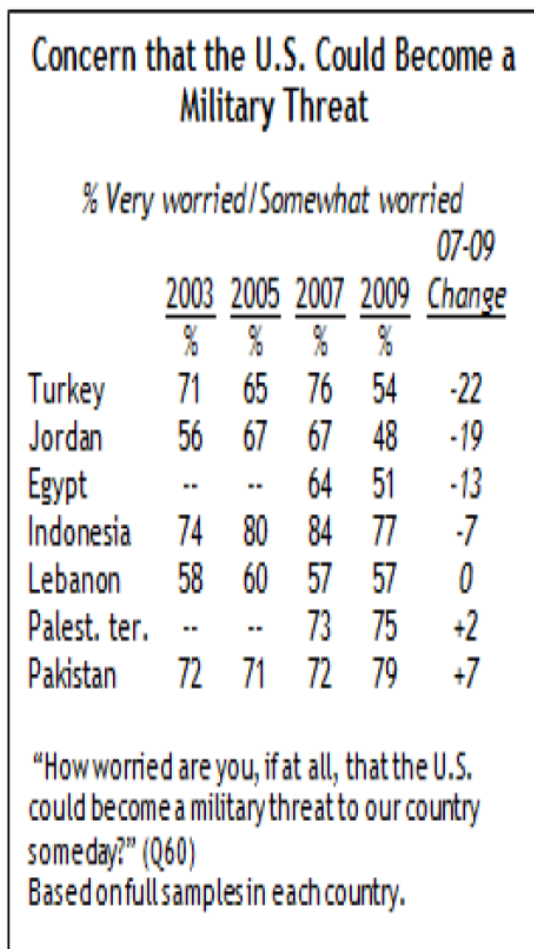
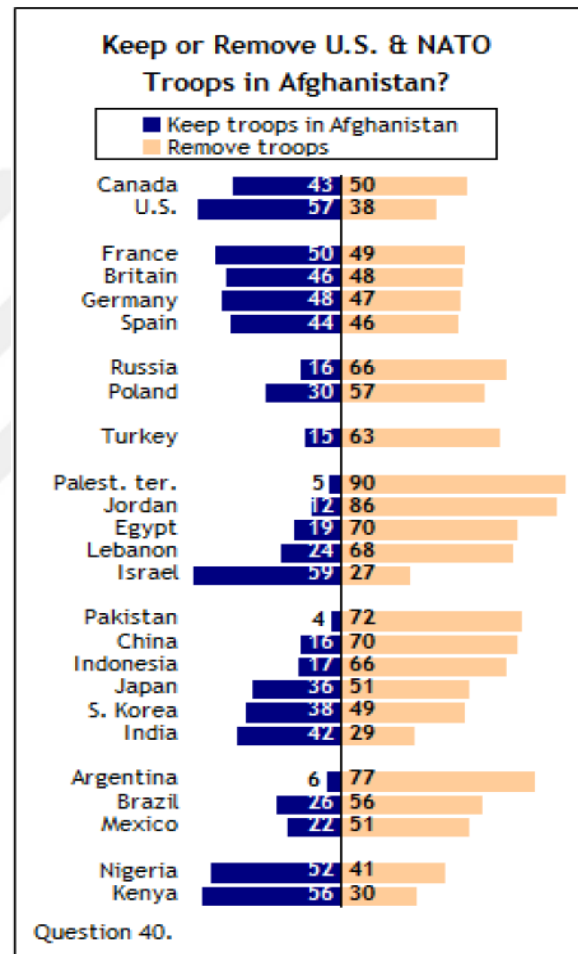


Table 12. Opinion poll asking respondents whether they prefer removal of U.S. & NATO troops in Afghanistan. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *Chapter 1. Views of the U.S. and American Foreign Policy*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/06/27/chapter-1-views-of-the-u-s-and-american-foreign-policy-5/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.



Is the U.S. a Partner, an Enemy, or Neither?				
	Partner	Enemy	Neither	DK
	%	%	%	%
Poland	54	3	38	4
Russia	27	21	45	6
Turkey	18	40	27	15
Egypt	18	27	50	6
Jordan	13	32	55	1
Lebanon	27	33	37	3
Palest. ter.	5	77	16	2
Israel	84	2	12	2
China*	6	24	66	4
India	56	9	28	7
Indonesia	47	8	38	6
Japan	66	3	29	1
Pakistan	9	64	12	15
Argentina	41	25	26	7
Brazil	59	10	27	4
Mexico	64	17	13	6
Kenya	89	4	5	2
Nigeria	80	6	10	4

“Overall, do you think of the U.S. as more of a partner of (survey country), more of an enemy of (survey country), or neither?” (Q54)

* In China the question was: “Overall, do you think of the U.S. as more of a partner of China, more of a competitor of China, or both partner and competitor?”

Table 13. Opinion poll asking respondents if the US partner or enemy. Adapted from “Pew Research Center,” PRC. Chapter 1. *Views of the U.S. and American Foreign Policy*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/06/27/chapter-1-views-of-the-u-s-and-american-foreign-policy-5/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

In this year, survey results indicated that American people were less favored than new American government although it was the opposite during Bush term. In Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine, Pakistan and Turkey, the US was accepted as an enemy rather than being a partner, yet the difference between two options was not that huge except in Pakistan and Palestine. Indonesia, on the contrary, defined the US as a partner with 47 percent. Nevertheless, answers to the question of whether the US is a partner were answered positively with the rise compared to the previous year. For instance, 10 percent increase (8% in 2008, 18% in 2009) was observed for Turkey from 2008 to 2009. Opinions regarding US’ success to establish a functioning democracy in Iraq varied from country to country, but it can be said that the results were not positive especially in Muslim states. Turkey stated it would fail with 56%. The US’ economic

power was still regarded as the most powerful in the majority of the countries including Turkey, Pakistan and Egypt. Canada as a surprise answered by saying the leading economic power in the world was China, but the ratio of US was not too distant from China's either. Blamed as a source of 2008 economic crisis, the US was mostly regarded as the most skillful country to deal with the crisis based on the policies it followed (Chapter 1, 2012).

U.S. Favorability and Confidence in Obama

	% Favorable			
	2009	2010	2011	Change
	%	%	%	10-11*
Jordan	25	21	13	-8
Turkey	14	17	10	-7
Pakistan	16	17	11	-6
Indonesia	63	59	54	-5
Lebanon	55	52	49	-3
Egypt	27	17	20	+3
Palest. ter.	15	--	18	+3

	% A lot/Some confidence			
	2009	2010	2011	Change
	%	%	%	10-11*
Turkey	33	23	12	-11
Palest. ter.	23	--	14	-9
Indonesia	71	67	62	-5
Lebanon	46	43	43	0
Egypt	42	33	35	+2
Pakistan	13	8	10	+2
Jordan	31	26	28	+2

* Change from 2009 to 2011 in the Palestinian territories.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Q3a & Q48a.

Table 14. Opinion poll asking respondents the US favorability and confidence in Obama between the years 2009 and 2011. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *Arab Spring Fails to Improve U.S. Image*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2011/05/17/arab-spring-fails-to-improve-us-image/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

In 2010, Obama lost some of positive views generated during the electoral campaign and at the beginning of his tenure due to him not keeping his promise to withdraw from Afghanistan and Iraq. Pew Research Center survey indicated that in 2010, America was favored by Turkey at the ratio of 23%, Egypt at the ratio of 33%, Pakistan at the ratio of 8%. On the other hand, the majority of the population favored the US in Indonesia with 59% and Lebanon with 52% (Islamic world, 2010).

According to the survey carried out by Arab American Institute Foundation, US favorability risen with Obama's taking office dropped dramatically in a number of Muslim countries in the year 2011. The countries in which the survey was conducted are Morocco, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and UAE. To the question whether America contributes to peace in the Middle East, all of the countries answered negatively with huge differences like 87% disagreement and 11% agreement in Morocco, 95% disagreement and 5% agreement in Jordan. For all of the surveyed countries, Obama's involvement worsened the condition of Palestine-Israel conflict. As for Iran's nuclear program, countries except for Lebanon with 26% approval and Saudi Arabia with 8% approval voted in the direction of the US' efforts having a worsening impact. America's involvement in the Muslim world was perceived harmful as well (Arab/Muslim Public, n.d.).

U.S. favorability rating: (Pew)

	1999/2000	2002	2003	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Indonesia	75%	61%	15%	38%	30%	29%	37%	63%	59%	54%
Lebanon	-	36%	27%	42%	-	47%	51%	55%	52%	49%
Egypt	-	-	-	-	30%	21%	22%	27%	17%	20%
Palestinian Terr.	-	-	0%	-	-	13%	-	15%	-	18%
Jordan	-	25%	1%	21%	15%	20%	19%	25%	21%	13%
Pakistan	23%	10%	13%	23%	27%	15%	19%	16%	17%	11%
Turkey	52%	30%	15%	23%	12%	9%	12%	14%	17%	10%

Table 15. Opinion poll asking respondents the US favorability. Adapted from "Jewish Virtual Library," *Arab/Muslim Public Opinion Polls: Opinion of the United States*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/arab-muslim-world-opinion-of-the-united-states/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

What TWO steps by the United States would improve your views of the United States the most?
(Brookings)

	2008	2009	2010
Israel-Palestine peace agreement	50%	41%	54%
Withdrawal from Iraq	44%	51%	45%
Stopping aid to Israel	28%	29%	43%
Withdrawal from Arabian Peninsula	46%	50%	35%
Pushing more to spread democracy	13%	7%	13%
More economic aid to the region	13%	6%	7%
Stopping aid to Arab governments	3%	2%	2%

Table 16. Opinion poll asking respondents What TWO steps by the United States would improve your views of the United States the most? Adapted from "Jewish Virtual Library," *Arab/Muslim Public Opinion Polls: Opinion of the United States*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/arab-muslim-world-opinion-of-the-united-states/>. Copyright The Brookings Institution.

In 2011, US favorability rating in Pew's survey was lower than 50% except in Indonesia with a slight difference (54%). The majority thought the US was a military threat in those countries. The difference was only observed in Jordan with 46% in this question. Indonesia stood alone in having confidence (62%) in President Obama. In Brookings survey, Middle Eastern public indicated Israel-Palestine peace agreement primarily and withdrawal from Iraq secondarily would improve the US' image in their eyes in 2010. According to Middle Easterners, main aims of the US were firstly protecting Israel, then controlling oil, weakening the Muslim world and preserving regional and global dominance. As the United States put forward, the purposes of promoting peace and stability, promoting democracy and fighting terrorism seemed unconvincing to the local community. The local community also stated they were discouraged by Obama's policies in 2010. They were satisfied only with Obama's attitudes towards Islam (Arab/Muslim Public, n.d.).

Which TWO of the following factors do you believe are most important in driving American policy in the Middle East? (Brookings)

	2008	2009	2010
Protecting Israel	47%	52%	49%
Controlling oil	50%	43%	45%
Weakening the Muslim world	33%	38%	33%
Preserving regional and global dominance	30%	24%	33%
Preventing spread of nuclear weapons	12%	12%	13%
Promoting peace and stability	6%	7%	9%
Fighting terrorism	7%	4%	7%

Table 17. Opinion poll asking respondents Which TWO of the following factors do you believe are most important in driving American policy in the Middle East? Adapted from “Jewish Virtual Library,” *Arab/Muslim Public Opinion Polls: Opinion of the United States*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/arab-muslim-world-opinion-of-the-united-states/> Copyright The Brookings Institution.

According to Pew Research Center’s 2011 survey result, Arab Spring and democracy trend did not bring benefit to U.S. image, unlike the expectations. Besides, it reversed the rising approval ratings by dropping 7 % approval for the US in Turkey, 8 % in Jordan, 6 % in Pakistan, 5 % in Indonesia and 3 % in Lebanon. On the other hand, support to extremist groups was low in surveyed Muslim countries especially in Turkey and Pakistan (Arab Spring, 2011).

In 2013, US favorability rose to 21% in Turkey. It is believed that this development occurred due to US army’s withdrawal from Iraq. The same increase was observable in European countries as well. However, Jordan (14% with 6 percentage drop) and Pakistan (11% with 4 percentage drop) did not demonstrate the same consequences. Arab Spring and crises in Syria and Egypt together with US’ drone strikes resulted in damages in the American image. Also, America was evaluated as unsuccessful in the war on terror given that they had to close their embassy in Yemen due to security

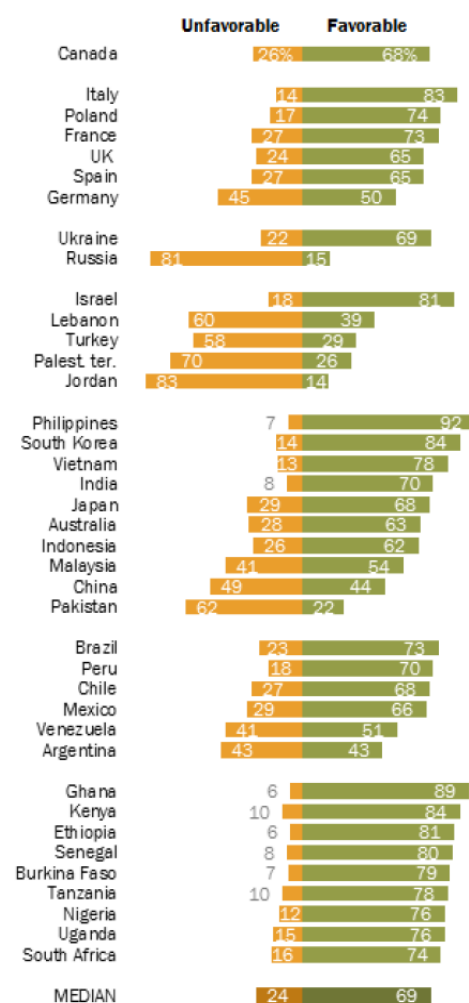
concerns, which created a perception that the US could not deal with terrorists and these circumstances will occur occasionally (U.S. soars, n.d.).

In 2014, general opinion about the US was positive in Asia, Europe, Latin America and Africa, but the Middle East was the exception. The countries voting for disapproval for the US before due to Iraq invasion did not change their minds much following the incidents after Obama's taking office in 2009. The aforementioned incidents are exposure of National Security Agency's spying activities on foreign leaders and drone strikes of the US. Among Muslim countries, Egypt's dislike derived from the US' previous support to ousted leader Hosni Mubarak and military coup happening afterward by ousting Muslim Brotherhood's government (Stokes, 2014).

In 2015, US favorability rating was 29% in Turkey, 39% in Lebanon, 26% in Palestine, 14% in Jordan, 62% in Indonesia, 54% in Malaysia, 22% in Pakistan and 80% in Senegal as countries whose majority of the population is Muslim. Since 2013, the biggest difference generating event for the US image can be accepted as Ukraine crisis, which did not change much for Muslim countries, yet was an important development for Russians whose positive views dropped to 15% from 51% within two years. However, US image was perceived positively with 69% median ratio all around the world. 2015 Pew Research Center survey observed 10% increase for US favorability in Turkey since 2014. According to results, it was found out young generation (19-29) favored America more than middle-aged and old population. While US favorability was 60% in Malaysia, 83% in Senegal, 42% in Lebanon, 32% in Palestine and 25% in Pakistan among young generation, it was 45% in Malaysia, 71% in Senegal, 30% in Lebanon, 20% in Palestine and 15% in Pakistan among old generation (Wike, Stokes & Poushter, 2015a).

Mostly Favorable Ratings for U.S.

Views of the U.S.



Note: Median for 39 countries shown, excluding the U.S.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey, Q12a.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Wide Generation Gap on Views of U.S. in Many Countries

Favorable view of U.S.

	18-29 %	30-49 %	50+ %	Youngest- oldest gap
China	59	45	29	+30
Vietnam	88	77	64	+24
Brazil	84	74	60	+24
Mexico	74	68	55	+19
Poland	85	76	68	+17
Ukraine	79	69	62	+17
Venezuela	57	53	41	+16
Malaysia	60	55	45	+15
Peru	79	67	65	+14
Argentina	50	43	37	+13
Senegal	83	81	71	+12
Lebanon	42	44	30	+12
Palest. ter.	32	23	20	+12
Burkina Faso	81	81	70	+11
Ethiopia	84	81	74	+10
Spain	71	65	61	+10
Pakistan	25	23	15	+10
Tanzania	82	76	73	+9
South Africa	78	74	69	+9
South Korea	92	80	84	+8
India	75	67	67	+8
Russia	16	21	10	+6

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey, Q12a.

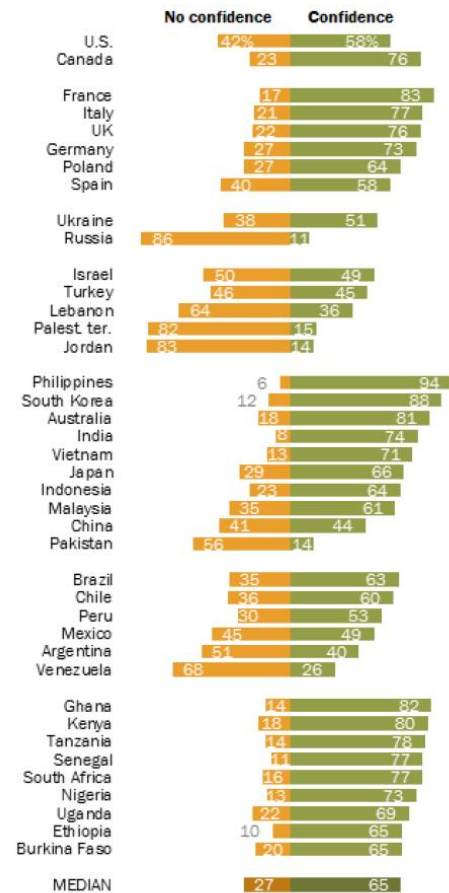
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Table 18. Opinion poll asking respondents the U.S. favorability. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *1. America's Global Image*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/23/1-americas-global-image/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

Table 19. Opinion poll asking respondents their views on the U.S. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *1. America's Global Image*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/23/1-americas-global-image/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

Confidence in Obama on World Affairs

How much confidence do you have in U.S. President Barack Obama to do the right thing regarding world affairs?

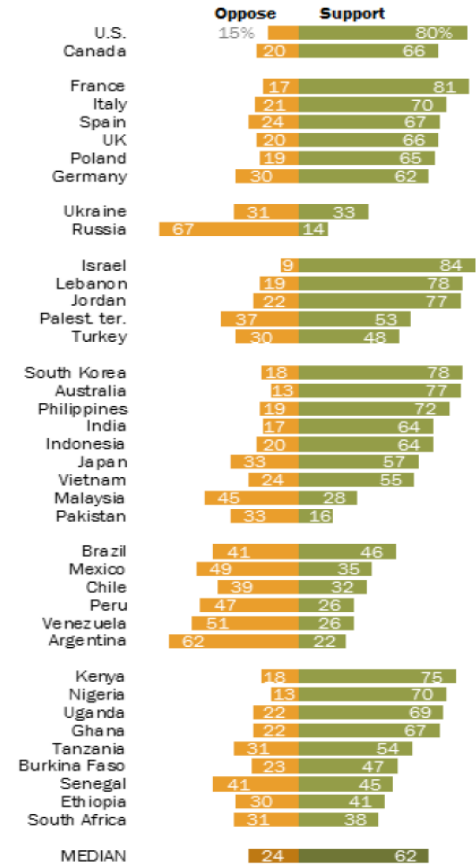


Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey, Q25a.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Widespread Support for U.S. Actions against ISIS

Do you support or oppose the U.S. military actions against ISIS in Iraq and Syria?



Note: Not asked in China.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey, Q35.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Table 20. Opinion poll asking respondents whether they have confidence on Obama on world affairs. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. 1. *America's Global Image*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/23/1-america-global-image/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

Table 21. Opinion poll asking respondents whether they give support to the U.S. for their actions against ISIS. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. 1. *America's Global Image*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/23/1-america-global-image/>. Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

As to America's battle against ISIS, it was approved by the majority of the world and Muslim countries except for Pakistan and Malaysia, but when it comes to participating the operations with the US, the Muslim population was not much willing, especially in

Turkey. Apart from that, the US was regarded as respectful towards personal freedoms by the majority of eight Muslim countries surveyed (Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, Turkey, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Nigeria and Senegal) with the median of 57,7%. Generally, the world had confidence in Obama with respect to the policies he followed. However, this was not the case for the countries whose majority of the population is Muslim. Indonesia, Malaysia and Senegal constitute exceptions in this survey with 64%, 61% and 77% approval votes, respectively. As for Senegal's usual tendencies towards the issues related to the US, it is also due to the fact that American rating was commonly positive in African nations (Wike et al. 2015a).

According to the survey results, the U.S. lost credibility in the eyes of Israelis due to Iran's nuclear agreement issue in 2015. Favorability ratio in Israel decreased to 49% from 71%. On the other side, 2008 economic crisis made world population question the US' economic power and led them to consider China as an emerging power economically even though passing years showed that America is still the most powerful economic power and US ratio in surveys regarding this issue increased in a positive direction for the US. Apart from that, in all of the countries, perception with regard to ISIS was negative, and they supported US operation against it unlike the case of Iraq invasion (Wike, Stokes & Poushter, 2015b).

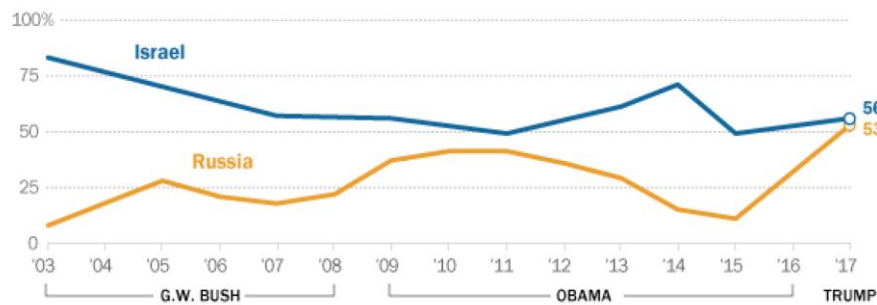
As for the reason of Muslim's dislike for the US, Americans' negative stereotypes about Muslims and Islam also lies behind it. Americans are also described by Muslims as arrogant, greedy, violent, etc. As a country whose opinion on the US is negative, Lebanon's answer to the surveys diverged according to whom the questions are directed. While Shiite Muslims were extremely opposed (95%) to America, Sunni Muslims were slightly (52%) opposed (Stokes, 2015).

In 2017, Donald Trump reversed the US' improved favorability ratio of recent years and it even dropped to a rate lower than those of Bush term. In Canada which has been a long-term US ally, favorability ratio descended to 43%. Mexico and Western Europe also have much lower favorable view ratios about the U.S. On the other hand, Israel and Russia raised positive views about the US president on choosing the right path in his policies with Trump's taking office. Obama's stance towards Ukraine crisis and Iran's nuclear disarmament was a reason for low percentages for the US in Russia before. The US lost favorable views in Muslim countries as well, 11% decrease in Turkey, 5% in

Lebanon, 14% in Indonesia. Japanese and South Korean public also expressed quite a low positive views about confidence in Trump leadership with 24% ratio decreased from 78% and 17% ratio decreased from 88%, respectively (Poushter & Bialik, 2017).

Russia and Israel gain confidence in the U.S. president

Confidence in the U.S. president to do the right thing regarding world affairs



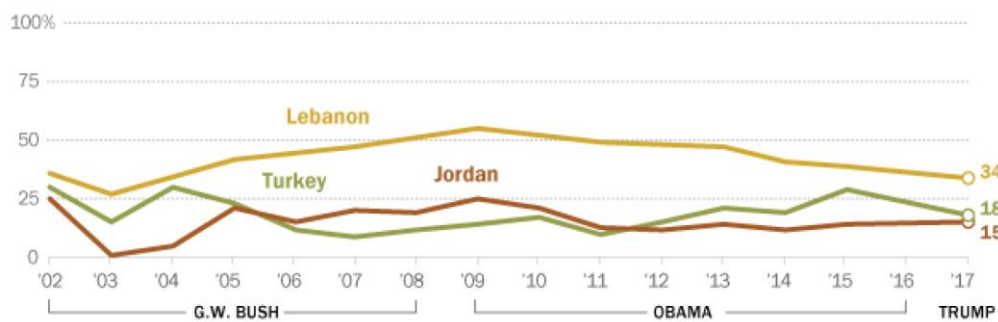
Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q30a.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Table 22. Opinion poll asking respondents from Russia and Israel whether gain confidence in the U.S. president. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *Around the world, favorability of the U.S. and confidence in its president decline*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/06/26/around-the-world-favorability-of-u-s-and-confidence-in-its-president-decline/> Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

Middle Eastern countries express low U.S. favorability

Favorable view of the U.S.



Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q30a.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

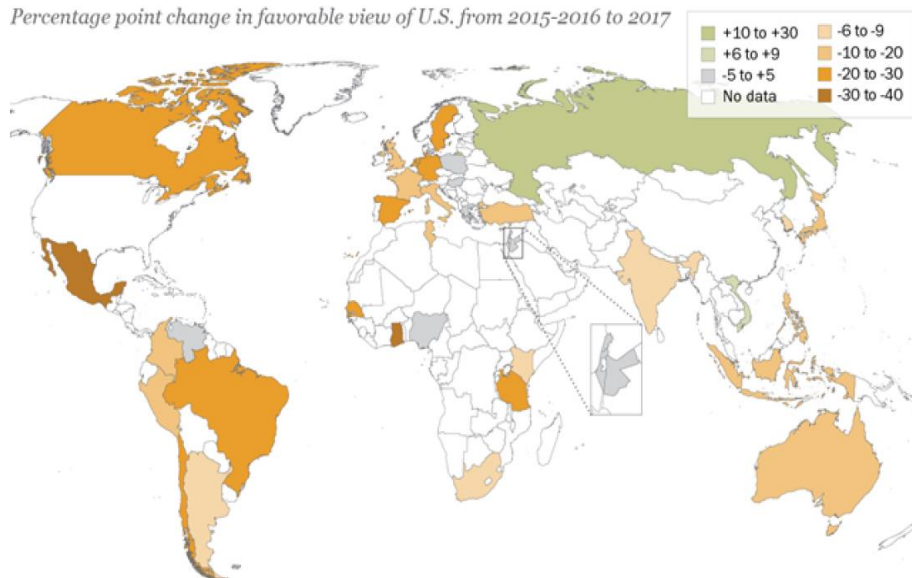
Table 23. Opinion poll asking respondents from Middle East about U.S. favorability. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *Around the world, favorability of the U.S. and confidence in its president decline*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/06/26/around-the-world-favorability-of-u-s-and-confidence-in-its-president-decline/> Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

By mid-2017, the world's view on confidence for the US President dropped quite a high amount in ratios. It is detected that confidence in US President affects favorability of the

US as well. For this reason, US favorability dropped along with the confidence in the President. Trump's policies that he mentioned during candidacy term and since taking office such as travel ban on some Muslim nations, withdrawal from Paris climate agreement, withdrawal from the nuclear agreement with Iran, withdrawal from Trans-Atlantic trade agreement, building a wall along Mexican border contradicted with the world public's opinion and many disapproved them. Negative views on his presidency were reflected on US favorability ratings as well. Majority of the world population who have been surveyed described Trump as arrogant, intolerant and dangerous while he was not accepted as well-qualified for being a president. On the other hand, 58 % finds Americans favorable, 65 % likes American music and movies, 54 % thinks America respects personal freedoms of its people; yet plurality of people (46%) dislikes American ideas about democracy, and 54 % does not want American values and culture to be infiltrated into their country (Wike, Stokes, Poushter & Fetterolf, 2017).

Changing views of the U.S.: Favorability down across world, but up in Russia

Percentage point change in favorable view of U.S. from 2015-2016 to 2017

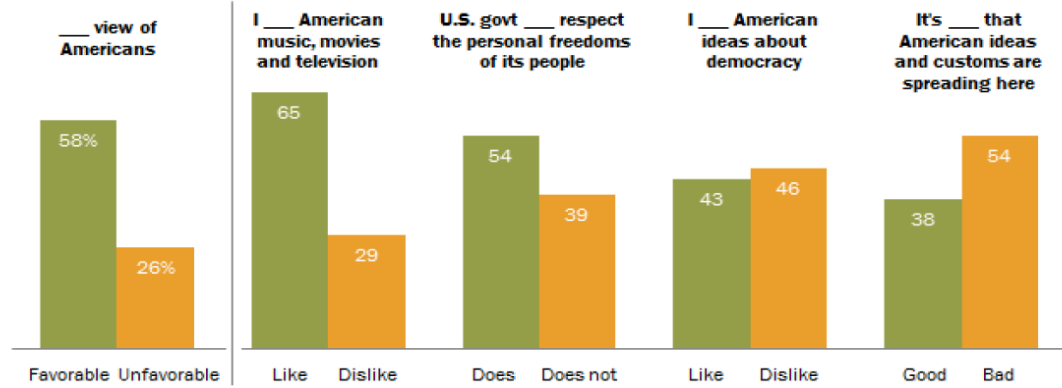


Note: Data for Tunisia and Colombia are from 2014.
Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q12a.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Figure 1. Map showing the changing views of the U.S. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *U.S. Image Suffers as Publics Around World Question Trump's Leadership*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/06/26/u-s-image-suffers-as-publics-around-world-question-trumps-leadership/> Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

Mixed ratings for American soft power

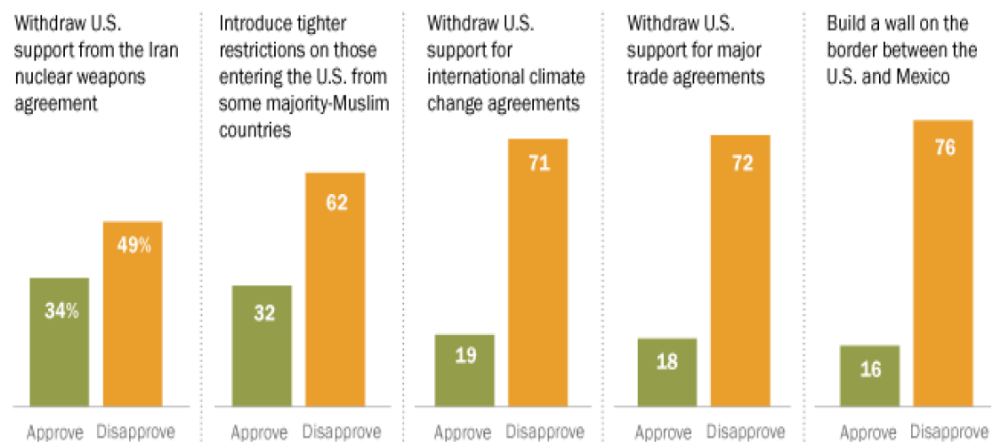


Note: Percentages are global medians based on 37 countries.
Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q12b, Q27b, Q31, Q32 & Q33.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Table 24. Mixed ratings for American soft power. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *U.S. Image Suffers as Publics Around World Question Trump's Leadership*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/06/26/u-s-image-suffers-as-publics-around-world-question-trumps-leadership/>
Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

___ of President Donald Trump's proposed policy to ...



Note: Percentages are global medians based on 37 countries.

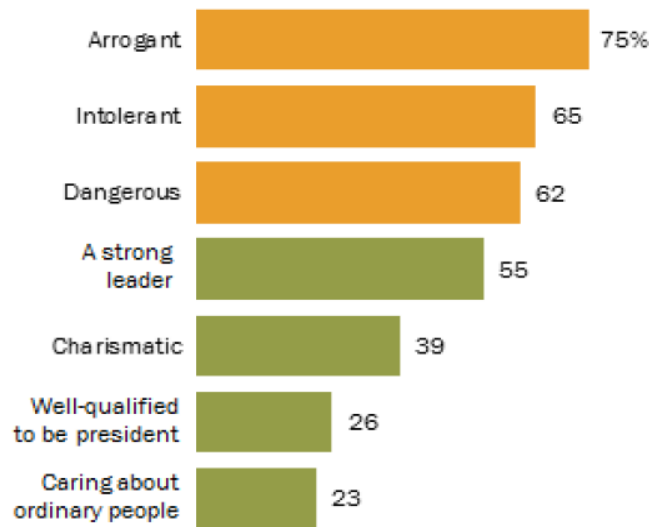
Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q38a-e.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Table 25. Percentages of global median based on 37 countries. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *U.S. Image Suffers as Publics Around World Question Trump's Leadership*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/06/26/u-s-image-suffers-as-publics-around-world-question-trumps-leadership/>
Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

Global views of Trump's characteristics

% saying they think of President Donald Trump as ...



Note: Percentages are global medians based on 37 countries.
Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q37a-g.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Table 26. Global views of Trump's characteristics. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *U.S. Image Suffers as Publics Around World Question Trump's Leadership*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/06/26/u-s-image-suffers-as-publics-around-world-question-trumps-leadership/>
Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

According to Gallup's survey held between March and November 2017, the US is the 2nd in global leadership rating following Germany which is at the top, yet the US' rating is nearly the same with China's. Trump's impact resulted in US favorability to go back to its status at last years of Bush administration. Within two years, 48% of approval dropped to 30% while jeopardizing the existence of even old allies to support America. Only in Israel among allies, the US made progress with respect to approval ratings. Given that this improvement was even before the US' declaration of Jerusalem as Israel's capital city, more increases can be expected, but him stating he would recognize Jerusalem as capital before might have had an effect in this result as well (Ray, 2018).

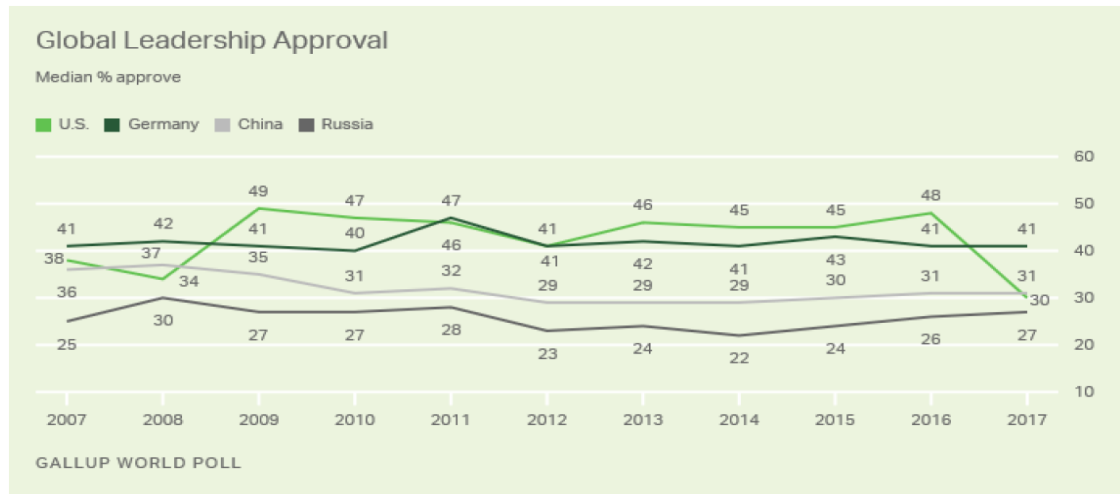


Table 27. Global leadership approval. Adapted from “GALLUP.” *World's Approval of U.S. Leadership Drops to New Low*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://news.gallup.com/poll/225761/world-approval-leadership-drops-new-low.aspx> Copyright 2016 by Gallup, Inc.



Figure 2. Changes in U.S. Leadership Approval from 2016-2017. Adapted from “GALLUP.” *World's Approval of U.S. Leadership Drops to New Low*. Retrieved April, 2, 2018, from <http://news.gallup.com/poll/225761/world-approval-leadership-drops-new-low.aspx> Copyright 2016 by Gallup, Inc.

% saying they have a very or somewhat favorable view of the U.S.

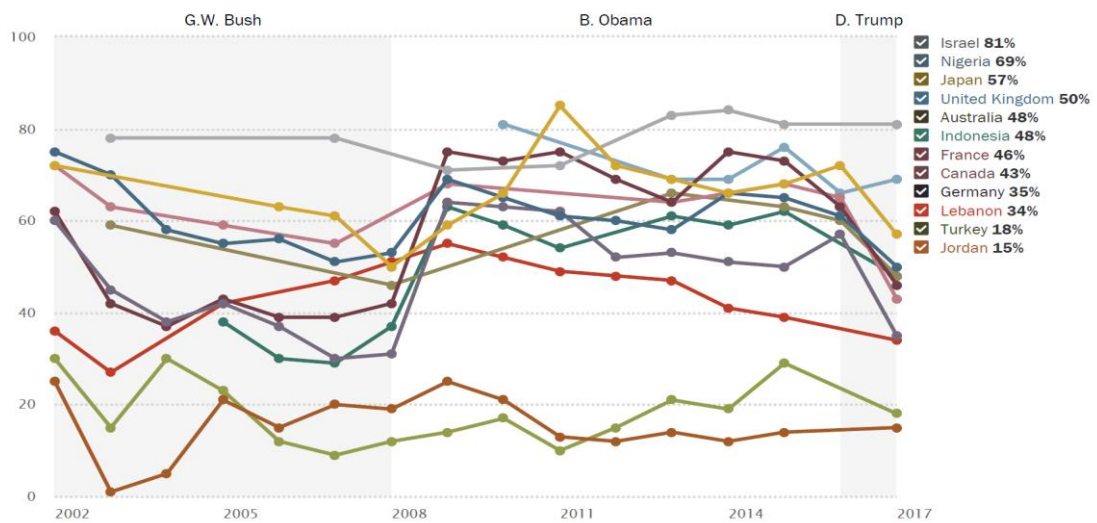


Table 28. Percentage of respondents saying they have a very or somewhat favorable views of the US. Adapted from "Pew Research Center," PRC. *Build your own chart: Tracking U.S. favorability and confidence in the U.S. president, 2002 to 2017*. Retrieved May, 1, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/interactives/us-image/> Copyright 2012 by Pew Research Center.

To sum up, the United States experienced fluctuations in its international image by policy and president changes. As each president has different perception in the eyes of world public, their favorability also affects the country's favorability ratings. The existence of the US in the Middle East has been considered as a negative effect by the region's people and other Muslim countries. Any development with regard to approaching Muslim world with a respectful stance raised the US' favorability while the opposite had a much more strong impact by decreasing positive opinions dramatically. In order for the US to have a stable positive image in people's minds, the first thing to do is respecting other nations. Avoiding making obvious statements about their real stance and not following excessively harmful policies for other countries would be useful for the country's image. In other words, being careful in foreign policy would definitely help having better public diplomacy. As previous presidents could not manage to conduct a proper public diplomacy policy which is enough to eliminate negative views of Muslims nations, the beginning of Trump administration also does not seem promising for improving US image or at least maintaining the level that Obama left while leaving the office.

CONCLUSION

Following September 11 attacks, the main aim of the US public diplomacy has been winning hearts and minds of foreign publics, especially Middle Easterners. Since then, the US has had three different presidents. None of them could be accepted as successful in this policy directed towards Muslims. Nevertheless, President Obama could be considered as successful in his policy towards the rest of the world. The impact of Afghanistan and Iraq wars damaged US image so much that their repercussion still could not be gotten rid of. Besides, the public diplomacy of the US hits rock bottom with Trump administration's approach toward Muslim population in the world. A comparison of the Presidents' public diplomacy record can be seen in the table below.

Table 29. Comparison of the Presidents' public diplomacy record

Evaluated Aspect of Public Diplomacy	President George W. Bush	President Barack Obama	President Donald Trump
Consistency between public diplomacy policy and foreign policy	No consistency although intense efforts to win hearts and minds	No consistency although respectful stance towards Muslims	No consistency between PD and national interests at all
Characteristic of conducted policy	Based on the war on terror and fight against extremism	Based on forming a relationship with the target audience	Short-term and result driven
Strategy	Advocacy based on giving information about the US	Engagement based on mutual respect and understanding, Multi-stakeholder involving various actors for the practice of PD	No common strategy used by PD actors within the country
Characteristic of formed relationship with the target audience	Unilateral	Aimed at its being bilateral based on dialogue (failed)	No effort for forming a relationship
The determinant case for conducted PD of the term	Preventive war	Withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan	Radical discourse towards Muslims
Conducted practices	Mainly campaigns in the media	Rhetorical changes, speeches, visits	Offensive speeches and policies

		abroad, effective use of social media	towards Muslims and the rest of the world
--	--	--	---

Public diplomacy was intensely used by the US during the Cold War years. It was such an effective tool that it played a significant role in winning the ideology war between the US and the Soviet Union. However, end of the Cold War resulted in neglecting public diplomacy as a foreign policy instrument with the thought that the country did not need it anymore since they were the victor of the Cold War era. Soon, it was found out lowering budget for public diplomacy and disbanding some crucial institutions caused the US' being unaware and ineffective against opponent ideas and propaganda of rivals like Al Qaeda. In the end, the country could not respond to the threats, and an hatred grew against it in the eyes of the foreign public. No country or public was willing to accept American hegemony anymore. Yet, the turning point was September 11 attacks.

Accordingly, the main reason why 9/11 attacks took place was found to be the hatred towards the United States. The trouble was the astonishment arisen from the fact that the US was a source of dislike in the eyes of Middle Eastern people. According to Americans, they had all the good traits to be admired, and it was difficult to understand some nations do not like them. In the end, the answer that was found out was that the United States was misunderstood. For this reason, Bush administration started a public diplomacy policy focusing on advocacy which determines explaining the United States' real characteristics and messages as the main point. Charlotte Beers was appointed as Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy to this end. She launched some public diplomacy activities like Muslim Life in America in order to demonstrate how happy and comfortable Muslims are in the US. Yet, these efforts could not provide successful results since Arabian public evaluated America based on their actions rather than their words. Afghanistan War and Iraq War, deteriorated condition of the state structure and living conditions in the Middle East, indecent treatments by American soldiers were all evidence that the US was not genuine in its words like bringing democracy to the region and the operations are to the benefits of region public. Not being able to win hearts and

minds of region people and decreasing the US favorability ratings more and more, President Bush left the office.

While trying to improve US image in the Middle East, Bush administration initiated much more damaging policies for its image in the region. Already without Afghanistan and Iraq wars, the region public was annoyed by the US due to their past interventions to the Middle East and especially their support to Israel. Since Jerusalem is one of the holiest places for Muslims, Israel's occupation there is not something to be accepted by Muslims. Neither persuasion efforts nor passing time can change Muslim's minds about this issue. While this is the case, America makes a fatal mistake for its favorability by persistently supporting Israel. No matter how intense efforts are demonstrated to correct the damaged image, Israel-Palestinian issue hampers the amelioration unless it is resolved. Other than this, Afghanistan and Iraq wars worsened the region's conditions and with the effect of indecent circumstances like Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib during the wars, unchanging ideas about how harmful all of the policies of the US carries out with regard to the Middle East were engraved in the public's mind. As for the public diplomacy efforts during the wars, they were only perceived as indicators respecting the US' becoming a liar easily whenever its national interests require.

Besides, suspicions with regard to the US' ousting unfriendly governments in the region for getting access to oil resources lead the region public to think the US is such a materialistic country that it does not care about a nation's grievances and harms them recklessly. In order to get support for the country's position in the international arena, the US should have at least matched its discourse with its actions. In this way, the US could become credible. Since it is a main requirement of successful public diplomacy, the country could build on it with further efforts.

President Obama's victory in the elections gave hope to the region's public based on the commitments made by him with regard to withdrawal from Iraq. Besides, the fact that his father was a Muslim and he spent years in Indonesia which is an intensely populated Muslim country increased his approval ratings. However, delaying the withdrawal to the year 2011 damaged his and America's image once again. Furthermore, WikiLeaks incident and Syria crises added to the negative image of the US. As to the existence of ISIS in the region, it was a factor that cannot be underestimated as underlying reason

behind dropped favorability of the United States. Nevertheless, he worked on increasing US favorability during his last years by nuclear agreement with Iran, fight against ISIS and his attempts to ameliorate broken relations with certain countries. When he left the office, US approval and his favorability ratings were higher in the ratings in many regions of the world except the Middle East.

His policies did not convince Middle Easterners because improvements in foreign policy and amended relations were directed towards rest of the world and irrelevant to the nation's sufferings and did not solve their problems. The most urgent problems waiting for the solution were the existence of ISIS and the Syrian crisis, to begin with. President Obama's hesitant rhetoric and actions caused the emergence of thoughts regarding the US' being unwilling to resolve the conflicts and them pretending to care about this issue for avoiding criticisms of the world public. What's more, the country was also seen as the source of these problems. The authority gap they created after Iraq War resulted in ISIS' gaining strength and their encouragement for democracy led the region public to be stuck in a turmoil caused by the Arab Spring. The argument was that even though the US created this mess, they did not even take responsibility considering they were in debt towards the region with regard to this issue. Once again, evaluation of US actions during Obama's presidency ended up them losing favorability.

For the US image, even the news of Donald Trump's victory in the elections resulted in a drop for US favorability. Its reason was the position he embraced during candidacy term. Soon enough he even imposed travel ban for the citizens of Iraq, Syria, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Yemen. This created a huge reaction. The region public resented towards America due to the travel ban. While it was already challenging to conduct a fruitful public diplomacy policy in the Middle East considering the condition Middle Eastern public lives in which is full of crises, approaching this nation with an imprudent policy worsened American image more and more. Radical discourse employed in the US and racist acts of US citizens add to this resentment. Given the developments taking place after the beginning of President Trump's tenure, one can claim the US public diplomacy diverted from its objective of winning hearts and minds.

To sum up, starting from the times when the significance of public diplomacy was understood upon 9/11 attacks, the US embraced a wrong approach for carrying out

public diplomacy. Bush administration focused on advocacy part of public diplomacy through which only conveying information about the country was taken care of although essential step to be taken was the engagement that results in mutual understanding in the end and ultimately success in public diplomacy. With the beginning of Obama administration, the international world expected an improvement in US image in the eyes of the Muslim population. Even if the reaction towards President Obama was well received in comparison to his predecessor, he caused disappointment by his delayed or unfulfilled commitments with regard to the Middle East like withdrawal from Iraq. As for President Trump, his imprudent statements for not only Muslims but also allies do not promise success with regard to public diplomacy.

Deteriorated image means losing many other things in the international arena. To illustrate, a country which lost foreign publics' support might have difficulty in terms of commercial activities since foreign publics can protest companies of that country. Moreover, it is difficult for a country with a negative image to be respected in the international arena. It can affect the position of that country, situations it faces, behaviors of participants in the summits of certain organizations. For this reason, public diplomacy is not a concept that can be disregarded easily considering the costs the country might have to burden.

REFERENCES

- 9/11 Attacks. (2010). In *History*. Retrieved February 26, 2018, from <https://www.history.com/topics/9-11-attacks>
- Akçadağ, E. (2010). ABD'nin Kamu Diplomasisi Stratejisi: Akıllı Güç. *It is taken from <http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/pdf/abdkdstratejisi.pdf> on December, 31, 2010.*
- America First - The Netherlands Second - Donald Trump Zondag met Lubach* [Video file]. (2017, January 23). Retrieved January 10, 2018, from <https://youtu.be/ELD2AwFN9Nc>
- American Public Diplomacy in the Islamic World. (2003, February 27). Retrieved April 3, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2003/02/27/american-public-diplomacy-in-the-islamic-world/>
- Amiri, S. (2015, May 11). When Congress Toys with Foreign Policy. Retrieved March 15, 2018, from <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/when-congress-toys-foreign-policy>
- Ang, I., Isar, Y. R., & Mar, P. (2015). Cultural diplomacy: beyond the national interest? *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 21(4), 365-381.
- Arab Spring Fails to Improve U.S. Image. (2011, May 17). Retrieved March 14, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2011/05/17/arab-spring-fails-to-improve-us-image/>
- Arab/Muslim Public Opinion Polls: Opinion of the United States. (n.d.). Retrieved April 3, 2018, from <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/arab-muslim-world-opinion-of-the-united-states>
- Arsenault, A. (2013, July 2). The End of the War on Terror and the Future of US Public Diplomacy. Retrieved February 22, 2018, from <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/07/02/the-end-of-the-war-on-terror-and-the-future-of-us-public-diplomacy/>
- Bassil, Y. (2012). The 2003 Iraq War: Operations, Causes, and Consequences. *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 4(5), 29-47.

- Bayles, M., & Gedmin, J. (2017, August 11). Protecting America's Voice Abroad. Retrieved March 15, 2018, from <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2017/03/03/protecting-americas-voice-abroad/>
- Bergen, P. L. (2018, April 25). September 11 attacks. Retrieved February 26, 2018, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/September-11-attacks>
- Boduszynski, M. (2017, June 30). Islamophobia & U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Trump Era. Retrieved February 21, 2018, from <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/islamophobia-us-public-diplomacy-trump-era>
- Bondarenko, P. (2018, January 25). North American Free Trade Agreement. Retrieved February 8, 2018, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/North-American-Free-Trade-Agreement>
- Broadcasting Board of Governors. (n.d.). Retrieved December 24, 2017, from <https://www.bbg.gov/who-we-are/>
- Bromund, T. R. (2015, May 15). Opinion: The sad future of U.S. foreign policy. Retrieved March 16, 2018, from <https://www.newsday.com/opinion/oped/the-obama-doctrine-and-the-future-of-u-s-foreign-policy-1.10439410>
- Brown, K. (2017). Challenges in measuring public diplomacy. In J. McClory (Ed), (2017). *The Soft Power 30—A Global Ranking of Soft Power 2017*. Portland: The USC.
- Bush's 'evil axis' comment stirs critics. (2002, February 02). Retrieved April 12, 2018, from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/1796034.stm>
- Chairman Royce Announces Hearing on Reforming Broadcasting Board of Governors. (n.d.). Retrieved April 20, 2018, from <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/press-release/chairman-royce-announces-hearing-on-reforming-broadcasting-board-of-governors/>
- Chua, A. A., & Pang, A. (2012). US government efforts to repair its image after the 2008 financial crisis. *Public Relations Review*, 38(1), 150-152.

- Clinton: Use "Smart Power" In Diplomacy. (2009, January 13). Retrieved April 30, 2018, from <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/clinton-use-smart-power-in-diplomacy/>
- CNN Effect. (2017, November 6). In *Investopedia*. Retrieved April 24, 2018, from <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/c/cnneffect.asp/>
- Comor, E., & Bean, H. (2012). America's 'engagement' delusion: Critiquing a public diplomacy consensus. *International Communication Gazette*, 74(3), 203-220.
- Creswell, M. H. (2017). Wasted Words? The Limitations of US Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 1-29.
- Cull, N. J. (2012). Pearl Harbor and public diplomacy: 70 years on.
- Cull, N. J. (2016). Engaging foreign publics in the age of Trump and Putin: Three implications of 2016 for public diplomacy.
- Dillen, M. (2016, February 23). A New Beginning, Revisited. Retrieved March 15, 2018, from <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/new-beginning-revisited>
- Durdureanu, I. I. (2011). Translation of cultural terms: possible or impossible?. *The Journal of Linguistic and Intercultural Education*, 4, 51.
- Edling, J. (n.d.). Good Will Hunting: U.S. Public Diplomacy Since 9/11. Retrieved February 26, 2018, from http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/pdin_monitor_article/good-will-hunting-us-public-diplomacy-911
- Erthal Abdenur, A. (n.d.). Public Diplomacy and the BRICS: Spotlight on Brazil and China. Retrieved April 27, 2018, from https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/pdin_monitor_article/public-diplomacy-and-brics-spotlight-brazil-and-china/
- Finn, H. K. (2002, April 2). Public Diplomacy -- Effective Strategies for the Future:. Retrieved December 19, 2017, from <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/public-diplomacy-effective-strategies-for-the-future-the-importance-of-cult/>

- Fitzpatrick, K. R. (2011). *US public diplomacy in a post-9/11 world: From messaging to mutuality*. Los Angeles, CA: Figueroa Press.
- Fouts, J. S. (2006). Public Diplomacy Practitioners, Policy Makers, and Public Opinion. *USC Center on Public Diplomacy-University of Southern California*.
- Fukuyama, F. (2006). *The end of history and the last man*. Simon and Schuster.
- Fuller, G. E. (2010). *A world without Islam*. Little, Brown.
- Gallaga, M. G. (2013, September 4). Do We Still Need Embassies? Retrieved April 24, 2018, from <https://thediplomat.com/2013/09/do-we-still-need-embassies/>
- Gilboa, E. (2008). Searching for a theory of public diplomacy. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, 616(1), 55-77.
- Goodstein, L. (2008, September 23). Report Suggests Changes in U.S. Policy to Reverse Anti-American Feelings in Muslim Countries. Retrieved April 30, 2018, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2008/09/24/washington/24muslim.html>
- Green, M. (2017, September 8). How 9/11 Changed America: Four Major Lasting Impacts (with Lesson Plan). Retrieved February 28, 2018, from <https://www.kqed.org/lowdown/14066/13-years-later-four-major-lasting-impacts-of-911>
- Gregory, B. (2011). American public diplomacy: Enduring characteristics, elusive transformation. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 6(3-4), 351-372.
- Gregory, B. (2014). The Paradox of US Public Diplomacy: Its Rise and “Demise”. *Institute for Public Diplomacy and Global Communication*. Washington, DC: George Washington University.
- Gustin, S. (2011). Digital Diplomacy. *Time International (Atlantic Edition)*, 178(10), 46.
- How the United States is Perceived in the Arab and Muslim Worlds. (2005, November 10). Retrieved March 29, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2005/11/10/how-the-united-states-is-perceived-in-the-arab-and-muslim-worlds/>

- Huntington, S. P. (1997). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. Penguin Books India.
- Iosifidis, P., & Wheeler, M. (2016). Public Diplomacy 2.0 and the Social Media. In *Public Spheres and Mediated Social Networks in the Western Context and Beyond* (pp. 149-173). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Iraq War. (2017, December 06). In *Britannica*. Retrieved March 1, 2018, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Iraq-War>
- Islamic world confidence in Obama is slipping: Poll. (2010, June 17). Retrieved April 5, 2018, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-obama-muslims-survey-idUSTRE65G3L720100617>
- Izadi, F. (2016). US public diplomacy: A theoretical treatise. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 46(1), 13-21.
- Jacobo, J. (2017, June 1). Reactions swift after Trump's withdrawal from Paris Climate Accord. Retrieved December 10, 2017, from <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/public-figures-react-trumps-decision-withdraw-paris/story?id=47767113>
- Jawaharlal, K. (n.d.). Public Diplomacy and the U.S. Congress. Retrieved April 23, 2018, from https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/pdin_monitor_article/public-diplomacy-and-us-congress
- Kelley, J. R. (2010). The new diplomacy: Evolution of a revolution. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 21(2), 286-305.
- Kim, J. (2016). Public relations and public diplomacy in cultural and educational exchange programs: A coorientational approach to the Humphrey Program. *Public Relations Review*, 42(1), 135-145.
- Kopf, D. (2017, January 20). Obama's approval rating from his first day to his last, in charts. Retrieved March 14, 2018, from <https://qz.com/889644/obamas-approval-rating-from-his-first-day-to-his-last-in-charts/>

- Kounalakis, M. (2016, June 10). Obama Sets Foreign Affairs Stage for Next President. Retrieved March 15, 2018, from <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/obama-sets-foreign-affairs-stage-next-president>
- Lewis, B. (2004). *The crisis of Islam: Holy war and unholy terror*. Random House Incorporated.
- Lobbying. (2017, September 14). In *Britannica*. Retrieved April 24, 2018, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/lobbying/>
- Lozev, K., & Murray, A. (2013). The digital diplomacy potential. *KM World*, 22(6), 22.
- Lynch, M. (2006). Public opinion survey research and public diplomacy. *Public Diplomacy Practitioners, Policy Makers, and Public Opinion*; ed Joshua S Fouts.
- Mccaskill, N. D., Shenon, P., Grunwald, M., Greenfield, J., & Shafer, J. (2017, August 02). Tillerson spurns \$80 million to counter ISIS, Russian propaganda. Retrieved April 1, 2018, from <https://www.politico.com/story/2017/08/02/tillerson-isis-russia-propaganda-241218>
- Melissen, J. (2005). The new public diplomacy: Between theory and practice. In *The new public diplomacy* (pp. 3-27). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Merica, D., & Hanna, J. (2013, August 20). In declassified document, CIA acknowledges role in 1953 Iran coup - CNNPolitics. Retrieved March 2, 2018, from <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/08/19/politics/cia-iran-1953-coup/index.html>
- Mitchell, T. (2016, June 28). 1. America's international image. Retrieved March 14, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/06/28/americas-international-image/>
- Moody, A. (2016, October 3). Easternisation. Retrieved January 29, 2018, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/world/china-watch/society/shift-in-power-balance-from-west-to-east/>
- Morozov, E. (2009). The Future of 'public Diplomacy 2.0,'. *Net Effect, Foreign Policy*.
- Norrman, K. E. (2013, January 3). Definitions, Ideas, Visions and Challenges for Cultural Diplomacy. Retrieved December 18, 2017, from <http://www.e->

ir.info/2013/01/03/definitions-ideas-visions-and-challenges-for-cultural-diplomacy

Nye Jr, J. S. (2004, May 09). Public Diplomacy in the 21st Century. Retrieved April 26, 2018, from <https://www.theglobalist.com/public-diplomacy-in-the-21st-century/>

Nye Jr, J. S. (2008). Public diplomacy and soft power. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, 616(1), 94-109.

Nye Jr, J. S. (2010, October 4). The Pros and Cons of Citizen Diplomacy. Retrieved April 24, 2018, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/05/opinion/05iht-ednye.html>

Oktaay, Emel G. (2012), “11 Eylül Sonrası Amerikan Kamu Diplomasisi”, In Assoc. Prof. Dr. İsmail Aydıngün & Prof. Dr. Ali Murat Özdemir (Eds.), *11 Eylül Küresel Felakete Yorumlar* (pp. 85-104). Ankara: Tan Kitabevi Yayınları.

Pamment, J. (2012). *New public diplomacy in the 21st century: A comparative study of policy and practice*. Routledge.

Positive Aspects of U.S. Image. (2009, April 3). Retrieved April 9, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2009/04/03/positive-aspects-of-us-image/>

Poushter, J., & Bialik, K. (2017, June 26). Around the world, favorability of the U.S. and confidence in its president decline. Retrieved February 10, 2018, from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/06/26/around-the-world-favorability-of-u-s-and-confidence-in-its-president-decline/>

Ray, J. (2018, January 18). World's Approval of U.S. Leadership Drops to New Low. Retrieved April 9, 2018, from <http://news.gallup.com/poll/225761/world-approval-leadership-drops-new-low.aspx>

Roberts, W. R. (2007). What is public diplomacy? Past practices, present conduct, possible future. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 18(4), 36-52.

Ross, C. (2002). Public diplomacy comes of age. *Washington Quarterly*, 25(2), 73-83.

Ruddy, B. (2014, Winter). Hearts, Minds, and Stomachs: Gastrodiplomacy and the Potential of National Cuisine in Changing Public Perceptions of National Image.

- Public Diplomacy Magazine*, 27-34. Retrieved from <http://publicdiplomacymagazine.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/GASTRODIPLOMACY-PDF.pdf>
- Rugh, W. (2017). American soft power and public diplomacy in the Arab world. *Palgrave Communications*, 3, 16104.
- Schafer, B. (2017, Winter/Spring). Adversarial States. *Public Diplomacy Magazine*, 14-36. Retrieved from http://www.publicdiplomacymagazine.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Adversarial_States.pdf
- Schell, J. (2013). The Iraq Disaster. *Nation*, 296(13), 3-8.
- Schneider, C. P. (2009). The unrealized potential of cultural diplomacy: "Best practices" and what could be, if only.... *The journal of arts management, law, and society*, 39(4), 260-279.
- Scott-Smith, G. (2008). Exchange programs and public diplomacy. In *Routledge handbook of public diplomacy* (pp. 70-76). Routledge.
- Seib, P. (2011, May 13). Obama Tries Again in the Arab World. Retrieved March 15, 2018, from <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/obama-tries-again-arab-world>
- Seib, P. (2015, Summer). On "The American Century" and The Future of Smart Power an Interview with Joseph Nye. *Public Diplomacy Magazine*, 9-13. Retrieved from <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/story/smart-power-summer-2015-pd-mag-out-now/>
- Seib, P. (2017a, November 14). Public Diplomacy in the Trump Era. Retrieved March 12, 2018, from https://www.huffingtonpost.com/philip-seib/public-diplomacy-in-the-t_b_12947380.html
- Seib, P. (2017b, December 1). Donald Trump, Twitter Master. Retrieved March 12, 2018, from <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/donald-trump-twitter-master>
- Sevin, E. (2017). *Public Diplomacy and the implementation of foreign policy in the us, Sweden and Turkey*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Shaw, A. (n.d.). Digital Diplomacy: Will State Ever Take the Plunge? Retrieved December 20, 2017, from <http://www.afsa.org/digital-diplomacy-will-state-ever-take-plunge>
- Smyth, R. (2001). Mapping US public diplomacy in the 21st century. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 55(3), 421-444.
- Snow, N. (2006). US Public Diplomacy: Its History, Problems and Promise. *Garth S. Jowett, Victoria O'Donnell, Readings in Propaganda and Persuasion, Thousand Oaks: Sage*.
- Snyder, J. (2013). *The United States and the challenge of public diplomacy*. Springer.
- Stokes, B. (2014, July 15). Which countries don't like America and which do. Retrieved March 16, 2018, from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/07/15/which-countries-dont-like-america-and-which-do/>
- Stokes, B. (2015, December 15). Do Muslims Around the World Really Hate the United States? Retrieved February 20, 2018, from <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/12/15/do-muslims-around-the-world-really-hate-the-united-states/>
- Taylor, H. (2006, April). The Practice of Public Diplomacy. In *Public Diplomacy: Practitioners, Policy Makers, and Public Opinion.*” USC Center on Public Diplomacy. A Report of the Public Diplomacy and World Public Opinion Forum (April 9-11, 2006).
- The Middle East and the Muslim World. (2007, July 24). Retrieved April 3, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2007/07/24/chapter-4-the-middle-east-and-the-muslim-world/>
- Tucker, P. (2008). Diplomacy on a New Track. *Futurist*, 42(2), 7.
- U.S. soars in world popularity charts post Iraq - but will it last? (n.d.). Retrieved March 12, 2018, from <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/u-s-soars-world-popularity-charts-post-iraq-will-it-flna6C10878886>

- Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs. (n.d.). Retrieved March 30, 2018, from <https://www.state.gov/r/>
- Views of the U.S. and American Foreign Policy. (2012, June 27). Retrieved April 3, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2012/06/27/chapter-1-views-of-the-u-s-and-american-foreign-policy-5/>
- Waller, J. M. (2009). *Strategic influence: Public diplomacy, counterpropaganda, and political warfare*. Lulu.com.
- War in Iraq begins. (n.d.). In *History*. Retrieved March 1, 2018, from <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/war-in-iraq-begins>
- Weinstein, A. (2018, January 15). Here's How the US Should Fight ISIS With Social Media. Retrieved April 12, 2018, from <https://www.wired.com/2015/03/heres-us-fight-isis-social-media/>
- What is Cultural Diplomacy? (n.d.). Retrieved December 17, 2017, from http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/index.php?en_culturaldiplomacy/
- What the World Thinks in 2002. (2002, December 4). Retrieved April 3, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2002/12/04/what-the-world-thinks-in-2002/>
- Wike, R., Poushter, J., & Zainulbhai, H. (2016, June 29). As Obama Years Draw to Close, President and U.S. Seen Favorably in Europe and Asia. Retrieved March 14, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/06/29/as-obama-years-draw-to-close-president-and-u-s-seen-favorably-in-europe-and-asia/>
- Wike, R., Stokes, B., & Poushter, J. (2015a, June 23). 1. America's Global Image. Retrieved February 26, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/23/1-americas-global-image/>
- Wike, R., Stokes, B., & Poushter, J. (2015b, June 23). Global Publics Back U.S. on Fighting ISIS, but Are Critical of Post-9/11 Torture. Retrieved February 20, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2015/06/23/global-publics-back-u-s-on-fighting-isis-but-are-critical-of-post-911-torture/>

Wike, R., Stokes, B., Poushter, J., & Fetterolf, J. (2017, June 26). U.S. Image Suffers as Publics Around World Question Trump's Leadership. Retrieved February 10, 2018, from <http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/06/26/u-s-image-suffers-as-publics-around-world-question-trumps-leadership/>

Wooley, A., & Perigoe, T. (2013, Summer). Exporting Democracy. *Public Diplomacy Magazine*, 61-63.

Zaharna, R. S. (2010). *Battles to bridges: US strategic communication and public diplomacy after 9/11*. Springer.

Zaharna, R. S. (2012, November 6). The 4th Quadrant of Public Diplomacy. Retrieved February 22, 2018, from <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/11/06/the-4th-quadrant-of-public-diplomacy/>



**HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
MASTER'S THESIS ORIGINALITY REPORT**

**HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT**

Date: 16/07/2018

Thesis Title : Public Diplomacy Practices of American Presidents Towards The Islamic World After 9/11

According to the originality report obtained by myself/my thesis advisor by using the Turnitin plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options checked below on 16/07/2018 for the total of 138 pages including the a) Title Page, b) Introduction, c) Main Chapters, and d) Conclusion sections of my thesis entitled as above, the similarity index of my thesis is 5 %.

Filtering options applied:

1. ☒ Approval and Declaration sections excluded
2. ☒ Bibliography/Works Cited excluded
3. ☒ Quotes excluded
4. ☐ Quotes included
5. ☒ Match size up to 5 words excluded

I declare that I have carefully read Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences Guidelines for Obtaining and Using Thesis Originality Reports; that according to the maximum similarity index values specified in the Guidelines, my thesis does not include any form of plagiarism; that in any future detection of possible infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility; and that all the information I have provided is correct to the best of my knowledge.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

Date and Signature

Name Surname: ZÜBEYDE SELCEN IŞIKLAR

Student No: N15222838

Department: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Program: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

16.07.2018

Z. Işık

ADVISOR APPROVAL

APPROVED.

Asst. Prof. Kadri Kaan Renda
(Title, Name Surname, Signature)



**HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ORJİNALLİK RAPORU**

**HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA**

Tarih: 16/07/2018

Tez Başlığı : 11 Eylül Sonrası Amerikan Başkanlarının İslam Dünyasına Yönelik Kamu Diplomasisi Uygulamaları

Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmamın a) Kapak sayfası, b) Giriş, c) Ana bölümler ve d) Sonuç kısımlarından oluşan toplam 138 sayfalık kısmına ilişkin, 16/07/2018 tarihinde şahsım/tez danışmanım tarafından Turnitin adlı intihal tespit programından aşağıda işaretlenmiş filtrelemeler uygulanarak alınmış olan orijinallik raporuna göre, tezimin benzerlik oranı % 5 'tür.

Uygulanan filtrelemeler:

- 1- ☒ Kabul/Onay ve Bildirim sayfaları hariç
- 2- ☒ Kaynakça hariç
- 3- ☒ Alıntılar hariç
- 4- ☐ Alıntılar dâhil
- 5- ☒ 5 kelimedenden daha az örtüşme içeren metin kısımları hariç

Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tez Çalışması Orijinallik Raporu Alınması ve Kullanılması Uygulama Esasları'nı inceledim ve bu Uygulama Esasları'nda belirtilen azami benzerlik oranlarına göre tez çalışmamın herhangi bir intihal içermediğini; aksinin tespit edileceği muhtemel durumda doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi ve yukarıda vermiş olduğum bilgilerin doğru olduğunu beyan ederim.

Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.

Tarih ve İmza

Adı Soyadı: ZÜBEYDE SELCEN IŞIKLAR
Öğrenci No: N15222838
Anabilim Dalı: ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER
Programı: ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER

16.07.2018

[Signature]

DANIŞMAN ONAYI

UYGUNDUR.

[Signature]
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Kadri Kaan Renda
(Unvan, Ad Soyad, İmza)



**HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ETHICS COMMISSION FORM FOR THESIS**

**HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT**

Date: 16/07/2018

Thesis Title: **Public Diplomacy Practices of American Presidents Towards The Islamic World After 9/11**

My thesis work related to the title above:

1. Does not perform experimentation on animals or people.
2. Does not necessitate the use of biological material (blood, urine, biological fluids and samples, etc.).
3. Does not involve any interference of the body's integrity.
4. Is not based on observational and descriptive research (survey, interview, measures/scales, data scanning, system-model development).

I declare, I have carefully read Hacettepe University's Ethics Regulations and the Commission's Guidelines, and in order to proceed with my thesis according to these regulations I do not have to get permission from the Ethics Board/Commission for anything; in any infringement of the regulations I accept all legal responsibility and I declare that all the information I have provided is true.

I respectfully submit this for approval.

Date and Signature

Name Surname: Zübeyde Selcen Işıklar

Student No: N15222838

Department: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Program: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Status: ☒ MA ☐ Ph.D. ☐ Combined MA/ Ph.D.

16.07.2018

Z. Işıklar

ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL

Approved.

K. K. Renda
Asst. Prof. Kadri Kaan Renda
(Title, Name Surname, Signature)



**HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
TEZ ÇALIŞMASI ETİK KOMİSYON MUAFİYETİ FORMU**

**HACETTEPE ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ
ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI BAŞKANLIĞI'NA**

Tarih: 16/07/2018

Tez Başlığı: 11 Eylül Sonrası Amerikan Başkanlarının İslam Dünyasına Yönelik Kamu Diplomasisi Uygulamaları

Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmam:

1. İnsan ve hayvan üzerinde deney niteliği taşımamaktadır,
2. Biyolojik materyal (kan, idrar vb. biyolojik sıvılar ve numuneler) kullanılmasını gerektirmemektedir.
3. Beden bütünlüğüne müdahale içermemektedir.
4. Gözlemsel ve betimsel araştırma (anket, mülakat, ölçek/skala çalışmaları, dosya taramaları, veri kaynakları taraması, sistem-model geliştirme çalışmaları) niteliğinde değildir.

Hacettepe Üniversitesi Etik Kurullar ve Komisyonlarının Yönergelerini inceledim ve bunlara göre tez çalışmamın yürütülebilmesi için herhangi bir Etik Kurul/Komisyon'dan izin alınmasına gerek olmadığını; aksi durumda doğabilecek her türlü hukuki sorumluluğu kabul ettiğimi ve yukarıda vermiş olduğum bilgilerin doğru olduğunu beyan ederim.

Gereğini saygılarımla arz ederim.

Tarih ve İmza

Adı Soyadı: Zübeyde Selcen Işıklar
Öğrenci No: N15222838
Anabilim Dalı: ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER
Programı: ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER
Statüsü: X ☐ Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ☐ Bütünleşik Doktora

16.07.2018

[Signature]

DANIŞMAN GÖRÜŞÜ VE ONAYI

Uygundur.

[Signature]
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Kadri Kaan Renda
 (Unvan, Ad Soyad, İmza)

Detaylı Bilgi: <http://www.sosyalbilimler.hacettepe.edu.tr>

Telefon: 0-312-2976860

Faks: 0-3122992147

E-posta: sosyalbilimler@hacettepe.edu.tr