



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences  
Department of International Relations

**A COMPARISON OF THE CULTURAL DIPLOMACY POLICIES OF FRANCE AND  
THE UNITED KINGDOM TOWARDS AFRICAN COUNTRIES**

Nazlı Ceren AKÇAY

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2018



A COMPARISON OF THE CULTURAL DIPLOMACY POLICIES OF FRANCE AND  
THE UNITED KINGDOM TOWARDS AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Nazlı Ceren AKÇAY

Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences  
Department of International Relations

Master's Thesis

Ankara, 2018

## ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

The jury finds that NAZLI CEREN AKÇAY has on the date of 12 JUNE 2018 successfully passed the defense examination and approves his/her Master's Thesis titled "A Comparison of the Cultural Diplomacy Policies of France and The United Kingdom Towards African Countries".



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.

[Title, Name and Surname]

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 Hacttepe 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 June 2018



---

NAZLI CEREN AKÇAY

## 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**

23/07/2018

Nazlı Ceren AKÇAY

## 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, kullandđım verilerde herhangi bir tahrifat yapmadđımı, yararlandđım kaynaklara bilimsel normlara uygun olarak atıfta bulunduđumu, tezimin kaynak gsterilen durumlar dıřında zgn olduđunu, Tez Danıřmanının Dr. đretim yesi Kaan Kadri Renda danıřmanlıđında tarafımdan retilidiđini ve Hacettepe niversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstits Tez Yazım Ynergesine gre yazıldıđını beyan ederim.

Nazlı Ceren AKAY

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to express my special thanks to Prof. Dr Emel Glden OKTAY for inspiring advice and her motivating attitude since the beginning of the process. Also, I would like to thank my official supervisor Assistant Prof. Kaan Kadri Renda for his valued contribution. I also would like to thank Prof. Dr Yonca Anzerlioėlu and Prof. Dr Mehmet Seyfettin Erol for accepting to become a part of my jury.

Besides, I would like to state my gratitude to my family for their endless support.



## ABSTRACT

Akçay, Nazlı Ceren. *A Comparison of the Cultural Diplomacy Policies of France and the United Kingdom Towards African Countries*, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2018

France and the United Kingdom are two former imperial states in Africa. Despite their colonial past, full of bitter memories in the African countries, they are still among the most influential states in the economy and politics of the African continent. Today, public opinion gained importance in shaping the foreign policies of the states. Perceptions, however, can not be considered separately than historical legacies. This thesis mainly argues that, the cultural diplomacy policies conducted by France and Great Britain as part of public diplomacy towards their ex-colonial states in Africa are highly influential in terms of generating positive perception of public opinion in these countries.

The main sources of cultural diplomacy are education and language. Therefore, in this thesis, the education and language policies of France and Britain since the establishment of their first colonial administration in Africa are compared and the impact of their administrative differences on the education and language policies are analyzed. As a result, when compared to Great Britain, France is regarded as more successful in the implementation of more efficient and intensive education and language policies in the post-colonial period, therefore, achieving better results in affecting the public opinion in terms of economic and political matters in favor of French interests.

### Keywords

Public Diplomacy, Soft Power, African Countries, France, the United Kingdom

## ÖZET

AKÇAY, Nazlı Ceren. *Fransa ve Birleşik Krallık'ın Afrika Ülkelerine Yönelik Kültürel Diplomasi Politikalarının Karşılaştırılması*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2018

Fransa ve Birleşik Krallık, Afrika'da sömürgecilik geçmişi olan ülkelere ikisidir. Afrikadaki olumsuz anılarla dolu sömürgeci geçmişlerine rağmen, Afrika kıtası ekonomisi ve politikasında hala en etkili devletler arasındadırlar. Günümüzde, kamuoylarının görüşleri ülkelerin dış politikalarını yönlendirmede büyük önem kazanmıştır. Kamuoyunun algısı ise tarihsel geçmişten ayrı düşünülemez. Bu tezin temel savı, Fransa ve Birleşik Krallık'ın Afrika'daki eski sömürge ülkelerinde uygulamakta oldukları ve kamu diplomasisinin önemli bileşenlerinden olan Kültürel Diplomasi politikalarının, eski sömürge ülkelerinin kamuoyları nezdinde bu ülkelerin olumlu algılamalarına önemli oranda etki ettiğidir.

Kültürel diplomasi kaynağını eğitim ve dil politikalarından almaktadır. Dolayısı ile bu tezde Fransa ve Birleşik Krallık'ın Afrika'da ilk sömürge yönetimlerini kurdukları yıllardan günümüze kadar uygulamakta oldukları eğitim ve dil politikaları karşılaştırılmakta ve her iki ülke tarafından genel olarak uygulanmakta olan sömürge yönetimindeki farklılıkların bu politikalara etkisi analiz edilmektedir. Sonuç olarak, İngiltere ile kıyaslandığında Fransa'nın, sömürgecilik sonrası dönemde de uyguladığı dil ve eğitim politikalarının daha etkili ve yoğun bir kültürel diplomasi yürütmesine olanak sağladığı ve bu sayede günümüzde de kamuoyunu siyasi ve ekonomik konularda Fransa lehine etkilemekte daha başarılı olduğu değerlendirilmektedir.

### Anahtar Kelimeler

Kamu Diplomasisi, Yumuşak Güç, Afrika Ülkeleri, Fransa, Birleşik Krallık

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                                                               |             |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| <b>ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL .....</b>                                                          | <b>I</b>    |
| <b>DECLARATION .....</b>                                                                      | <b>II</b>   |
| <b>YAYIMLAMA VE FİKRİ MÜLKİYET HAKLARI BEYANI.....</b>                                        | <b>III</b>  |
| <b>ETİK BEYAN.....</b>                                                                        | <b>IV</b>   |
| <b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....</b>                                                                  | <b>V</b>    |
| <b>ABSTRACT .....</b>                                                                         | <b>VI</b>   |
| <b>ÖZET .....</b>                                                                             | <b>VII</b>  |
| <b>TABLE OF CONTENTS.....</b>                                                                 | <b>VIII</b> |
| <b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>                                                                   | <b>XI</b>   |
| <b>ABBREVIATIONS .....</b>                                                                    | <b>XII</b>  |
| <b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>                                                                     | <b>1</b>    |
| <b>CHAPTER 1 .....</b>                                                                        | <b>4</b>    |
| <b>SOFT POWER AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY .....</b>                                                  | <b>4</b>    |
| <b>1.1 THE CONCEPT OF SOFT POWER .....</b>                                                    | <b>5</b>    |
| <b>1.2 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY .....</b>                                                             | <b>8</b>    |
| 1.2.1 Traditional Public Diplomacy.....                                                       | 9           |
| 1.2.2 New Public Diplomacy .....                                                              | 9           |
| <b>1.3 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AS AN INTER-DISCIPLINARY CONCEPT .....</b>                            | <b>12</b>   |
| <b>1.4 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF INTERNATIONAL<br/>RELATIONS THEORIES.....</b> | <b>13</b>   |
| <b>1.5 THE MEANS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY.....</b>                                                 | <b>15</b>   |
| 1.5.1 Media .....                                                                             | 15          |
| 1.5.2 Citizen and Diaspora Diplomacy .....                                                    | 16          |
| 1.5.3 Aid Diplomacy.....                                                                      | 17          |
| 1.5.4 Cultural diplomacy.....                                                                 | 18          |
| 1.5.4.1 Education Policy as a Means of Soft Power .....                                       | 19          |
| 1.5.4.2 Language Policy as a Mean of Soft Power.....                                          | 21          |
| <b>1.6 THE CULTURAL DIPLOMACY OF FRANCE .....</b>                                             | <b>22</b>   |
| <b>1.7 THE CULTURAL DIPLOMACY OF UNITED KINGDOM.....</b>                                      | <b>24</b>   |
| <b>CHAPTER 2 .....</b>                                                                        | <b>28</b>   |
| <b>FRANCE AND UK'S AFRICA POLICY DURING THE COLONIAL ERA .....</b>                            | <b>28</b>   |

|                                                                                                           |           |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| <b>2.1 A COMPARISON OF FRANCE AND THE UK'S AFRICA POLICY DURING THE COLONIAL ERA.....</b>                 | <b>28</b> |
| 2.1.1 French Colonial Policy in Africa .....                                                              | 30        |
| 2.1.1.1 The cultural policy of France .....                                                               | 36        |
| 2.1.1.1.1 Education policy.....                                                                           | 36        |
| 2.1.1.1.2 Language policy .....                                                                           | 39        |
| 2.1.2 British Colonial Policy in Africa .....                                                             | 41        |
| 2.1.2.1 The cultural policy of UK .....                                                                   | 44        |
| 2.1.2.1.1 Education policy.....                                                                           | 44        |
| 2.1.2.1.2 Language policy .....                                                                           | 50        |
| <b>CHAPTER 3 .....</b>                                                                                    | <b>54</b> |
| <b>A COMPARISON OF UK'S AND FRANCE'S CURRENT PUBLIC DIPLOMACY POLICIES TOWARD AFRICAN COUNTRIES .....</b> | <b>54</b> |
| <b>3.1 THE CHANGED INTERNATIONAL POLICY IN THE NEW CENTURY .....</b>                                      | <b>54</b> |
| <b>3.2 FRANCE'S CULTURAL DIPLOMACY POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA.....</b>                                         | <b>56</b> |
| 3.2.1 The Cultural Diplomacy Means and Tools of France.....                                               | 56        |
| 3.2.1.1 International Education .....                                                                     | 56        |
| 3.2.1.2 Educational Cooperation .....                                                                     | 57        |
| 3.2.1.2.1 The Great Collection (La Grande Collecte) .....                                                 | 57        |
| 3.2.1.2.2 The Efforts of CIEP.....                                                                        | 57        |
| 3.2.1.3 Educational Development Aid .....                                                                 | 58        |
| 3.2.1.4 International Schools.....                                                                        | 59        |
| 3.2.1.5 International Mobility Programmes .....                                                           | 60        |
| 3.2.1.6 Scholarships .....                                                                                | 62        |
| 3.2.1.6.1 Eiffel Excellence Scholarships.....                                                             | 63        |
| 3.2.1.6.2 Scholarships in Theology .....                                                                  | 64        |
| 3.2.1.7 Alumni Network.....                                                                               | 65        |
| 3.2.1.8 Language Policy .....                                                                             | 67        |
| 3.2.1.8.1 Institute Française .....                                                                       | 67        |
| 3.2.1.8.2 CIEP .....                                                                                      | 68        |
| 3.2.1.9 International Organizations -Francophonie.....                                                    | 69        |
| <b>3.3 UK'S CULTURAL DIPLOMACY POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA .....</b>                                            | <b>72</b> |
| 3.3.1 The Cultural Diplomacy Means and Tools of the UK.....                                               | 72        |
| 3.3.1.1 International Education .....                                                                     | 72        |
| 3.3.1.2 Educational Cooperation .....                                                                     | 73        |
| 3.3.1.2.1 West African Examination Council (WAEC).....                                                    | 76        |

|                                                           |            |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 3.3.1.3 Educational Development Aid .....                 | 78         |
| 3.3.1.4 International Schools.....                        | 81         |
| 3.3.1.5 International Mobility Programmes .....           | 82         |
| 3.3.1.6 Scholarships .....                                | 83         |
| 3.3.1.7 Alumni Network.....                               | 85         |
| 3.3.1.8 Language Policy.....                              | 86         |
| 3.3.1.9 International Organizations –Commonwealth .....   | 87         |
| <b>CONCLUSION.....</b>                                    | <b>91</b>  |
| <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>                                 | <b>100</b> |
| <b>APPENDIX 1: ORIGINALITY REPORT.....</b>                | <b>114</b> |
| <b>APPENDIX 2: ETHICS COMMISSION FORM FOR THESIS.....</b> | <b>116</b> |
| <b>APPENDIX 3: CURRICULUM VITAE .....</b>                 | <b>118</b> |

## LIST OF TABLES

|                                                                                                |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <b>Table 1:</b> Soft power sources, Referees, and Receivers.....                               | 7  |
| <b>Table 2:</b> The old and new public diplomacy .....                                         | 10 |
| <b>Table 4:</b> The offices of Institute Française offices in African countries .....          | 68 |
| <b>Table 5:</b> The number of International Students in the UK .....                           | 73 |
| <b>Table 6:</b> Sample Partnerships Between UK and African Higher Education Institutions ..... | 75 |
| <b>Table 7:</b> Bilateral aid by sector, 2009–10.....                                          | 80 |
| <b>Table 8:</b> Number of COBIS schools by country in Africa .....                             | 81 |
| <b>Table 9:</b> Top 20 Home Countries of Non-UK Students, 2015-16.....                         | 82 |
| <b>Table 10:</b> Positive change in perception.....                                            | 84 |



## ABBREVIATIONS

|            |                                                                   |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ACU:       | The Association of Commonwealth Universities                      |
| AEFE:      | Agence Pour l'enseignement Français à l'étranger                  |
| AFAA:      | Association Française d'Action Artistique                         |
| AFD:       | Agence Française de Développement                                 |
| ANGB:      | Communiqué of the National Agency of the Stock Exchanges of Gabon |
| BNF:       | Bibliothèque Nationale de France                                  |
| CFI:       | Canal France International                                        |
| CIEP:      | Au Service de l'éducation et du Français Dans le Monde            |
| COBIS:     | Council of British International Schools                          |
| DFID:      | Development for International Development                         |
| EAEC:      | East African Examinations Council                                 |
| EAACE:     | East African Advanced Certificate of Education                    |
| ECOWAS:    | Economic Community of West African States                         |
| ELAN:      | Ecole et Langues Nationales en Afrique                            |
| EPA:       | Education Partnerships in Africa                                  |
| FCO:       | Foreign and Commonwealth Office                                   |
| ICT:       | Information and Communication Technology                          |
| IFADEM:    | L'Initiative Francophone Pour la Formation à Distance des Maîtres |
| IFEF:      | Institut de la Francophonie Pour l'éducation et la Formation      |
| MEAE:      | Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères                  |
| OECD:      | Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development             |
| OIF:       | Organisation internationale de la Francophonie                    |
| SCAC:      | Service de Coopération et d'Action Culturelle                     |
| SIAF:      | Service Interministériel des Archives de France                   |
| UK:        | United Kingdom                                                    |
| UK HE TNE: | United Kingdom Higher Education Transnational Education           |
| US:        | United States of America                                          |
| USSR:      | Union Soviet Socialist Republics                                  |
| WAEC:      | West African Examination Council                                  |

## INTRODUCTION

Possessing 'power' in Africa has been quite important for France and the United Kingdom (UK) especially since the 18th century. During the colonial times, desired type of power was hard power, and that was carried out through annexing African lands and exploiting their natural resources and people. The Colonial states founded their governmental systems in dependencies, and they governed the states through their national interests using their government understanding. With the developments in world politics and information system technology at the end of the 20th century, both the positions of states in world policy and power type has been changed. France and the UK have to gain soft power in Africa if they desire to sustain their dominance in there.

The primary aim of this thesis is to question following arguments;

1. First of all, public opinion is directly related to historical legacies. Therefore, states have to manage the perception of public about historical facts.
2. While the language and education were resources of imperial power of France and Great Britain on African countries in the colonisation period; recently, they are used with the aim of possessing soft power over African states by France and the UK.
3. It is crucial for both France and the UK to have an impact on the African public opinion to sustain their economic and political presence in Africa. Therefore, both countries as the most powerful Colonial Empires in Africa in history attempt to regain their previous importance in former colonies by switching from hard power to smart power.
4. Although both of France and the UK claim that the content of education and language efforts in Africa differentiated from colonial times, their perpetual aim is parallel with their colonial goals. Accordingly, France has followed her 'civilisation mission' in Africa whereas the UK has sustained the efforts to keep the soul of 'Commonwealth' alive in Africa.

5. The methods of language and education policies of France and the UK as a cultural policy tool towards African countries carry the traces of the colonial legacies.

In the colonial era, France had implemented direct rule over her African colonies where the French language was the official language, and the education system was almost copied from the French education system. However, this resulted in fact that these African countries tend to build a long-term relationship with their former coloniser, namely France rather than the UK after they gained their independence.

In order to elaborate on these abovementioned arguments, the concepts of public diplomacy, soft power and cultural diplomacy will be handled in the first chapter. The terms and their areas of usage will be evaluated from the perspective of international relations and social sciences. Also, the sources of public diplomacy and soft power will be scrutinised. Furthermore, the means of public diplomacy such as media, citizen and diaspora diplomacy, aid diplomacy and cultural diplomacy will be examined. Within the scope of this thesis education and language policies of the cultural diplomacy practices of France and the UK will be discussed. Finally, the official public diplomacy policies of France and the UK will be analyzed.

In the second chapter, the colonial policies of France and Great Britain as the colonizer powers of African countries will be compared. In that context, the history of education and language policies of both countries towards their colonies in Africa will be researched comparatively.

Finally, as the tools of cultural diplomacy, the change of the education and language policies of France and the UK towards independent African countries will be dealt with by comparing with each other.

In this thesis, the theoretical framework will be constructed on cultural diplomacy as a tool of 'public diplomacy'. The methodology of the study will involve the analysis of primary resources and literature review on public diplomacy. This thesis is a comparative-historical analysis of French and British education and language policies in their former African colonies. The historical analyses will be done by benefitting from studies related to colonial-era policies. Furthermore, Colonial education and language policies of France and the UK towards their African

colonies will be researched by using academic resources, primary and secondary sources. In addition, the current policies of France and the UK will be compared by analysing the data provided in the official resources published by the national institutions of France and the UK. Descriptive statistical data is also used in this thesis taken from official reports.



## CHAPTER 1

### SOFT POWER AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

In this chapter, the concepts of soft power and public diplomacy will be discussed. In order to do this, first of all definitions in the literature will be reviewed. Public diplomacy will be analysed with a view of international relations and public relations. Also, the differences between traditional public diplomacy and new public diplomacy will be given. Furthermore, the means of public diplomacy and cultural diplomacy will be examined by focusing on education and language means of cultural diplomacy. Besides, the official approaches of France and the UK to public diplomacy will be touched briefly.

Public diplomacy is a relatively new concept in international relations. New developments in international politics such as rising new actors in addition to nation-states, globalization, and decentralization and fast circulation of information in international politics caused the emergence of public diplomacy as new concept in international politics (Demir, 2013 n.d). Examining the process of the evolution of traditional diplomacy to this new type of diplomacy is important for understanding actors who try to achieve their strategic goals by using public diplomacy as a new policy tool in their inventories.

The most common description of public diplomacy describes it as an international actor's effort of global policy administration by engaging with the foreign audience (Cull, 2009, p.12). To implement efficient public diplomacy policy requires possessing soft power. Joseph Nye indicates the importance of the second face of power. According to him, a country which possesses soft power over the others can change the others' behavior by their own desire by setting the agenda and attracting others in world politics (Nye, 2004, p.5). In another words, soft power is defined as the capacity of forming the others' choices. However, this depends on the initiative of others. Therefore, the perceptual power to the target audience is also important (Fisher, 2009, p.47). This requires shaping others' perception (Nye, 1990, p.31). Thus, it is concluded that shaping public opinion requires possessing and effectively using soft power.

## 1.1 THE CONCEPT OF SOFT POWER

The forms of power that belong to the most powerful actors in international order have differentiated throughout the history. Some scholars have different classifications about forms of power. For example, E.H Carr, one of the most prominent realist academicians, defines the concept of power through three approaches depending on the resources used. In his seminal work “Twenty Year Crisis” dated 1939; he mentions three forms of power; mainly military power, economic power and power over opinion (Carr, 1946, p.102).

Joseph S. Nye, another important International Relations scholar, the former Dean of Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University also classifies the power from his neo-Liberal approach. He has introduced new concepts related to power; soft power is the first one. However, the misperception that may stem from the thought of that only soft power produces effective foreign policy, driven Nye to develop a new concept; the smart power which is the combination of hard and soft power (Nye, 2009, p.160). He suggested smart power as an ideal power form to be adopted by the United States (US) if it wants to be leading power in the present day international system.

First and foremost, power is categorized as behavioral power and resources power by Nye and Keohane. While behavioral power is defined as the capability to get the results you desire, resource power is also getting the resources that contribute to the capacity to attain desired returns (Keohane and Nye, 1998, p.86). Also, Nye claims that behavioral power has two components as hard and soft power (Nye, 2004, p.4).

Nye contributes to the Lukes’ three-dimensional approach to power by simulating the agenda of world politics to a three-dimensional chess game which can only be won by playing both vertically and horizontally. That chess game is thought for the US position of the world politics in the new information age. Accordingly, there are classic interstate military issues on the top board by regarding that the US is still the only superpower with its global military influence. This board is assumed in traditional terms of unipolarity or hegemony. Besides, the distribution of power is assumed as being multipolar on the middle of the board where economic issues are

mainly dealt with. Finally, Nye asserts that there are transnational issues which are terrorism, international crime, climate change, the spread of diseases on the bottom board. Power distribution is widely and chaotically organized among states as well as non-states actors on this third board (Nye, 2004, p.4).

Nye, also, asserts that three dimensional power is used in three main ways to affect others' behavior; those are firstly threats of coercion (sticks), secondly inducement and payments (carrots) and finally attraction that makes others want what you want (Nye, 2008, p.94). While hard power rests on threats of coercion (sticks) and inducement and payments (carrots), to change others' behavior without tangible threats and coercion requires soft power. This is in fact considered as the second face of power. Thus, a country can provide changing the others' behavior by their own desire by setting the agenda and attracting others in world politics. In other words, soft power is the talent of forming the target audiences' choices (Nye, 2004, p.5).

Li Lin and Hong Xiaonan who are Chinese scholars allege that the idea of soft power theory is a kind of eclectic term in international politics and therefore it is not totally a new concept. Their definition of soft power has inspired from the cultural hegemony conceptualization of Antonio Gramsci. They have asserted that the cultural imperialism definition of Morgenthau that is winning and managing will of the public, is the essential view about that. Similarly, they pointed out that the most serious cause of the potential dispute and separation between nations would be based on culture, rather than beliefs or economy by supporting the assertion of Samuel Huntington (Lin, 2012, p.48).

The concept of 'soft power' was used by Nye first time in 1990 in his book of 'Bound to Lead' as shaping other's preferences to want what you want (Nye, 1990, p.31). Nye states that both hard power and soft power is the ability to achieve one's purpose by affecting the behavior of others. However, they become different in point of the nature of the behavior and in the tangibility of the resources. While hard power is also a command power that is the sense to turn others' desire to do based on pressure or deception, however soft power is a collective power that is the

capacity to form others' wish depends on one's charming of culture and values and the talent to manage the political agenda (Nye, 2004, p.11).

The resources of soft power stem from mostly notional assets such as culture, attractiveness, legitimate and moral policies and political values and institutions. Influence is also an important source of soft power, however, it is not the sole source of soft power rather it is just one of them. Because influence can be also a source of hard power if a state uses threats or incentives. Soft power resources are the assets that produce attraction (Nye, 2008, p.95). Soft power resources are attractive personality, culture, values, and moral authority (Nye, 2008, p.30).

To sum up, Nye classifies soft power resources which a country rests mainly on three sources;

1. The culture of the country where it is appealing to others
2. Political values of the country for the both internal and external audiences
3. The legitimate and moral foreign policies (Nye, 2008, p.95).

**Table 1:** Soft power sources, Referees, and Receivers

| Sources of Soft Power        | Referees for Credibility or Legitimacy                                                           | Receivers of Soft Power         |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Foreign policies             | Governments, media, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) | Foreign governments and publics |
| Domestic values and policies | Media, NGOs, IGOs                                                                                | Foreign governments and publics |
| High culture                 | Governments, NGOs, IGOs                                                                          | Foreign governments and publics |
| Pop culture                  | Media, markets                                                                                   | Foreign publics                 |

**Source:** Nye, Joseph S. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 616, 2008, p. 107

There is a correlation between soft power perception and hard power that is possessed. Having certain amount hard power increases the attractiveness of soft power included ideology, institutions, values and norms, culture etc (Kearn, 2011, p.74).

As we mentioned before, Nye has not built the soft power concept against hard power concept, instead, it has been regarded as complementary of hard power. While he is developing the concept of soft power, he does not exclude the role of having hard power in world politics. According to him, to be a smart power depends on a better balance of hard and soft power in foreign policy (Nye, 2004, p.147).

## **1.2 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY**

Public Diplomacy is one of the new diplomacy methods that is used by governments by activating the sources for the aim of communicating with and attracting the audience from other countries, in addition to internal public (Nye, 2008, p.95). Furthermore, public diplomacy practitioners often aim to reach certain individuals rather than a mass audience directly. These individuals are the ones that are considered as ‘opinion makers or shapers’ who are influential in the wider community (Cull, 2010, p.12).

Therefore, public diplomacy is directly linked to having power inevitably; soft power especially (Snow, 2009, p.4). Public Diplomacy is a junction point of disciplines of the international relations and public relations as states try to shape the public opinion by managing their prestige and image over the foreign audience (Sancar, 2016, p.13). Accordingly, public diplomacy requires an interdisciplinary approach.

Essentially, public opinion has been given importance since the beginning of the Cold War era by Great Powers. When the historical background is examined, it can be seen that public diplomacy practices of states date back to the beginning of the 20th Century. However, the characteristic and context of public diplomacy implementations have differed in time, parallel with the developments in communication technologies and the changing nature of international relations. Therefore, the developments and features of public diplomacy will be analyzed in two periods.

### **1.2.1 Traditional Public Diplomacy**

The old version of public diplomacy was in use during the Cold War by the US and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in order to influence the public opinion of their allies. In that era, it is observed that the US had operated overseas informational activities towards the public in the states which were strategic importance for her and used the education and exchange programs as a means of foreign policy (Sancar, 2015, n.d). Therefore, the term of 'public diplomacy' has been accepted in the literature in the US during the Cold War era.

Traditional public diplomacy is essentially a communication process that states aim to legitimize their foreign policy and actions by forging the public opinion. This is the most distinctive feature of the traditional public diplomacy. In addition, states disseminated their messages that were undifferentiated to a range of target audience in order to achieve their ideological gains. It is the other distinguishing character of traditional public diplomacy. Therefore, it can be concluded that the aim of traditional public diplomacy was a one-sided and propagandist method in that era (Sancar, 2016, p.14). To sum up, the traditional public diplomacy based on mostly information activities towards public and foreign audiences.

### **1.2.2 New Public Diplomacy**

After the Cold War, the one-sided and propagandist method of traditional public diplomacy had failed to shape public perception alone with the increased access to news and information and the rise of movements of global NGOs (Mark, 2002, p.48). Therefore, an effective public diplomacy policy and soft power practices have required that targeted audiences become more active in the multifaceted communication process instead of its passive role in the previous public diplomacy implementations.

In addition, the US has started to implement a new and more efficient public diplomacy policy after the 9/11 as an important part of its war against terrorism. This would be mainly comprehensive communication strategies with the Muslim world and the other foreign audiences (Snow, 2009, p.8).

When it is evaluated that public diplomacy in the 21st century has required rebuilding and rethinking, it would be observed that strategies and tactics of public diplomacy are changing towards two-way interactive public exchanges on the contrary the efforts of unilateral informational diplomatic profits in the Cold War era. Because the new public diplomacy required adding personal and social extensions to attract and influence the target audience (Snow, 2009, p.10).

Mark Leonard compares the dominant characteristics of old and new public diplomacy in a table. Accordingly;

**Table 2:** The old and new public diplomacy

| <b>Dominant Characteristics</b>     | <b>Old Public Diplomacy</b>                                   | <b>New Public Diplomacy</b>                                     |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1) Identity of international actors | State                                                         | State and non-state                                             |
| 2) Technological environment        | Short wave radio,<br>Print newspaper,<br>Land-line telephones | Satellite,<br>Internet,<br>Real-time news,<br>Mobile telephones |
| 3) Media environment                | Clear line between domestic and international news sphere     | Blurring of domestic and international news sphere.             |
| 4) Source of approach               | Outgrowth of political advocacy and propaganda theory.        | Outgrowth of corporate branding and network theory.             |
| 5) Terminology                      | “International image”<br>“Prestige”                           | “Soft power”<br>“Nation Brand”                                  |
| 6) Structure of role                | Top down, actor to foreign peoples                            | Horizontal, facilitated by actor                                |
| 7) Nature of role                   | Targeted messaging                                            | Relationship-building                                           |
| 8) Overall aim                      | <b>The management of the international environment</b>        |                                                                 |

**Source:** Nicholas J. Cull; Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past p.14

When the primary difference between the old and new diplomacy is examined, the first striking difference is the existence of new actors in international politics in

addition to nation-states. The new world order is identified by interdependence in a great deal of economic and also political fields together with a strong interconnection between civil societies. In addition to that, small and large scale non-state actors have developed their own public diplomacy as well as supranational and subnational players of world policy. Consequently, public diplomacy has turned into an important part of interstate relations inevitably (Melissen, 2005, p.11).

The other difference is about the developments in communication technologies which caused the change in the media environment, as well. The developments on satellite television and telecommunication, computers, internet Web 2.0 and live streaming, mobile phones and text messaging have ultimately caused a transformation in the management, perception and the features of the international communication. The proliferation of using especially the social media as one of the outputs of the new communication technologies has been a way of communication between individuals which enable them to include in social contacts more intensively, to engage in discussions relating the agenda and it also provide them with ability of controlling the contents that they are in connection via those networks (Ociepka, 2012, p.25). Therefore, new communication technologies have made it inevitable to include public in political affairs more effectively.

Main theoretical approach was political advocacy and propaganda theory in previous period while conceptual sources of new public diplomacy can be found in corporate branding and network theory. Although there are some common features of branding/propaganda policies used in previous periods and public diplomacy in the new era, there are also important differences between them. Whereas nation branding and propaganda requires one-way communication to influence target audience, actors use the two-way communication with the public by implementing public diplomacy policy (Leonard, Stead, Smewing, 2002, p.49). In addition to that, branding policy discriminates and distinguishes audience from the nation, while public diplomacy gives the message about uniqueness (Szondi, 2008, p.16). Therefore, the most used communication ways in public diplomacy are specified as 'symmetric' (Szondi, 2008, p.16).

There is also a change in the structure of public diplomacy; while state was the only responsible actor communicating to foreign peoples in old public diplomacy, the structure of new public diplomacy is horizontal and ensured the presence of other actors together with states.

Public diplomacy's role has also changed. The old public diplomacy implementations aimed just to get the message across to targeted audiences. However, the aim of new public diplomacy is to build relationships with them. Two-way communications are in need of understanding the target audience. Leonard states that public diplomacy provides the outcomes that having an estimation of public opinion as well as transmitting the messages for target listeners (Mark et al., 2002, p.46). Therefore, trust-building will be possible between societies and publics which requires a two-way interactive public exchange (Snow, 2009, p.10).

In addition to that, ordinary people are more targeted by diplomacy than ever through new public diplomacy implementations. In other words, the soft power struggle in the new world order is a goal about shaping individuals' thoughts in contrast to the efforts for wielding economic and hard power in the word politics (Melissen, 2005, p.30).

### **1.3 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AS AN INTER-DISCIPLINARY CONCEPT**

Public diplomacy is not only an issue of international relations. Fitzpatrick asserts that new public diplomacy needs to be dealt with a public relations perspective due to its means. Especially since the emphasis is on two-way communication, new public diplomacy has become a part of public relations issue as well as communication science (Fitzpatrick, 2007, p.207). Both of the two disciplines that public diplomacy and public relations aim to influence the public to their audiences' own good (Signitzer, Coombs, Timothy, 2013, p.138). Public diplomacy requires also knowledge from political sociology, social psychology, cultural studies etc (Merickovai, 2014, p.351). Therefore, public diplomacy is an inter-disciplinary concept.

Zaharna (2009) also mapped out new public diplomacy efforts of states as informational and relational communication concepts. According to her, public diplomacy implementations are also the communication tool of public relations and these communication methods in public diplomacy can be analysed in two perspectives. The first way of communication is a linear operation of conveying information generally in accordance with the goal of persuasion or control. This is the informational aspect of public diplomacy. The other communication way is a social process of building relationships and promoting compatibility between publics (Zaharna, 2009, p.86).

There is another distinction in public diplomacy implementations from the perspective of public relations. The one of these is the tough-minded line that is used for the efforts to exert an influence on attitudes of foreign audience using persuasion and propaganda by using fast media such as radio, television, newspaper, and new magazines. The other one is the tender-minded line that is used for building mutual understanding through information and cultural programs through slow media that are films, exhibitions, language instruction, academic and artistic exchange (Signitzer et al., 2013, p.138).

#### **1.4 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORIES**

Even though the public diplomacy policy of states does not fit into any international relations theory closely, it is possible to say that public diplomacy basically stems from liberalism theory that deals with international politics at the individual level (Moravcsik, 1997, p.517-521).

A liberal state follows the interests of people rather than states' interest. In addition, the state is not a structure independent from the public. Instead, the state is a community that comprises of variety groups. Thus, the state has to inform the public about its decisions and include the public in the decision-making process (Viotti, and Kauppi, Mark 1993, p.231). Fukuyama, who is one of the famous liberals, asserts that as the legal internal policies spread all over the world, so international conflicts would terminate ultimately (Burchill, 2001, p.56). As mentioned previously, Joseph Nye, who is the widely-known representatives of neo-liberal

theory, argues that legitimacy is very important to win the hearts and minds (Nye, 1990, p.167). However, initially the power perception of Nye is presented as an extension of the realists' hard power relations.

Hard and soft power are related because they are both aspects of the ability to achieve one's purpose by affecting the behavior of others. The distinction between them is one of degree, both in the nature of the behavior and in the tangibility of the resources. Command power—the ability to change what others do—can rest on coercion or inducement. Co-optive power—the ability to shape what others want—can rest on the attractiveness of one's own culture and values or the ability to manipulate the agenda of political choices in a manner that makes others fail to express some preferences because they seem to be too unrealistic (Nye, 2004, p.7).

Therefore, Bilgin and Eliş allege that Nye's soft power definition is a complementary of the realist view of power because of two reasons: Firstly, Nye underlines the intangible aspects of power that are ignored by realist power analyzers; secondly he completes the lack of classical definition of power by defining the intangible faces of power (Bilgin, Eliş, Berivan, 2008, p.6).

On the other hand, Nye and Keohane (1998, p.83) have created a new notion that is 'complex interdependence'. This means that countries are linking each other recently by communicating through new information technologies such as the internet with a low cost. Thus, the social and political relationships between countries and societies have come into more prominence than the security and military forces. Nye and Keohane accept that knowledge is power. However, there are plenty of information in virtue of free information sources. Under these circumstances, the soft power is related with the credibility of the actors who diffuse information (Keohane and Nye, 1998, p.90).

Another international relations theory that can explain public diplomacy policy is constructivism. According to constructivist approach in social theory, international relations as every human relation do not merely consist of material conditions, but also of thoughts and ideas. Therefore, norms, values, and identities are not considered as independent from power relations between states and other social actors of the world politics (Jackson, Robert and Sorensen, Georg, 2006, p.168).

Gilboa (2008, p.68) argues that norms, values, and identities are mainly shaped by media. Even though the scholars of the constructivism and communication experts ignore each other, public diplomacy has an enormous potential to bring together constructivism, branding, and communication studies.

There is also a new paradigm to understand public diplomacy which is another matter in question of international relations that is Realpolitik versus Noopolitik. Whereas realpolitik meant from classical diplomacy which is inclined to use hard power; Noopolitik is used for the new diplomacy methods which include soft power tools (Ronfeldt and Arquilla, 2009, p.353). Essentially, Noopolitik is a type of foreign policy attitude which prioritized the ideas, values, norms, laws, and ethics (Gilboa, 2008, p.61). The changes in the realm of diplomacy stem from the developments of information technologies in the new age. Thus, the non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations become more effective owing to information abundance in world politics. Also, power has been in connotation with information. Therefore, soft power has become more important than hard power in the new information age (Ronfeldt and Arquilla, 2009, p.353). Gilboa suggests that there are two realms of diplomacy; Realpolitik and Noopolitik are defined as a contradiction for each other; however, the two type of foreign policy behavior had been used together when the Noopolitik had not yet been used for explaining public diplomacy (Gilboa, 2008, p.61).

## **1.5 THE MEANS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY**

### **1.5.1 Media**

As mentioned before, Nye asserts that one of the most important ways of getting soft power is setting the agenda (Nye, 2004, p.5). For this aim, the most effective tool is traditional mass media means such as newspapers, television channels, radio stations, cinema and publications (Sancar, 2012, p.185-186). There is a strong relationship between international agenda building and international frame building related to international events that is realized through media tools. So that the media organs are used for mediated aims in international conflicts between states (Sheafer and Gabay, 2009, p.463).

In addition to that, with the developments of information technologies, the roles and functions of media tools have changed. There has been new communication means that accelerate information diffusion throughout the world. Social media is one of them. Thanks to it, the messages could have been reached to the target audience more directly and quickly. Therefore, states have used social media for promoting their foreign policy (Bjola and Jiang, 2015, p.7). In the new information age, it has been possible to inform and activate even an irrelevant person in the case of any protests, occupation or conflict in another part of the world (Cull, 2009, 46). In consequence, all the sides to the conflict are now obliged to prove their legitimacy to the world public (Nye, 2004, p.141).

International news broadcasting is also an important public diplomacy tool. According to Cull (2009, p.21), the actors try to lead the international surroundings with the aim of building relations with the international public by operating the radio, television, and the internet technologies. This tool of public diplomacy can be used together with all the other tools of the public diplomacy that included listening and the monitoring/ uses of public analysis, support or information efforts in essays or policy publications, cultural diplomacy in its cultural content, and exchange in exchanges of programming etc.

### **1.5.2 Citizen and Diaspora Diplomacy**

The means of public diplomacy that human factor is in the center such as exchange programs have been mentioned in the previous titles. Also, public diplomacy's aim of reaching individual rather than wider communities has been handled in earlier sections. Like that, citizen diplomacy builds person to person relationships. Exchange diplomacy which is an example of citizen diplomacy is a network of human contact so that it serves as the context for official dialogue and compromise. Besides, the subjects of 'citizens diplomacy' are defined as unofficial ambassadors of grant countries' ( Mueller, 2009, p.101).

There are a lot of subjects of citizen diplomacy such as minorities, faith-based entities, expatriates, and university alumni who have potential to reach foreign public (Huijgh, 2013, p.7). Diasporas are also a part of that citizen diplomacy. In

general term, diaspora means that a dispersed group whose members have a sense of belonging to a nation that have common ethnic and national features, identities and kinships (Sheffer, 2010, p.11). Also migration has created important diaspora groups in many countries. Therefore, there are many living-link relations between host and home countries of the diasporas in the world (Mark, 2002, p.55). Mark Leonard (2002, p.55) takes diaspora policy very seriously for gaining soft power so that he sees diasporas as one of the most effective resources of public diplomacy alongside the NGOs and political parties.

### **1.5.3 Aid Diplomacy**

Foreign aid is defined as financial flows, technical assistance and commodities. According to this definition of OECD, these tools of aids have two main functions that are;

1. created to encourage economic improvement and welfare as their main purpose;
2. given as either donations or subsidized credits (Radelet, 2006, p.4).

Although OECD definition of foreign aid is limited with financial and technical aid, there are also various other forms of foreign aid such as ‘development aid’, ‘development assistance’, ‘emergency aid’, ‘humanitarian aid’, ‘official aid’, ‘voluntary aid’ and ‘official development assistance’ (Kremer, Lieshout and Went, 2009, p.48).

The foreign aids, specific voluntarily donations and social spending are linking each other and these all three have been taken into the consideration of the public in the donor country. The public support is important for aid policy of the state because it provides to get stronger aid programs (Lumsdaine, 1995, p.116-117). It is claimed that public opinion about foreign aid can shape a state’s foreign assistance under especially two circumstances: in the case of an enormous humanitarian crisis which can be observed through mass media by public; or in the case of an alleged abuse of the use of the assistance budget (Lancaster, 2007, p.22). Therefore, states have to be accountable and explanatory about their deployment and politics of aid budgets. On the other hand, the public opinion in recipient country is also important.

Even though foreign aid is not seen as a soft power tool by Joseph Nye, this kind of aid, including development aid and humanitarian aid, has considerable effect over the recipient public. For this reason, some countries have implemented special foreign aid policy to countries which they want to have the soft power. China is one of them so that there is an academic study on China's soft power activities and it shows that the increasing rate of public diplomacy expenditures and foreign aid budget of China show parallel with each other (Wang, 2008, p.264). On the other side, the humanitarian aid is not dealt with only by states, it is conducted also by non-governmental and civil society organisations. This kind of assistance may be more successful and leave a favorable impression on the people of recipients countries (Kremer, Lieshout, Went, 2009, p.48).

#### **1.5.4 Cultural diplomacy**

Nye (2008, p.95) asserts that a country's soft power that is used for affecting the others to obtain the outcomes she wants through attraction, rests on her resources, one of them being its culture. Therefore, culture in public diplomacy is used by promoting the national culture of donor country with the aim of giving impacts on public opinions of counterparts and to build integrity and credibility through cultural interactions (Hong, 2011). Cultural diplomacy as a means of public diplomacy is identified by Cull as making known the cultural resources and achievements of an actor in outside and promoting cultural transportation overseas and thus obtaining the capability to direct the global environment.

By using cultural diplomacy, states aim to exchange of ideas, values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity, therefore strengthen relationships, enhance socio-cultural cooperation, promote national interests and beyond are encouraged (Institute for Cultural Diplomacy). Cultural diplomacy has long been conducted historically by great powers of the world at the institutional level that have branches in the other states (Cull, 2009, p.20).

Cultural diplomacy includes a variety of actions from exchange mobility to art transmission that provide expressing values, norms, daily cultural traditions etc. of a state to the foreign audience abroad (Mark, 2009, p.5). Further, cultural diplomacy

is not be conducted by merely state, it can be practiced by the public sector, private sector as well as civil society (Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, n.d).

Art diplomacy that is a sub-fraction of the cultural diplomacy, is described as to benefit from high arts for example music, literature, painting as a tool of diplomacy by John Brown. According to him, with the effective use of art diplomacy, a state could provide long-term transmission of its national values to holder public. In this context, he criticizes the US for not using the art diplomacy for the purpose of its public diplomacy in the contrast of France (Brown, 2009, p.57). Educational activities and language teaching towards targets are two of the most important tools of cultural diplomacy of any country.

#### **1.5.4.1 Education Policy as a Means of Soft Power**

Sancar argues that the relationship-building is the most optimum public diplomacy implementation (Sancar, 2015, p.8). The reason of that is the two-way dimension of the relationship-building rather than persuading a single-actor (Szondi, 2008, p.24). The relational public diplomacy frameworks theorized by Zaharna has been mentioned before. Zaharna argues that there are two ranges of relational framework of public diplomacy. The first one is exchange programs and visits. She adds that the first tier of relational public diplomacy model is restrained by that to build relations bound up individuals. Zaharna exemplifies cultural and educational exchange programs, that aim of enhance mutual understanding, as a relational model (Zaharna, 2009, p.93).

In the modern world that is described as a village, exchange mobility programs, that is dispatching citizens abroad and mutually receiving citizens from away for a period of study and/or culture exchange, is used as an important instrument of cultural diplomacy with the imagination of an international training practice in which both parties gain and are changing (Cull, 2009, p.20). Exchanges include 'human factor' directly, therefore the participant's personality and psychology plays a central role. Accordingly, the possibility of creation of a political outcome is more likely. Exchange programs are categorized under the cultural diplomacy, however, the assumption of exchange diplomacy as a way of strategic communication is not false totally (Smith, 2009, p.51).

Joseph Nye argues that a country can supply the facts about her foreign policy through foreign students studying in colleges and universities to a broader public. Also, he exemplifies that there were academic and cultural exchanges between USA and USSR in the 1950s –during the Cold War era. Therefore, this era witnessed also a fight for soft power in addition to hard power (Nye, 2005, p.14). Therefore educational activities are seen as the most efficient means of soft power.

In addition, it is claimed that the education quality of a state is related to state's economic power and thus to its development level. According to this view, history has shown that one of the important drivers of modernity and technology advance has been education which contributes fast to development and has impact to global politics (Wojciuk, Michałek, Stormowska, 2015, p.2). Nye has also given the example that developing states such as Brazil, China, India and Russia give more importance the increasing the qualification and internationalization of their education systems (Nye, 2008, p.94).

The scholarship program of the US, Fullbright can be assumed as the first attempt of international student mobility with the spirit of sharing ideas and knowledge in the assurance of global peace and cooperation (Snow, 2009, p.237). These values are adopted and presented to the world by the US. Exchange programs have been adopted widely by the various states that want to utilize public diplomacy policy. There are many advantages of that programs such as eliminating cultural differences, promote uniqueness and the educating of potential opinion leaders of their home country (Smith, 2009, p.51). These advantages would provide unique opportunities to the host country to spread its values.

The contents of the academic studies of higher education institutions are highlighted as a means of conducting foreign policy by Gregory. According to him, the publications of studies which deal with the issue related to a country's foreign policy, also talks about attention of the public to the given issue (Gregory, 2008, p.286). At this point, it would be beneficial to remember that education is one of the means of soft power with the regards to attracting foreign students, to be the vehicle for transferring the values, to be sources that the country holds and to be a

means of reaching specific policy intentions (Wojciuk, Michałek, Stormowska, 2015, p.2-3). Nye also asserts that there are three resources of soft power; the country's culture; its political values and foreign policy (Nye, 2005, p.12). This is possible also through information transfer among academicians and students (Wojciuk, Michałek, Stormowska, 2015, p.2-3).

To have the international education or cultural programs of a state show that the state prefers implementing the public diplomacy with dialogue. Therefore, the state might reach her aims of public diplomacy by building connections between audience including policy-makers, international scholars, academicians, diplomats etc (Lindsay, 1989, p.455).

#### **1.5.4.2 Language Policy as a Mean of Soft Power**

Essentially, exchange diplomacy has another public diplomacy tool that is teaching country's national language. It is certain that learning a language opens the doors of the cultures where languages are widely spoken. Language teaching as an important tool of cultural diplomacy is defined as one of the most direct ways to reach to the foreign audience. In addition to that, diplomats are advised to learn local languages where they are to collect the first-hand local knowledge and to have linguistic expertise (Finn, 2003, p.19).

The educational activities mentioned in the previous title also include language teaching to foreign students. Therefore, the students become increasingly informed with the culture of the host country. After they return to their home country, they are expected to be the carriers of the culture and language of the country where they studied (Nye, 2005, p.12).

Countries that use public diplomacy most effectively have had their language teaching centers in other countries for a long time. As Zaharna ( 2009, p.86) points out, the second step of the relational model of the public diplomacy is setting language and culture centers in other countries UK and France are the most obvious example of that as two countries whose languages, namely English and French are the two most widely spoken languages around the world. English is spoken in 118

different countries by 378 million people while the French language is spoken 53 states by 76.8 million people. (Entnologue Language of the World, n.d)

## 1.6 THE CULTURAL DIPLOMACY OF FRANCE

Since old times, French diplomacy has been read as heavily associated with cultural diplomacy and potential international economic, social and political power of France relies on its language and culture. Besides, France's tendency has been to sustain her cultural and linguistic influence since the 1950s (Gavari, 2011, p.524).

Consequently, the public diplomacy policy of France grounds on cultural diplomacy more than any other tools of public diplomacy. That can be presumed from the official website of Ministry of France Diplomatie, which conducts cultural diplomacy policy officially. There are various sections under the cultural diplomacy of French Foreign Ministry. These sections are Internet and Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Cultural Exchanges, Cultural and Creative Industries, keep up with French media abroad, media and broadcasting, books and the written word, cinema, visual arts, music and performing arts. (*"The fields of action for cultural diplomacy"*, France Diplomatie n.d) In addition, France's cultural policy abroad indicates that France's cultural policy abroad executed by three means. The first objective of France's cultural diplomacy is 'disseminating contemporary creation in all its forms'. For this aim, some initiatives are launched both in abroad and in France such as Baltic abSounds French (contemporary music), France Danse (contemporary dance) or Paris Calling or 'Focus' programme that aimed to introduce the French culture and the work of French artists to a wider audience around the world, to build lasting networks and to respond to the demand from overseas artists and professionals (*"France's cultural policy abroad"*, France Diplomatie, n.d). The second objective of cultural diplomacy policy of France is indicated 'building the professional capacity of different artistic sectors' which is led by the Institut Français (*"France's cultural policy abroad"*, France Diplomatie, n.d). The last objective of France's cultural diplomacy 'Promoting French culture and implementing cultural diversity' which aims are expressed as meeting the cultural prosperity of other countries to France and promoting French culture beyond her borders, is the oldest one since the 19th century (*"France's cultural policy abroad"*, France Diplomatie, n.d).

France had implemented the policy of spreading the use of French language since 1883 when Alliance Française was set through the civilizing mission (“Mission Civilisatrice”) of France after the French Revolution in 1789 (Schwartz, 2011, p.44). Alliance Française has a non-governmental status and has 1050 branches in the world including her former colonial countries (Chaubet, 2004, p.765). The aim of the institution was spreading the French language in the countries which were under the French rule and protection in the colonial period (Kessel, 2011). Recently, it is asserted that Alliance Française has been the leading cultural network worldwide, with 850 establishments in 136 countries on all five continents. One of the essential tasks of the organization is defined as the expansion of French language and Francophone culture (“*Who Are We?*”, Alliance Française n.d).

According to Zaharna’s modeling, France uses both relational and informational model in her cultural diplomacy policy. Relational model cultural diplomacy institutions of France are ‘The Agence Française de Développement’ (“*Who Are We?*” Alliance Française n.d) which conducts development aid of France; ‘Agence pour l’Enseignement Français à l’Etranger’ (The Agency for Education Abroad[AEFE]), that is responsible for the French schools in overseas; Campus France (“*Our Missions*”, Campus France n.d) which executes all of the international education mobility of France and also teaching French language outside; Institute Française (“*About us*”, Insitute Française n.d) which promotes French understanding, cultural exchange and French ideal abroad. These official institutions of France serve to establish long-term relations which highlight the principle of reciprocity beyond transmitting the message unilaterally. Besides, Zaharna claims the other peculiarity of relational public diplomacy model is to be taken importance on the foundation of interactive communication channels and developing these channels (Zaharna, 2009, p.92). The activities of Alliance Française, Institute Française, and Campus France are typical examples of that.

Along with that, there are also institutions of informational public diplomacy tools of France which forward the official messages the international audience to obtain her political aims. Canal France International (CFI) (“*About us*”, Canal France International n.d) which broadcasts in states of Africa, Mediterranean, Balkans,

Caucasia and Asia; Bureau International de l'édition Française (*"Accueil"*, Promouvoir L'édition Française À L'étranger n.d) that aims to develop French publication in all over the world; Unifrance Films that promote the French films in across the globe.

France is one of the leading states that posses soft power in the world according to the data taken from Soft Power 30 report of 2017, published every year by USC Center on Public diplomacy (The Soft Power 30, 2017) The first three fields in which France is the most powerful are entreprise, government and education.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.7 THE CULTURAL DIPLOMACY OF UNITED KINGDOM

The public diplomacy policy of UK had been executed by relatively new founded the Public Diplomacy Board involving senior representatives of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), British Council and BBC World Service until 2009 (*"The Third Report of the Foreign Affairs Committee Session 2005-6 Public Diplomacy"*, 2006). After 2009, the Board was renewed by 'Strategic Communications and Public Diplomacy Forum,' which is administered by the Foreign Secretary. FCO's function is explained as focusing on ministerial auditing relations between FCO and its implementation partners of public diplomacy policy especially British council and BBC World that are funded directly by FCO (*"Public diplomacy and the UK"* FCO Public Diplomacy: The Olympic and Paralympic Games 2012 - Foreign Affairs Committee Contents).

The Third Report of the Foreign Affairs Committee was published in the session 2005-6. According to the report, one of the principles of UK's public diplomacy strategies is the independence of BBC World Service and British Council on the condition that they are aligned with British foreign policy objectives. In addition to

---

<sup>1</sup> The explanations of the fields are given by the USC;

**Enterprise** is the attractiveness of a country's economic model, business friendliness, and capacity for innovation,

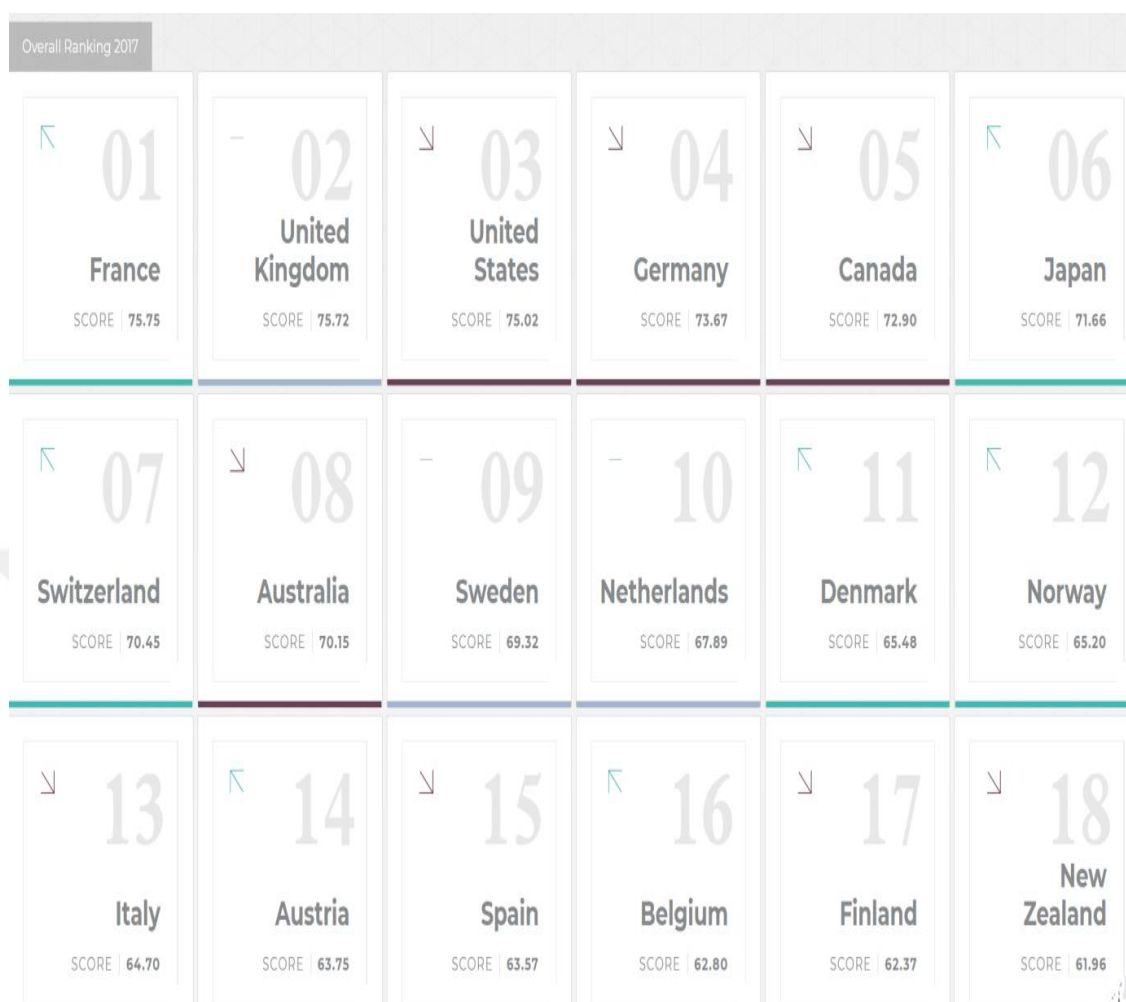
**Government** is the commitment to freedom, human rights, and democracy, and the quality of political institutions,

**Education** is the level of human capital in a country, contribution to scholarship, and attractiveness to international students.

that, this is concluded that the most important two executed public diplomacy institutions of the UK are the British Council and BBC World Services (“*The Third Report of the Foreign Affairs Committee Session 2005-6 Public Diplomacy*”, 2006). As understood above, one of the most important public diplomacy executive institutions of UK is the British Council which is defined as the United Kingdom's international organisation for cultural relations and educational opportunities (British Council, n.d). Therefore, it can be said that an important part of public diplomacy policy of UK is based on cultural diplomacy. That claim is powered with that British Council serves the Britain's desire of being at the top table of the world policy with no having material resources. Therefore, British government uses the British Council for the aim of engaging with individuals and partner organisations on a cultural level (Webb, Smith, Macfarlane, Martin; 2014).

When the cultural diplomacy policy of the UK is handled in terms of Zaharna's informational and relational model of public diplomacy, it would be formed the opinion that the UK has both of the institutions. Accordingly, the British Council that have a wide network over the world, contributes to setting up long-term relations with target audience in the world through its educational exchange and teaching language programmes. BBC World Service publishes news, reports and analysis in English and 26 other languages to all over the world. Therefore, BBC is the informational model-public diplomacy instrument of the UK due to conveying the messages one-sided.

In 2017, the UK has been second after the France that possess soft power according to the Soft Power 30 report of the USC Center on Public Diplomacy (The Soft Power 30, 2017).

**Figure 1:** Soft Power Ranking that States Possess in 2017

**Source:** Soft Power 30; <https://softpower30.com/country/>

According to the Soft Power 30 index, France is the first, and the UK is the second in ranking with a slight difference in the classification of the states which have the soft power in 2017. Of course, methodology used in forming this index can be questioned. Hence, a poll has been conducted with 11.000 people via collaboration with Facebook in 25 countries all over the world. Therefore, the accuracy of the scope and sample is doubtful. Further, the survey is not implemented a particular region, and we do not know whether or not the distribution of participant of the poll is balanced in the world. Nevertheless, the survey can give an opinion about countries that have soft power the most high-rated in the world, even though the data of fields are unhealthy.

France and the UK have been assumed as the countries which hold soft power maximum-level recently. There is one more common peculiarity of these two

countries; their colonial historical background in Africa. As mentioned, this thesis aims to reveal whether a correlation between the colonial education and language policies of France and the UK toward African colonies and their current policies to shape public opinion in the independent African countries in the scope of cultural diplomacy tools; education and language. For that aim, the colonial education and language policies towards African colonies under France and Great Britain's governance and the comparison of that will be dealt with in the second chapter.

In this chapter, the definitions of public diplomacy and soft power concept has been examined by using the method of literature view and in the direction of the developments that states are enforced to own soft power. The progress of public diplomacy has also been argued from Cold War era to present day. Besides, the approachment of international relations and other relevant social science approaches towards the notion of 'Public diplomacy' have been reviewed. Further, the tools of public diplomacy such as media, citizen and diaspora diplomacy, aid diplomacy and cultural diplomacy have been dealt. More specifically, education and language had been concentrated by reason of being able to be used in different forms during the historical process. Finally, France and the UK's cultural diplomacy tools of public diplomacy policies have been examined. Further, the evaluation of public diplomacy implementations has been handled. Accordingly, it is concluded that the tools of education and language policies for the aim of shaping foreign public opinion have been used actively as the cultural diplomacy means of both France and the UK.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **FRANCE AND UK'S AFRICA POLICY DURING THE COLONIAL ERA**

In this chapter, we will deal with France and Great Britain's colonial policies which had been implemented over their African colonies in the 19th century comparatively. However, the focus point will be education and language policies of France and the UK's towards their dependencies in Africa in the scope of that thesis. In this chapter, France and Britain's colonial specifically cultural policies towards respective colonial states in Africa will be compared with each other in the colonial era between 1860–1960.

#### **2.1 A COMPARISON OF FRANCE AND THE UK'S AFRICA POLICY DURING THE COLONIAL ERA**

When the West, particularly Portugal had promoted exploration of Atlantic Ocean with financial support in the 15th century, the explorers had started to find out overseas civilisations including Sub-saharan Africa. After that time, domination of the seas, being a powerful maritime power and trade relations between the dominions and the base country had determined the dominant power in the world policy (Sander, 2006, p.90).

This is the beginning of the colonisation in the world history. Since then, the states which aimed to be the dominant power in the world had obliged to acquire the new areas for expansion. France is known as the dominant power in the 17th century, as well as Britain is known as the dominant power in the 18th century in the world political history (Sander, 2006, p.97). At that point, the Industrial Revolution and its effect on the world capitalist economy should be mentioned that caused the West to begin the accumulation of capital by exploiting the natural resources of Africa and African labour (Isaacman, Roberts, Lulat Y. G-M, 1996, p.415). The two dominant countries, Britain and France, had come across with each other in Africa in the colonia race. These powers, which had the desire to exploit the natural and human resources of Africa, implemented several distinct policies during their colonial administration. They set up different administration systems in their respective African colonies which heavily affected these countries from their legal system to employment policy and religion, education, and language (Rodney, 1981, p.127).

According to the general view, colonisation is based on economic reasoning. However, the colonial states had to set up colonial administration systems which affected also social and cultural life to secure the economic interest in the colonies. In addition to that, colonizers were aware of the fact that they had to culturally control of their colonies. This would be realised through education (Oba, Onyije, Eboh, 2011, p.627).

Therefore, the policies towards education and languages in African countries which affected cultural life was adopted by Western colonial states (Gilbert and Reynolds, 2012, p.503). The early Western style school system was founded by missionaries at the beginning of the 18th century by colonizers such as Portugal, Britain as well as France while there were some local and national differences (Mazonde, 2001, p.6). They had aimed a social change through education in the colonies. This was based on adopting the Western colonial education system. Native African education had been identified as a reflection of African native social life view of material and also spiritual sense, a common nature, multiplicity and focused on the native children's progressive development by Walter Rodney who was a Guyanian scholar and activist against colonial imperialism. He had also stressed to discrimination of natives through education (Oba, Onyije, Eboh, 2011, p.627). Actually there had been a formal education in Africa before the colonial era. However, Europeans had changed the school system of African countries by grouping children into classrooms and by setting up regular daily lessons, literacy, exam results and certification system (Pakenham, 1992, p.21).

Formal education in African countries in pre-colonial era was fitting to social realities and focused on societies' needs. In other words, both the values and technical education had been handled through formal education. However, the colonial states had gave technical courses in formal education that adopted the Western system and they had to take apart religious education from formal education (Oba, Onyije, Eboh, 2011, p.627).

The main mind-control attempt was through especially missionaries of the Europeans which were from Great Britain and France exclusively by the 19th century. It is important to note that there was a visible difference in education field depending on the denomination of missionaries. For example, while Evangelical missions coming from the Protestant tradition had given more importance to

teaching literacy and manual skills, the Anglican and Catholic missions' tendency was more academic (White, 1996, p.10).

The changing education system was the extension of the economic colonisation to provide colonies' duties to Metropoles and it definitely did not put forward the purpose of development of the African societies. Also the colonial education process was seen as a tool for distracting native learning structure and adopting the Western style of thinking (Kelly and Philip, 1984, p.628). Especially after World War I, the education issues in colonies became more important and taken more seriously by colonial administrations. Most of them appointed Directors of Education in the colonies and they set up Committees responsible for formulating African education policies in their capitals. These efforts continued though until the 1930s albeit with some changes (Mazonde, 2001, p.6). Colonial education was also based mostly on primary education in both France and Britain. In addition, European bias in education continued to dominate through the medium of instruction and curricula. The language of education was obviously the language of colonial powers (Mazonde, 2001, p.7).

Although there were some common peculiarities of colonial Western-type education imposed on Africa, France and UK had used different method in education parallel with their general colonial policies. Therefore, it would be more beneficial first of all to examine their colonial policies.

### **2.1.1 French Colonial Policy in Africa**

There were certain typical peculiarities of France's colonial policy stemmed from France's governmental understanding at that time. The colonial service and its evolution had been shaped by the government of Paris. From the French Revolution to the end of the 19th century, French policy had been directed toward its colonies due to the ideology of the Third Republic that was disseminating the "civilization mission" (Lewis, 1962, p.134). In general, different from Britain, France had adopted a direct rule over her colonies. It means that France had preferred to set up relations between local people and metropolitan administration in Paris through obedience (Crowder, 1964, p.199). While doing that France committed that taking living standards of the indigenous people a higher level, providing them moral and economic progress and adapting them to French civilisation through administrators, pioneers, and missionaries who were sent by France to Africa (Aglion, 1944, p.79).

The impact of French colonialism might be felt clearly and strongly in the colonies which were brought under control of France in rather earlier periods such as Senegal and Algeria. The colonial policy implemented in Senegal was the typical full-scale application of French assimilative colonial policy; The political assimilation was achieved through the representation of Senegal in House of Representatives of France, the administrative assimilation was generated as a result of Senegal model of Conseil General and parallel to those founding municipal councils copied from France, and personal assimilation through the new education system (Crowder, 1964, p.202).

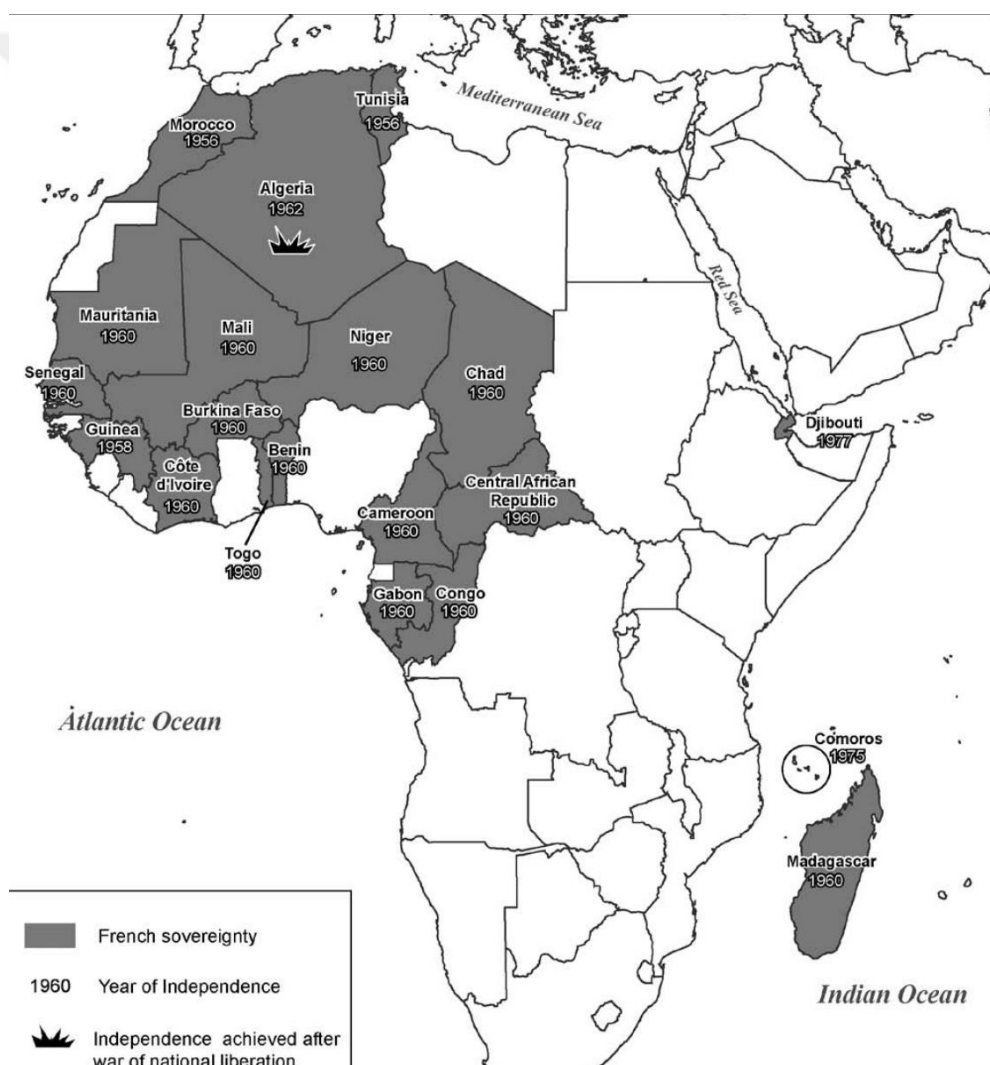
This policy had been implemented first time by Louis Faidherbe who was a military officer and responsible for the direct rule and assimilation at the beginning of the 1800s in that area. This was generalised in two-phases. First one, the colonies would be integrated to the French administration system and would be a part of France. Second, people in colonies would be quasi-French citizen that could not be separable culturally from the homeland. The effect of that policy can be observed in Algeria typically (Gilbert and Reynolds, 2012). France had implemented its colonial policy by setting up administrative institution structure in the colonies particularly in Algeria, which was invaded in 1830. This policy had taken the source of the 'Code of Indigenant' which was seen as a cruel administration. (Gounin, 2011, p.680).

However, this experiment created disappointment for France (Labouret, 1940, p.24). The oppressive administration of France caused the rebellion of natives. At last, the governance of the two dominant ethnic groups that were Arab and Berber in Algeria was exchanged. That is Berberis were taken to the forefront at the expense of the Arabs who were mainly Muslim. The Muslim identity of Arabs was tried to be eradicated (Von, 1979, p.145). Therefore, there had been an uneasy environment for a long time in Algeria (Birsell, 2013, p.50). Hence, this experiment in Algeria was defined as unsuccessful and France had to go through a series of changes in its administration of Algeria including the change in the departments previously set up. In addition to that, the services were taken from the various ministries and all were given to the General Governor who was the highly authorized person with the exception of Justice and Public Instruction. Also,

financial delegations composed of Frenchmen and Natives assisted the General Governor (Labouret, 1940, p.25).

When all the initiatives failed to provide a desired result, France had to change its policy of treating its colonies as the extension of central administration in Paris. The centralisation policy continued, however, after 1895, it was adjusted to local conditions in Algeria. From that time onwards, all colonies had their own budget and their services were linked to the French Ministry of Colonies. The Metropolis law was not implemented automatically; it was used taking into account the distinctive character of the Colonies (Labouret, 1940, p.25).

**Map 1:** French Colonies in Africa



**Source:** History of Humanity, Scientific and Cultural Development, Volume VII, The Twentieth Century, Edited by Sarvepalli Gopal Sergei L. Tikhvinsky co-edited by I. A. Abu-Lughod G. Weinberg I. D. Thiam W. Tao UNESCO Publishing

The differentiation in the colonial policy of France also occurred according to the changes in French foreign policy as well as the domestic structure of the colonies and other conditions. For example, the status of the other colonies of France that were Morocco and Tunisia were International Protectorates and their administration lied under the jurisdiction of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Many other regions had been Colonial Protectorates directed under the French Ministry of the Colonies which was founded at the ministerial level as a successor of the Direction des Colonies in 1894 until 1946 when it was changed the name as the 'Ministre de la France d'Outre-Mer' (Gray, 1974, p.699-700).

The other assimilative colonial policy implementation had been stemmed from the thought of that if a native of France controlled territories had become indistinguishable from a Frenchmen culturally, they would be viewed as a French citizen (Gilbert and Jonathan, 2012, p.483). In other words, the colonies could have sent elective representatives to the French Parliament (Lapie, 1944, p.104). Although some colonial territories of France had sent the direct representatives, their quantity was not compatible with the density of the population. (Clinet and Foster, 1964, p.191). Therefore, it can be concluded that despite all the rhetoric, France as a colonialist power never approached her dependencies in an equal manner. On the contrary, the basic purpose was to expand the imperial domain in all fields, trying to enlarge the French economic, political and cultural domination as far as possible.

In the early colonial time, assimilation had been felt intensively. The Frenchmen was pleased to be seen as assimilators and even they were proud of that. Because this term had expressed as spreading of democratic values, attacking the native civilizations at full speed was considered as a "great service to humanity". In addition, France had implemented the same policy to all colonies regardless of their differences without taking into account their culture, customs and traditions. After the Algerian catastrophe, France had to soften its colonial policy in all her African colonies. In addition, French colonial policy had to take distinctive features of colonial lands and peoples into account. In other words, France had started to structure different colonial policies according to the facts on the ground (Lapie, 1944, p.104). The grade of assimilation policy was related closely with the inclination of political officials to that policy. In other words, if the political official

really interiorised the civilization mission, the enlightenment would be carried to the indigenous. France absolutely did not accept that there had been a native culture (Labouret, 1940, p.25).

Thus, under the French system the one constant for the political officer could only be French culture, while for the British officer every encouragement was given to him to understand the local culture. As a corollary, the French did give some assistance to the creation of a native elite, which was niched into the regional and general government units, but yet they were not on a particularly massive proportion (Crowder, 1964, p.203).

In sum, French colonial administrative system had envisaged closer relationship with colonies and the French capital since the beginning of the French colonialism in Africa as different from Britain's policy (Lee and Schultz, 2012, p.12). From this viewpoint, it may be thought that France provided her colonies in Africa a sort of association with the Metropol. However, the relations of France with her colonies were basically assimilative. The elements of direct rule and the efforts for disseminating civilisation are seen as assimilative policies of France towards her African colonies (Knight, 1933, p.222). In that context, application of the same, almost identical regulations to all colonies regardless of their size, social structure, religious beliefs and economic development, indicates that France really was not interested in the well-being of people in her Colonies (Lewis, 1962, p.131).

By the 20th century, a negative reaction against the colonial policy of France in the public opinion of African people had begun to emerge (Gilbert and Reynolds, 2012, p.494). Therefore, a new doctrine had been asserted which supported the indirect rule by setting association with indigenous elites. The British and Dutch colonial policies were modelled in the foundation of this doctrine due to raising racist thought and tendency to the pragmatic approach. Association policy had been advocated by the government from the right-wing whose ideology rest on racist attitude to non-European peoples. This policy was also shaped by the internal discourse of France administrative system based on political leadership, social structure, and national character (Roshwald, 1994, p.72). This policy was appropriate for Morocco that had a long-standing Islamic culture and France could not dominate there until 1912 (Gilbert and Reynolds, 2012, p.494).

Trying of the various French colonial administration system coincided with the eruption of the First World War between 1914 and 1918. France was in Entente Triple with Britain and Russia against Germany which was France's rival on the issue of Alsace-Lorraine since 1871 and Austria-Hungary and Italy that consisted of Triple Alliance (Akşin, 2017, p.386). Although Germany had become a threat both to the French colonies as well as the mainland France, there was not a territorial loss. On the contrary, France had recruited military troops from her African colonies to the war in Europe. In addition, France noticed what she might obtain economic and agricultural interest to meet her costs arisen out of the war.

The First World War accelerated the arrival of modern anti-colonialist and independence movements, although to a lesser extent than the Second World War (Nasson, 2014, p.183). Nevertheless, France had implemented her colonial activities at the highest level between WW I and WW II depending on economic crisis (Price, 2016, p.267). With the end of WWI, US President Wilson had declared his fourteen points manifesto which brought on the agenda the principle of 'the right to self-determination' in 1918. There was also a title on providing reconciliation between colonialist aims of the big powers and interests of the natives (Sander, 2006, p.386). This was the starting point that changed the values which affected the world politics. With the raising trend of nationalism and the developments in internal policies of France and also other Colonizers, the colonisation activities would not have continued as before. However, France had needed to have power on her colonies more than ever (Sander, 2005, p.32). This situation had simply required a new policy towards her African dependencies.

Lapie summed up the aim of the new policy as to prepare the dependencies to the day when the Colonies would gain their independence by increasing their economic, social and political power. He also recommended that the French government should have provided assistance to colonies if they want to become independent in the future, depending on the situation that the relations should be mutually beneficial and fair. The new type of relationship, she advocated could be in the form of Federation or indirect administration. The colonies should have benefited from the new economic system in the sense that they should not be considered as only providers of raw materials (Lapie, 1944, p.110).

Based on the above ideas, some reform had been realised in French colonial administration and its institutions between 1944 and 1948. Brazzaville Conference was organized under the leadership of Minister of Overseas of France and was shaped by the Minister himself (Lewis, 1995, p.156). At the end of the Conference, some measures had been taken for determining a new road map for France and her colonies in Africa. These measures included ceasing the forced labour and envisaged a new native legal regulation, setting of a 'French Federation' and Regional Assemblies under that Federation plus the representation of native people at the forthcoming French Constituent Assembly (Smith, 1978 p.73-74). At the end of the Brazzaville conference, the most obvious assimilative implementations of France revealed in her cultural policies especially language and education policy in Africa.

#### **2.1.1.1 The cultural policy of France**

The assimilative colonial African policy of France is seen as her desire of political and cultural uniformity in France's African dependencies (Clignet and Foster, 1964, p.191). The reflection of France colonial policy in Africa to her education and language policy will be examined below.

##### **2.1.1.1.1 Education policy**

The French colonial education policy can be examined in two phases; first phase from the early time of settlement of French colonizers during the 19th century and from early 1900's until independence era. Before French colonization in West Africa, there were two types of education; Islamic education in the territories from Senegal to Chad which taught the Quran, and traditional education which was for the people who did not know literacy in tribes by offering non-formal education in childhood and adolescence era. These two type of education had continued parallel to Western type of education during the French domination (Gardinier, 1980, p.70).

The official Republican discourse since French Revolution 1789 'civilisation mission' had reflected French assimilationist education policy. However, the first part of French education activities in colonial areas was limited to potential local political authorities such as the sons of chiefs and the children of other members of the traditional ruling classes (Gardinier, 1980, p.71). The first formal education institutions were set up for that aim in 1857 (White, 1996, p.10). According to one view, this policy should be labelled as assimilating 'families' rather than each local

individual before 1903. At the time, there were not enough formal education institutions that would meet the needs of all individuals in West Africa (Chafer, 2001, p.192). Rather, there were missionary schools in West Africa at that time. Consequently, in 1854, four schools were set up in Senegal for the education of priests; two of them were in Goree and the other two were in St Louis (White, 1996, p.10). There is a wide consensus about that the missionaries were funded by the state since they were seen as the tool for dissemination of French culture through education and language (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.308). Chafer claims that activities of missionaries had not been supported by the Third Republic since they had been contradictory to the secular structure French government (Chafer, 2001, p.193). Even so, it is interesting that the Third Republic had approached implementation of the secularism in the Metropole quite strictly while she had supported Christianity in Africa.

Between 1903 and 1924, France made legal arrangements to give full control of the colonial schools to the French government gradually. Therefore, most of the students had been educated in the state-run schools. In 1922, France made some legal arrangements to limit activities of missionaries. According to that, the foundation of schools would be opened and operated under the condition of acquiring government permission, employing teachers certified by the government, implementing government curriculum and wide-ranging use of the French language as the instruction language (White, 1996, p.10).

As mentioned before, the French colonial education policies were mostly based on the doctrine of 'civilisation mission'. Therefore, the main aim was the distribution of civilization values and thought and adaptation of the similar model of behaviour. Therefore, the educational policy meant assimilation serving to the interests of colonization of African territories. The most important tool of assimilation was the formal education institutions in French West Africa including Senegal which was the centre, then in French Sudan, French Guinea, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomey and Niger (Clignet and Foster, 1964, p.193).

Actually, the education system was not revolutionized totally at the beginning of the colonisation. There were two-phase primary and elementary education, adding to some primary superior schooling and less university education. The basic education institution used to be based on the rural schools which had granted to

students one or two grade level education, sometimes a student could get with 3 to 6 years education if he was lucky. Elementary education which corresponded third and fourth grades had been also granted to students in a selective regional school. To get the upper degree, students had to obtain degree certificates, as well. However, primary grades students used to be supported by political authorities and the village schoolmaster. When a student was seventeen, generally he had just finished primary degree in West Africa. After primary education, students used to get usually vocation training. Almost one-third of all students had got courses of three or five years courses in metallurgy, carpentry, and other trades programmes by mid-1930s. Besides, the secondary education had not been widespread (Kelly, 1984, p.525). There were some special secondary schools that were founded for elite colonial education especially between 1903 and 1920. These are examples of that Ecole William Ponty or vocational or technical institute Ecole Pinet Laprade. Ecole William Ponty, however, had submitted three years preparatory courses to students to enter medical school which had trained medicinal assistants for the colonial health service. There was a quota allocated each colony in the federation and the students were accepted to the schools according to the examination results (Sabatier, 1978, p.249).

In addition to that special vocational secondary schools, four years-secondary schools in St. Louis had transformed to full cycle lycee in 1920. Also, after the Ecole Pinet Laprade, the second medical higher academic school had opened which included midwife and veterinary sections at the same date. In addition to that three normal schools which were two of them for boys and one of them for girls had opened in Dakar in 1930s. At the end, with the opening of a higher technical school in Bamako, the process of educational reform and enlargement was completed by the postwar era-1940s (Sabatier, 1978, p.249).

Besides the French government had controlled the publication of the textbooks and school curriculum in French West Africa. Teachers were provided various materials on various subjects including pedagogics, folklor, history, geography, hygiene and many others (Kelly, 1984, p.528). It is asserted that the most important development in education policy of colonial France was the effort to extend the rural mass education in 1930s (Sabatier, 1978, p.250).

Although it is usually a common understanding that the colonial education policy was a part of assimilationist French colonial policy, there are also different points of view about French colonial education policy. One of them is that the development of schools was determined by the level of economic and political development in the French colonial regions. This argument was exemplified by the foundation of Ecole des Otages that were training the sons of chiefs in Senegal at the beginnings of the 1860s. This is seen as contradictory to the assimilationist view and similar to British experiment that envisaged to train the persons who have the potential for traditional authority (Clignet and Foster, 1964, p.191). However, there was also another idea that implies that the policies might be labelled as assimilationist. According to that, local chiefs' education should have aimed mainly because chiefs were the owners of the local authority. This would bring respect and obedience together. Their education might provide the outputs of the colonial aims of French gradually by uniting chiefs and the administrators (Aglion, 1944, p.80).

In addition to that, there was also some critique concerning French colonial education policy from the homeland. Le Pen, who was a French sociologist, was against the same curriculum. He asserted that the type of education which was designed for "civilised man" is not convenient for "half-civilized man". According to him, the instruction on basic doctrines including mathematics and applied science of agriculture, industry, or manual trades would be more significant than the details of the history of France (Lewis, 1962, p.138). Nonetheless, the education system that moves the young people away from their mother culture would postpone the scholastic advancement since that the education does not offer enough and qualified job opportunities to these people (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.308).

To sum up, Sabatier argues that there were two eventual aims of the France's colonial education policy. One of them was educating loyal political 'elites' who would be auxiliaries of the colonial government in the colonies, through products of a handful of post-primary and secondary schools. The second aim was also to make the French the common-used language in African colonies (Sabatier, 1978, p.247).

#### **2.1.1.1.2 Language policy**

Colonial language policy of France can be seen both as an aim and the result of the educational policy. As well as, it was also both a part of education policy and its

complementary. Migge and Leglise define two prevailing types of policies of the colonial language; the metropolitan language model and vernacular model. According to that, French language policy was in the first group (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.308). The language policy of France in her colonies was also an extension of 'civilization mission' as well as her education policy in her colonies (Chafer, 2001, p.206). Therefore the colonial French language policy is associated with her assimilation policy which had envisaged to teach the French language (Chafer, 2001, p.193). This had meant that the same curriculum had to be followed in African colonies under the French presence and knowing the French language was the first condition of the entering all intellectual world where the French language was described as the sole recognized medium of instruction and education. The mother tongue education had been taught only at adult literacy programmes (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.308).

It has already been mentioned that the first education attempt by French in her African colonies had been realized by missionaries which had aimed to disseminate the Christianity. It is obvious that the communication with indigenous people had great importance for them. Therefore the clerics in those missions began to learn local languages themselves and used the local languages as a tool of their instruction. However, missions had been obliged to get some measures for encouraging the loyalty to France by teaching French language and culture with the increase of nationalism in the 1880s in France. Even, in some countries, such as Gabon, some legal amendments envisaged that missionaries would allocate half of their teaching time to teach the French language (Gardinier, 1980, p.72). Since they were financially supported by state and thought that the best way of teaching European moral and beliefs could be through French language, they did not refuse this regulation (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.308).

In addition, when France had started to set up formal education institutions, these had been designed as quasi-copy of the education institutions in France (Clignet and Foster, 1964, p.194). The same curriculum had been followed and the French language had been obliged to be language of instruction. Therefore, the students were taught French starting from primary education. Even this seemed as a gift for African students by the French officials (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.307).

Although France's general colonial policy towards her colonies could change according to local differences, the colonial language policy was the only area which had been implemented in all colonies. It has been commented that it stemmed from a necessity rather than just classic assimilationist policy of France. Because there were several indigeneous languages and there should have been sole umbrella language that could be used by every citizen (Clignet and Foster, 1964, p.192). Of course, this would be just the French language.

This policy had been perceived negatively by the colonial peoples since this policy had alienated children from their own culture. In addition, young population could not find job by insisting on using just their local language. In West Africa, the elementary curriculum adjusted nearly completely toward students who speak French.

Students who were enrolled regional school or the equivalent of third grade were expected to write papers or read widely from books (Kelly, 1984, p.529). Therefore, it is also argued that the scholastic progress had been halted because of this language policy of French Empire (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.308).

### **2.1.2 British Colonial Policy in Africa**

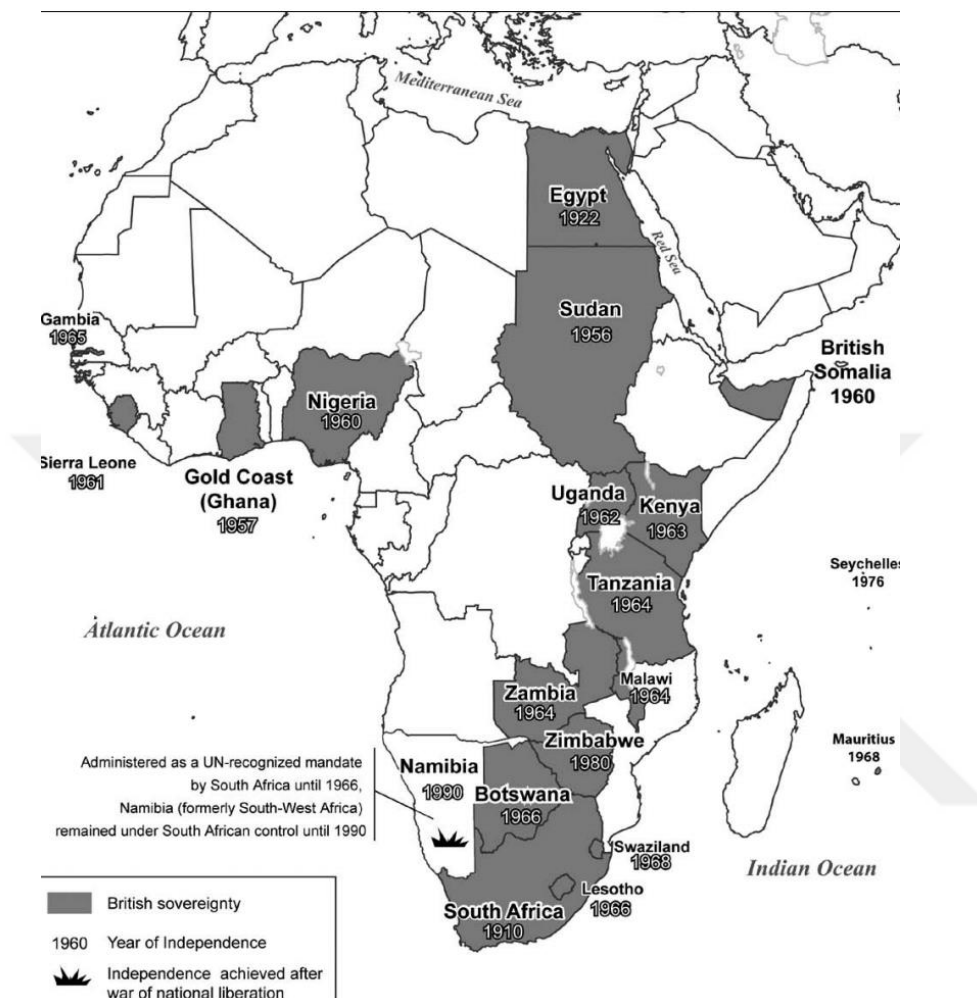
The colonial policy of Britain was totally different from France's policy in relation to their preference for getting involved in the administration of their colonies. While France had preferred to be in colonial governance through appointed local chiefs directly, Great Britain had taken part in the governance of her colonies indirectly. This difference was resulted in the lack of interest of the Great Britain extending her political influence to her colonies. Actually, various new colonies were obtained firstly by trading companies originated from Britain before the British Empire. Therefore, when Britain had entered to the region politically, the economic background was ready to set up its own system (Clignet and Foster, 1964, p.192).

This type of colonial administration is named as 'indirect rule' which is defined in the National Archives of the United Kingdom as;

Indirect government involved using local chiefs to implement colonial policies, based on the 'Lugard Rules' developed in Nigeria from 1912 for running colonies based upon traditional native institutions. The Colonial Power remained in charge, taking the key decisions, but the

traditional authorities were left with the appearance of power. (The National Archives of UK, n.d)

**Map 2:** British Colonies in Africa



**Source:** History of Humanity, Scientific and Cultural Development, Volume VII, The Twentieth Century, Edited by Sarvepalli Gopal Sergei L. Tikhvinsky co-edited by I. A. Abu-Lughod G. Weinberg I. D. Thiam W. Tao UNESCO Publishing

The administrative structures of French and British colonies were identified as similar to each other since both were using local ‘Chiefs’ in the administration of the region. However, the difference was in the method of using the ‘Chiefs’. While there was a superiority relationship between local Chiefs in French colonies and their French Governors, British political officers had the advisory duty for local Chiefs in the British Colonial Empire. In such circumstances, the relations between imperial governance and local Chief is labeled as ‘supervisory’ rather than advisory. This was valid for Britain’s colonial areas of many parts of East Africa and some parts of Yorubaland.

Northern Nigeria was the colony where the British Colonial Policy was implemented most typically. In Nigeria, the local institutions were conserved and assisted to develop without losing their character. The main aim of indirect rule system was to promote self-governance with the instruments of local political institutions rather than conserving the foundation of 'Chieftancy' (Crowder, 1964, p.197-8). The British government had required that Chiefs take assistance and rule his community through several committees. The Chief could take the opinion of a tribe which he felt close to himself. Likewise a person from a tribe could consult with the Chief about the affairs of his tribe. The Chief had not obliged to obey advice, however, he could assess the tendency of public opinion (Ashton, 1947, p.236). This information shows us that Great Britain took importance on public opinion of people of tribes which she exploited even then.

It has alleged that the Bechuanaland Protectorate (current Botswana) and Basutoland (current Lesotho) which had experienced governance by local political organizations had well-established democratic culture. Accordingly, these countries had the infrastructure of democratic governance. The three opportunities that were provided by British men had consisted that infrastructure; education, economic security and motivating the people (Ashton, 1947, p.250-251).

British colonial system of 'Indirect Rule' had been summarized in that the African institutions which were governed by African leaders must have been constituted the governance of African state. For this reason, there would be rapid increase in the level of social and economic changes which could affect positively the African daily-life (Matthews, 1937, p.433).

Sir Bernard Bourdillon, who was a British colonial administrator served as the Governor of Uganda between 1932-35 and Governor of Nigeria between 1935-43, stated that Great Britain had implemented open-door policy to its dependencies without raising the tariff barriers on imports and exports between each other on the contrary to France. In addition, Bourdillon named the British colonial policy as individualist by comparing French assimilative colonial policy in Africa. Besides, he highlighted that British policy had always seen her colonies as a separate existence and given the responsibility of self-government to inhabitants contrary to France (Bourdillon, 1944, p.83-85).

### **2.1.2.1 The cultural policy of UK**

As seen above, the British Government was not related to the internal structure of her colonies unlike France. Therefore, Britain had not implemented the specific cultural policy to her colonies in Africa. The education and language policy of Britain had shaped in the shade of British adaptation colonial policy.

#### **2.1.2.1.1 Education policy**

The early education efforts had been executed by missionaries, especially Evangelicals, in the British colonial areas in Africa between 1900 and 1920s (Beck, 1960, p.115). Therefore, the educational activities had been copied off the metropolitan experiments of the British Empire in the point of dualism involving church and government. This meant that a limitation had been in colonial administration and missionaries' social roles. On the other hand, this provided that the colonial powers had eliminated the cost of administration and budgetary. Besides, this offered the model of education which was the nature of the missionary community. The missions came from Britain as members of Anglican and Catholic sects, had taught principally academic education. One of the other peculiarities of the British colonial education was the number of students that joined education activities were quite limited (Mazonde, 2001, p.6).

Therefore, the new local political opposition had appeared and they protested the current organizations and asked for the right to education of African in the colonies of Britain in West Africa. Besides, the British officials and religious men asserted that educational activities should have changed (Beck, 1966, p.115). The educated West African elites and their diaspora had also raised their voices about education rights of native Africans with the increasing consciousness of being African (Nwauwa, 1993, p.249). However, the Foreign Office of Britain had not given priority to educational needs, rather their viewpoint was more strategic. Education had only been needed when skilled manpower was required in such as medical, labor or agricultural areas. Under these circumstances, missionaries in West Africa had undertaken the education as one of their duties. There had been given too much personal initiative to missionaries because of that there were a number of few trained teachers at that time (Beck, 1966, p.115).

There was some criticism about education services of the British Colonial Administration. This had stemmed from inadequate opportunities for education, especially before 1939. A little number of the children had been supplied education services regularly at that time and there was an inequality between territories with regards to numbers of schooling. A tiny minority of children had finished the basic primary level of education and the rate of female students was very low. Moreover, the secondary education was quite costly and just possible for children living in urban areas. Furthermore, higher education opportunities had not been provided until after the Second World War (Whitehead, 1981, p.71).

Although it should not be forgotten that the results of Colonial British educational activities had been asserted being concrete, in spite of limited-quantities educated indigenous students. The rate of literacy among adults was almost the same between the local people and the people in the West (Beck, 1966, p.115).

It had been mentioned that there was a criticism about education situation of British dependencies in Africa especially by missionaries in the region. As a result, there had been a consensus about the improvement of education of African natives since 1918 when Colonial Government had announced White Paper about Education Policy of Africa as a consequence of economic prosperity of British Africa (Wallbank, 1934, p.108). In 1923, an Advisory Committee on Native Education had been founded in the British Tropical African Dependencies. This action would be the first visible attempt of the British Empire about education issues in her African dependencies until the acceptance of the Colonial Welfare and Development Acts of 1940 and 1945. This had envisaged the grant aids on education. Sierra Leone was an interesting exception in that point. The Ministry of Finance of the Britain Empire had started to subsidize education as early as 1809 (Brown, 1964, p.366).

The Phelps Stokes Commission whose center in America and also supported by various Christianity missionaries had published a report in 1922. One year later an Advisory Committee on Native Education had been established (Brown, 1964, p.366). The Phelps-Stokes Fund was founded for dealing with education situation of '**Negroes**' (as mentioned in the Report) where both in Africa, the United States and the North American Indians under the laws of New York State in 1911. For these purposes, the famous sociologist Thomas Jesse Jones (1873-1950) was

employed to be benefited from his researches on education for the Bureau of Education (*"Phelps-Stokes Fund Records"*, The New York Public Library n.d). The Fund under the leadership of Jones had conducted a survey and published a comprehensive report that determined the situation and problems of the '**Negro education**' based on the survey results. This survey had highlighted the problems related with the '**Negro education**'; it was inadequate due to lack of financial support and there was huge inequality in terms of state expenditures on educational needs of black and white population in the United States. In the study, the need for more emphasis on the agricultural and industrial education had been underlined and recommendation were made accordingly (Berman, 1971, p.133).

The Fund also had published two reports in 1922 and in 1925 about '**Negro educations**' in Africa. These reports had been prepared by experts who were all related about African natives education with regard to their origin, academic interests or places where they worked (Brown, 1964, p.366-367). Briefly, the reports had emphasized the importance of mass education in Africa, specific recommendations were given regarding the curriculum to be adapted to the native culture of each tribe in the region. It is also recommended that the native people should have been taught about their needs such as agriculture, good hygienes, home economics and to make some simple crafts. The recommendations of the reports had also some parallels with a previous report one for '**Negro education**' in the USA. For instance, they had recommended that the first class industrial schools should have been opened in Liberia inspired from Hampton Institute and the Tuskegee Institute which were schools for industry set up for Negros in the USA in 1910 (Berman, 1971, p.143).

It is alleged that the British Colonial Office had concerns about the Phelps-Stokes Fund's reports about education situation in her own dependencies located at West, South and Equatorial Africa (Brown, 1964, p.366). These reports had succeeded on attracting the British Government attention to the education matters as well as economic issues in her dependencies (Beck, 1966, p.124). Consequently, the Government of Great Britain had constituted 'The British Advisory Committee on Education' in 1923 and the Committee had published its first report on "Education Policy in British Tropical Africa" in 1925 (Beck, 1966, p.124). The foundation of Advisory Committee on education had been an output of the colonial office's

efforts on increasing formal schools during the inter-war years (Whitehead, 1981, p.71).

The Chairman of the Advisory Committee, Mr. W. Ormsby-Gore, had stated that the British government had taken an initiative to constitute an education policy as a result of the economic development of the British African Dependencies. According to him, the British Government was responsible for the moral progress of the indigenous citizens as their “guardian”. The report had presented fourteen principles to the local governments also by indicating how they should apply those points. The main titles were as follows; Encouragement and Control of Voluntary Educational Effort, Cooperation, Adaption to Native Life, Religion and Character Training, Educational service, Grants-in-aid, Study of Vernaculars, teaching and textbooks, Native Teaching Staff, Visiting Teachers, Inspection and Supervision, Technical Training, Vocational Training, Education of Girls and Women, Organisation of School System (*“Education Policy in British Tropical Africa”*, Historical Papers n.d).

The cooperation titles meant that the Advisory Boards of Education comprised of experienced officials of the Medical, Agricultural and Public Work offices, missionaries, merchants, residents, and local view representatives should have been constituted in each Dependency. Therefore, the cooperation between Colonial Government and other educational agencies would be encouraged in every day. Also the aim of ‘Adaptation to Native Life’ title was explained as such:

Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life ; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their

own race. Education thus defined will narrow the hiatus between the educated class and the rest of the community whether chiefs or peasantry (*"Education Policy in British Tropical Africa"*, Historical Papers n.d).

In accordance with that, the Advisory Committee had created a template curriculum which could be more reasonable to Africans reading essays in English which included indigenous matters (Omolewa, 2006, p.270). Under the title of 'Religion and Character Training', that the primary challenge in finding ways to improve how is the perception of native custom had been emphasized. Also, it had been highlighted that responsibility, willpower, moral and intellectual conscience and taking initiative to the preference of the good vs. evil and reality vs. superstition should have been strengthened. Interestingly, this title had presented that there was a relation between quality public duty and sacrifice to some spiritual ideals. Therefore, the importance should have given to mostly the religious and moral education (*"Education Policy in British Tropical Africa"*, Historical Papers n.d).

Under the education services topic, it was advised that the status and circumstances of the service of the Education Department should have been structured as to charm the best qualified men who were both British and African. Therefore, the rights of teachers coming from Britain should have ameliorated. Besides, the advice about grant-in-aid had been given about that voluntary enterprises should have supported with the condition to be in determined standards (*"Education Policy in British Tropical Africa"*, Historical Papers n.d).

There were also an advice about constituting a qualified native teaching staff which includes also women. Accordingly, teachers should be offered education in job training every five years. If it was possible, the teachers of rural schools should choose their pupils who were acquainted with languages, custom and traditions of the tribes or society (*"Education Policy in British Tropical Africa"*, Historical Papers n.d).

There were also titles envisaged giving technical education such as mechanical training with the power-driven machine and vocational training included medical, agricultural, forestry, veterinary, survey, post office etc. Besides, the importance of the female education had been highlighted for the development of society in the report. Finally, an organization of the school system had been mapped out in the

report. Accordingly, there should have been consequently elementary education for the girl and boy students, secondary level education, technical or vocational schools, university equivalent institutions especially in the realm of professional or vocational training, training of trainers, medicine or agriculture training (*"Education Policy in British Tropical Africa"*, Historical Papers n.d).

The foundation of 'The British Advisory Committee on Education' was an important development, however, the committee had not have the authority of the executive. The function of the committee had just been to give advice, provide information, coordinate opinions. The decision whether to implement a particular advice had belonged to education experts in the colonies. Thus, the outcomes of the report had emerged diversely according to idiosyncratic conditions in each colony. This claim was supported by the fact that while the native education authorities had focused on mass education, the West Africa native education authority had been in the inclination of the education of leadership. In that point this should be also indicated that the British Advisory Committee on Education could not bring expected results because of the economic depression and the consequences of World War II. In addition, Godfrey submitted that the Advisory Boards of Education of Central Africa had given more importance to African opinion when forming the education policy than West African counterparts (Brown, 1964, p.372).

As a consequence, the education policy and educational activities had been made with the aim of supporting strategic aims of Britain on her colonies. As a proof, one can look at the conferences about the issue of administration of local governments at Cambridge in 1947, 1951 and 1952. A change in the policy that envisaged the domination of Africans in local governments where the majority of the population were Africans was implemented after 1945 (Fisher and Jones, 1980, p.66-67). This claim is powered by d'Souza (1975, p.38). According to him, the aims of British colonial education policy were to set up the link with South of Sahara at least economically even if not politically through Christianization. The aim was to prevent the probable Islamic influence on the South of Africa that might come from Muslim civilizations in the north of Africa; to able to control the tribals by retaining them apart from their own culture through education mechanism; to postpone the colonized states' independence by offering them the weakened curriculum and obstructing qualitative literary education; to preserve the mercantilist policy which

caused that Africa was the importer of costly produced goods and the exporter of inexpensive raw materials and agricultural goods (D'Souza, 1975, p.38).

In addition to that, the increasing rate of expenditures on education and number of West African students who study in Britain on scholarships had drawn attention after, especially 1940s. Britain had 600 students on scholarship and 200 of them were just from Africa (D'Souza, 1975, p.40-43). This is a huge rate when considered with the rest of the world. The distribution of fields of that 200 students were: a quarter studies law, a quarter studied medicine, twenty percent studied education and ten percent science (D'Souza, 1975, p.40-43).

The implementations due to 'Education Policy in British Tropical Africa' prepared by The British Advisory Committee on Education were named as 'adaptation' policy. This policy had been criticized by some African educated-elites after the disappointment over results. According to them, this system could not provide Africans high-level academic information as well as had caused loss of their native values of passion, relations of society and moral beliefs (Omolewa, 2006, p.270).

#### **2.1.2.1.2 Language policy**

As mentioned before, the two types of colonial language policy model had been put forth by Migge and Leglise. One of them was the metropolitan model which was implemented by France towards her dependencies. The other model is the vernacular model. Britain had followed the vernacular model language policy on her colonies (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.307).

Actually, although the missionary schools had preferred to contact with natives in their local language, they had changed their attitude related with the Africans' perception that if they used English, they could have gained more social and economic qualifications. Then, the missionaries had started to teach English to indigenous (Frankema, 2012, p.338).

In the previous title, we saw that there had been also a title about language policy named as the 'Study of Vernaculars, Teaching and Text Books' in the Education Policy in British Tropical Africa report of the British Advisory Committee on Education. The article had included;

The study of the educational use of the vernaculars is of primary importance. The Committee suggests co-operation among scholars, with aid from Governments and Missionary Societies, in the preparation of vernacular text-books. The content and method of teaching in all subjects, especially History and Geography, should be adapted to the conditions of Africa. Text-books prepared for use in English schools should be replaced where necessary by others better adapted, the foundations and illustrations being taken from African life and surroundings. Provision will need to be made for this by setting aside temporarily men possessing the necessary qualifications. In this work co-operation should be possible between the different Dependencies with resulting economy (*“Education Policy in British Tropical Africa”*, Historical Papers n.d).

As we understand, the Advisory Committee on Native Education had recommended the use of vernacular language in education officially in the reports published in 1925 and 1929 (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.307). The vernacular language policy of the Britain was an extension of her ‘adaptation’ colonial education policy.

Although the mother tongue had been preferred in primary schooling in the colonial era, there had not been an equal attitude for every local language. There were also multi language regions in Britain’s African colonies. The British colonial government had reinforced dominant languages which could be dominant numerically or politically or lingua franca. Hausa language in Nigeria or Swahili in East Africa were the examples of that. For that reason, official language committees were set up in various British colonial territories between 1927 and 1950. The aim of them was to standardize the local languages and form an international African Alphabet (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.305). These efforts can be considered as jeopardizing the wealth of the language and cultural diversity of African nations.

The another supportive example of Britain’s vernacular colonial language model is that one of the most deep-rooted universities in the world, Cambridge University, had offered exams in languages of the Yoruba, Gã, Fante, and Twi which are the widely speaking languages in Africa through Local Examination Syndicate from

1931 and 1951 as well as the London General Certificate of Education examinations (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.309).

However, the vernacular language policy of Britain had been transformed in the post World War II era. One of the causes is the pressure from Africans who did not want to be in disadvantaged position for the reason that they had not learned English in education and they did not want to be lacking a distinguishing feature. This would be an important obstacle to the social progress of them. Therefore, using English as the education language had been launched more early term for children and the mother tongue had been used in only primary comprehension problems (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.307).

We conclude that the aim, policy, and approachment of France and Great Britain towards African dependencies in the colonial era were almost entirely different from each other. It is submitted that while Great Britain's colonial policy had more economical and philanthropic aims, France had been driven by the motivation of gaining prestige (Boahen, 1985, p.25). The general colonial system of France was based on direct rule which the colonial authorities had managed the dependencies directly by means of local chiefs. However, Great Britain had preferred the indirect control in her colonial policy in Africa. This meant that the British colonial authorities had the function of advising and guidance to local administrators, whereas there were a superiority and hierarchical relations between French colonial administration and her dependencies' managers.

As stated previously, France had 'civilization mission' in her Imperial era, and this reflected her cultural, education and language policy towards her African dependencies. For example, France made metropolitan curriculum and French medium of instruction compulsory in formal education. However, Great Britain had not been interested in constituting a policy of education in her dependencies until American centered Phelps Stokes commission education report. Then, Britain followed a more individualist and liberal approach in education and language issue in her dependencies. While France ignored the local culture and native languages, Britain's attitude was more respectful and strengthened the most spoken native languages. When the language policies are compared, it would be understood that France had implemented metropolitan language policy whereas British had preferred vernacular language model in the education.

It was stated that the first educational activities had launched by missionaries in both of France and Britains' presence. The differences in attitudes of France and Britain supplies the clue about different policy. Accordingly, while Britain had not intervened in any way, France had legal amendment envisaged the obligatory teaching of the French language and culture with the aim of proving the missionaries their loyalty to the French Empire. By that way, there is a benefit to remind that the missionaries had been supported by the French Government whereas the British government did not provide any subsidies for the missionaries. Consequently, British missionaries had preferred to communicate indigenious with their local languages until they want to learn English themselves.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **A COMPARISON OF UK'S AND FRANCE'S CURRENT PUBLIC DIPLOMACY POLICIES TOWARD AFRICAN COUNTRIES**

In this chapter, French and British present day education and language policies in the African countries will be compared and contrasted.

#### **3.1 THE CHANGED INTERNATIONAL POLICY IN THE NEW CENTURY**

After the end of World War II, the Cold War had begun. In this era, new actors had appeared in international politics along with non-states actors such as international and regional organizations; the United Nations (UN), the Warsaw Pact Organization, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The world witnessed the rivalry of two superpowers, i.e. the USA and the USSR. At the same time, the decolonization process of African states had started by the 1960s (Fraser, 2013).

At that point, there is also another important issue that should not be overlooked; international order has also changed in the new century. Modernists have been claiming that developed information and transportation technologies would cause an evolution in world politics throughout the 20th century. Their foresight has stemmed from that nation-states were being limited in shaping world order by non-territorial actors such as multinational corporations, transnational social movements, international and non-governmental organizations etc. Therefore, a global village would be created (Keohane and Nye, 1988, p.81).

Charles Weiss asserts that there is a mutual influence between developing science and technology, notably information and communication technologies and international affairs. Accordingly, this influence has been in terms of four dimensions: Firstly, international system's architecture has been changing regarding its structure, its main organizing notions, and the relations between the actors; Secondly, processes operated by international systems such as diplomacy, war, administration, policy formation, commerce, finance, communications, and the gathering of intelligence have changed; Thirdly, new issue areas, new limitations, and economic exchanges have occurred in the operational international domain which includes both political constraints on international actions and constraints imposed by the laws of natural and social sciences; Finally, there have

been occurred new concepts and ideas for international relations theory and operations of the international system with the resources of changed perceptions, information, and transparency (Weiss, 2005, p.295).

Although Nye has accepted this revolution is in favour of the USA, he is also aware of that this would be the disadvantage of the USA if the USA cannot give the best message in the most accurate way to the audiences (Nye, 2004, p.31). He also adds that the problem for American power in the twenty-first century, would not change her hegemony in the world policy however, it would create the new challenges of transnational interdependence (Nye, 2008, p.29). He asserts that the information revolution is creating a network that cut across borders. He warns that, therefore, transnational organizations and non-governmental organisation included also illegal structures such as terrorist organisations will play larger roles increasingly in the world politics. He adds that 'the competitions for attractiveness, credibility and legitimacy have a part in politics. An important source of power will be the ability to share information and to be believed.' (Nye, 2004, p.31).

States had tried to use science and technology to get more state power against others since old times. Using science and technology for getting the power of states towards is not new. On the other hand, the relationship between the state and science and technology has changed during the past fifty years. Especially since the 1980s, development of science and technology based on communication technologies and transport technologies have been seen as one of the causes of globalization in world politics. According to that, the nation-states and conceptions of democracy and identity based nationally have been challenged as a result of the emergence of a technologically mediated global civil society, comprising transnational actors and institutions, mechanisms of consolidation and control, and an accompanying ideology of a single world order (Kriger and Barth, 2006, p.17).

The control of the movement of persons, money, knowledge, technology, illnesses, seeds, medicines, narcotics, even nuclear supplies across borders of the countries has become difficult with the expansion of the information, communications, and transport technology. In addition to that, governments of the states have been obligated to face their direction to governmental understanding to a more open society, decentralized political power and financial formations. For this reason, the

conception of power has started to change its meaning because of the rising importance of the soft power. Because of that states have felt compelled to pay attention to the public perception when they take important decisions. Further, the two-sided relations of states have been remodelled by the tools of mass media and other types of global communications (Weiss, 2005, p.300).

In this context, how shaping the changing developments in the international system the France and the UK's African culture policy comparingly policies in the colonial time will be examined in this chapter by focusing the cultural policy tools i.e. education and language.

### **3.2 FRANCE'S CULTURAL DIPLOMACY POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA**

Although France has implemented a general cultural policy towards any nation around the world, however, it cannot be ignored that all regions of the world are not equally treated by France. African countries are coming first among others in terms of the cultural policy of France (Remy, 1993, p.45).

#### **3.2.1 The Cultural Diplomacy Means and Tools of France**

France implements special cultural programs towards Sub-Saharan Africa such as the field of Internet and ICT. With the developments in new communication technologies, France has launched Digital Inclusion encouraging project for the sub-Saharan African countries in 2003. The purpose of the project is to provide technical infrastructure for internet access in the African countries (*"The Fostering Digital Inclusion (ADEN) project"*, France Diplomatie).

In this section, however, the education and the French language efforts of France to Sub-saharan Africa efforts will be handled on the scope of this thesis limitation.

##### **3.2.1.1 International Education**

As mentioned in the first chapter international higher education is one of the tools of the cultural diplomacy. Accordingly, the international exchange programs are the way of shaping of national prestige and foreign policy of a country on a positive understanding (Sancar, 2012, p.171).

Further, the other viewpoint of linkages between France and African countries is to being major partners for the virtue of permanent historical, cultural and linguistic ties of France and African countries. The numerous students from French-speaking

African countries are also welcomed by France in each year (*“Immigration of International Students to France”*, French Contact Point of the European Migration Network [EMN]).

However, when the annual African countries reports of Campus France are examined, the change would be drawn attention to the preferences of students from African countries. There are new actors in the competition of attracting African international students. This is indicated as ‘Given these demographic challenges, there are more and more countries wishing to attract and train African youth. This is particularly the case of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates or Turkey, which until recently hosted very few African students.’ in the link which the activities of Campus France in Africa are presented (*“The Activities Of Campus France in Africa”*, Campus France). Therefore, in this chapter, the efforts of France will be dealt with in the field of especially higher education in African countries.

### **3.2.1.2 Educational Cooperation**

France has various educational cooperation programs with African countries. These are examined in this section.

#### **3.2.1.2.1 The Great Collection (La Grande Collecte)**

This program is executed by the Ministry of National Education of France with the collaboration of Service of Archives of France (SIAF), the National Library of France (BNF). The aim of the program is to promote and produce a common memory for both the French and African publics that sustain the connection with each other. In this context, the documents included personal diaries, notebooks, correspondences, photographs, leaflets, posters etc. are demanded from all people or families who keep documents on the history of relations between France and the African continent in the 19th and 20th centuries. Besides, students from schools, colleges and high schools are invited to participate in this project (*“La Grande Collecte”*, Minister de l’Education Nationale n.d).

#### **3.2.1.2.2 The Efforts of CIEP**

The role of CIEP is defined as ‘The cooperation in the fields of education, vocational training and quality Higher Education’ is one of the three main function of the CIEP (*“Rôle, statut, missions”*, CIEP n.d). CIEP have some projects in African countries with the aim of enhancing education situation in the region. For

that reason, the training on analysis and planning is promoted. Besides, CIEP functions as advisory to some international and non-governmental organisations which study in that field. The EWAQAS (Enhanced West African Quality Assurance Structures in Higher Education) is one them (*“The CIEP and its role in cooperation in Africa”*, CIEP n.d). It is stated that although the scope of educational cooperation projects include all continents, the important part of that belongs to Africa in the brochure of CIEP's advertisement (*“The CIEP and its role in educational cooperation in sub-Saharan Africa”*, CIEP n.d).

### **3.2.1.3 Educational Development Aid**

When France launched the foreign aid named “Priority Solidarity Zone”, she focused more closely on fifty-five countries included essentially her former African colonies and the other African countries, the Middle East, Indochina, the Caribbean, the Pacific and a few countries in 1998. In 2004, the foreign aid of France changed shape and content. The new name was the Framework Partnership Document, which highlights the concept of partnership (*“Regulation Of Foreign Aid in Selected Countries (2011-2012)”*, Global Legal Research Center). The aim of geographic priority given to Africa is to sustain the relations with her former colonies. It is alleged that the French aid to Francophone African countries is allocated for educational training in the language of French and French culture (Apodaca, 2017, p.7). Furthermore, France has planed the educational aid allocations until 2030. Accordingly, that will be achieved that all girls and boys will complete free, equal and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes in target states. Accordingly, the projects are towards primary, secondary, technical and vocational or higher education and planned by French and African experts cooperation (*“France’s external action on the issues of population and sexual and reproductive health and rights (2016-2020)”*, French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development).

As mentioned before, the foreign aid policy of France is implemented by Agence Française de Développement – AFD. There are given financial and technical support to projects in the target countries in several sectors included education by AFD's office in the countries. The ninety-four of one hundred eighteen total education development aid is given to countries in Sub-Saharan Africa by AFD since 2009. This rate corresponds to about 80% of total education aid of AFD. 15

projects have been achieved while 74 of them are still executed. There have been executed education projects of AFD towards the countries of Benin (11), Burkina Faso (6), Burundi (4), Cameroon (4), Republic of Central Africa (2), Congo (4), Cote D'Ivoire (4), Djibouti (1), Gabon (1), Guine (3), Madagascar (10), Mali (4), Mauritius (1), Mauritania (2), Niger (5), Nigeria (4), Republic of Democratic Congo (5), Senegal (8), Chad (6), Togo (4). (Data from AFD development aid)

It is noteworthy that whole of the given-aid countries are former French colonies with the exception of Nigeria. In addition, when the content of the projects are examined, it will be seen that almost all projects aim to serve the development of human capital in the countries by providing educational sector reform, strengthening the access and quality of primary and secondary education, contributing to the education curriculum and supporting to vocational and technical training on the regional and national level. Nigeria is the exception in that situation which is the sole former British colony and Anglophone country. France has currently four education development aid projects towards Nigeria which all contents are 'Renovation of vocational training in the electricity sector in Nigeria'. The project aim is explained as to contribute to the success of the reform of the electricity sector and its positive impact in favor of inclusive and balanced economic growth in the territory, by providing public and private companies in the electricity sector qualified staff in accordance with their needs. It is known although power potential of Nigeria is high-level, the production and access of electricity power is insufficient. Also, the distribution companies has been privatized in Nigeria (*"Power Africa Nigeria Fact Sheet (2018)"*, USAID). The contents of the French education aids are seen differentiated with former colony countries and it is evaluated that the aim of Nigeria is to train technical staff for her potential electricity company in Nigeria. However, it is remarkable that the education projects themes towards other former colony countries are mostly parallel with educational efforts of France in the colonial era.

#### **3.2.1.4 International Schools**

The French International Schools have been set up in the thirty- seven countries in Sub-Saharan region which are Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Chad, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea Conakry, Equatorial Guinea, Kenya, South Africa,

Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Rwanda, Senegal, Seychelles, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Zambia, Zimbabwe. There are also international schools of France in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. The total number of countries with French schools are forty (*“Enseignement Français À L'étranger”* Ministère De L'éducation Nationale n.d).

The number of international French schools are one hundred fifty nine in all African continent. This means that about 33 % of AEFE schools are in Africa. Further, about 30 % of the countries in where are founded international French school in Africa (*“Rechercher un établissement”*, AEFE n.d).

### **3.2.1.5 International Mobility Programmes**

According to Campus France 2018 report, France seems indeed to recover a certain dynamism. Towards a return of growth in terms of the internationalization of higher education. In five years, the number of foreign students in France has increased by 12.2%. This movement seems to have accelerated since 2015, because France recorded growth of + 4.6% over one year, the highest annual increase in 5 years. France maintains its fourth place as a country international students after the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia. It is therefore the first non-English speaking host country. Nearly half of the students in mobility in France come from Africa (*“Chiffres Cles”*, Campus France, p.3 n.d).

In addition Campus France published a report named as ‘The international mobility of African students’ in October 2016. Executing a research like that shows the given importance of Campus France to African students in France.

It is stated that about 21% of African mobile students come from North Africa (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia). Together with Nigeria, Cameroon, Zimbabwe and Kenya, these seven countries account for half of the mobility of this continent. From the rest of other African countries students correspond to 54% of African students come from countries where French is used.

It is also commented that the native language plays a major role in the choice of destination and the proportion of French-speaking students attracted by French-speaking countries is equal to the proportion of English-speaking students attracted by English-speaking countries (*“The international mobility of African students”*,

Les Notes October 2016, Campus France). This result is important because it is claimed that France is more attractive than countries which are Anglophone host countries in regard to attracting students from English used countries in Africa.

In 2018 Chiffre Cles report, it is highlighted that there are 325.000 international students from all over the world and students from Europe are the second largest group that prefer to study in France after African students (*“Chiffres Cles (2018)”*, Campus France).

In the report, the statement ‘in Africa competition is increasing’ is used. In addition, report claims that African students are welcomed to study by France and other European Union countries, however, the rest of world is uninterested in African students (*“Chiffres Cles (2018)”*, Campus France).

There are also various analyses about the Sub-saharan African students. One of them is the projection of 18-30 aged African youth population between 2015-2025. Accordingly, the population of 18-30 aged African youth is expected increase by 56,904 and this corresponds to 24% rise. The expected countries which will contribute to raising more than others are Nigeria, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo and Niger (*“Chiffres Cles (2018)”*, Campus France, p.8). This study prove that France has still quite comprehensive research about the issue and she has efforts to develop the strategy for attracting international students from Africa.

Campus France has published Country statistic reports for twenty-eight African countries in 2016-2017. The number of former colonies countries are dominant amongst published statistical reports about them (*“Resource Center”*, Campus France n.d). However, there are also detailed specific reports of Campus France that are worth examining. These are Country Files about Nigeria published in 2013, Ghana published in 2014, Kenya published in 2015 and South Africa published in 2016. All these sources report the demographic, economic and historical profiles of the countries, informations about the education systems, trends in education mobility, the attractiveness of France and the current situation of scientific and/or university cooperation between France and these countries (*“Resource Center”*, Campus France n.d).

A mobility program focused on African countries was launched in 2017. Its name is MEETAfrica whose aims are explained as to contribute to creating jobs, wealth

and innovation through the transfer of know-how of African diasporas graduated from Germany and France to countries of origin (*“MEETAfrica Creation Entreprises”* Campus France n.d). Actually this program is executed under the European Mobilization for Entrepreneurship in Africa, Campus France coordinates support for 20 entrepreneurship projects to be established in Africa from the countries of Cameroon, Mali, Senegal. Campus France allocates budget of €15,000 per project, which these funds supporting services provided by a group of specialized organizations in France and Africa (*“Activity Report 2017”*, Campus France).

There are also a number of events of Campus France organized in Africa. Below the events organized in 2017 in Africa;

- The West African tour in Senegal and the Ivory Coast in October.
- The second higher education in France fair in Madagascar in February;
- The East African caravan in Tanzania, Kenya and Ethiopia in March;
- The French Education Fair in Nigeria in February;
- The 4th Franco-Ghanaian university encounters and the first student fair in Ghana in October (*“Presenting French Educational Institutes To African Students”* , Campus France n.d).

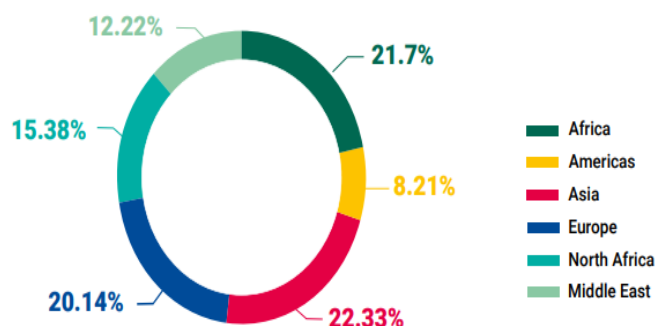
It is obvious that Sub-saharan Africa is the premier position in the ranking data about higher education interest according to the geographic distribution. I have also mentioned above that the students from French-speaking African countries prefer generally France primarily. However, the countries that prepared detailed reports are amongst the Anglophone countries in Africa. All of that are former colonies of UK. Therefore, it may be concluded from that, France has also executed a special strategy towards non-French speaking countries in Africa.

### **3.2.1.6 Scholarships**

There are some scholarship programs granted by France government and other bodies to all international students including students coming from Africa who study in France. One of them is a scholarship offered by the French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs (MEAE) which includes training and language courses in France. The majority of scholarships are awarded by the Cooperation and

Cultural Action Departments (SCACs) in French embassies and consulates general abroad (*“Finance your studies / Scholarships”*, France diplomatie n.d).

**Figure 2:** Geographic Origin of MEAE Scholarship Recipients



**Source:** Activity Report 2017 A Year of Action, Campus France  
[https://ressources.campusfrance.org/agence\\_cf/rapports\\_activites/en/rapport\\_activite2017\\_en.pdf](https://ressources.campusfrance.org/agence_cf/rapports_activites/en/rapport_activite2017_en.pdf)  
 Retrieved 14.04.2018

Although the exact numbers that are allocated to the countries are not given, some statistics are shared in the Activity reports. According to Activity report 2017, the number of the African scholarships holder are second after the Asians. That 24.3% originated in Sub-Saharan Africa, with a decline of 7.2% from 2016 is stated in the report. In addition that scholarships declined by 7.2% and invitations of foreign experts by 8.3% (*“Activiy Report 2017”*, Campus France).

Besides there are also several categories of scholarships which are study scholarships, training grants and high-level science scholarships. These are awarded by The French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs, too and directly operated by MEAE’s services in Paris. These scholarship programmes are towards all international students involving African students.

### 3.2.1.6.1 Eiffel Excellence Scholarships

The purpose of scholarship programmes of France is indicated as supporting international student recruitment by French higher education institutions amid growing competition among developed countries to attract the academic elite from around the world (*“Finance your studies / Scholarships”*, France diplomatie n.d).

Therefore, the selection criteria are declared to be consistent with the programs aim by making French excellence available to the best international students, enabling French higher education institutions to attract the best students within the scope of their international policy and advancing the goals of the program (*“The Eiffel Excellence Program”*, Campus France Resources, p.4, n.d). For this reason, Eiffel Excellence Scholarships are understood success-focused programme rather than political-aim. The bursaries are granted in master and doctorate level. In 2017, while the number of master students from Africa is not given, the doctorate level of Excellence Scholarships are allocated to Africa continent at the rate of 17% (*“The Eiffel Excellence Program”*, Campus France Resources, p.4, n.d).

### 3.2.1.6.2 Scholarships in Theology

The Theology Scholarship Programme offers to students who desire to study theology at French higher education institutions. To be French-speaking students and first and foremost to members of religious orders and the clergy is among the conditions for scholarships that are granted at the Master and Doctorate levels. Also, these are stated that application of citizens from outside of France and has priority and the applicants are not appropriate from European Union and North America for this programme (*“Finance your studies / Scholarships”*, France diplomatie n.d). This meant that the targets of that scholarship programme are especially from candidates from French-speaking overseas countries, in other words, former African colonies.

However, there are also other scholarship programmes which are targeted students from African countries and funded by collaboration MAEA and foreign public or private partners. There are some examples of that;

- **Gabon:** Over 1,000 scholarships are awarded each year to Gabonese students by the Gabon National Scholarships Agency (ANBG). Eligible students are guided toward courses of study in French public and private institutions that best align with their aptitudes and that will best prepare them to contribute to the development of Gabon after their studies (*“Making It Easier For African Students to Come to France”*, Campus France n.d).
- **Ethiopia:** Scholarships offered by the Ethiopian Ministry of Higher Education, co-financed by the French Embassy in Ethiopia (*“Making It Easier For African Students to Come to France”*, Campus France n.d).

- **Angola:** Scholarships offered by the Sonangol Academy (an oil company) in Angola, with 77 awarded in 2016. The recipients were given linguistic training and will study in France for five years; This program offers students language training and scientific refresher courses in 8 French institutions of higher learning over a period of 10 months. The scholarships are available to students in a variety of fields, including engineering, geoscience, and economics (“*Activity Report 2017*” Campus France, p.39).
- **Ivory Coast:** Scholarships offered by the government of the Ivory Coast as part of the Contrat de Désendettement et de Développement (C2D - Debt Reduction and Development Contract), which enabled more than 200 Ivorian students to come to France to study in 2015 (“*Making It Easier For African Students to Come to France*”, Campus France n.d).
- **Nigeria:** 20 students are pursuing master’s or doctoral degrees in the sciences thanks to the new scholarship program of University Ndufu-Alike Ikwo (“*Activity Report 2017*”, Campus France, p.39).

### 3.2.1.7 Alumni Network

France has a global network which consists of more than 120.00 students and former students under the France Alumni lists in more than 116 countries as of the September 2017. This entity aims to maintain a strong link with France and France alumni by publishing articles and organizing meetings and events all over the world. They provide staying connected to France through France alumni website in which French graduates might find articles on the French language or ideas of tourist outings on the scope of a particular cultural agenda. The France Alumni is defined as directory works as a professional social network. Accordingly, Alumni can find contacts within the companies which interest them to value their diplomas and their French experience. Therefore, this network also aims to provide assistance to graduates to find a job on the field that they study in France. In addition, it brings together graduates whose branch are common all over the world. Further, there are higher education institutions, companies and institutional partners can find the opportunity to connect with alumni through the network (“*France Alumni*” A Global Network).

**Table 3:** The Number of France Alumni in Associations in the Countries

|    |                   |         |
|----|-------------------|---------|
| 1  | Burkina Faso      | 166.386 |
| 2  | Senegal           | 6.743   |
| 3  | Ivory Coast       | 3.564   |
| 4  | Cameroon          | 2644    |
| 5  | Guinea            | 2125    |
| 6  | Gabon             | 1950    |
| 7  | Madagascar        | 1.850   |
| 8  | Benin             | 1436    |
| 9  | Mali              | 1408    |
| 10 | Mauritius         | 1.013   |
| 11 | Comoros           | 990     |
| 12 | Ghana             | 261     |
| 13 | Togo              | 230     |
| 14 | Ethiopia          | 196     |
| 15 | Nigeria           | 164     |
| 16 | South Africa      | 141     |
| 17 | Djibouti          | 137     |
| 18 | Rwanda            | 99      |
| 19 | Angola            | 89      |
| 20 | Mauritania        | 87      |
| 21 | Congo             | 75      |
| 22 | Equatorial Guinea | 66      |
| 23 | Tanzania          | 37      |
| 24 | Kenya             | 36      |

**Sources:** <https://www.francealumni.fr/fr/espace-prive#> Retrieved 16.04.2018

There are numbers of the alumni according to the distribution of countries in the table above. Accordingly, it seems obvious the first eleven countries in the rank of the number of French alumni are French-speaking ones. Besides, there are also alumni associations in non-Francophone African countries. These are Ghana, Nigeria from West Africa, Tanzania, and Kenya from East Africa and Republic of South Africa and Angola from the south of Africa. All these non-francophone countries are known for having economic potential in the continent. It is also noteworthy that Burkina Faso has the enormous number of graduates from France compared to others.

### 3.2.1.8 Language Policy

In the development of cooperation French vision report, it is expressed that France promotes the improvement of culture, arts and languages as a wealth of resources as to sustain cultural variety, for the aim of facilitating dialogue between cultures, peace and development. In addition to that, it is stated that French cooperation supports the French language policy in the framework of multilingualism. This is noteworthy that this principle is valid for especially in Africa where French is one of the continent's languages that facilitates integration (*“Development Cooperation: a French Vision Framework Document (2011)”*, Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères [MEAE]).

#### 3.2.1.8.1 Institute Française

The Institut Français is defined as ‘A New Actor to Implement Cultural Diplomacy of France’ in the official website. France's external cultural policy was revitalized with the foundation of ‘Association française d'expansion et d'échanges artistiques (AFAA)’ in the aftermath World War I in 1922. However, the changing on French cultural policy abroad had been shaped parallel with the developments of world cultural exchange trends. Therefore, the Culturefrance was setting up in 2006, whose role is to support French cultural action worldwide Under the twin authority of the Ministry of Culture and Communication and the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs. Since 2011, the establishment has been replaced by Institut Français which has a comprehensive field of action (*“About Us”*, The Institut Française n.d).

Together with social and cultural events, the French language courses are also given in the Institute Française. There are also special programmes for Africa that offer by Institute Française. One of them is ‘100,000 Professors for Africa’ whose purpose is to enhance the quality of the French teaching and in French on the continent. The reason is that given as expected to reach 90% of French-speaking people by 2050 in the African continent (*“100,000 Professors For Africa”*, Institut Française n.d). This programme focuses to compose a trained professor that could give lessons in the French language in Africa.

**Table 4:** The offices of Institute Française offices in African countries

|    |                              |   |
|----|------------------------------|---|
| 1  | Mauritania                   | 1 |
| 2  | Cape Verde                   | 1 |
| 3  | Gine Bisseau                 | 1 |
| 4  | Senegal                      | 2 |
| 5  | Mali                         | 1 |
| 6  | Gine                         | 1 |
| 7  | Burkina Faso                 | 2 |
| 8  | Cote d'Ivory                 | 1 |
| 9  | Ghana                        | 1 |
| 10 | Togo                         | 1 |
| 11 | Benin                        | 2 |
| 12 | Nijerya                      | 1 |
| 13 | Cameroon                     | 2 |
| 14 | Gabon                        | 1 |
| 15 | Congo                        | 4 |
| 16 | Equatorial Guinea            | 1 |
| 17 | Nijer                        | 1 |
| 18 | Republic of Democratic Congo | 4 |
| 19 | Chad                         | 1 |
| 20 | Burundi                      | 1 |
| 21 | Rwanda                       | 1 |
| 22 | Sudan                        | 2 |
| 23 | Djibouti                     | 1 |
| 24 | Mozambique                   | 1 |
| 25 | Namibia                      | 1 |
| 26 | Republic of South Africa     | 1 |
| 27 | Madagascar                   | 1 |
| 28 | Mauritius                    | 1 |

**Sources:** Les Instituts Française Dans le Monde <http://www.ifmapp.institutfrancais.com/les-if-dans-le-monde> Retrieved 14.04.2018

As we see, there are Institut Française in almost all former colonies. Besides that, there are offices also in specific English-speaking countries such as Nigeria, Ghana in West Africa, in South Africa, other countries such as Mozambique, Namibia.

### 3.2.1.8.2 CIEP

CIEP (Au service de l'éducation et du français dans le monde) had been mentioned under the title of educational cooperation efforts of France. CIEP has also the function of supporting structure and reference centre for French as a foreign language, French as a second language and as a language of instruction all over the world including African continent ("*French language*", CIEP n.d ). In the report of 'the CIEP and its role in cooperation in Africa', it is stated that CIEP implements the training initiatives for the aim of strengthening the professional, intercultural

and linguistic skills of the teachers concerned. Therefore, CIEP designs some projects to encourage a better coordination of language teaching and academic performance and to facilitate integration within professional environments. In addition to that CIEP has been promoting the development of French as a professional language in sub-Saharan Africa for several years. For this purpose, there are developed and coordinated several training programmes for trainers both at Instituts Français establishments and off-site, for non-francophone organisations, companies and administrations as well as French-speaking countries in Africa (*“The CIEP and its role in cooperation in Africa”*, CIEP n.d).

### **3.2.1.9 International Organizations -Francophonie**

The organisation conducts its activity under the name of ‘Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie’ International organization of Francophonie (OIF). The OIF’s mission is defined as to embody active solidarity among the 84 states and governments that make it up (58 members and 26 observers). The community that constitutes the OIF is defined as having common French language and universal values and aware of the ties and potential stemmed from that. The other four principles of the OIF is stated as to encourage the French language and diversity of French culture and lingua; to support peace, democracy, and human rights; to foster education, training, higher education, and research and to promote collaboration for sustainable development (*“L’organisation Internationale De La Francophonie [OIF]”* n.d).

The word of Francophonie was used to refer people and countries using the French language first time by French geographer Onésime Reclus living in the 19th century. However, this notion had not been adopted by French governments until the 1950s when the first Francophonie organisations were set up at the beginning of independence era in Africa. This initial initiative was set up the Union Internationale des Journalistes et de la Presse de Langue Française (International Union of Journalists and French Language Press) (Auplat, 2003, p.53).

Contrary to expectations, this entity was not taken the lead by France in the beginning. Because France had preferred connecting through bilateral diplomacy with her former colonies rather than multilateral diplomacy in the 1960s and 1970s. After that beginning, a common used cultural and linguistic network had been started among the newly independent former French colonies in Africa led by

Senegal (Leopold Senghor), Niger (Hamani Dior), Tunisia (Habib Bourguiba). Although General de Gaulle did not obscure the formation of the organization, the role of France was quite limited (Auplat, 2003, p.53). However, with the foundation of European Community, French foreign policy had planned for being active in European Affairs. Therefore, France had desired both contributing trade relations between Europe and Africa as the world's largest exporter to Africa and sustaining her position in Africa. Therefore, French foreign policy tendency had been changed shape in favour of multilateralism with the effect of abovementioned and other drivers in world policy. The increasing cooperation mechanisms with Africa was thought more beneficial for French interests (Thérien, 1993, p.509).

There are some statistics about French-speaking population currently in the world. Accordingly, the most widely spoken continent is Europe with 136 million people, thereafter African continent is the second continent where 88 million people speak French (*"French speakers around the world"*, France Gouvernement n.d). Further, it is claimed that there is a sharp distinction in the OIF between prosperous industrial countries and developing countries. Additionally, the most contribution to the OIF budget (70 %) and correspondingly policy initiatives belong to France and Canada (Neathery and Rousseau, 2005, p.678). Therefore, it might be deduced that France is one of the most dominant countries in determining the agenda on the Francophonie world, together with Canada.

**Map 3:** The Member States of OIF in Africa



**Source:** Cartes du monde de la Francophonie, OIF, <https://www.francophonie.org/Cartes-du-monde-de-la-Francophonie.html> Retrieved 12.03.2018

The Organization of International Francophonie has several activities in the fields of education and French language towards member countries. One of them belongs to Institute de la Franc Pour L'éducation et La Formation (IFEFF) which is a secondary institution of OIF. Its centre is in the capital of Senegal, and its primary mission is to supply technical expertise for the development and implementation to member countries of OIF. The other essential activities of IFEFF are to implement educational cooperation programmes by giving priority to the sub-sectors of primary education and vocational & technical education, to provide to the development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of national policies, to improve capacity of the member countries of OIF and its partners, advisory and technical expertise on several educational aspects to member states and governments, to support techno-pedagogical innovation, to research educational needs of member countries, to assistance assessment of student learning in member states (*"Institute de la Franc Pour L'éducation et La Formation (IFEFF)"*, OIF n.d). The other activity of OIF is Ecole et Langues Nationales (ELAN). The purpose

of that programme is promoting the bi- plurilingual education to be successful at school (“*Ecole et Langues Nationales (ELAN)*”, OIF n.d). The other educational activity of OIF is Initiative Francophone Pour la Formation a Distance Des Maitres (IFADEM) whose aim is to advance teachers’ skills in teaching French (“*Initiave Francophone Pour la Formation a Distance Des Maitres (IFADEM)*”, OIF n.d). Another educational activity of OIF is Innovation et Reformes Educatives which aim is to promote the reforms on educational policy in member states (“*Innovation et Reformes Educatives*”, OIF n.d).

The OIF also has activities in the French language fields. One of them is Connaissance Et Promotion Du Français whose aim is to encourage the assets, evolution and importance of the French language in the world (“*Connaissance et Promotion du Français*”, OIF n.d). The other activity related to the French language of the OIF aims to remain the French language of influence in international forums and meetings (“*Le Français dans les Relation Internationales*”, OIF n.d). The other aim of language activity of OIF is to strengthen the contextualized and quality teaching of French as a foreign language (“*Française Langue Etrangere*”, OIF n.d). The other significant event of the OIF is to support digital public policies and defend the idea of the public domain and digital commons in the information society in the member countries (“*Le Numerique, Moteur de la Diversite*”, OIF n.d).

### **3.3 UK’S CULTURAL DIPLOMACY POLICY TOWARDS AFRICA**

It is claimed that culture is a crucial element of UK’s public diplomacy and the UK has a cultural competitive advantage stemmed from her historical cultural heritage (Bound, Briggs, Holden, and Jones, 2007). In this section, British current cultural diplomacy practices in Africa in terms of education and language training will be analysed.

#### **3.3.1 The Cultural Diplomacy Means and Tools of the UK**

Under this title, the cultural diplomacy policy of the UK will be examined in comparison with French cultural diplomacy in the education and language policies fields.

##### **3.3.1.1 International Education**

UK’s tendency to international students is based on their geopolitical and commercial advantage (Walker, 2014, p.340). Together with that, new way to

sustain relations with former colonies should be based on mutuality through training and educational programmes of British Council in the transition process from Empire to Commonwealth is highlighted in British Council Historical Report (Webb, Smith, Macfarlane and Martin, 2014, p.11).

**Table 5:** The number of International Students in the UK

|                              | 2006-07  |                         | 2015-16  |                         |
|------------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------|-------------------------|
|                              | STUDENTS | % SHARE OF TOTAL NON-UK | STUDENTS | % SHARE OF TOTAL NON-UK |
| EU                           | 105,410  | 32.3%                   | 127,440  | 29.1%                   |
| OTHER EUROPE                 | 12,495   | 3.8%                    | 19,490   | 4.4%                    |
| AFRICA                       | 30,945   | 9.5%                    | 33,610   | 7.7%                    |
| ASIA (EXCL. INDIA AND CHINA) | 64,220   | 19.7%                   | 83,700   | 19.1%                   |
| CHINA                        | 45,850   | 14.1%                   | 91,215   | 20.8%                   |
| INDIA                        | 21,830   | 6.7%                    | 16,745   | 3.8%                    |
| AUSTRALASIA                  | 2,255    | 0.7%                    | 2,675    | 0.6%                    |
| MIDDLE EAST                  | 14,580   | 4.5%                    | 29,420   | 6.7%                    |
| NORTH AMERICA                | 23,190   | 7.1%                    | 28,040   | 6.4%                    |
| SOUTH AMERICA                | 4,005    | 1.2%                    | 5,675    | 1.3%                    |

**Source:** Patterns and trends in UK higher education 2017, Universities UK, <http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/facts-and-stats/data-and-analysis/Documents/patterns-and-trends-2017.pdf> p. 19 Retrieved 14.04.2018

The table above, however, shows us the proportion of African students fourth in the regional rankings of students numbers in UK's universities after the EU countries, Asia and China both in years 2006-7 and 2015-16 (*"Patterns and trends in UK higher education 2017"*, Universities UK, p.19). Additionally, the eight priority countries and one region for international education are explained as China, India, Brazil, Saudi Arabia, Colombia, Turkey, Mexico, Indonesia and the Gulf (*"International Education – Global Growth and Prosperity"*, 2013, HM Government, p.10). It is understood that African countries are not a priority in international education as well as the number of African students are not high in UK higher education institutions.

### 3.3.1.2 Educational Cooperation

The term of 'partnership' becomes prominent in the UK's educational cooperation efforts with Sub-saharan Africa. For that matter, the relations between African

countries and the UK should be required based on partnership is stated in the publication of Good Practices in Educational Partnerships Guide. Partnership refers to a collaboration between institutions in African countries and the UK. Accordingly, the partnership should be adopted actively by both parties. Moreover, the East Africa Universities' deans and directors active participation in partnership meeting in which programmes are jointly designed, executed and funded is shown as a successful case for that (Wanni, Hinz and Day, 2010, p.11).

There are different UK-Africa educational partnerships funding fields include:

- Education Partnerships in Africa (EPA)
- Development Partnerships in Higher Education (DePHE)
- British Academy – International Partnerships
- Africa Knowledge Transfer Partnerships (AKTP)
- Prime Minister's Initiative<sup>2</sup> (PMI2) – UK-US Partnership Fund
- African Studies Association of the UK (ASAUK) Teaching Fellowships
- International Association of Universities (IAU) – Leadership Development for Higher

Education Reform (LEADHER) Programme

- Commonwealth Scholarships – Fellowships for Mid-Career Academics
- Nuffield Foundation – Africa Programme (Wanni, Hinz and Day, 2010, p.29).

**Table 6:** Sample Partnerships Between UK and African Higher Education Institutions

|          | Country         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|----------|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>1</b> | <b>Tanzania</b> | <b>The ‘Fair Trade in Skills’ partnership led by the Association for College Management:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|          |                 | Colleges in the UK and Tanzania realised that there is a need to help strengthen the skills of Tanzanian vocational teachers in the field of agriculture, tourism and IT.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>2</b> | <b>Zambia</b>   | <b>Leeds Met University and Chainama College of Health Sciences</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|          |                 | Chainama College aimed at obtaining university status which required greater staff development. Hence, capacity training targeted middle level health workers in order to build capacity within Zambian lecturing staff and to help retention. The broader social model of health offered a more sustainable model of health care.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <b>3</b> | <b>Ethiopia</b> | <b>University of Leicester and University of Gondar, Ethiopia:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|          |                 | The Leicester-Gondar Link started through the motivation of a group of individuals and the work of an umbrella organisation, THET, who provided seed core funding. Formal discussions began in 1997 for a partnership between the University of Gondar, Ethiopia, and the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Leicester. Under the umbrella of the Tropical Health and Education Trust (THET), a London-based voluntary organization that facilitates links between medical schools and hospitals in the UK and Africa, the joint initiative was able to secure funding for the partnership. |
| <b>4</b> | <b>Uganda</b>   | <b>University of Greenwich and Makerere University, Uganda:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|          |                 | The project was very much a two-way collaboration, with northern partners gaining from the collaboration through local knowledge, connections and the enthusiasm of students and staff, while southern partners gain through capacity building in the area of biotechnology, an enhanced appreciation of external opportunities, e.g. being part of an innovation process by which new knowledge is converted into products and processes, in this case, solutions to plant diseases that threaten local communities and their livelihoods.                                                       |
| <b>5</b> | <b>Malawi</b>   | <b>Leeds Met University and University of Malawi</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|          |                 | This partnership is part of the ‘Leeds Met Africa Initiative’ and originated from a BC HE link ‘Development and Enhancement of Capacity in Engineering’ at the Polytechnic at the University of Malawi. Part of this link was to help revitalize the engineering curricula in order to increase access to higher education, particularly for the disadvantaged and women.                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <b>6</b> | <b>Nigeria</b>  | <b>University of Westminster and Delta State University, Nigeria:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|          |                 | A small team of the University of Westminster staff visited Delta State, Nigeria to conduct a feasibility study. Three years later, in partnership with the Delta State Government (DSG) of Nigeria, the International Projects Office (IPO) coordinated the University’s provision of skills, knowledge and expertise which led to the creation of three polytechnics and one sports college in Delta State, Nigeria.                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <b>7</b> | <b>Zimbabwe</b> | <b>University of Manchester and National University of Textile Technology, Zimbabwe:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|          |                 | The Department for Textile Technology at the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) initiated the DFID funded link with The William Lee Innovation Centre at the University of Manchester from 2002 to 2005. The aim of the partnership was to improve methods of cotton production and to provide technologies and training to enable farmers to process cotton partially or completely.                                                                                                                                                                                           |

|           |                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-----------|---------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>8</b>  | <b>South Africa</b> | <b>TABEISA (Technical and Business Education in South Africa), Coventry University, Greenwich University, and 6 South African former technikons:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|           |                     | TABEISA is fundamentally about training students in entrepreneurial skills and helping small businesses grow. Initially focused on the former technikons in South Africa, TABEISA has extended its work to Ghana and Kenya. Design4 Life is one example of a project that builds capacity for entrepreneurial activity. The aim of Design4Life is to build capacity within HEIs and to link skilled artisans and entrepreneurs in Ghana and South Africa, with flair and marketing understanding, to create products that are clearly ‘Designed 2 Sell’. |
| <b>9</b>  | <b>Nigeria</b>      | <b>University of Bradford and University of Jos, Nigeria:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|           |                     | The governing council of the University of Jos has pledged to take full responsibility for the sustenance of all areas covered by the funding. The entire university was committed to ensuring that all the facilities are properly maintained and improved upon for continuity. The participation and further willingness of the University of Bradford’s Africa Centre to take part in even more projects presented another assurance of external resource availability.                                                                               |
| <b>10</b> | <b>Ghana</b>        | <b>Greenwich Community College and Colleges in Tema, Ghana:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|           |                     | The Greenwich Community College has established partnership arrangements with colleges in Tema, Ghana, aiming at curriculum and staff development in the field of tourism industry. One contributing factor in establishing the partnership was the official twinning between the City of Greenwich and the City of Tema as the local governments and employers are also involved in developing the city’s tourism industry.                                                                                                                             |
| <b>11</b> | <b>Uganda</b>       | <b>National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) and Literacy teachers in Uganda:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|           |                     | In the partnership between the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) and literacy teachers in Uganda, British Airways, with UNESCO, supported the institutional infrastructure through initial assessment and the development of materials using locally available resources.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |

**Source:** Compiled from case studies in the report of ‘Good Practices in Educational Partnerships Guide’, UK-Africa Higher & Further Education Partnerships, Africa Unit 2010. Retrieved 15.04.2018

There are some selected case partnership examples between UK and African countries. When we examine the countries, it is understood clearly that all countries are Anglophone countries. The British Council and Department for Business Innovation & Skills have launched a programme named Education Partnerships in Africa (EPA) which funds partnerships between further education and higher education institutions in England and Sub-Saharan Africa as shown in the above table (*“Education Partnerships in Africa”*, British Council n.d).

#### **3.3.1.2.1 West African Examination Council (WAEC)**

WAEC was founded on the advice of Director of the Institute of Education of the University of London with the aim of dealing with secondary school examinations in Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and the Gambia in 1951 (Davidson, 1971, p.214).

Liberia joined the Council as the fifth member in 1974 (*“Welcome to WAEC Liberia”*, Liberia WAEC n.d). The Council consists of 32 members who are appointed by the governments and national committees of the Council. There are representatives also from the Universities of Cambridge and London. National and international examinations are held by the Council on its own. The council organizes also Advanced Level exams in certain subjects (Davidson, 1971, p.214).

The WAEC initiative of the UK is defined as the desire of determining curriculum in West Africa even after independencies. African elites who had the aim of employment overseas have preferred WAEC education system in West Africa. This has damaged national unity goals, while West African elites are provided to access global economy. Therefore, it is asserted that mass schooling has not achieved certain goals (Dillard, 2003, p.415).

However, WAEC system has important differences from the British-based testing bodies which are implemented in West and East African countries. The most important difference is defined as while British educational examinations were designed for acquiring industrial capital in the United Kingdom by providing educational needs in Africa, WAEC was based just serving the needs of its member countries (Dillard, 2003, p.419).

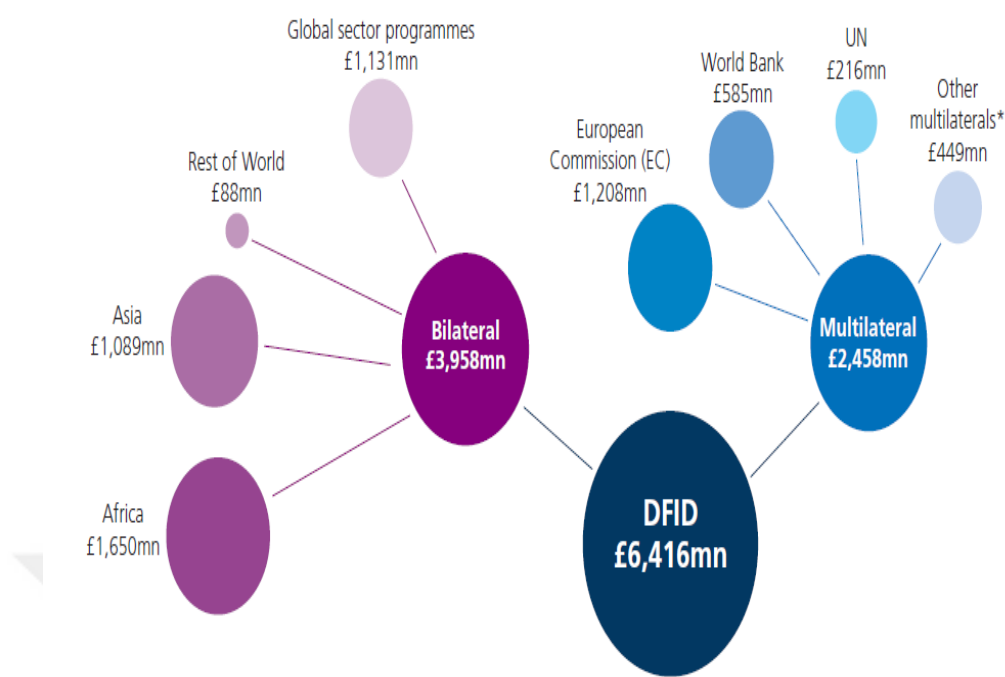
Likewise, the East African Examinations Council (EAEC) was created to control curriculum and assesment in 1968 when it was The Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate as ensuring the maintenance of the former British education model (Oduke, 2014, p.24). According to that, the three countries in East Africa Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania had used one educational system and one national assesment and evaluation format. EAEC was the examination body of that (Oduke, 2014, p.24). Its mission was to execute secondary School Examinations and issued the East African Certificate of Education (EACE) and the East African Advanced Certificate of Education (EAACE) (*“Historical background”*, Uganda National Examinations Board n.d). However, Tanzania withdrew and started her own National Examination in 1971. Until 1980, Kenya and Uganda sustained their partnership under the EAEC. Yet, Kenya and Uganda founded their own national examination body in 1980 (EAEC, Yearbook Profile, n.d). After the collapse of EAEC, while the education curriculum and examination Tanzania drew back to

more traditional form (O'Connor, 1974, p.80), Uganda and Kenya continued to be influenced by the UK education system due to British aid (Lillis, 1985, p.81).

### **3.3.1.3 Educational Development Aid**

The British aid to Africa has started relatively at a high rate in the mid-1960s. Although the aid proportion went into decline in the 1970s and 1980s, a sharp increase was observed in the 1990s. The reason can be associated with the UK financial contribution to multilateral programmes such as those of the EU, World Bank etc (Killick, 2005, p.64). The British Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas which serves under the British Overseas Development Administration is one of the two national agencies that was the most important contributor to higher education in Africa, together with USAID between the 1950s to the 1970s. According to a World Bank report, Britain was the first in the ranking of external support to African education with \$206.2m. After the UK, France, the United States, and Eastern Europe and Cuba came with \$206.2m, \$39.9m, \$36.3m, and \$40m aid respectively between 1981 and 1983. In that post-independence era, the main contributors assisted higher education rather than other types of education. However, by the 1990s, funding agencies such as Britain's Overseas Development Agency (Department for International Development) had supported basic education in larger proportion comparing with higher education (Samoff and Carroll, 2004, p.86).

**Figure 3: The Regional Distribution of DFID Aid Expenditure**



**Source:** Response to the International Development (Reporting and Transparency) Act 2006  
Department for International Development, DFID in 2009–10

The UK Government assists currently the countries through Development for International Development (DFID) (Hudson, 2006). DFID was established in 1997 when the leader of Labour Party Tony Blair came to power. Labour Party has developed foreign policy focused Africa for the first time since colonisation period. DFID founded for taking the lead the international organisations such as World Bank, UN, OECD's effort to fight against poverty, conflict in Africa. It is believed that DFID has succeeded that mission (Porteous, 2005, p.282).

In the report of DFID 2005-2006, it is stated that Sub-saharan Africa is a special focus of UK's aid and the 48 % of the total bilateral aid of DFID was allocated for Sub-saharan Africa in 2004/2005. Besides, it was reported that DFID assistance allocation was determined similar to the historical pattern of aid distribution which is shaped by the UK's colonial past; and on the basis of British government's decision to focus its efforts on poverty reduction (Hudson, 2006).

The sectoral focus of DFID is on education. The educational assistance priority of DFID is determined parallel to Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the broader Education For All goals (*"Education position paper; Improving learning,*

*expanding opportunities*”, 2013). In the line with MGDs, the priority countries are DRC, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Cambodia, Vietnam and Yemen (*“Response to the International Development (Reporting and Transparency) Act 2006”*, DFID). UK has also three important focuses on educational aid in accordance with MDGs; i) to improve learning, ii) to reach all children, especially those in fragile states, iii) to keep girls in school, helping the most marginalised girls stay in school and learning for longer. In addition to that, to strengthen national education systems and support local education reform is highlighted (*“Education position paper: Improving learning, expanding opportunities”*, 2013).

**Table 7:** Bilateral aid by sector, 2009–10

|           | %                                   | Humanitarian Assistance | Health | Education | Other Social Services | Governance | Growth | Other |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------|-----------|-----------------------|------------|--------|-------|
| <b>1</b>  | <b>Democratic Republic of Congo</b> | 38                      | 14     | 1         | 3                     | 36         | 7      | 1     |
| <b>2</b>  | <b>Ethiopia</b>                     | 27                      | 14     | 22        | 19                    | 7          | 10     | 1     |
| <b>3</b>  | <b>Ghana</b>                        | 0                       | 25     | 34        | 0                     | 13         | 26     | 2     |
| <b>4</b>  | <b>Kenya</b>                        | 21                      | 43     | 8         | 13                    | 9          | 4      | 2     |
| <b>5</b>  | <b>Malawi</b>                       | 1                       | 39     | 22        | 4                     | 17         | 16     | 1     |
| <b>6</b>  | <b>Mozambique</b>                   | 0                       | 31     | 29        | 5                     | 26         | 8      | 1     |
| <b>7</b>  | <b>Nigeria</b>                      | 0                       | 44     | 15        | 4                     | 28         | 8      | 1     |
| <b>8</b>  | <b>Rwanda</b>                       | 0                       | 15     | 18        | 11                    | 30         | 25     | 1     |
| <b>9</b>  | <b>Sierra Leone</b>                 | 0                       | 24     | 8         | 9                     | 40         | 19     | 0     |
| <b>10</b> | <b>Sudan</b>                        | 36                      | 6      | 4         | 9                     | 28         | 12     | 5     |
| <b>11</b> | <b>Tanzania</b>                     | 1                       | 12     | 18        | 7                     | 30         | 28     | 4     |
| <b>12</b> | <b>Uganda</b>                       | 12                      | 12     | 13        | 13                    | 29         | 19     | 2     |
| <b>13</b> | <b>Zambia</b>                       | 0                       | 18     | 24        | 3                     | 32         | 20     | 3     |
| <b>14</b> | <b>Zimbabwe</b>                     | 21                      | 42     | 3         | 16                    | 4          | 7      | 7     |

**Source:** Response to the International Development (Reporting and Transparency) Act 2006 Department for International Development, DFID in 2009–10

Above table shows us, the proportion of educational aid of the UK had varied from country to country in 2009-10. The countries that were taken assistance from UK are understood as Anglophone ones except for the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Rwanda. Together with the countries which are allocated more than 15 % as educational assistance by the UK are Ethiopia (22%), Ghana (34 %), Malawi (22 %), Mozambique (29 %), Nigeria (15 %), Rwanda (18%), Tanzania (18 %), Zambia (24 %).

In addition to that, DFID has some educational aid programmes towards some focus sectors. The example is that the aid to some East African countries (Kenya, Mozambique, Tanzania and Uganda) with the aim of building the skills of local people for the growing oil and gas industry in that countries (*“High value education opportunities 2015/16 priorities”*, UK Trade&Investment).

### 3.3.1.4 International Schools

There are a varied number of students studying at English medium international schools around the world. British national orientation, and or elements of the UK national curriculum are used in more than 3.700 of them. These schools are preferred to offer qualifications to enter or re-enter, the UK education system at school, college, or university level. Regarding the aim of the British Schools Overseas, it is stated that providing possibilities for extra-curricular opportunities, vigorous welfare support, and encouraging an informed of modern British society (*“Why A British Education”*, COBIS n.d). The selected schools are managed under the Council of British International Schools (COBIS) which is responsible for 290 British international schools in 80 countries worldwide (*“Why a COBIS School”*, COBIS n.d). According to COBIS Annual Research Survey 2017, the regional distribution of 276 COBIS school respectively 41 % in Europe, 24 % in Africa, 17 % in the Middle East, 16 % in Asia, 4 % in the Americas (*“COBIS Annual Research Survey 2017”*, COBIS). It is seen that the biggest proportion of the COBIS school is in Africa, after Europe.

**Table 8:** Number of COBIS schools by country in Africa

|    | Country      | Number of COBIS schools |
|----|--------------|-------------------------|
| 1  | Cameroon     | 1                       |
| 2  | Congo        | 1                       |
| 3  | Kenya        | 6                       |
| 4  | Madagascar   | 1                       |
| 5  | Malawi       | 2                       |
| 6  | Mauritius    | 1                       |
| 7  | Nigeria      | 39                      |
| 8  | Sierra Leone | 1                       |
| 9  | Tanzania     | 1                       |
| 10 | Uganda       | 2                       |
| 11 | Zambia       | 4                       |
|    | <b>Total</b> | <b>59</b>               |

**Source:** COBIS Annual Research Survey 2017

Although the biggest proportion of the COBIS schools are in Africa, it is understood that the number of schools is not balanced between countries. There is just one Francophone country, Congo, with a British International school. Also, more than half of the schools in all Africa have been founded in Nigeria. Kenya and Zambia follow Nigeria with considerably lower proportions.

### 3.3.1.5 International Mobility Programmes

In British higher education institutions, 560.000 international students were studying in 2016-2017. The 307,540 of them were from non-EU countries. Besides that, while there were 30,945 African students in the UK higher education institutions in 2006-07, 33,610 African students have studied in the UK universities in 2015-2016. Although the number of students from African countries has increased, however, a decrease also is observed in the proportion of the African students among all non-UK students from 2006-2007 (9.5 %) to 2015-2016 (7.7 %) (*“Patterns and trends in UK higher education 2017”*, Univercities UK).

**Table 9:** Top 20 Home Countries of Non-UK Students, 2015-16

| Country                                                                                           | Count  | Percentage | Country                                                                                          | Count | Percentage |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|------------|
|  China         | 91,215 | 21%        |  Greece       | 9,790 | 2%         |
|  Malaysia      | 17,405 | 4%         |  Cyprus       | 9,140 | 2%         |
|  United States | 17,115 | 4%         |  Saudi Arabia | 8,570 | 2%         |
|  India         | 16,745 | 4%         |  Spain        | 7,840 | 2%         |
|  Hong Kong     | 16,745 | 4%         |  Singapore    | 7,540 | 2%         |
|  Nigeria       | 16,100 | 4%         |  Romania      | 7,200 | 2%         |
|  Germany       | 13,425 | 3%         |  Bulgaria     | 6,195 | 1%         |
|  France        | 12,525 | 3%         |  Thailand     | 6,095 | 1%         |
|  Italy         | 12,135 | 3%         |  Canada       | 5,980 | 1%         |
|  Ireland       | 10,245 | 2%         |  Poland       | 5,655 | 1%         |

**Source:** UK Higher Facts and Figures 2017, British Council, Retrieved 23.04.2018

It is seen from the above table, there is only Nigeria from Africa in the ranking of top 20 home countries of international students in UK in 2015-2016. There were 16.100 Nigerian students studying in UK which corresponded to 4 % of all international students in that year.

Furthermore, when the country preferences of the African international students are examined, it would be seen that the United Kingdom is not the first option of students from Ghana, South Africa and Kenya. The international students from these countries have preferred the USA firstly. The second choice of the students from these countries are the UK. While the students from Nigeria and Uganda have preferred the UK firstly, the second and third choices of Nigerian students are Ghana and USA respectively, the second choice of students from Uganda is the USA (*“Resource Center”*, Campus France n.d).

It is stated that nearly half of the students from Sub-saharan Africa prefer to study in South Africa while rest of them choose France, the USA, UK or other European countries for higher education in the report of the international trends in Higher Education Trends 2015. It is indicated that there was an expectation of increase in the number of African students in UK universities over next ten years. Accordingly, the number of students from just Nigeria and Ghana in the UK have been doubled (*“International Trends in Higher Education 2015”*, University of Oxford).

The international education mobility between the UK and African countries is not limited to African students studied in the UK. The British higher education transnational students also are hosted by African countries in the scope of the programme the United Kingdom Higher Education Transnational Education (UK HE TNE) which refers to UK degree programmes delivered outside of the UK (*“What is UK HE TNE?”*, Universities UK n.d). Accordingly, UK HE TNE students are in 55 countries in Africa. The second largest number of UK HE TNE students have been in Africa ( 15 %) after Asia. In 2015-16, the number of UK HE TNE students increased in proportion 40.5 %. In addition, more than half of the UK HE TNE students were studying at undergraduate level in Africa (*“The Scale Of UK Higher Education Transnational Education 2015–16”*, Universities UK).

### **3.3.1.6 Scholarships**

There are scholarships programmes towards international students including African students that are offered by the UK government. The most comprehensive one is Chevening Scholarship program. The aim of the program is indicated as related closely with the public diplomacy aim of the UK.

Chevening Awards are an important element in Britain’s public diplomacy effort and bring professionals, who have already displayed

outstanding leadership talents, to study in the UK. The objective of Chevening is to support foreign policy priorities and achieve FCO objectives by creating lasting positive relationships with future leaders, influencers, and decision-makers (*“Chevening's Objectives”*, About Chevening, n.d).

As seen, the aims of Chevening Awards which are funded by the UK Government Foreign & Commonwealth Office overlap with the aims of UK's public diplomacy more than any other educational tool of the UK. The other important aim of Chevening Scholarships are to gain direct and indirect international development and labor market (*“Chevening Evaluation, 2016”*, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, p.12).

Accordingly, they have concluded that over 80 per cent of alumni replied a positive change in their views depending on the tolerance diversity level in the society (*“Chevening Evaluation, 2016”*, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, p.14).

**Table 10:** Positive change in perception

| Country<br>(respondents) | Democracy  | Rule of<br>law |
|--------------------------|------------|----------------|
| All countries<br>(2,432) | <b>67%</b> | <b>79%</b>     |
| Country examples:        |            |                |
| Nigeria (75)             | 80%        | 89%            |

**Source:** Chevening Evaluation, July 2016

Above table shows us that while alumni from all countries have responded in favor of positive change in perception on democracy 67 %, rule of law 79 %; the Nigerian students, however, have the positive perception in higher rate in both values.

The distribution of ethnicity or origin country of international students in the UK are not shared in Chevening reports. However, we understand that Chevening Scholarships were awarded to 2,432 international students in 2016. 75 of them were Nigerian students and this corresponded to almost about % 3 of all international students.

### 3.3.1.7 Alumni Network

As one of the most preferred countries of international students, The United Kingdom gives much importance to sustain relationships with her alumni after their graduation. Therefore, most UK universities as well as British Council have activities to maintain the link with their alumni. For this reason, the university associations supply a series of services and benefits to their members. These are to create the professional and social network, to organize reunions and events in cities around the world and institutional links to support career development (*“Enjoy being part of a UK 'network for life’”, British Council, n.d.*).

The British Council has also an important claim regarding alumni that is ‘One in ten current world leaders have studied in the UK.’ Accordingly, the 34% of the current leaders of the world countries graduated from the UK universities after the US (38%). Since 2014, British Council has organized UK Alumni Awards for the aim of acquainting about leading UK Alumni in the world (*“UK alumni leading the world’”, British Council, n.d.*).

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office is also interested in Chevening Alumni. Accordingly, there are 46,000 Chevening Alumni around the world as of November 2017 (*“Chevening”, Cambridge Trus n.d.*). The Alumni activities are held for improving the influence of Chevening by the FCO. One of them is to set up more effective links with alumni by developing more powerful alumni network with the British Council (*“The Third Report of the Foreign Affairs Committee Session 2005-6 Public Diplomacy”, FCO.*).

It is remarked that engaging more effectively with alumni might also probably provide economical benefits. In that context, it is linked to the relationship between a Western education and the likelihood of a leader democratizing their home country. The other example of the economic benefits is based on the increased trade and investment relations between Senegal and the UK. This is associated with alumni activities of British Council in Senegal (*“Chevening Evaluation”, FCO.*).

Chevening has also organized several regional events. In 2015, a roundtable discussion was held with the participation of about 40 Chevening Scholars from the African continental with the aim of encouraging bilateral understanding of the UK’s responsibility to Africa, and the continent of Africa's future perspective (*“African Scholars Invited To Shape UK’s Engagement With Africa”, Chevening n.d.*).

### 3.3.1.8 Language Policy

As we dealt with in the previous chapter, Britain had implemented vernacular model language policy on her colonies which was based on language instruction in both mother tongue and English language, unlike France which was considered to follow assimilative language policy in the colonial era (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.307). We have also mentioned that although the British Empire supported medium of instruction in vernacular language, the African elites had thought that they could not achieve contemporary civilization without teaching English to their youth (Léglise and Migge, 2007, p.310). Therefore, even though the United Kingdom has supported multilingualism in Africa by strengthening native languages together with international organizations such as UNESCO's Language Policies in Africa (*"Final Report of Language Policies in Africa, 1997"* UNESCO), the English language remain official language in most countries.

However, the UK continues the policy of sustaining the dominance of the English language in African countries parallel with her public diplomacy aims through British Council activities. This claim is supported in the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee- Public Diplomacy- in 2005-6. According to the report of the Committee, the British Council establishes English Language Centers in countries which have challenging conditions and limited business opportunities (*"The Third Report of the Foreign Affairs Committee Session 2005-6 Public Diplomacy"*, FCO, p.8). Another supportive information is presented in British Council Corporate Plan 2017-2020. Accordingly, teaching English activities in Africa is realized in the context of Stability and Security. It is suggested that English for Peacekeeping is a precious means to provide international communication across boundaries for military, police, border forces and other security personnel. This is exemplified that collaboration with the Ethiopian Ministry of National Defence and the Federal Police Commission for enhancing their capability to provide multinational peacekeeping missions by determining a sustainable English language training framework. In this regard, 4000 Ethiopian staff have been trained whose 85 % have been deployed on missions. Therefore, it is ensured that their awareness about global issues, changes attitudes and develops professional skills to help to deal with conflict prevention and conflict resolution (*"Corporate Plan 2017-20"* British Council, p.9).

Likewise, teaching English activities of British Council towards non-Anglophone African countries have been drawn attention. For example, British Council have provided quality English language audio resources such as MP3 players and learning materials to 300 schools and teacher training colleges in four regions of Ethiopia (“*Learn English Audio Project*”, British Council n.d). Another example of Rwanda English in Action Programme was executed by British Council. Hence, it is indicated that support to the Ministry of Education of Rwanda for enhancing the quality of the teaching of the English language. Therefore, 85,000 nominate teachers received English language training in the scope of that programme (“*Rwanda English in Action Programme*”, British Council, n.d).

### 3.3.1.9 International Organizations –Commonwealth

One of the oldest political unions is asserted the Commonwealth which based on the British Empire when some countries were ruled directly or indirectly by Britain in the colonial era. British Commonwealth of Nations consisted of these states and Great Britain. However, Commonwealth Organization has taken the form of today in 1949 and the independent states including the former British colonies have become members. Also, the former British colonial states in Africa are the member states of the organization. However, even if it is exceptional, all member countries had not have historical ties with Britain such as Rwanda and Mozambique in Africa which have joined the organization recently (“*Our History*”, The Commonwealth, n.d).

**Map 4 :** African Members of Commonwealth



**Source:** The Commonwealth countries, <http://thecommonwealth.org/#latest-news-section>  
Retrieved 12.03.2018

The member states of the Commonwealth in Africa is seen from the map as Botswana, Cameroon, Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Swaziland, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia.

Recently, the Commonwealth has 53 member states including ones in Africa. It is confirmed that all members bind to the values in the Commonwealth Charter (*"Member Countries"*, The Commonwealth) which declares the Commonwealth values and goals such as democracy, human rights and the rule of law. The other goal of Charter is defined as to express the duty to develop free and democratic societies and support peace and wealth of the member states. The role of civil society is highlighted as the one of the goals and values of the Commonwealth (*"Our charter"*, The Commonwealth). It is also emphasized the equality principle of the Commonwealth without regarding the economical size or situation of the member states (*"Member Countries"*, The Commonwealth n.d).

Despite the declared principles above, it is alleged that the Commonwealth had been based on common values and shared principles in the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries more than today. It had been aimed for the creation of a projection of the English character in British dependencies. However, it is stated that to think the Commonwealth with common values would be old-fashioned in recent times (Murphy, 2011, p.276). As it turns out, however, the common values had been related more to be like Englishman in the British Empire era while today's Commonwealth values declared in the Charter is associated with the development of the political system in the countries and good governance. The other important difference between the policy of Commonwealth new and old form is related to the status of the member states. As stated above, while all member states have equal rights in the Commonwealth currently, of course, there had been a hierarchical relation between the British Empire and other member states of the Commonwealth in colonial times.

There are educational programs under the scope of the duties of the Commonwealth Hub Education which gets the authorization from the title of Access to the education of the Commonwealth Charter. For that aim, there has been launched the

cooperation in education. The cooperation has envisaged firstly between universities in the Commonwealth which based on 1913 and executed under the Association of Commonwealth Universities established in 1963. The Association duties are to help the appointments of staff of the universities in the Commonwealth states, to provide all kinds of facility to information, scholarships and academic exchange. The series of Commonwealth Education Conferences have been organized since 1959 to plan educational cooperation between the members. Under this scope, the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan was created. Besides that the higher education scholarships in overseas aimed to train academic staff, scholarships have been also given to the member states for this purpose. Therefore, the association and sharing experience between states would be more effective through their academicians (Morris, 1960, p.535). Since then, there have been organized twenty Conferences of Commonwealth Education Ministers in every three years by the February 2018 (*“20th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers – 20CCEM”*, The Commonwealth, n.d). They have determined a theme in every Commonwealth Education Ministers Conferences and the discussions are held around the theme. The last Conference’s theme was ‘Sustainability and Resilience: Can education deliver?’ and its sub-themes were education for sustainable development, building resilience through education, education governance & management (*“Overwiev of 20th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers (20CCEM)”*, The Commonwealth, n.d). The last Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers indicated the second meeting after the approval of UN’s The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development accepted in 2015. Therefore, it is remarked that the last meeting gave the opportunity to create a strategy for Sustainable Development Goals to the Commonwealth Education Ministers (*“Overwiev of 20th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers (20CCEM)”*, The Commonwealth, n.d).

The other cooperation agency is the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) whose former name is the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas established on the purpose of sustaining the relationships between British univercities and higher education institutions in dependencies with the advice of the British Government in 1949. That is also noticed that the collaboration remained among British universities and East and West Africans. However, French-speaking

Africa was not included. These areas have been left to British Council's activities (Butterworth, 1969, p.283).

That is understood that the Commonwealth strategy on higher education ground on growth in higher education enrolments globally as well as Commonwealth area including Africa. In addition, the enrolment growth is associated with largely demand-led through demographic change, rising living standards by starting secondary education and higher education enrolment. Kenya has been shown as an example of that. Accordingly, therefore, the collaboration under the Commonwealth would meet these needs in Africa. The other motivation of educational cooperation under the Commonwealth is understood as employment opportunities. This refers to trained staff has the tendency to team work in teams, enable to information analyze, and think innovatively in the countries where aimed for investment. This is seen as a common solution in the Commonwealth network. Likewise, the initiative of the MKU Enterprise Academy which established for supporting youth to develop entrepreneurial ideas to fruition, as well as offering support in the form of grants in Kenya is given as an example of that. The other purpose of educational cooperation under the Commonwealth is to prepare next generation academicians in the universities especially the disadvantaged region of the Commonwealth. The successful example of that is South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya by illustrating the statistical information on the rising numbers of the doctoral level academicians who have been educated with Commonwealth scholarship in the UK (*"Higher education: what role can the Commonwealth play?"*, 2015, p.10).

## CONCLUSION

Almost all of African nations were colonized by Europeans beginning from 15th century. During and after the colonization period, there were witnessed the most bloody conflicts in the continent especially after the independence by the 1960s. Although the people of Africa had a variety of cultural differences, this had been under the danger of destruction by dominant European powers in the continent because of slavery and colonial exploitation.

European powers, which had the desire for exploiting the natural and human resources of Africa, implemented several distinct policies during their colonial administration. They set up different administration systems in their respective African colonies which heavily affected these countries from their legal system to employment policy and religion, to education, and language etc. Particularly, France and Britain were two countries which left their mark on African people and African culture. Even today this impact can be observed clearly in the Continent. While France's colonial policies are characterized as assimilationist, British's colonial policies are seen as more liberal and being focused on trade.

None of the African countries possessed economic or political power at that time and therefore, public opinion had no importance whatsoever. Even though, most of them have experienced coup attempts and failed after their independence, African countries tried very hard to adopt democratic values and administration today. Public opinion has gained bigger importance in African countries as well as the rest of the world in the globalization era. Since the world system had shifted from bipolarity to multi-polarity in the post-Cold War era, new and diverse actors in the world policy emerged. The importance of international organizations and the number of the member states have increased.

Since both France and the UK aim to preserve their existence in Africa economically and politically, they have to persuade the public of African countries. Both countries have major advantages in their ex-colonial African countries in terms of language and education mobility as a legacy of their language and education policies in the colonial era. These constitute the major tools of cultural public diplomacy for France and the UK.

Therefore, this thesis aims to compare the effectiveness of cultural diplomacy policies of France and the UK by looking at the impact of their language and educational policies towards the African countries.

Therefore, the first chapter of the dissertation has dealt with the concept of public diplomacy and soft power with the method of literature review and under the lights of developments that states are compelled to own soft power. The evolution of public diplomacy has also been discussed from Cold War era to present day. In addition, the approaches of international relations and other related social science theories towards the concept of 'Public diplomacy' have been examined. Furthermore, such as media, citizen and diaspora diplomacy, aid diplomacy and cultural diplomacy have been discussed as the tools of public diplomacy. In this context, education and language had been focused due to being able to be used in different forms during the historical process. At the end of the chapter, France and the UK's cultural diplomacy tools of public diplomacy policies have been reviewed.

The colonial policy of France and Great Britain towards their dependencies in Africa has been researched in the second chapter. First of all, the difference between superpowers at the time had appeared in their colonial management system. France had adopted the direct rule which envisaged direct management of the colonizer through local Chiefs. However, Britain had implemented the indirect rule that means giving more initiative to local authorities in governance. Whereas France set up almost common type of governance system in all her colonies, Britain preferred to set up the system due to adaptation local situations. The relationship between native authorities and government was hierarchical in France, but in the case of Britain its function was advisory. Therefore, Britain is seen as uninterested with her colonies' internal affairs in contrast with France.

In addition, this information is significant that before Great Britain annexed a territory from Africa, British firms had been in there. Therefore, when Britain occupied, the infrastructure for economical activities was already ready. Consequently, it is alleged that the main of Britain was economic, while France was motivated by gaining prestige in colonisation rivalry at that time.

We have argued that both countries colonial governance understanding reflected to their policies of education and languages in colonies. We conclude that the first

Western educational activities had been launched by missionaries in both French and also British dependencies in Africa. French Catholic and Anglican missionaries had offer academic education together with religious differently from Protestants who provided education based on literacy and manskill to Africans. However, French missionaries had been supported by the French government. Therefore, they had been controlled by the state of French more strictly. For example, missionaries had been required to teach Christianity to indigenous people in the French language. By contrast, Anglican missionaries had prefered communication with natives in their native languages.

France had followed ‘civilization mission’ in her education and language policy. For that aim, France had followed the assimilation policy in the early years in her colonial states by obligating the French curriculum in formal schools whose medium of instruction was French since starting the formal education in French dependencies. The situation was different in British dependencies. The Great Britain had left educational activities to only missionaries’ efforts until publishing reports of The Phelps Stokes Commission in 1922 about ‘**Negro**’ educations in Africa. After that, ‘The British Advisory Committee on Education’ was founded and determined the elements of education policy in British dependencies in 1923. As understood from its name, the function of the committee was advisory. It was stated that Great Britain was responsible for the economic development of her dependencies as their trustee in the introduction of Education Policy Report.

The French colonial education system had offered primary education for a limited number of students. However, in the forthcoming years, the number of schools were increased and secondary schools in the fields of technical and vocational training had been set up during 1920s. However, the British education had not covered more students.

The education policy of Britain had been constituted also in compatible with the principle of adaptation to native life in contrast of France which offered metropolitan curriculum in her all dependencies.

Language policy of France and Great Britain was also different from each other. While France aimed to generalize the French language and adopted metropolitan language model in education, Britain embarked on vernacular language model which envisage learning in mother tongue. However, this policy was not

implemented for all native languages equally. The common usage of dominant languages or lingua franca was supported.

There had been two important objections from scholars at that time from both France and Great Britain. In France, the educating system was criticised on the argument that moving the young people away from their mother culture would postpone the scholastic advancement since the education did not offer enough and qualified job opportunities to these people. Oppositely, the vernacular language model of Britain was criticised by claiming that Africans could be in a disadvantaged position for the reason that they had not learned English in education and they did not want to be lacking a distinguishing feature. This would be a significant obstacle to the social progress of them.

|                               |                               | France                                                           | Great Britain                                                      |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Comparison of Colonial Period | Colonisation Motivation       | Prestige                                                         | Economical and philanthropic drivers                               |
|                               | Government Style              | Direct Rule                                                      | Indirect Rule                                                      |
|                               | Education Policy Driver       | Civilisation Mission                                             | After Phelps Stokes Reports in 1923                                |
|                               | Education and Language Policy | Metropolitan curriculum, Compulsory French Medium of Instruction | Individualist, Liberal                                             |
|                               | Attitude to natives           | Ignoring the local culture and native languages                  | More respectful and strengthened the most spoken native languages. |
|                               | Language Policy               | Metropolitan Language Policy                                     | Vernacular Language Policy                                         |

After the collapse of USSR, the Western liberal values included democracy, good governance, human rights had been widespread and the US and Europe had been giving the message about the adoption of these values to the rest of the world in the 1990s. With the development of information and transformation, the policy circulation has emerged more easily. Furthermore, new actors have become

dominant in the world policy. International and regional organisations, trans-national companies, NGOs have been the essential partners in the system. Besides, public opinion has gained importance than ever before. Hereafter, countries efforts to build long-term relationships were based on mutual understanding. This requires having soft power on the target audiences. One of the important resources of soft power is cultural diplomacy and education and language are used for cultural exchange between societies through individuals.

Furthermore, there have emerged new active states in Africa economically, politically and culturally such as Brazil, India, China, Saudi Arabia and Turkey adding to the UK and France. In that era, France and the UK have adopted a new attitude to the countries which are former colonies of her in Africa. Therefore, they have the education and language policies with the new form as the source of soft power. The third chapter of the thesis examines the implementations of education and language policies of France and the UK comparatively. Below, the outcomes of the research will be provided.

## **1. Education**

### **a. Educational Cooperation**

The goals of educational exchange efforts of France with Africa is defined as to led developing of Sub-saharan Africa and to be major partners between countries which have been shared cultural, historical and linguistic ties. There are educational cooperations called ‘the Great Collection’ executed by Ministry of French National Education. This programme shows that France aims to legitimize their colonial past in Africa by including African diaspora in France. Thus, the argument that public opinion is directly related to historical legacies has verified. The other educational cooperation activity of France is executed by CIEP which is doing consulting about education to NGOs in the region of the world. The priority of the programme is Africa. Britain has also educational cooperation efforts which envisage the cooperation education institutions in Africa and the UK. The ‘partnership’ term is paid attention in the program introduction and the expectation of active participation of partners is expressed. Thus, it is revealed that while British educational cooperation is based on mutuality, the French understanding of educational cooperation is one-sided relatively.

## **b. Educational Development Aids**

Development aids on the education of France consist of bilateral aid whereas the UK prefers both bilateral and multilateral that a part of assistance of World Bank. France launched the aids by determined 'Priority Solidarity Zone' which contained Africa to sustain the relations with her former colonies in Africa. In 2004, the content of aid has changed and 'partnership' has been emphasized. The UK states that her priority region of aid is to the regions where the income distribution is unequal.

## **c. International Schools**

The French international schools have been established mostly in French-speaking Sub-Saharan Africa (%59). The most numerous of British international schools are in Africa, as well. However, there is no equal distribution of schools in the countries. For example, an important proportion of the schools in Africa have been in Nigeria.

## **d. International Education Mobility**

France is behind the UK in the ranking of the number of hosted international students. However, France is the first country in the ranking of French-speaking countries. In addition, whereas France executes a special international education policy towards African students, Britain's priority is not African students. Together with, the distribution of international students in France intensifies in Africans, they are not in fronts in the regional rankings of the number of international students in the UK. That is expressed also in Campus France reports that while the students from French-speaking African countries prefer France to study firstly, the preference of students from Anglophone countries is generally not the UK. They prefer to study the US in the first rank. However, there is a detailed account that should have been indicated; the international education mobility of the UK is not one-sided. The British higher education transnational students are led to study abroad. Africa (15 %) is the second region after Asia where British students are sent. In addition, more than half of the British students in Africa studies are in undergraduate level in the universities of the African countries.

### **e. Alumni Network**

Both of France and the UK has established alumni networks in the home countries of international students who studied in France and the UK. France has specified the goal of the alumni network as to sustain the influence of the French culture and language and to provide business opportunities for French alumni. The first eleven countries where alumni network are set up from French-speaking countries. The other countries where have French alumni network is Ghana, Ethiopia, Nigeria, South Africa, Angola, Tanzania and Kenya. Although there is not given information about the number of the British graduates in countries, that the goal British alumni network is pointed out as to develop potential business opportunities in the countries where have been graduates from the UK. In addition, it is declared that one of the every ten country leaders are graduated from the UK. This gives an important clue about the aim of the UK international education policy.

## **2. Language Policy**

In spite of the emphasize on the goal of teaching the French language as to promote and disseminate the French language and Francophone cultures, the change of the discourse of the language policy of France as a tool of cultural diplomacy is observed. The aims of teaching France in the world is explained as to raising cultural diversity, facilitating the dialogue between cultures, peace and development in the framework of multi-languages. Institute Française which is the main institution of France that teach the French language abroad is defined as a new actor who implements the cultural diplomacy of France. The special programmes of Institute Française have been drawn the attention the aim to trained new French languages instructions in the long term. The aim of British language policy is more different from France as in colonial era. The language programmes are intensified in the countries where are limited and challenging business opportunities. Also, the UK is the shareholder of the project aimed to develop native languages of UNESCO parallel to vernacular language policy of the Great Britain.

In the colonial era, France had implemented direct rule over her African colonies where the French language is still the official language and education system was almost copied from the French education system. However, African public has the tendency to build the long-term relationship with their former colonizers of France rather than the UK in the independence era. This argument is verified by the fact

that France is the first preference of international students from French-speaking African countries, however, the UK is not the first preferred country to study for international students originated from Anglophone African countries.

|                                                                 |                                         | France                                                                                                  | United Kingdom                                                                                                             |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Education and Language Policy as the Means of Soft Power</b> | <b>Educational Cooperation</b>          | To protect cultural, historical and linguistic ties                                                     | Partnership based on mutuality                                                                                             |
|                                                                 | <b>Educational Development Aids</b>     | Bilateral                                                                                               | Bilateral +Multilateral                                                                                                    |
|                                                                 | <b>International Schools</b>            | Much more in the region                                                                                 | Unbalanced distribution in the region                                                                                      |
|                                                                 | <b>International Education Mobility</b> | Hosted mostly African students                                                                          | Lower ratio of African students in the total number of international students / bilateral international education mobility |
|                                                                 | <b>Language Policy</b>                  | Promote and disseminate the French language and Francophone cultures as the tools of cultural diplomacy | In the countries limited and challenging business opportunities;                                                           |

The other significant comparison field of educational and languages activities of France and the UK in their ex-colonies is the level of their involving to the international organisations such as International Francophonie Organization (OIF) and The Commonwealth respectively. While OIF was set up after the independence of African countries, The Commonwealth has emerged at the beginning of the 20th century. Also, OIF has founded with the initiative of the head of states of the newly independent countries in Africa, Senegal, Niger and Tunisia rather than France initiative. In the earlier years, France's role had been limited in the OIF, because France preferred a bilateral relationship with her former colonies. Then, French foreign policy had planned for being active in European Affairs with the foundation of European Community. Therefore, France had desired both contributing trade relations between Europe and Africa as the world's largest exporter to Africa and sustaining her that position in Africa. Further, France is dominant with Canada in the OIF. However, The United Kingdom is an only prominent character in the Commonwealth. Both France and the UK implement common education and

language policy in the OIF and the Commonwealth through cooperations between educational institutions.

It is concluded that the language and education were used as the resources of hard power of both France and Britain towards African countries in the colonisation period; they have continued using the education and language tools for the aim to be able to have soft power over African states by France and the UK in the present day.

To influence African public opinion is essential for both France and the UK in order to sustain their economic and political presence in Africa. Therefore, both countries have attempted to regain their previous importance in former colonies by switching from hard power to smart power. However, when doing this, France highlights the ties coming from common history and culture whereas Britain is emphasized raising wealth and good governance.

Although both France and the UK claim that the content of education and language efforts in Africa differentiated from colonial time, their perpetual aim is parallel with their colonial goals. Accordingly, France has followed her 'civilisation mission' in Africa whereas the United Kingdom has sustained the efforts to keep the soul of 'Commonwealth' alive in Africa. They have changed the discourse on the policies of education and language for the aim. However, the fact remains that African countries are on the top of the priority in the policies of France, while Africa is just a part of British overseas policies. The methods of language and education policies of France and the UK as a cultural policy tool towards African countries carry the traces of the colonial legacies.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aglion, R. (1944) French Colonial Policy. *World Affairs*, vol. 107, no. 2 pp.78-81
- Akşin, S. (2017) Kısa 20. Yüzyıl Tarihi. *İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları*, 5. Baskı
- Alexander L. and Schultz K. A (2012) Comparing British and French Colonial Legacies: A Discontinuity; Analysis of Cameroon. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, vol. 7 pp. 1–46
- Apodaca, C. (2017) Foreign Aid as Foreign Policy Tool. Governance/Political Change, Policy, Administration, and Bureaucracy, *World Politics Online Publication* pp.1-23
- Ashton, E. H. (1947) Democracy and Indirect Rule. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 235–251.
- Beck, Ann. (1966) Colonial Policy and Education in British East Africa, 1900-1950. *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1966, pp. 115–138.
- Berman, E. H. (1971) American Influence on African Education: The Role of the Phelps-Stokes Fund's Education Commissions. *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 132–145.
- Bilgin, Pınar; Eliş, Berivan (2008) Hard Power, Soft Power: Towards a More Realistic Power Analysis. *Insight Turkey* vol. 10 No 2, pp. 5-20
- Birsel, H. (2013) Emperyal Fransa'nın Osmanlı-Cezayir Stratejik Düzleminde Bir Kültür ve Kimlik Asimilasyonu Örneği, (Aziz Charles de Faucauld'un Mektubu) *SDU Faculty of Arts and Sciences Journal of Social Sciences*, Sayı:29, pp. 43-56
- Bjola, C.; Jiang, L. (2015) Social Media and Public Diplomacy: A Comparative Analysis of the Digital Diplomatic Strategies of the EU, U.S. and Japan in China Corneliu Bjola and Marcus Holmes (eds.) (2015) *Digital Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, London and New York: Routledge
- Boahen A.A (1985) General History of Africa VII, Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935. UNESCO International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa
- Bonfatto, R. (2012) A brief outlook of the French cultural diplomacy. *Institute for Cultural Diplomacy*. Annual Conference on Cultural Diplomacy.
- Bourdillon, B. (1944) British Colonial Policy. *World Affairs*, vol. 107, no. 2, pp. 82–86
- Brown, G. N. (1964) British Educational Policy in West and Central Africa. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 365–377.
- Brown, John (2009) 'Arts Diplomacy; The Neglected Aspect of Cultural Diplomacy' *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy* edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor New York. pp. 57-59

- Burchill S. (2005) Liberalism. Theories of International Relations ed. by Scott Burchill, Andrew Linklater, Richard Devetak, Jack Donnelly, Matthew Paterson, Christian Reus-Smit and Jacqui True Third edition *Palgrave Macmillan* pp. 55-83
- Butterworth, J. B. (1969) Commonwealth Co-Operation In Education. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 117, no. 5152, pp. 280–291.
- Carr, E. H. (1946) The twenty year's crisis 1919-1939. An Introduction to the Study of International Relations. *Macmillan*, Print.
- Chafer, T. (2001) Teaching Africans to be French?: France's 'Civilising Mission' and the Establishment of a Public Education System in French West Africa, 1903-30. *Africa: Rivista Trimestrale Di Studi e Documentazione Dell'Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente*, vol. 56, no. 2, pp. 190–209.
- Chaubet, F. (2004) L'Alliance française ou la diplomatie de la langue (1883-1914). *Revue historique*, No: 632, p. 763-785
- Clignet, R. P., and Foster P. J. (1964) French and British Colonial Education in Africa. *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 191–198.
- Crowder, M. (1964) Indirect Rule: French and British Style. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 197–205
- Cull, N. J. (2008) Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol 616, Issue 1, pp. 31 – 54
- Cull, N. J. (Ed. by) (2009) “Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past” USC Center on Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School.
- Demir, V. (2013) Değişen Uluslararası İlişkiler Çerçevesinde Kamu Diplomasisi ve Halkla İlişkilerin Müşterek Kavramları. *Kamu Diplomasisi Enstitüsü*, <http://kamudiplomasisi.org/demo/images/stories/makale001.pdf>
- Dillard, M. E. (2003) Examinations Standards, Educational Assessments, and Globalizing Elites: The Case of the West African Examinations Council. *The Journal of African American History*, vol. 88, no. 4, pp. 413–428.
- D'Souza, H. (1975) External Influences on the Development of Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa from 1923 to 1939. *African Studies Review*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 35–43.
- Finn, H. K. (2003) The Case for Cultural Diplomacy: Engaging Foreign Audiences. *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 82, no. 6, pp. 15–20.
- Fischer, G. and Jones W. H. J. (1980) Decolonisation and after: the British and French Experience. *Studies in Commonwealth Politics and History*. Institute of Commonwealth Studies No:7
- Fisher, A. (2009) Public Opinion and Power ed. by Nancy Snow, and Philip M. Taylor. *Routledge handbook of public diplomacy*. New York: Routledge. Print. pp. 39-59

- Fitzpatrick, K. R. (2007) Advancing the New Public Diplomacy: A Public Relations Perspective. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* vol. 2 pp. 187-211
- Frankema E. H. P. (2012) The Origins of Formal Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Was British Rule More Benign?. *European Review of Economic History*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 335–355
- Fraser, C. (2013) Decolonization and the Cold War. edited by Richard H. Immerman and Petra Goedde *Oxford Handbook of the Cold War*.
- Gardinier, D. E. (1980) The Impact of French Education on Africa, 1817-1960. *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society*, vol. 5, pp. 70–82.
- Gavari S.E. (2011) Francophonie: An Alternative Education for Globalisation. Online Submission, *US-China Education Review* vol. 8 no: 4 pp. 519-525
- Gilbert, E. and Reynolds J. T. (2012) Africa in world history: from prehistory to the present. *Boston: Pearson*.
- Gilboa E. (2008) Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy. The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Vol 616, Issue 1, pp. 55 – 77
- Gounin, Y. (2011) Politique Étrangère. *French Institute of International Relations (IFRI)* vol. 76, no. 3, pp. 679–680
- Gray, R. (1973) Colonialism in Africa 1870–1960. Cambridge University Press, Volume 5 pp. 699–700.
- Gregory, B. (2008) Public Diplomacy: Sunrise of an Academic Field. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 616, pp. 274–290
- Hong, K. W., (2011) Cultural Diplomacy form a Cultural Policy Perspective – Some Contestable Issues. Korea Association of Arts Management.
- Huijgh, E. (2013) Changing Tunes for Public Diplomacy: Exploring the Domestic Dimension. *Exchange: The Journal of Public Diplomacy*, Vol. 2 , Iss. 1, Art. 6
- Isaacman A., Roberts R., Lulat Y.G. M. (1996) Reviewed Work: Cotton, Colonialism, and Social History in Sub-Saharan Africa. *The Journal of Developing Areas*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp. 414–419.
- Jackson R and Sorensen G. (2006) Social Constructivism. Introduction to International Relations Theories and Approaches. 3rd edition. *Oxford university press*
- Kearn, D. W. (2011) The hard truths about soft power. *Journal of Political Power*, Volume 4, Issue 1 pp. 65-85
- Kelly, G. P. (1984) The Presentation of Indigenous Society in the Schools of French West Africa and Indochina, 1918 to 1938. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 523–542.

- Keohane, R. O., and Nye J.S. (1998) Power and Interdependence in the Information Age, *Foreign Affairs* Volume 77 No:5
- Kessel, T. V.(2011) Cultural Promotion And Imperialism:The Dante Alighieri Society and the British Council Contesting the Mediterranean in the 1930s. *Academisch Proefschrift*
- Killick, T. (2005) Understanding British Aid to Africa: A Historical Perspective. *Development Policy Review*, vol 23, no.6
- Knight, M. M. (1933) French Colonial Policy-the Decline of 'Association. *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 208–224
- Kremer M, Lieshout P. V., Went R. (2009) Doing Good or Doing Better; Development Policies in a Globalizing World. *Amsterdam University Press*, Amsterdam
- Krige, J., and Barth K. H. (2006) Introduction: Science, Technology, and International Affairs. *Osiris*, vol. 21, no. 1, 2006, pp. 1–21.
- Labouret, H. (1940) France's Colonial Policy in Africa. *Journal of the Royal African Society*, vol. 39, no. 154, pp. 22–35.
- Lancaster, C. (2007) Foreign Aid: Diplomacy, Development, Domestic Politics' University of Chicago Press.
- Lapie, P. O. (1944) The New Colonial Policy of France. *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 104–111
- Léglise I, Migge B (2007) Language and colonialism. Applied linguistics in the context of creole communities. *Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, edit. by Mouton de Gruyter , pp.297-338.
- Leonard, M. (2002) Diplomacy by Other Means. *Foreign Policy*, No. 132 pp. 48-56
- Leonard, M., Stead C., and Smewing C. (2002) Public diplomacy. London: *Foreign Policy Centre*, Print.
- Lewis, J. I. (1995) The French Colonial Service and the Issues of Reform, 1944-8. *Contemporary European History*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 153–188.
- Lewis, M. D. (1962) One Hundred Million Frenchmen: The 'Assimilation' Theory in French Colonial Policy. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 129–153.
- Lillis, K. M. (1985) Processes of Secondary Curriculum Innovation in Kenya. *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 80–96.
- Lin, L and Hong X (2012) The Application and Revelation of Joseph Nye's Soft Power Theory. *Studies in Sociology of Science* Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 48-52
- Lindsay, B. (1989) Integrating International Education and Public Diplomacy: Creative Partnerships or Ingenious Propaganda? *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 423–436

- Lumsdaine, D. H. (1993) *Moral Vision in International Politics: The Foreign Aid Regime, 1949-1989*. Princeton, N.J Princeton University Press
- Matthews, Z. K. (1937) An African View of Indirect Rule in Africa. *Journal of the Royal African Society*, vol. 36, no. 145, pp. 433–437.
- Mazonde, I. N. (2001) *Culture and Education in the Development of Africa*. Gaborone: Isaac Ncube Mazonde,. Print.
- Melissen, J. (2005) Wielding soft power: the new public diplomacy. *The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations*, Clingendael. pp.3-23
- Merickovai, L. (2014) Alternative Approaches to Public Diplomacy. *Polish Sociological review* vol. 3 pp.351-365
- Moravcsik, A. (1997) Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics. *International Organization* 51, 4, Autumn 1997, pp. 513–553
- Morris, P.(1960) The Commonwealth Education Conference. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 108, no. 5047, pp. 533–541.
- Mueller, S. (2009) The Nexus of U.S. Public Diplomacy and Citizen Diplomacy. *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy* edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor New York: Rotledge, Pp. 101-107
- Nasson, B. (2014) More Than Just Von Lettow-Vorbeck: Sub-Saharan Africa in the First World War. *Geschichte Und Gesellschaft*, vol. 40, no. 2, pp. 160–183.
- Nicol, D. (1971) The West African Examinations Council. *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift Für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale De L'Education*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 214–219
- Nicol, Davidson. (1971) “The West African Examinations Council.” *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift Für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale De L'Education*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1971, pp. 214–219.
- Nwanosike, O., Onyije F, Liverpool E. (2011) Colonial experience cited Proceedings of the 2011 International Conference on Teaching, Learning and Change. International Association for Teaching and Learning (IATEL) Colonialism and Education.
- Nwauwa, A. O. (1993) The British Establishment of Universities in Tropical Africa, 1920-1948: A Reaction against the Spread of American 'Radical' Influence/La Création Des Universités Britanniques En Afrique Tropicale, 1920-1948: Une Réaction Contre La Diffusion De L'influence Radicale Américaine Dans Les Colonies. *Cahiers D'Études Africaines*, vol. 33, no. 130, pp. 247–274.
- Nye, J. S (2008) Public Diplomacy And Soft Power. *ANNALS, AAPSS*, vol. 616, pp.94-109
- Nye, J. S. (1990) *Bound to lead: the changing nature of American power*. New York: Basic. Print.

- Nye, J. S. (2004) *Soft power: the means to success in world politics*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Nye, J. S. (2005) *Soft Power and Higher Education*. Harvard University.
- Nye, J. S. (2008) *The powers to lead*. Oxford: Oxford U Press. Print.
- Ociepka, B. (2012) The Impact of New Technologies on International Communication: The case of Public Diplomacy. *Informacijos Mokslai*, pp. 24-36
- O'Connor, E. (1974) Contrasts in Educational Development in Kenya and Tanzania. *African Affairs*, vol. 73, no. 290, pp. 67–84
- Oduke, O. (2014) Learning French Oral Skills Using Role Play As a Learning Strategy: The Kenyan Experience. *Anchor Academic Pub*.
- Omolewa, M.(2006) Educating the ‘Native’: A Study of the Education Adaptation Strategy in British Colonial Africa, 1910-1936. *The Journal of African American History*, vol. 91, no. 3, pp. 267–287.
- Pakenham, T. (1992) *The Scramble for Africa: White Man's Conquest of the Dark Continent from 1876 to 1912*. New York: Avon Books. Print.
- Phelps-Stokes Fund Records, The New York Public Library, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 515 Lenox Avenue, New York 10037
- Porteous, T. (2005) British Government Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa under New Labour. *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), vol. 81, no. 2, pp. 281–297.
- Price, R. (2016) ‘Fransa’nın Kısa Tarihi’ Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayinevi, (2. Baskı)
- Radelet, S. (2006) A Primer on Foreign Aid. *Working Paper* Number 92, Center for Global Development
- Remy, P.J. (1993) La Politique Culturelle Exterieur de la France. *Revue Des Deux Mondes*, pp. 39–49.
- Rodney, W. (1981) *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Howard University Press.
- Ronfeldt, D. and Arquilla, J. (2009) ‘Noopolitik; A New Paradigm for Public Diplomacy’ ed. by Nancy Snow, and Philip M. Taylor. Routledge handbook of public diplomacy. *New York: Routledge*, pp. 352-365
- Roshwald, A. (1994) Colonial Dreams of the French Right Wing, 1881–1914. *The Historian*, vol. 57, no. 1, pp. 59–74.
- Sabatier, P.R. (1978) Elite’ Education in French West Africa: The Era of Limits, 1903-1945. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 247–266.
- Samoff, J., and Carrol B. (2004) The Promise of Partnership and Continuities of Dependence: External Support to Higher Education in Africa. *African Studies Review*, vol. 47, no. 1, pp. 67–199.

Sancar, G. A. (2012) Kamu Diplomasisi ve Uluslararası Halkla İlişkiler. İstanbul, *Beta Yayınları*.

Sancar, G. A. (2015) Kamu Diplomasisinde ‘İlişki İnşa Etme’ Söylemi. <http://kamudiplomasisi.org/demo/images/stories/aslisancar.pdf>

Sancar, G. A. (2016) Yeni Kamu Diplomasisi ed. by G. A. Sancar Kamu Diplomasisine Yeni Yaklaşımlar. *İstanbul. Beta Yayınevi*. pp. 13-22

Sander, O. (2006) Siyasi Tarih: İlkçağlardan 1918’e. *İmge Kitabevi Yayınları*, (15. Baskı)

Schwartz, V. R. (2011) Modern France: A Very Short Introduction. *Oxford Univercity Press*

Sheafer, T. and Gabay, I. (2009) Mediated Public Diplomacy: A Strategic Contest over International Agenda Building and Frame Building. *Political Communication*. vol. 26 no. 4, pp. 447-467

Sheffer, G. (2010) Diaspora politics: at home abroad. *New York: Cambridge U Press*. Print.

Signitzer, B. H. and Coombs T. (1992) Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Conceptual Covergences. *Public Relations Review*, vol.18, no:2, pp.137-147

Simon M. (2009) A Greater Role for Cultural Diplomacy. Discussion Papers in Diplomacy Netherlands. *Netherland Institute of International Relations* . Clingendael

Smith, G. S. (2009) Exchange Programs and Public Diplomacy. *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy* edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor New York: Rotledge. pp. 50-56

Smith, T. (1978) A Comparative Study of French and British Decolonization. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 70–102.

Snow, Nancy (2009) Rethinking Public Diplomacy. ed. by Nancy Snow, and Philip M. Taylor. *Routledge handbook of public diplomacy*. New York: Routledge. pp. 3-11

Szondi, G. (2008) Public diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Differences. Discussion Papers in Diplomacy Netherlands. *Netherland Institute of International Relations*. Clingendael

Von Sivers, P. (1979) Colonial Elites And Nationalist Politics: The Analysis Of Algerian Political And Social Class Structures. *European Journal of Sociology / Archives Européennes De Sociologie / Europäisches Archiv Für Soziologie*, vol. 20, no. 1

Walker, P. (2014) International Student Policies in UK Higher Education from Colonialism to the Coalition: Developments and Consequences. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, Vol. 18, no:4 pp. 325–344

Wallbank, T. W. (1934) The Educational Renaissance in British Tropical Africa. *The Journal of Negro Education*, vol. 3, no. 1,

Wang, Y. (2008) Public Diplomacy and the Rise of Chinese Soft Power. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 616. Pp. 257-273.

Webb, A.; Smith, A., Macfarlane, J. And Martin, N. (2014) The British Council and the political economy of cultural value in historical context' <http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/diasporas/sites/www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/diasporas/files/British%20Council%20Historical%20Report.pdf>

Weiss, C. (2005) Science, technology and international relations. *Technology in Society*, Volume 27, Issue 3, pp. 295–313

White, B. W. (1996) Talk about School: Education and the Colonial Project in French and British Africa, (1860-1960). *Comparative Education*, vol. 32, no. 1, pp. 9-25

Whitehead, C. (1981) Education in British Colonial Dependencies, 1919-39: A Re-Appraisal. *Comparative Education*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 71-80

Wojciuk, A., Michałek, M., Stormowska, M. (2015). Education as a source and tool of soft power in international relations. *European Political Science*. No.14.

Zaharna, R.S. (2009) Mapping out a Spectrum of Public Diplomacy Initiatives; Information and Relational Communication Frameworks. *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy* edited by Nancy Snow and Philip M. Taylor New York: Rotledge.

## INTERNET SOURCES

100,000 Professors For Africa (n.d.) Retrieved 14.04.2018, Institut Français, <http://www.institutfrancais.com/en/news/100000-professors-africa>

20th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers – 20CCEM, Retrieved 24.04.2018, The Commonwealth <http://thecommonwealth.org/media/event/20th-conference-commonwealth-education-ministers>

About Us, The Institut Française, Retrieved 14.04.2018 <http://www.institutfrancais.com/en/about-us>

About us. Canal France, International Retrieved 21.02.2017 <http://www.cfi.fr/en/content/institution>

Accueil. Promouvoir L'édition Française À L'étranger, Retrieved 21.02.2017 <https://www.bief.org/>

African Scholars Invited To Shape UK's Engagement With Africa. Chevening. Retrieved 21.02.2017 <http://www.chevening.org/chevening/news/2015/chevening-scholar-engage-in-fco-africa-event>

Who Are We? Alliance Française. 29.12.2017  
<http://www.alliancefr.org/en/who-are-we>

Chevening Evaluation, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, July 2016, Retrieved 23.03.2018 p.9  
[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/638058/FOI\\_0662-17\\_document.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/638058/FOI_0662-17_document.pdf)

Chevening's objectives, About Chevening, Retrieved 23.03.2018  
<http://www.chevening.org/about-chevening>

Education Partnerships in Africa, British Council, Retrieved 21.03.2018  
[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/31971/10-1016-epa-flyer.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/31971/10-1016-epa-flyer.pdf)

Enjoy being part of a UK 'network for life', British Council, Retrieved 15.04.2018  
<https://study-uk.britishcouncil.org/discover/after/alumni-networks>

Finance your studies / Scholarships, France diplomatie, Retrieved 14.03.2018  
[https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/coming-to-france/studying-in-france/finance-your-studies-scholarships/#sommaire\\_1](https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/coming-to-france/studying-in-france/finance-your-studies-scholarships/#sommaire_1)

France Alumni A global Network, Campus France, Retrieved 15.04.2018  
<https://www.campusfrance.org/fr/reseau-France-Alumni>

The fields of action for cultural diplomacy. France Diplomatie. Retrieved 11.03.2018  
<https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/french-foreign-policy/cultural-diplomacy/the-fields-of-action-for-cultural-diplomacy/>

The Fostering Digital Inclusion (ADEN) project. France Diplomatie. Retrieved 11.03.2018  
<https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/french-foreign-policy/cultural-diplomacy/the-fields-of-action-for-cultural-diplomacy/article/internet-and-ict>

France's cultural policy abroad, France Diplomatie, Retrieved 01.04.2018  
<https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/french-foreign-policy/cultural-diplomacy/>

French language, CIEP, <http://www.ciep.fr/langue-francaise-evaluation-certifications/expertise/langue-francaise>

French speakers around the world. France Gouvernement. Retrieved 18.03.2018  
<http://www.gouvernement.fr/en/french-speakers-around-the-world>

Higher education: what role can the Commonwealth play? (2015) Background paper for discussion at the 19th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers, The Association of Commonwealth Universities Publications. p.10

Historical background. Uganda National Examinations Board. Retrieved 16.03.2018  
<https://uneb.ac.ug/index.php/our-history/>

La Grande Collecte. Ministère De L'éducation Nationale, Retrieved 12.02.2018  
<http://www.education.gouv.fr/cid74358/la-grande-collecte.html&xtmc=afrique&xtnp=1&xtcr=1>

Languages with at least 50 million first-language speakers, Summary by language size. Retrieved 01.05.2018  
<https://www.ethnologue.com/statistics/size>

Learn English Audio Project, British Council. Retrieved 23.02.2018  
<https://www.britishcouncil.org/partner/track-record/learn-english-audio-project>

Making It Easier For African Students To Come To France, Campus Frances, Retrieved 14.04.2018  
<https://www.campusfrance.org/en/activities-Africa-Campus-France>

MEETAfrica Creation Entreprises, Campus France. Retrieved 13.03.2018  
<https://www.campusfrance.org/fr/MEETAfrica-creation-entreprises>

Member Countries, The Commonwealth, Retrieved 23.03.2018  
<http://thecommonwealth.org/member-countries>

Our charter, The Commonwealth, Retrieved 23.03.2018  
<http://thecommonwealth.org/our-charter>

Our History, The Commonwealth, Retrieved 23.03.2018  
<http://thecommonwealth.org/our-history>

Our Missions, Campus France. Retrieved 21.02.2017  
<https://www.campusfrance.org/fr/les-missions-de-campus-france>

Overview of 20th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers (20CCEM). Retrieved 24.04.2018  
<http://thecommonwealth.org/sites/default/files/inline/20CCEM%20Overview%2001-12-2017.pdf>

Presenting French Educational Institutes To African Students. Campus France. Retrieved 13.03.2018  
<https://www.campusfrance.org/en/activities-Africa-Campus-France>

Public diplomacy and the UK, FCO Public Diplomacy: The Olympic and Paralympic Games 2012 - Foreign Affairs Committee Contents. Retrieved 15.02.2018  
<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201011/cmselect/cmfaaff/581/58106.htm>

Rechercher un établissement, AEFE. Retrieved 21.02.2018  
<http://www.aefe.fr/reseau-scolaire-mondial/rechercher-un-etablissement>

Rôle, statut, missions. CIEP. Retrieved 12.02.2018  
<http://www.ciep.fr/role-statut-missions>

Rwanda English in Action Programme, British Council. Retrieved 23.02.2018  
<https://www.britishcouncil.org/partner/track-record/rwanda-english-action-programme>

Support for African education systems The CIEP and its role in educational cooperation in sub-Saharan Africa, Retrieved 12.02.2018  
<http://www.ciep.fr/sites/default/files/atoms/files/ciep-infos-ciep-and-its-role-in-cooperation-in-africa.pdf>

The Agency for Education Abroad (AEFE), Retrieved 21.02.2017  
<http://www.aefe.fr/agency-french-education-abroad-0>

The CIEP and its role in cooperation in Africa, Retrieved 12.02.2018  
<http://www.ciep.fr/sites/default/files/atoms/files/ciep-infos-ciep-and-its-role-in-cooperation-in-africa.pdf>

The Eiffel Excellence Program, Campus France Resources, Retrieved 14.03.2018  
[https://ressources.campusfrance.org/catalogues\\_recherche/eiffel/en/plaquette\\_eiffel\\_en.pdf](https://ressources.campusfrance.org/catalogues_recherche/eiffel/en/plaquette_eiffel_en.pdf)

The Third Report of the Foreign Affairs Committee Session 2005-6 Public Diplomacy, Response by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

UniFrance Retrieved 21.02.2017 <https://www.unifrance.org/>

Wanni, Nada; Hinz, Sarah; Day, Rebecca (2010) Good Practices in Educational Partnerships Guide, UK-Africa Higher & Further Education Partnerships, Africa Unit

Webb, Alban; Smith, Andre; Macfarlane, Jess; Martin, Nat 'The British Council and the political economy of cultural value in historical context' Retrieved 25.04.2018  
<http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/diasporas/sites/www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/diasporas/files/British%20Council%20Historical%20Report.pdf>

Welcome to WAEC Liberia, Retrieved 13.03.2018  
<http://www.liberiawaec.org/>

What is UK HE TNE? Universities UK, Retrieved 24.03.2018  
<http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/International/heglobal/Pages/what-is-transnational-education.aspx>

Who are we? Agence Française De Développement Retrieved 20.12.2017  
<https://www.afd.fr/en/agence-francaise-de-developpement>

Why A British Education, COBIS. Retrieved 23.03.2018  
<https://www.cobis.org.uk/about-us/british-international-schools/why-a-cobis-school>

Why a COBIS School. COBIS Retrieved 23.03.2018  
<https://www.cobis.org.uk/about-us/british-international-schools/why-a-cobis-school>

## REPORTS

Activity Report 2017, Campus France, Retrieved 21.04.2018  
[https://ressources.campusfrance.org/agence\\_cf/rapports\\_activites/en/rapport\\_activite2017\\_en.pdf](https://ressources.campusfrance.org/agence_cf/rapports_activites/en/rapport_activite2017_en.pdf)

Auplat, Claire (2003) The Commonwealth, the Francophonie and NGOs, The Round Table p.53

Chevening Evalutaion (2016) Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Retrieved 23.02.2018 p.12  
[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/638058/FOI\\_0662-17\\_document.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/638058/FOI_0662-17_document.pdf)

Chiffres Cles, Campus France. Retrieved 15.04.2018  
[https://ressources.campusfrance.org/publi\\_institu/etude\\_prospect/chiffres\\_cles/fr/chiffres\\_cles\\_fr.pdf](https://ressources.campusfrance.org/publi_institu/etude_prospect/chiffres_cles/fr/chiffres_cles_fr.pdf)

COBIS Annual Research Survey (2017) COBIS Retrieeved 23.02.2018  
<https://resources.finalsite.net/images/v1519118497/cobis/tej2qm4kbrbwqcgrafgr/COBISAnnualResearchSurvey2017.pdf>

Corporate Plan 2017–20, British Council, Retrirveed 23.03.2018  
<https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/corporate-plan-2017-20.pdf>

Data from AFD development aid, AFD, Retrieved 13.03.2018  
[https://opendata.afd.fr/explore/dataset/donnees-aide-au-developpement-afd/table/?refine.libelle\\_cicid=Education&disjunctive.pays\\_de\\_realisation](https://opendata.afd.fr/explore/dataset/donnees-aide-au-developpement-afd/table/?refine.libelle_cicid=Education&disjunctive.pays_de_realisation)

Development Cooperation: a French Vision Framework Document, Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères (MEAE), Retrieved 12.02.2018  
[https://franceintheus.org/IMG/pdf/Doc\\_Cadre\\_ANG\\_2011.pdf](https://franceintheus.org/IMG/pdf/Doc_Cadre_ANG_2011.pdf)

East African Examinations Council (EAEC), Yearbook Profile, Union of International Associations. Retrieved 12.01.2018  
<https://uia.org/s/or/en/1100021522>

Education Policy in British Tropical Africa (1925) Presented by Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty  
[http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv\\_pdfo/AD1715/AD1715-19-27-001-jpeg.pdf](http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/AD1715/AD1715-19-27-001-jpeg.pdf)

Education position paper, Improving learning, expanding opportunities (2013) Retrieved 27.03.2018  
[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/225715/Education\\_Position\\_Paper\\_July\\_2013.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/225715/Education_Position_Paper_July_2013.pdf)

Enseignement Français À L'étranger. Ministère De L'éducation Nationale, De L'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche. Retrieved [http://www.education.gouv.fr/pid25535/bulletin\\_officiel.html?cid\\_bo=73070](http://www.education.gouv.fr/pid25535/bulletin_officiel.html?cid_bo=73070)

Final Report of Language Policies in Africa (1997), UNESCO, Retrieved 24.04.2018 [http://ocpa.irmo.hr/resources/docs/Harare\\_Language-en.pdf](http://ocpa.irmo.hr/resources/docs/Harare_Language-en.pdf)

France's external action on the issues of population and sexual and reproductive health and rights 2016-2020 (2016), French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Development, Directorate-General for Global Affairs, Culture, Education and International Development p. 23

High value education opportunities 2015/16 priorities (2015), UK Trade&Investment, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/416403/UKTI\\_Education-High\\_value\\_education\\_opportunities\\_\\_2015-16\\_priorities\\_.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/416403/UKTI_Education-High_value_education_opportunities__2015-16_priorities_.pdf)

Hudson, A. (2006) ; "UK Aid to Africa A Report for the UFJ Institute" Overseas Development Institute, Retrieved 17.04.2018 <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/3693.pdf>

Immigration of International Students to France (2013 , French Contact Point of the European Migration Network (EMN), Retrieved 16.04.2018 [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/european\\_migration\\_network/reports/docs/emn-studies/immigration-students/09a.\\_france\\_national\\_report\\_international\\_students\\_final\\_en\\_version\\_feb2013\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/european_migration_network/reports/docs/emn-studies/immigration-students/09a._france_national_report_international_students_final_en_version_feb2013_en.pdf)

International Education – Global Growth and Prosperity (2013) , HM Government, [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/340600/bis-13-1081-international-education-global-growth-and-prosperity-revised.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/340600/bis-13-1081-international-education-global-growth-and-prosperity-revised.pdf)

International Trends in Higher Education (2015), University of Oxford. Retrieved 20.04.2018 <https://www.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/oxford/International%20Trends%20in%20Higher%20Education%202015.pdf>

Patterns and trends in UK higher education 2017, Univercities UK. Retrieved 23.04.2018

Power Africa Nigeria Fact Sheet (2018) USAID. Retrieved 13.02.2018 (<https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1860/NigeriaPA.2018.04.508.pdf>)

Resource Center, Campus France. Retrieved 15.04.2018 <https://www.campusfrance.org/fr/recherche/pays/afrique-495?text=bourses>

Resource Center, Campus France. Retrieved 15.04.2018  
[https://www.campusfrance.org/en/recherche/type/ressource\\_documentaire/categorie/statistiques-pays-402/pays/afrique-495](https://www.campusfrance.org/en/recherche/type/ressource_documentaire/categorie/statistiques-pays-402/pays/afrique-495)

Response to the International Development (Reporting and Transparency) Act 2006  
 Department for International Development, DFID in 2009–10 (2010), Retrieved  
[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/67675/dfid-in-2009-10-revised-6-sept-2010.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/67675/dfid-in-2009-10-revised-6-sept-2010.pdf)

The Activities Of Campus France in Africa, Campus France,. Retrieved 16.04.2018  
<https://www.campusfrance.org/fr/les-activites-de-campus-france-en-afrique>

The international mobility of African students (2016), Les Notes October 2016,  
 Campus France. Retrieved 15.04.2018  
[https://ressources.campusfrance.org/publi\\_institu/etude\\_prospect/mobilite\\_continent/en/note\\_16\\_hs\\_en.pdf](https://ressources.campusfrance.org/publi_institu/etude_prospect/mobilite_continent/en/note_16_hs_en.pdf)

The National Archives of UK. Retrieved 01.05.2018  
[http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/help/glossary-i.htm#indirect\\_government](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/help/glossary-i.htm#indirect_government)

The Scale Of UK Higher Education Transnational Education 2015–16,  
 Universities UK, Retrieved 23.04.2018  
<http://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/International/Documents/The%20Scale%20of%20UK%20HE%20TNE%202015-16.pdf>

The Soft Power 30 (2017) Retrieved 01.05.2018 <https://softpower30.com/>

The Third Report of the Foreign Affairs Committee Session 2005-6 Public  
 Diplomacy, Response by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth  
 Affairs. Retrieved 19.01.2018  
[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/272296/6840.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/272296/6840.pdf) Accessed in 19.01.2018

What is Cultural Diplomacy? What is Soft Power? Institute for Cultural  
 Diplomacy. Retrieved 23.04.2018  
[http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/index.php?en\\_culturaldiplomacy](http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/index.php?en_culturaldiplomacy)



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

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

Date: 23/07/2018

Thesis Title : A Comparison of the Cultural Diplomacy Policies of France and United Kingdom towards African Countries

According to the originality report obtained by myself by using the Turnitin plagiarism detection software and by applying the filtering options checked below on 22/07/2018 for the total of 116 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 10 %.

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.

Name Surname: Nazlı Ceren AKÇAY

Student No: N11124301

Department: International Relations

Program: International Relations

Date and Signature

23.07.2018

**ADVISOR APPROVAL**

APPROVED.

Assistant Prof. Kadri Kaan RENDA



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

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

Tarih: 23/07/2018

Tez Başlığı : Fransa ve Birleşik Krallık'ın Afrika Ülkelerine Yönelik Kültürel Diplomasi Politikalarının Karşılaştırılması

Yukarıda başlığı gösterilen tez çalışmamın a) Kapak sayfası, b) Giriş, c) Ana bölümler ve d) Sonuç kısımlarından oluşan toplam 116 sayfalık kısmına ilişkin, 22/07/2018 tarihinde şahsım tarafından Turnitin adlı intihal tespit programından aşağıda işaretlenmiş filtrelemeler uygulanarak alınmış olan orijinallik raporuna göre, tezimin benzerlik oranı %10'dur.

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

23.07.2018

Adı Soyadı: Nazlı Ceren AKÇAY

Öğrenci No: N11124301

Anabilim Dalı: Uluslararası İlişkiler

Programı: Uluslararası İlişkiler

**DANIŞMAN ONAYI**

UYGUNDUR.

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Kadri Kaan RENDA



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

HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Date: 23/07/2018

Thesis Title: A Comparison of the Cultural Diplomacy Policies of France and United Kingdom towards African Countries

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: Nazlı Ceren AKÇAY

Student No: N11124301

Department: International Relations

Program: International Relations

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

23.07.2018

**ADVISER COMMENTS AND APPROVAL**

Approved.

Assistant Prof. Kadri Kaan RENDA



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

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

Tarih: 23/07/2018

Tez Başlığı: Fransa ve Birleşik Krallık'ın Afrika Ülkelerine Yönelik Kültürel Diplomasi Politikalarının Karşılaştırılması

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: Nazlı Ceren AKÇAY

Öğrenci No: N11124301

Anabilim Dalı: Uluslararası İlişkiler

Programı: Uluslararası İlişkiler

Statüsü: ☒ Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ☐ Bütünleşik Doktora

23.07.2018

*Nazlı Ceren Akçay*

**DANIŞMAN GÖRÜŞÜ VE ONAYI**

*Uygundur.*

*Kadri Kaan Renda*

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Kadri Kaan RENDA

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

Telefon: 0-312-2976860

Faks: 0-3122992147

E-posta: [sosyalbilimler@hacettepe.edu.tr](mailto:sosyalbilimler@hacettepe.edu.tr)

## APPENDIX 3: CURRICULUM VITAE



# Nazlı Ceren AKÇAY

## Personal Information

---

**Date of birth** 02.09.1986

**Place of birth** Ankara/Turkey

**E-Mail** ncerenakcay@gmail.com

ceren.akcay@ytb.gov.tr

## Education Information

---

**2000--2004** Eryaman Foreign Language Intensive High School

**2005--2010** Hacettepe University, Department of International Relations

## Job Experience

---

**2011 - 2014** Assistant Expert in Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry, Presidency for Turks and Related Communities

**2014 --** Expert in Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry, Presidency for Turks and Related Communities

## Dissertations

---

**2014** In the Context of France's Public Diplomacy, France's Cultural Diplomacy Implementations toward African Countries

**2018** A Comparison of the Cultural Diplomacy Policies of France and The United Kingdom Towards African Countries

## Foreign Language

---

Turkish Native Language

English Fluent

French Elementary

## Competencies

---

**Computer Skills** Microsoft Office