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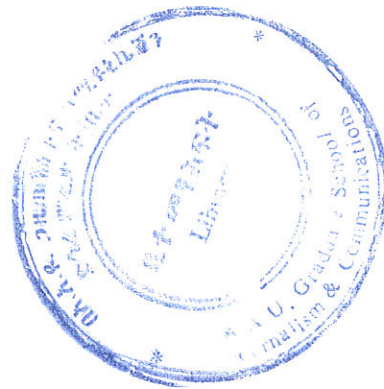
**PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PRACTICES OF THE FDRE MINISTRY OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS TOWARDS THE EGYPTIAN PUBLICS**

ELLENI DEREJE

JULY 2015

**THE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY PRACTICES OF THE FDRE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN
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ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

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ELLENI DEREJE

**A THESIS PRESENTED TO GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND
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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY


ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

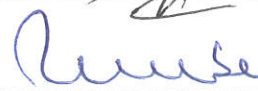
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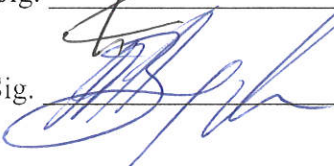
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to explore the practice of the FDRE Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards The Egyptian Public. Ethiopia and Egypt shared a long history and civilization and central to their relation was the Nile River. For so long their relation was based on the conventional diplomacy practice and the notion of public diplomacy on the side of Ethiopia is a new as a concept and as a practice. The nature of their relation therefore was biased by their hostile relations over the control and use of the river that has led to mistrust and suspicion because of the prevalence of the hegemonic rule between the two counties. Therefore the study looks at how the Ministry of Foreign Affairs sets agenda in its practice and challenges it faced. The major findings were that the ministry does not have a public diplomacy and communication strategy in general and when it comes it Egypt, in particular. Also there are no educational and cultural exchanges from the side of Ethiopia and in the use of international broadcasting to reach its Egyptian public. With regards to social media tools, reaching the Egyptian public was more of reactive than proactive and language was a barrier. The role of stakeholders is also a new phenomenon in the practice and their hostile relations have also impacted their economic relations. To conclude, the study found that the practice of public diplomacy was defined by the hegemony over the control of media and negative attitude of the Egypt have hindered the creating of mutual understanding and engagement between the two countries.

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ACRONYMS

AST	Agenda Setting Theory
CCT	Coxian Critical Theory
CFA	Comprehensive Framework Agreement
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
IB	International Broadcasting
IPOE	International Panel of Experts
PD	Public Diplomacy

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1.BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

International relations have revealed that countries in the world conduct their relationship on various levels in order to achieve their national interests and their objectives through foreign policy by using diplomacy as machinery (Sharp, 2009 p.39). And these communications are conducted between countries Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the use of hard power, the use or threat of a state's military component or economic leverage like 'carrot and stick' in order to achieve their goal to influence is not a new thing (Snow and Taylor, 2009; Seib, 2009, p. 5).

But with the advent of Information Communication Technologies (ICT), trans-boundary movements of people due to globalization and the emergence of social Media have shown that use of coercion or payment is becoming a challenge for states practicing international relations (Milssan, 2005 ; Ian and Frank, 2013). Hence states use soft power, which incorporates complex instruments that states use to influence other states through various means and tools that ranges from the economy and business to culture and education to the interaction between societies and individual relationships (Sharp, 2009;Mark, 2002;Mladen, 2010). Public diplomacy is one of the instruments of soft power a government uses in order to promote its pursuit of interest and its values (Sieb, 2009).

Over the years of practice, traditional diplomacy was becoming ineffective when dealing with new and existing inter-state conflicts, hostile relations of states, ever increasing threats to international security that comes from non state actors such a terrorist and insurgent groups and soon have showed that a bottom-up approach is becoming relevant in dealing with states in hostile relationships (Kirova, 2012, p. 5).

This as a result was possible because it helps them to divert their faces from political status and focus on people to deal with their issues by shaping public opinion and change their conflict to peace. And Public diplomacy can offer substantial contributions to peaceful relation by

facilitating dialogue, confront misperceptions through various tools to build a positive image of a country (Gyorgy, 2010)

Therefore, using Public diplomacy is becoming especially relevant “to situations of low intensity, protracted conflict, defined by a history of antagonism and distrust, where it can develop measures to foster shared experiences and narratives, maintain interaction and a degree of predictability in relations and lead ideally to a gradual transformation of hostile attitudes” (Kirova, 2012).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia and Egypt have had a long relationship in their historical, economic and religious ties since time of immemorial. They founded their relationship along the Nile River a historical and strategic natural resource that binds their relationship (Andrew, 2013). It was their source of civilization, realm of self identifications that is highly associated with their respective religions. Any of the relations created are the fruit of the Nile in every angle serving as centripetal force despite what their differences are (Reporter, 2014; Yacob, 2007 and Wuhibegezer, 2014).

And since Egypt realized that keeping an eye on Nile will secure its interest, it has dedicated its entire being to secure and control the Nile using various means ranging from hegemonic rule over the Ethiopian Monarchs and Bishops through the Coptic Church for appointing them on land for 1600 years to frequent unsuccessful military expeditions until 19th century (Wuhibegezer, 2014; Hamdy and Ahmed, 2007). The hegemony now moved to creating a well established public opinion about its very existence cannot be realized without the control of the Nile River. This is however at the expense of upper stream countries in which Ethiopia is one and also major contributor of the water (Zerihun, 2009).

The diplomatic relation of Ethio-Egypt was established in 1924 which made it the first diplomatic communication in Africa and one of the oldest, in the World. Despite their age old relationship and symbol of ancient civilizations, the two countries have been in hostile relations that resulted from mistrust and lack of confidence revolving around the equitable use and sharing of the Nile. This was due to the two controversial agreements of the 1929 and 1959 which did

not include the consent of neither Ethiopia, the one that contributes a larger share of the Nile water nor the rest of the upper riparian countries (Simon, 2004).

And at the same time, Egypt has always been suspicious of Ethiopia's every move regarding the Nile because of the Colonial right that was given to it under the British colonial on the agreement of the 1929 which Egypt still clings on when Ethiopia raises the issue of equitable use of the water. And since more than 95% of Egypt's water stems from the Nile, it means that it depends on rainfall outside of its territory (Terje, 2010; Björn, 2013).

Although there has been efforts to build confidence and cooperation at various levels from the two countries through using different means such as the Cooperative Framework Agreements (CFA) between the year (1989-2014) where they had reached thirty agreements and only nine of them have come in to effect. Apart from that, their relations were highly concentrated on the issue of Nile and little is done in relating the people of the two countries (MOFA, 2014).

This was why Ethiopian Foreign Minister Tedros Adhanom has said that an Ethiopian "public diplomacy" delegation that currently visited Cairo aimed at building trust and enhancing people-to-people ties between Ethiopia and Egypt.¹

The relation between the two countries reached its escalation especially after April 2011, when the news broke out about the official construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam project on Blue Nile (Abay) on Guba area of Beneshangul Gumuz region near Ethio- Sudan border to reserve 74 billion cubic meters of water to generate 6000Mega Watt by 2017 (Kidane, 2012). It was an alarming issue for Egypt and a bone of contention especially for Ethiopia and Egypt because Egypt was in apprehension about the project as it used to do for a long time by lobbying donors not to give financial support for the various planned but not done dam projects in Ethiopia (Embaye, 2011).

¹ The Reporter - English Edition Public Diplomacy Essential for Healthy, Trust-Based Ethio-Egyptian Relations. 20 December 2014. Retrieved 12/24/2014

In this regard, the Ethiopian Foreign Policy and National Security Strategy towards Egypt is to realize a peaceful co-existence between the two states can lead for equitable sharing of the Resource (MOFA, 2003, pp 120-128) there seems to be no cooperation on equitable use of the Nile despite the talks of both governments and number of peace talks, initiatives, frameworks, there has not been coming to agreement from the side of Egypt due to its rigid water policy of not coming to Cooperation (MOFA, 2014, Reporter, 2013, p.6)².

Although there has been researches done on Ethio-Egypt relations over the equitable use of Nile, they focused only on building a bilateral diplomatic ties and said little or no shift to a bottom up approach of using Public Diplomacy as a means to overcome the hostile relationship of the two countries. And if done otherwise, were from media researches regarding news framed by print and broadcast and not the overall Public Diplomacy Practice of the Ministry Foreign Affairs towards the Egyptian Publics

As to the researcher, there has not been any research on Public Diplomacy strategies and this clearly indicates the existing gap. Therefore, this study attempts to examine Ethiopian public diplomacy objectives and practices towards the Egyptian public.

1.3. General Objective of the Study

1.3.1. The general objective of the study is to explore the Public Diplomacy practice of FRDE's Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards Egyptian Public.

1.3.2. Specific Objective of the Study

The specific objectives of the study are:

- ❖ To examine the public diplomacy objectives of FDRE Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards Egypt.
- ❖ To identify the Public Diplomacy tools Ministry of Foreign Affairs designed to deal with Egyptian Public.
- ❖ To examine the effectiveness of the implementations of the Public diplomacy practice.

² The Reporter. The Dam Quagmire. Vol. 17(873). June 01/2013

- ❖ To identify the challenges, if any, of the FDRE Ministry of Foreign Affairs Public Diplomacy activities towards Egyptian Public.

1.4. Research Questions

- 1) What public diplomacy objectives has the FDRE Ministry of Foreign Affairs designed to deal with the Egyptian Public?
- 2) What kinds of tools are used to achieve the set public diplomacy objectives?
- 3) How effective was the implementation of the public diplomacy practicing method used by Ministry?
- 4) What are the challenges, if any, in the public diplomacy practices of the Ministry of foreign affairs towards the Egyptian Publics?

1.5. Scope of the Study

The study's main focus was limited only to the public diplomacy practices of the FDRE Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards the Egyptian public meaning that it only sees the practice of the Ethiopian side.

1.6. Significance of the Study

The significance of the study is to show the public diplomacy practices of FDRE Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards the Egyptian Public in order for their relations to come to a mutual understanding and engagement. As a result it will shed light for other research as a starting point in understanding Ethiopia's public diplomacy practice towards Egypt and how it can help as a platform for effective communications. It can serve also as a source document for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to enhance and show better ways to increase the level of cooperativeness and foster effective communication so as to overcome the countries hostile relations by building trust and confidence for a long term relationship.

1.7. Limitation of the Study

The limitations of the research were dispersed nature of data which was time consuming and also lack of finance hinder it from entertaining to incorporate the activities of the Egyptian government works on the public diplomacy practice towards the Ethiopian public. As well as time constraint had affected the research.

1.8. Organization of the Study

This study has been organized in five chapters. Brief background of the study, significance, objectives, scope and limitation of the study are treated in the first chapter. The second chapter is devoted to various related literature reviews. While chapter three is dedicated to a discussion of the research methods employed in the study, presentation of findings and analysis makes chapter four. Based on the findings and analysis of chapter four, conclusions and recommendations are given in the last chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. The Concept of International Relations and Diplomacy

International relations have revealed that countries in the world conduct their relationship on various levels in order to achieve their national interests and their objectives through foreign policy by using diplomacy as machinery (Sharp, 2009; Seib, 2009). These communications are conducted between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of countries through the use of hard power, the use or threat of a state's use of military component or through economic leverage like carrot and stick on the one hand and using soft power, the ability of a country to be persuasive in order to achieve their goal to influence (Snow and Taylor, 2009).

International relations, therefore, refer to all those actions taking place between actors in the international system. The international system is a set of relationships among the world's states, structured according to certain rules and patterns of interaction. Why some of these rules are explicit, others remain implicit. In the world politics, states and their relation with other states is understood in the discipline called International Relations (Upper Case) and it studies various issues that can relate states such as the conflict and cooperation of states, transnational transactions ranging from politics, economics and social ones and other issues regardless of states, there are non state actors that influence states one way or another to make decisions (Brown and Ainsley, 2005).

But with the advent of Information Communication Technologies (ICT), Trans boundary movements of people due to globalization and the ever increasing widespread of social Media have challenged state power and paved ways for the rise to powerful non state actors such as Multinational corporations (MNC's) as global economies began to globalize making states with perforated sovereignty. As a result, international relations became the study of relation of states as represented by government in the world politics and their interaction with international organizations, Non-governmental organizations and Multinational corporations, (MNC's) that were the result of state as represented by governments and also notable individuals. This means that state international relations cannot be understood in isolation. And for states to relate to one another, they use an instrument called foreign policy that projects itself through Diplomacy.

Diplomacy is the art of communication done by diplomats representing the states in international stage (Young, 2008).

As a day to day activity, diplomacy can be defined as a skill or tact of dealing with people. However, when it comes to state to state relations in international relations, diplomacy becomes is defined in a broader sense as being an instrument for the execution of a state's national interest as formulated and contained in its foreign policy. Unlike foreign policy, diplomacy is a manner to conduct communications between states (Ibid, 2008).

Diplomacy is a means by which states use it as their external extension to communicate with the outside world. Basically this sort of diplomacy is called conventional or traditional diplomacy which is conducted by representatives of states in the international relations and its main aim is to manage international relations through negotiation and it is secretive by nature. It is also directed at governmental level and the members of diplomatic corps (Adeleke, 2014).

The nature of diplomacy is secretive and done behind door in a sense that it does not open or show to the wider public. It serves as a pacifying instrument in which states cooperate and resolve their conflicts without force. And it is done by states communicating, negotiating and bargaining to come on agreement for their differences which involves confidentiality and privacy. This as a result, makes it a closed process (Tuch, 1990 p. 4)

But in a narrower sense, diplomacy is the way of implementing foreign policy of a country which is different from the formation of making of foreign policy. Foreign policy is the statement of a state's national interest. This is done by professionals mainly diplomats, ambassadors, ministers and envoys and communicate as official spokesperson on behalf of their countries with other countries (Ibid, 1990).

In today's sense these the actors that are practicing diplomacy may be a state, multi-national corporation, non-governmental organization, international organization, terrorist organization/stateless paramilitary organization or other player on the world stage attempting to manage the international environment through engagement with another international actor; public diplomacy is an international actor's attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public (Cull,2009).

The importance of diplomacy arises from the fact that most foreign policies are stated very generally, without spelling out measures for implementation and it has two faces. One is it is a vehicle through which a state represents its interest in world stage and the other is since others have their own national interest to present, it helps to accommodate competing interests and a states particular goals without going to war which in other words mean preserving international order.

And by these, diplomacy gives three main functions to its country. That is intelligence gathering, image management and policy implementations. So in order to do so, countries represent themselves in other countries by opening Embassies that will listen to heart beats of the host publics and to approach them and change its foreign policy accordingly (Griffiths *et al*, 2008).

Diplomatic representatives are the 'eyes and ears' of their government; their cables and reports form part of the raw material from which foreign policy is developed. Diplomacy also aims at creating a favorable image of the state. Modern communication makes it possible to shape perceptions and attitudes around the globe. States today have vast public relations apparatuses whose purpose is to place their actions and policies in a favorable light. Foreign embassies supply local news media with official interpretations and try to avoid negative publicity or explain it away (Young, 2008). Also the idea of "Soft power" a related concept to diplomacy has also gained popularity in the literatures of international relations since recently (Griffiths *et al*, 2008).

The term was originally conceived and introduced by Harvard University Professor Joseph Nye, Jr. in his book published in 1990. This was because with the coming an end to cold war, there came a transformation of power in which military strength and economic sanctions which were a manifestation of hard power and nation's ability to win others begun to decline leaving it to new factors that influence one another, the economic and cultural factors. According to Nye, soft power just referred to the ability to affect the behaviors of other countries by attracting and persuading others rather than military deterrence to achieve one's goals. Soft power is one form of a resource in which it comes to be practical in different forms in which of public diplomacy is one of its outlets. The advantage of the term 'soft power' is that it has brought light to the

practice of public diplomacy by bringing it to the realm of national security as important as hard power. However, it should be in care that it fails to succeed due to too much attention given only to achieve what one wants, which can result in not being attractive by the receiver of the target audience. In this case it will become negative soft power can diminish an actor's soft power in the face the recipient. This is to mean that while listening to and being changed by the encounter is much more attractive that can bring out a positive soft power (Sieb, 2009).

2.2. Conceptualization of Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy is often portrayed as a one-way information flow, and at best one in two directions, but essentially aimed at relaying positive aspects of a country to foreign publics. In reality, and as is presently emerging in a number of countries, Perhaps the most succinct definition of public diplomacy is given by Paul Sharp, who describes it as 'the process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented (Milssan, 2005)

The practice of public diplomacy is as old as diplomacy itself. But the coining of the term came in 1965 by Edmund Gullion, dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and a distinguished retired Foreign Service officer, when he established an Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy. An early Murrow Center brochure provided a convenient summary of Gullion's concept:

Public diplomacy . . . deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications (Joumane, 2010, p.20).

However, with subsequent definitions given to public diplomacy, the practice evolved to its new form due to increase in its non state actors involvement, role of globalization and especially internet for quick information exchanges blurred the line between what is domestic and

international and last but not least, the practice of public diplomacy shifted from spin or propaganda based information dissemination to relationship building where a country's ministry of foreign affairs plays as a facilitator and civil society and media work to build relationships with a foreign public. This was because of how public diplomacy actors were understood (during Gullion and Tuch, the role of civil society was minimized because public diplomacy was a practice limited to foreign affairs diplomats) and by the level of attention given to public diplomacy as a practice alongside of the traditional diplomacy since it was believed to be just its extension.

Therefore, for the matter of this study, Public diplomacy is defined as "an international actor's attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public" as to Cull (2009) and according to Leonard *et al* (2002) how its dimensions varied from news management to relationship building as its ultimate goal to attain people to people relations between countries.

2.2.1. Emergence of Public Diplomacy

The first reason is due to Communication Revolution because with the advancement of technologies and availability of news, nations, governments are not the only ones that know what is going on abroad. But their citizens know it at the same time and use the information to act upon it immediately too. The second one is Information Availability, this is to mean that information is available and abundant enough to shape the formation of public opinion that has become an important aspect in international affairs for it can influence decision making of governments (Tuch, 1990).

The third reason for the emergence of public diplomacy as a vital element was Ideological Struggle that existed between two historic blocs during the cold war era. During these time both USA and Russia were trying to win the hearts and minds of their bloc to win and universalize their ideologies. At this point the essence of public diplomacy was powerful but it differs from today's practice because it was a unidirectional process done by Governments to People and not people to people. State held central role where as now, state acts as a facilitator in the process of practicing it with civil societies in the country (Tuch, 1990; Joumane, 2010 and Sieb, 2009).

Historically, public diplomacy has evolved from being a practice of the government towards the foreign public to the practice of state and non state actors coming together to listen and advocate a long term relationship between countries. This is to mean from a one track diplomacy that was conducted from government to people (G2P) to two track diplomacy of people to people (P2P) relations that has a feedback in the form of engagement with one another. Public diplomacy aims to reach a foreign public, mold public opinion and earn trust (Milssen, 2005).

The foreign public or strategic audience of a country is not entirely the mass and public diplomacy does not tend to reach them directly. No country has the capital to reach each and every one but, these are audiences that are influential in their countries in different sectors and serve as opinion leaders to shape and affect their governments in a way that benefit the country that is sending public diplomacy. They do so because they are attracted by the offers of the client country and willingly give their consent to engage themselves. However, the response is not a one way engagement for public diplomacy obliges the client country to listen and adjust itself in accordance to the interest of the public found in the host country (Cull, 2009).

2.2.2. The New Public Diplomacy

The new public diplomacy is quite different from the old one which is mostly linked with negative connotation of propaganda. This was as a result of what it used to be practiced. Public diplomacy is neither a new term nor practice but it became different as a result of the emergence of participants other than states such as NGO's, advancement in technology have helped the various actors that try to reach their audience especially the internet. This resulted in the blurring of the line between domestic and international news spheres where anyone can get up-to-date news where ever they may be just a click away (Tuch, 1990).

As Potter argues in Milssan (2005) 'With publics more distrustful of government, demanding greater transparency and input into policy making, governments can no longer count on "spin" to overcome communication challenges'.

At the same time, learning from the old diplomacy which only focused on a top down communication from government to people, newer concepts came from different fields like

nation and place branding, and this has led to a newer emphasis on people to people contact for mutual engagement with an international actor in the aim of building a long term relationship based on mutual interest. And this was made possible by the emergence of Soft Power for public diplomacy is inevitable related to this concept (Hart, 2008 and Danielle, 2008).

The relation between Soft Power and New Public Diplomacy is they both focus on the use of persuasion ability of an actor to get what it wants from another actor by showing its attractive offers where the other actor take the offer based on its willingness and voluntary consent (Ian and Frank, 2013).

2.2.3. Goals of Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy can make impacts on several levels depending on how successful the public diplomacy initiatives are conducted, for how long they run and how many resources are invested in them. The goals are based on the sources of public diplomacy which are foreign policy of the country, its culture and values. The possible achievements for public diplomacy are listed below in a hierarchical order: Increasing people's familiarity with one's country (making them think about it, updating their images, turning around unfavorable opinions); Increasing people's appreciation of one's country (creating positive perceptions, getting others to see issues of global importance from the same perspective); Engaging people with one's country (strengthening ties – from education reform to scientific co-operation; encouraging people to see us as an attractive destination for tourism, study, distance learning; getting them to buy our products; getting to understand and subscribe to our values); Influencing people (getting companies to invest, publics to back our positions or politicians to turn to us as a favored partner) (Leonard,2002, p. 9-10).

So the goals of public diplomacy can span a vast area from basically introducing the country to targeted audiences or dispelling any misperceptions they might have about it to actively engaging people with the country by attracting people there for sightseeing, studies or making investments or political deals. The hopes of what to expect of public diplomacy initiatives relies on how the relations already are and in which areas mainly are sought strengthened – be it political, economic or cultural relations (Ibid, 2002).

2.2.3.1. Public diplomacy and Propaganda

It can be tempting to see public diplomacy as a more easily digestible term for what has always gone under the name of propaganda. Although the concepts are related in that they both seek to affect the opinions of foreign publics they are, needless to say, very different too. Generally speaking, propaganda seeks to narrow down the horizon of people by trying to mould their minds through any means necessary while public diplomacy strives to open the minds of people through information and education (Nancy and Philip, 2009).

Public diplomacy of course has the motives to broaden the minds of people in what they see as the right direction and has a specific agenda but it can be more helpful to see it as counter-propaganda or the breaking down of prejudices the receiver has of the sender. As soon as diplomatic practitioners are caught in spreading disinformation in any area it undermines all their work and the messages they have been trying to send out.

A final distinction between propaganda and public diplomacy is, while propaganda continuously spreads messages to its targeted audiences public diplomacy utilizes a two-way communication strategy. Practitioners of public diplomacy has to listen to what their audiences thinks and has to say about them and their governments, since this will provide them more credibility and opportunity to continuously tailor the messages they are sending out to have the biggest positive impact. The key is not the amount of information sent out but rather finding out the most effective way to deliver the correct message by the right means to achieve the best result. An understanding of the situation and general viewpoints of different segments of the target population has to be developed in order to achieve these results (Leonard *et al*, 2002, p.46-53; Milssan, 2005, p.16-19).

2.2.4. The Established Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy

The emergence of the new public diplomacy has created a vast array of conundrums for the established diplomatic community and their Ministries of Foreign Affairs. One of the biggest challenges in this regard is how to integrate this new area in the diplomatic organization.

This is because as mentioned earlier partly because it has previously been necessary for them to conduct negotiations with counterparts and to investigate situations of the countries they are stationed in – neither of which is an area conducive to a culture of openness (Noort, 2013).

The reason openness is a necessity for successful public diplomacy is not only that it targets foreign publics but also that it is useful to include other organizations in parts of the public diplomacy strategies. That is by cooperation with NGOs, the private sector (including mass media) or other state organizations (i.e. Ministries of education, trade/economy or culture) are all obvious means of enhancing the impacts of the strategies as the ministries of foreign affairs will inevitably have limited resources and connections (Brown, 2012)

These groupings and organizations are necessary to include in any public diplomacy strategy as they have expertise knowledge in areas the ministry of foreign affairs and their staff lacks. Furthermore the incorporation of NGOs and civil society can give an aura of credibility to public diplomacy initiatives which government officials would never be able to do especially towards potentially hostile population segments.

The involvement of non-governmental actors should both include people and organizations in the sending and receiving countries and could include journalists, universities, individual academics, businessmen or artists just to mention a few. The most interesting for public diplomacy planners are to get people and organizations involved with the strategy in the receiving country, but it will often be necessary to recruit people in the sending country first to give the initiative credibility. One of the big challenges for the traditional diplomacy will therefore be to include more actors and begin to show more openness.

2.2.5. Three Dimensions Of Public Diplomacy

According to Leonard (2002), Public diplomacy activities can roughly be divided in to three dimensions depending on the specific needs in different scenarios. These three

dimensions are reactive, proactive and relationship building – and can be directed towards the political/military, economic or societal/cultural areas or any combination of these.

The reactive variation of public diplomacy practice centers on news management and is a very short term strategy to spread the official opinion of the government about any news affecting it in any way. The proactive approach is a medium term strategy to actively create positive news regarding any messages governments want to send out – for example through the organization of events and activities. Finally the relationship building approach is the long term strategy to create, maintain and improve relations between foreign people and the sending country. This takes years of funding of programs of for example scholarship sponsoring (Ibid, 2002, p. 10- 20).

2.2.5.1. News management

This dimension of public diplomacy includes a short term rapid response strategy. The main idea behind this approach is that when something happens in the world which might affect people perception of a government it is necessary to react fast and ensure the government's official positions are explained and clarified to the public (Ayuma, 2014 p.25). However always being on this sage can affect the practice of public diplomacy. This dimension works best with the second and third dimension in work.

2.2.5.2.Strategic Communications

This dimension of public diplomacy represents the medium-term strategy which lasts for months at a time. This approach emphasizes on setting the news agenda instead of just responding to what is happening and can be done through events or organizing advertisement campaigns where public diplomacy begins to overlap towards its related concept of nation branding. The strategic communication strategy can be aimed at improving relations in either political, economical and cultural areas or any combination of these. Events could be anything from hosting the Olympics, International Exhibitions or a Summit on various issues depending on what image a country would like to promote.

The main difference from the first dimension here is thereby that it in the second dimension is possible for the actor to put more planning and consideration in to the messages they send out and can more easily target the people and organizations they would like to affect with the message or image they send out. A problem within this area in the meantime is that different state organizations will often have diverging interests in what image they want to promote. An example here could be whether to promote a country's more traditional sides to promote tourism or the more modern sides to promote investments (Ayuma 2014, p. 26).

2.2.5.3. Relationship building

The third and last dimension of public diplomacy is relationship building – this is the long term strategy used and is potentially the most significant. The relationship building programs stretches over years and is aimed at giving deep insight to a selected group of people of one's country through various schemes such as scholarships and network creation. A notable element to this approach is that the planning governmental organization plays a secondary/facilitating/role as the approach is mainly focused on establishing networks between likeminded people across borders – be it politicians, academics, artists or businessmen. A truly successful relationship building public diplomacy effort will be very costly as it will have to administer, plan and sponsor the exchange of a significant amount of people in order for it to have a decent impact (Ayuma, 2014, p 27).

2.2.6. Public Diplomacy Tools

2.2.6.1. Listening

While most of the elements of Public Diplomacy are presented here in no particular order, the choice of the first is deliberate, for it precedes all successful public diplomacy (Cull, 2009). Listening is an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by collecting and collating data about publics and their opinions overseas and using that data to redirect its policy or its wider public diplomacy approach accordingly (Noort, 2013). This has traditionally been an element of each constituent practice of public diplomacy, with advocacy, cultural

diplomacy, exchange and broadcasting agencies each attending to their own audience and opinion research. This researching is done by the embassies in host country (Cull, 2009 p. 18).

2.2.6.2. Advocacy

Advocacy in Public Diplomacy may be defined as an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by undertaking an international communication activity to actively promote a particular policy, idea or that actor's general interests in the minds of a foreign public. Today this includes embassy press relations (frequently the hard end of policy promotion) and informational work (which can be somewhat softer and less angled to hard and fast policy goals) (Ibid, 2009 p. 19.).

2.2.6.3. Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy may be defined as an actor's attempt to manage the international environment through making its cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad. This work often overlaps with exchanges, and hence the two have been often housed together though seldom happily (Tuch, 1990). Historically Cultural Diplomacy has meant a country's policy to facilitate the export of examples of its culture. Today this includes the work of organizations like the British Council or Italian Cultural Institute. Ancient examples include the Greek construction of the great library at Alexandria, the Roman Republic's policy inviting the sons of 'friendly kings' from their borders to be educated in Rome, and the Byzantine Empire's sponsorship of Orthodox evangelism across the Slavic lands. Discomfort with advocacy roles and overt diplomatic objectives have led some cultural diplomacy organizations to distance themselves from the term and the term Public Diplomacy also (Joumane, 2010).

The British Council prefers to describe itself as 'Cultural Relations' agency, though its core tools are cultural work and exchanges, and its objective falls within the definition of diplomacy. The great spenders in cultural diplomacy have been the French, who have heavily subsidized an international network of schools to sustain the French language, understanding that their prestige and influence is largely tied to the survival of the francophone (Cull, 2009, p.19; Rivera, 2015 p, 11).

2.2.6.4. Exchange Diplomacy

Exchange diplomacy in public diplomacy may be defined as an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by sending its citizens overseas and reciprocally accepting citizens from overseas for a period of study and/or acculturation.

As Cull (2009) puts it that it can be conceptualized as a one way process (the argument runs: 'My students will go overseas and tell you how wonderful my country is; your students will come here and learn how wonderful my country is, the element of reciprocity has tended to make this area of PD a bastion of the concept of 'mutuality': the vision of an international learning experience in which both parties benefit and are transformed (Cull, 2009, p. 20)

However, Exchanges are not only limited to studies but also transfer of technology and innovation between countries. They are expressed by twining of higher education institutes or cities.

2.2.6.5. International Broadcasting (News)

International broadcasting (IB) is an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by using the technologies of radio, television and Internet to engage with foreign publics. Commercial international broadcasting may still be regarded as public diplomacy, but it is public diplomacy for the corporate parent, which can warp its output or insist on rigid objectivity according to its desired ends. Both commercial and state funded international broadcasting can affect the terrain on which all public diplomacy is practiced: witness the rise of Al Jazeera in the late 1990s. International Broadcasting work as practiced by states can overlap with all the other public diplomacy functions including listening in the monitoring/audience research functions, advocacy/information work in editorials or policy broadcasts, cultural diplomacy in its cultural content and exchanges of programming and personnel with other broadcasters. The technological requirements of international broadcasting are such that the practice is usually institutionally separate from other Public Diplomacy functions, but the best reason for considering international broadcasting as a parallel practice apart from the rest of public diplomacy is the special structural and ethical foundation of its key component: News.

Historically, the most potent element of IB has been its use of news, especially when that news is objective. This aligned the entire practice of IB with the ethical culture of domestic broadcast journalism, and turned IB into a mechanism for diffusing this culture. Some IB has sought to use alternative ethical sources and models for its content, as with the Arab state-funded religious broadcasting (Senem, 2013).

2.3. Public Diplomacy Experience by Country

2.3.1. Western Experience

2.3.1.1. US Educational Exchange

The United States has invested heavily in exchange through the Fulbright Scholarships; this work never displaced the centrality of advocacy in its Public Diplomacy. The central aim of exchange in US is the “identity change” approach which has different goals where one is to change perceptions of the students it accepts from various countries and the second it to make them opinion leaders as Alumni which helps to use exchange experiences to build on and strengthen already-existing positive with the goal of thereby strengthening a potential or actual (political) ally for the future. From this perspective, exchanges are a prime means for alliance management, since they can be applied to build up, over the longer term, a community of individuals united around a common cultural affinity that takes positive relations between certain nations more or less for granted. Since 1946 the Fulbright Program has been very successful in developing such an affinity with the United States, firstly via the means of academic exchange itself, and secondly by encouraging the establishment of American Studies in universities around the world (Snow and Taylor, 2009 p. 50-55).

2.3.2. Asian Experience

2.3.2.1. China’s Faith Diplomacy

China is one of the world countries that probably hold four religions that have universality and shared by other countries in the world. And these are in Buddhist, Islamic, Christian and Taoism and it is using it China’s recent initiatives to project its soft power to the world. In its faith diplomacy, the Chinese government prioritizes the religions as its diplomatic resources. Confucianism and Buddhism have more “Chineseness” and the Chinese government actively promoted both domestically and internationally. At the same time, it was cautious with engaging

in Christian and Islamic diplomacy. China's faith diplomacy has inherent vulnerabilities given that the religions are associated with its complex nationality issues and social issues.

The goals of China's faith diplomacy, as stated by the Chinese government, include promoting international understanding and acceptance of China's religious policy, advocating for China's actions regarding religions, improving China's image, and "building a harmonious world," which is obviously an extension of its domestic slogan of "building a harmonious society." At the same time it has allowed exchange with other countries such as USA regarding Christian exchange of ideas. The same goes for Muslims in china, where it has allowed them travel to Mecca and this intern has facilitated for various exchanges in arts, business and also conferences that have brought together Muslims from different countries to participate in the Since 2006, China has hosted the China International Muslim Entrepreneur Peak Forums three times, which invites more than six hundred Muslim entrepreneurs and diplomats from China and around the world. The 2010 forum's theme is "Peace, Cooperation, and Harmony", another manifestation of China's soft power strategy to promote the theme of harmony and it is also working by opening Confucius centers in other countries to promote its culture and language (Naomi, 2011, p, 51-60).

2.3.3. Latin America Experience

2.3.3.1. Brazil Conference Diplomacy, Sister Cities and Tourism

Brazil is a newly emerging power in the Latin America and the first South American country to be accepted universally. It is not practically known for its conduct of conventional diplomacy but for its economic growth, presence of massive natural resources and human capital. Its foreign policy tends to supplement the conventional diplomacy with public diplomacy mainly working in areas of active engagement with the international system and generating foreign direct investment by diversifying its trading networks.

But when seen as a whole, Brazil despite its attractiveness, it suffers a bad global image as a country experiencing social issues such as inadequate education, public transportation, and a lack of healthcare are major issues in which that the government is fighting to address. However as a rising power with immense economic and political potential, yet at the same time, suffers many

of the ills of a developing country, taking an alternative road to change its image using its public diplomacy was a great step.

As a result, by hosting mega events, like the World Cup 2014 and Branding itself as a convenient place, one of its cities, City of São Paulo has become one of the southern America's city that holds many multinational corporations offices forum in the region and Every year, roughly 45 percent of São Paulo's visitors come to the city for business purposes. The State of São Paulo helps facilitate this through *Investe São Paulo*, a free service that helps business understand Brazilian tax laws and how to enter the market. And this as result has generated income from tourism. Brazil also uses its public diplomacy to become one of the world cities to sign a sub national bilateral relationship with United States. With regard to international exchange program was *Science without Borders* is one of the most commonly raised aspect of Brazil's public diplomacy that is shared between Brazil, the United States, Europe, and other countries. It is a program that lends itself to broadening cross-cultural understanding between Brazilians and the rest of the world (Helen and Emily, 2014, p. 5-7).

2.4. Ethiopia and Egypt Relations

The relation between Ethiopia and Egypt begun when, Ethiopia arose as a state in the part of the East at around 7th B.C. Back then Ethiopia had its relations with nearby Arabia due to trade and cultural ties established as a result of civilizations that emanated due to Nile, mainly from the Nubians and Egyptians. Due to transactions and continues relations in this area where they shared common language family, Semitic, and by their mode of economy and values that was based on water civilization and urbanization resulted to become cultural basis in the formation of the Axumite kingdom empire that stretched itself around the Red sea, the Nile basin up to Yemen. And as time went by with the introduction of Christianity to the court of Axumite kingdom, the tie with Egypt was even strengthen to have the shape of history that is has today.

At around fourth B.C., when the early Ethiopian kingdom adopted Christianity, its *Abun* was appointed from the Coptic orthodox church in Alexandria, Egypt. Christianity for the Axumite kingdom had two important historical roles. One was to assimilate others around it and form a Christian state and the other most important one was it served as the one and soon to be only way out to the outside world (Haggi, 2002, p 15-17).

At a start, their relationships mainly revolved around the river Nile that even during the conquest of Egypt by the Islam Caliph, both countries in order to get what they want, from each other, the river served as a bargaining chip. As a result, the two countries have been in a hostile relationship ever since then (Kwasik, 2012).

The diplomatic relation of Ethio-Egypt was established in 1924 which made it the first diplomatic communication in Africa and one of the oldest, in the World (MOFA, 2014). Despite their age old relationship and symbol of ancient civilizations, the two countries have been in hostile relations that resulted from mistrust and lack of confidence that revolves around the equitable use and sharing of the Nile due to the two controversial agreements of the 1929 and 1959 which did not include the consent of neither Ethiopia, the one that contributes a larger share of the Nile water nor the rest of the upper riparian countries (Simon, 2004).

And at the same time, Egypt has always been suspicious of Ethiopia's every move regarding the Nile because of the Colonial right it was given by its colonial British on the agreement of the 1929 which Egypt still clings on when Ethiopia raises the issue of equitable use of the water. And since more than 95% of Egypt's water stems from the Nile, it means that it depends on rainfall outside of its territory. As a result the two countries and also the rest of the riparian's could not reach for a legal framework regarding the water use. (Terje, 2010 and Björn, 2013).

Although there has been efforts to build confidence and cooperation at various levels from the two countries through using different Cooperative Frameworks between the year (1989-2014) where they had reached thirty agreements and only nine of them have come in to effect. Apart than that, their relations were highly concentrated on the issue Nile and little is done in relating the people of the two countries (MOFA, 2014).

The relation between the two countries reached its escalation especially after April 2011, when the news broke out about the official construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam project on Blue Nile (Abay) on in Guba area of Beneshangul Gumuz region near Ethio- Sudan border to reserve 74 billion cubic meters of water to generate 6000Mega Watt by 2017 (Kidane, 2012).

It was an alarming issue for Egypt and a bone of contention especially for Ethiopian and Egypt because Egypt was in apprehension about the project as it used to do for a long time by lobbying donors not to give financial support for the various planned but not done dam projects in Ethiopia (Atakiliti, 2011).

In this regard, the Ethiopian Foreign Policy and Strategy its policy towards Egypt is to realize a peaceful co-existence between the two states can lead for equitable sharing of the Resource (MOFA, 2003, pp 120-128) there seems to be no cooperation on equitable use of the Nile despite the talks of both governments and number of peace talks, initiatives, frameworks, there has not been coming to agreement from the side of Egypt due to its rigid water policy of not coming to Cooperation (MOFA, 2014).

2.5. Theoretical Framework

2.5.1. Critical Theory

The theoretical framework in this study has been constructed in accordance with Horkheimer's definition that a Critical Theory is adequate only if it meets three criteria: it must be explanatory, practical, and normative, all at the same time. As for the explanatory dimension Critical Theorists try to combine philosophy and social sciences, therefore they aim to explain what is wrong with current social reality, and understand the social transformations and order. For the practical dimension, which is also their emancipatory goal, they aim to identify the factors to change the society and overcome all circumstances that limit human freedom because critical theorists "do not merely seek to provide the means to achieve some independent goal, but rather seek 'human emancipation' in circumstances of domination and oppression." (Alexander, 2003)

In addition to these two dimensions, there is also the normative dimension through which critical theorists aim to provide clear norms for criticisms of the current society, and open up the possibilities for a social transformation. For Horkheimer a capitalist society could be transformed only by becoming more democratic, to make it such that "all conditions of social life that are controllable by human beings depend on real consensus" in a rational society. The normative orientation of Critical Theory, at least in its form of a critical social inquiry, is therefore towards

the transformation of capitalism into a “real democracy” in which such control could be exercised.

So the theoretical framework as a whole will have explanatory, normative and emancipatory (practical) dimensions. While Neo-Gramscian strand of Critical theory serves for the explanatory dimension, Agenda setting theory of media will elaborate the normative dimension and both theories for the emancipatory dimensions will be used.

2.5.1.1.Explanatory Dimension: Historical Structure

Historical structure in Cox’s understanding is the place where action takes place in order for the operationalization of historical materialism. His approach incorporates two aspects, Historical structure and historical materialism. Historical structure consists of three spheres of activities. These are social relations of production, forms of states and world order. And he believes hegemony appears through the interaction of these three factors (Bieler and Morton, 2004).

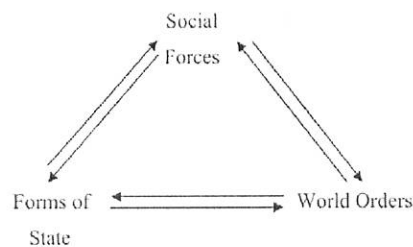


Fig. 1. Sphere of activity in historical Structure

In Cox’s writings, *social relation of production* does not mean means of production only but also mode of production. He offers to say for the means of production of slavery to work, there has to be the mode of thought that brought the relationship, between the master and the slave. And that is feudalism. As a result, forms of states and the world order, when studied must have the constitutive hypothesis formation of not cause and effect but must be studied underneath to know what has initially caused it in the first place (Alexander, 2003).

So in this respect reality in social relation of production comes as a result of common sense from repeated actions. Production here is understood in its broadest sense as the production of thought

alongside with production of goods. And the hegemony can be created here that can change the form of state and the world order that created the class order between countries in relation (Cox, 1981).

Forms of state,

Forms of states come as a result of contending social forces. The social forces are those that represent different interest in the society, they are part of the social sphere and private sphere that come together with the public sphere to dominate government policies of another country. They are the civil societies from different sectors (Media, Church, Education...). So the State is not taken for granted to conduct its own activity, which in this case for the study is, bilateral diplomatic practice of conventional diplomacy. And when the social forces come together with the public sphere, they form a historical bloc.

World Order

This bloc starts at national level to make itself and project internationally to interact and change other country's perception and win consent in order to create hegemony which results in a particular world order. The world order is not a universal thing, it occurs within rivalries in regions, like in the case of Ethiopia and Egypt where one historic bloc of Egyptian Hegemony exists since the 1929 agreement that gave it a historic right over the use of Nile and has been in hostility to come to an inter-subjective understanding with Ethiopia other than Nile relation and build people to people relation until after the coming to power of Al- Sisy. Before that time, Ethiopia and Egypt were rivalries where they became hegemony over one another based on their material capabilities. Material capability refers to resources be it natural, capital or human labor. For Ethiopia in order to maintain its hegemony in the region before the formation of modern Ethiopia up until the time of Emperor Yohannes IV, it used the Nile River as a bargaining chip, making it is material capability. While Egypt used its Coptic Orthodox Church and the *Abun* it appoints to get the consent of Ethiopia not to block the flow of Nile.

And so for Historical Structure to work, the Historical Materialism must be there and it has three activities that go with it. According to Cox, "material capabilities are productive and destructive potentials. In their dynamic form these exist as technological and organizational capabilities,

and in their accumulated forms as natural resources which technology can transform, stocks of equipment (for example, industries and armaments), and the wealth which can command these.”

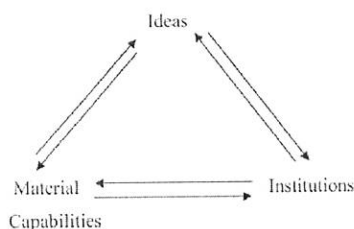


Fig 2. Historical Materialism

Ideas, on the other hand, are broadly of two kinds. “One kind consists of inter-subjective meanings, or those shared notions of the nature of social relations which tend to perpetuate habits and expectations of behavior” (Cox, 1981)

As an example to inter-subjective meaning in contemporary world politics, Cox explains the notions that people are organized and commanded by states which have authority over defined territories; that states relate to one another through diplomatic agents; that certain rules apply for the protection of diplomatic agents as being in the common interest of all states; and that certain kinds of behavior are to be expected when conflict arises between states, such as negotiation, confrontation, or war.

Secondly, historical materialism adds a vertical dimension of power by its focus on imperialism to the horizontal dimension of rivalry among the most powerful states. This dimension opens up the possibilities to understand the dominance and subordination of metropolis over hinterland, center over periphery, in a world political economy. Thirdly, historical materialism enlarges here a list perspective, which is mainly focused on the role of the state and its uniqueness as an actor in the international system, through its concern with the relationship between the state and civil society (Alison, 2008, p, 47).

According to Cox, “the other kind of ideas relevant to a historical structure is collective images of social order held by different groups of people. These are differing views as to both the nature and the legitimacy of prevailing power relations, the meanings of justice and public good, and so on.” Collective images here may refer to the different theoretical frameworks (realist, idealist, Marxist, critical, etc.) (Cox, 1981, p.135, 136).

The hegemony that comes in the historical bloc is not only limited to the material capabilities that works on the production of dominant ideas by the use of the international media. As a result, certain public opinion is formed since the dominated is not capable economically resulting in being marginalized internationally.

Finally if the historical structure and historical materialism can work together to generate inter-subjective idea of consent unlike common sense consent, there will be a historical change or transformation of relation can occur while still working on previous hegemony.

When it comes to this research, in order to understand the public diplomacy practice of FDRE's Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards the Egyptian Public, it is crucial first to know how their relation in the first place was formed and what is the prevailing world order, where Egypt is still suspicious of Ethiopia though the two countries share collective image in culture, religion and value.

Because this approach tries to see the historical context in which history is happening and see how it is practicing it now and look for challenges that are hampering the practice and why the inter-subjective idea is not present. When looking at the present it looks at how the interrelation between historical structure and historical materialism can offer in building relationship in the long run by changing structures. And finally, it looks for change, transformation of the prevailing world order. For transformation to occur, it takes time and so does seeing results as brought by public diplomacy that has day-to-day, medium term and long term dimension in order to bring the engagement by building relationship.

2.5.1.2. Normative Aspect

So the normative (practical) aspect of this approach looks at how the FDRE's Ministry of Foreign Affairs is working using points from historical materialism. How common ideas can bring together using international broadcasting and cultural diplomacy? Such example can be the public diplomacy experience of Turkish soap opera transmitted to Arab countries in its region. These soap operas portray the life culture, value and history of the region which is shared in its nature. As a result, it was able to take over western control because collective image had more impact than others value (Senem, 2013 p,5-6).

In this part, it tries to see how FDRE's Ministry of Foreign Affairs understands about its target audience in Egypt once it projects itself in the existing world order and how it attracts its audience to its country. This is internationalizing its existence and by doing so how does it get consent from branding itself through various tools and change its image that existed in the mind of its audience.

Although Cox came to his outlook on hegemony with regards to international organization, three concepts stand tall in his idea of consent formation that are essential for engaging foreign public and influencing their foreign policies in favor the national interest of the other country. These are: international media, Trans-national civil societies, and institutions (Government bureaucracies in collaboration with other governmental organization). The trans-national societies are stakeholders in the process of influencing the foreign public of another country and through their interactions with their respective civil societies in other countries. The institutions in his writing are those that have international representation and they conduct their activities that have influence internationally such as ministry of foreign affairs of countries. As a result, any change that occurs in the international sphere does impact the effective functioning of the institution internally and its work to influence others internationally. Such changes are technological advancements in information communications technologies and trans-boundary movements of people facilitated by globalizations. As a result, the institutions should catch up the new developments in order to influence their public and engage them. Failure to do so will result in not being able to inform their audience. Therefore apart than catching up with development there has to be change in organizational culture.

Context is a very important concept in Cox's work because; it determines the nature of relation between countries in the historic bloc due to historical process that is cyclic by its nature.

As a result this is observed by actions and events that come as a result of internationalization of the Ethiopia as state with its civil society on the following areas. It exchanged with Egypt in terms of sponsorship of cultural exchange program, establishment of institutes (to promote its culture, language, faith....) in Egypt, hosting conferences, forums and events on business which helps to invite entrepreneurs to come and invest in Ethiopia (Foreign Direct Investments that came as a result), Arts diplomacy (Films, Music, dance groups that went to Egypt to inform about culture of Ethiopia).

2.5.1.3.Emancipation Perspective

According to Cox the emancipation occurs as a result of contradiction which leads to transformation due to counter hegemony. The contradiction brings historical changes. But what are contradictions? They are changes in consciousness of the potential challenger that used to be under hegemonic rule of the stronger state. The change then results in adoption of a contrasted image of the society (Leysens, 2008). As a result, the nature of the relationship changes and transforms the relationship not to a hegemonic one but a cooperative one. What the idea of Cox, lacks is how does the potential challenger now communicate?

Finally, the emancipation aspect of the research will show based on practices and challenges what can be done to the current practice to be transformative. And what other researches can do to overcome and correct the existing world order and change it.

2.6. Agenda-Setting theory

The other theory that is used alongside with the Neo-Gramscian strand of Critical theory is Agenda Setting Theory. The purpose of using this theory is to fill the gap of Neo-Gramscian strand of Critical theory on countering hegemony by setting an agenda to change the public opinion of the foreign public. As a result, here below the theory will be discussed of its assumptions and categories of research in which it can be applied.

The agenda setting is a concept that explores effects or exposure to news media. The players in agenda setting are the media, the public, objects, agenda and how all these together work in the formation of public opinion. The theory was originally formulated in 1972 by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in order to explain the relationships between the emphasis that the mass media place on issues and the importance that media audiences attribute to those issues (Sterling, 2009 p.54,55).

At first agenda setting started out as an explanation of media impact on political behavior and attitudes during election years which specifically is to mean that the way that news media coverage can prioritize certain issues or agendas over others which will impact peoples behavior in their decision making. The years that followed after the publication of their research paved the way for number of subsequent researches that explored how media and other institutions can

prime and frame issues for their audience and form, shape or influence public opinion be it intentionally or unintentionally (Shaw, 1979, pp. 96-125).

This theory became very popular in journalism and mass communication research after the initial study conducted during the 1968 U.S. presidential election (McCombs and Shaw, 1972) and this was because it shows how news media influences what people think about and brings about behavioral change from exposure to media than just tell people what to think for its role in persuading its audience in various communication related researches as well.

As a result, agenda-setting theory has had a profound influence and popularity not only in mass communication and political communication research, but also on the development of various organizational communication, persuasion, and diffusion-of-innovations theories (Littlejohn and Foss, 2009 p. 31-33)

The theory involves effects that come as a result of social learning where individuals learn from set agendas due to their coverage as issue with relative importance on media. In addition, people highly interested in politics were more likely to attend to media messages and therefore become influenced by them. Educational level appears to be especially important. Studies have consistently found the strongest agenda-setting effects among highly educated survey respondents (Sterling, 2009 p.54,55).

One of the concepts that have value in the agenda setting theory is what Weaver (1997) in (Sterling, 2009) suggested as “need of orientation” where relevance and uncertainty play key roles. This is to mean that agenda are not only set by media only but also by the inquisitive search of individuals about issues that are of importance to them. As a result, they develop higher degree of uncertainty due to the issues relevance for them. With this in mind agendas in agenda setting theory have been grouped into two. One is the agenda that is set by media because of getting much coverage by news media and the other is the agenda set by the public as perceived as important by the public.

2.6.1. Researches in Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda-setting research can be grouped into five categories: original tests of the hypothesis, contingent conditions affecting the magnitude of agenda-setting effects, influences on the media agenda, consequences of agenda setting, and second-level agenda setting.

A. Original Hypothesis

The original hypothesis emerged at a time when media effects research was struggling and Minimal effect of mass media was dominant in the 1950s and early 1960s. Many of the studies, however, were looking for behavioral effects of mass communication—notably, media influence on voting behavior unlike what the early agenda-setting researchers were investigating. And that was examining the different effects of mass media where cognitive effect was emphasized which focus on how individuals learn about important issues in day to day media coverage. This is to mean that they were just proposing the cognitive effect of media than behavioral effect of media.

At the heart of the analyses has been a comparison of two issue agendas—the media agenda, or those issues receiving news coverage, and the public agenda, or the list of issues perceived as important by the public. Research centers on how issue salience is transferred from the media to the public. The original agenda-setting hypothesis proposed an analysis of an “agenda” of issues—or a series of issues or single issue. The importance of doing single issue studies are especially effective at examining agenda-setting effects across time—how the rise and fall of media coverage coincides with the parallel rise and fall of public concern about the issue. Issues examined in agenda setting research have included the economy, the environment, civil rights. Units in this research can be issues and others could be individual with personal characters.

B. Contingent Conditions

For the matter of this research, this category of agenda setting theory is chosen and its relation with the above theoretical framework which is Neo-gramscian school of critical theory will be discussed in this chapter. From the onset, researchers have sought to discover variables that

either enhance or inhibit the agenda-setting effect. Even early researchers acknowledged that effects were not uniform across all individuals. Wanta (1997), for example, tested a model of agenda setting in which attitudes toward news media led to reliance on media for information about issues. This reliance led to exposure to the media, which in turn led to agenda-setting effects. Also impacting the agenda setting process were interpersonal communication and political attitudes. If individuals talked often with others about issues that received a great deal of coverage in the news (e.g., the economy), this provided a second exposure to information about the issues and thus increased the agenda-setting impact. On the other hand, if individuals talked often with others about issues not in the news media, issues that received little media coverage, this provided an issue agenda that conflicted with the media agenda and thus lessened the agenda-setting effect. In addition, people highly interested in politics were more likely to attend to media messages and therefore become influenced by them.

Weaver (1997) in Sterling(2009 p.54,55) suggested a similar process is at work. His “need for orientation” concept predicted that if individuals had high uncertainty about issues and were highly interested in issues (issues had high relevance to them), they would be highly motivated to use the news media and thus demonstrate strong agenda-setting influences. Uncertainty and relevance therefore played key roles in the agenda-setting process through the need for orientation. Educational level appears to be especially important. Studies have consistently found the strongest agenda-setting effects among highly educated survey respondents.

C. Influences on the Media Agenda

Several agenda-setting researchers have examined how the media agenda is constructed through news gathering routines. As these routines make abundant use of sources, important sources, such as the U.S. President, can impact the news media’s issue agenda (Wanta, Stephenson, Turk, and McCombs 1989). The findings were mixed. The issues emphasized in President Nixon’s speech influenced subsequent media coverage in 1970. President Carter, on the other hand, was influenced by media coverage leading up to his speech in 1978. In other words, President Carter was reacting to the media agenda. President Reagan appeared to have influenced newspaper

coverage but was, in turn, influenced by television news coverage. Thus, Reagan was reacting to newscast coverage, but print media were following Reagan's issue priorities. Other researchers have examined coverage of city council issues, and how U.S. Automakers' executives influenced news coverage of international trade. Public relations practitioners also have been shown to impact media coverage. Broadly, most studies demonstrate strong influences of sources on the media agenda. In addition, some research has examined inter-media agenda setting, or how elite media set the agenda of other news organizations. The New York Times and Associated Press news service, for example, often impact coverage patterns of other media. Inter-media agenda setting has been examined through the Internet as well. Journalists routinely monitor Internet news sites and blogs for news story ideas. In turn, these websites and blogs monitor traditional media for their topics. The relationship between the traditional media and Internet, then, appears to be reciprocal if not circular.

D. Consequence of Agenda Setting

While research into the sources of the media agenda examine how the news is constructed—analyses of a process leading up to the press–public interface—research dealing with consequences of agenda setting investigates what happens later in the process, after the media agenda impacts the public. There are two main sub streams in this area. First, some studies have examined behavioral effects that follow the typical agenda-setting influences. Does media coverage ultimately motivate the public into action? In other words, research seeks out potential behavioral effects, such as voting behavior, which was largely abandoned after much early research (prior to the 1960s) showed minimal effects of mass communication. Other behavioral variables examined in agenda-setting research include writing letters to the editor, posting messages on electronic bulletin boards, and purchasing of products—all of which have been linked to media coverage. Other studies have examined whether public officials act on issues or concerns brought to the fore by agenda setting. Such “policy agenda-setting” studies examine how policymakers take cues from both media coverage and public opinion to propose laws aimed at relieving a societal problem. But thus far such research has been scant, possibly because many issues receive inconsistent coverage over time. Thus, many policy studies are more anecdotal than empirical. Not only do the issues covered in the news raise the perceived

importance of the issues among the public, but they often mobilize both the public and public officials to take action.

E. Second-Level Agenda Setting

The newest agenda-setting research involves the study of a “second level.” Instead of an agenda of issues, second-level agenda-setting research investigates an agenda of attributes—the characteristics of people, places, and things in the news. Second-level agenda-setting research is closely related to framing. Framing describes the process in which the media “frame” issues in the news by concentrating on certain elements but ignoring others. It is impossible to cover every aspect of every news story, so reporters must choose what to include and eliminate.

Neither can the news media include every characteristic of objects in the news. Again, reporters must choose among attributes of objects. The public learns the significance of these attributes based on how often they appear in the news. Thus, the media again set the public agenda, here and agenda of attributes, through their coverage. Researchers have commonly examined two dimensions of second-level agenda-setting research: substantive and affective attributes.

Substantive attributes involve information about qualities of newsmakers, such as a presidential candidate’s experience with foreign affairs. Affective attributes involve positive, neutral, and negative qualities. In other words, the substantive attributes deal with factual information and affective attributes deal with evaluations of newsmakers.

To conclude, the need of bring together of the above theories is that whenever talking about a rivalry of hostile and suspicion filed relation exists between two countries where one is a hegemony over the other, it is crucial to look at how that hegemonic world order was in the first place created. In Ethio-Egypt relation the hegemony and world order between them was strengthened by not only how one controls media, but also its influence over information. In Cox’s approach to hegemony, what he proposed was the possibility of historical change that will lead to world order change due to counter hegemony in who controls media and information that an influence public opinion which is the emancipating aspect of the critical theory.

However, the world order along with its historic bloc is created not in public diplomacy practice between Ethiopia and Egypt rather in their traditional diplomacy experience. As a result, in order to bring about emancipation of people from public opinions that have enslaved them, agenda setting theory of media will be used as a tool for counter hegemony. By this, public diplomacy can be an agent of historical change by setting agenda to fulfill need of orientation due to relevance and need of orientation. The aim is not just for cognitive effect rather, as the aim of agenda setting is to bring about change in behavior, where it influences people what to think about. Therefore, in contingent conditions of agenda setting category of agenda setting research, issues are not just unfamiliar to the public but also need second exposure. When issues are not covered in media the public will perceive it as not important. As a result, despite the relevance of the information or its ability to lower the degree of uncertainty created in the public, failure not to communicate it purposefully will fail to change existing or solidly found public opinions that have created a world order and will continue to assist the status quo.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Methods of the Study

The focus of this research is to study the public diplomacy practice of the FDRE's Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards the Egyptian Public with a view to explore and examine the practice of the FDRE's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and also see the challenges facing the practice. This chapter of the research delves into discussing the different methodologies, methods and data gathering techniques employed in the study.

Qualitative research methodology was employed due to the fact that this research approach claims to describe life world 'from the inside out', from the point of view of people who participate and the research focuses on the practice rather than showing the seriousness of the problem in numbers.

Qualitative research, broadly defined, a kind of research that produces findings arrived from real-world settings where the "phenomenon of interest unfold naturally" (Given, 2008). Unlike quantitative researchers who seek causal determination, prediction, and generalization of findings, qualitative researchers seek instead illumination, understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations (Golashani, 2003; Yin, 2010).

This is an advantageous method when striving for deeper understanding of a specific phenomenon in the society. Through a qualitative approach, it is also possible to map and evaluate processes and find information that otherwise would be less possible to find. The strength and major contribution of qualitative approach is the fact that it generates in a holistic and deep understanding of the process that is in focus of the study (Reinard, 1994).

Moreover, Yin, (2010) describes qualitative research method as a method that "usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data" and is inductivist as a research strategy.

The research design employed in this research is an exploratory one as opposed to testing specific hypothesis. Exploratory researches are used to increase the familiarity with issues or problems and lay the foundations for further research since it is difficult to develop hypothesis.

Therefore, the following research will be inductive in nature. And it is most often used in problem discovery and problem definition. As a result, such researches are used where there is a need to gain insights and ideas.

3.2.Sources of Data

The Data was gathered from primary and secondary sources. Primary sources comprises of key informants and key documents (such as the foreign policy, public diplomacy and communications manual, Reports and Proposal of the Ministry regarding public diplomacy practice, documents regarding Ethio-Egypt bilateral relations (such as agreements, foreign direct investment, cultural and educational exchanges...etc), the Ministry Website, a weekly press release (A Week in the Horn), and social media page(Facebook and Twitter page) along with online newspapers such as Reporter and various media coverage of national broadcasting EBC regarding Public diplomacy delegates and Aljazeera documentary on the Ethiopia and Egypt relations titled the *Struggle over the Nile*, while the secondary sources consisted of such material as books, journals, articles and commentaries on the Ethiopia and Egypt relationships and regarding Public Diplomacy.

3.2.2.1.Key Informants

The researcher conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews and observation. In-depth interviews were conducted with practitioners from four Public Diplomacy directorate general, experts on Ethio-Egypt relation from Boundary and Trans- boundary directorate general, Anonymous expert at the Ministry, North African Desk Officer, foreign relation senior expert at the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Cultural Troupe leader from the Ethiopian National Theater. The interviews provided valuable information pertaining to the practices, prospects and challenges of the Public Diplomacy practices of FDRE's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

By employing this methodological approach, a contextual assessment of the Ethiopia and Egypt relationship will be studied from historical, economic, political aspect of their relationships. Beside this, individual in-depth interviews will be conducted. In assessing the extent of the practice of the Ministry, this research will strive to show some concrete evidences by exploring the practices with a view to apprehend the prospects and challenges the public diplomacy practice of the Ministry towards the Egyptian Public.

3.3. Sampling Techniques and Procedures

As indicated above, the sources of data for this research were both primary (key informants) and secondary (documents). Moreover, the data were collected mainly through purposive sampling method (Rubin, R., Rubin, A., Haridakis, & Piele, L., 2010). With a purposive sampling method, it means the researcher selects a sample from a population that contains different people with certain characteristics that the researcher is interested in like media or other sources of data or content of interest to the researcher (Ibid, 2010). As a result, such sampling was selected because it helps to focus on those who are involved and data also about what is needed to be studied.

Of the different types of purposive sampling, stakeholder sampling was preferable for this study. Stakeholder sampling “involves identifying the major stakeholders and their involvement in designing, giving, receiving, or administering the program or service under study, and who might otherwise be affected by it” (Given, 2008).

Also documents that are used in the research were selected based on relevance and proximity in expressing or informing about the public diplomacy practice between the two countries. By relevance and proximity it is to mean that they are those that inform and describe about the public diplomacy practice and challenges of FRDE Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards the Egyptian Public. These were documents, report, key messages, newsletter, papers on twinning of cities, and educational institutions twinned so far and unpublished paper from foreign affairs school for trainee diplomats the public diplomacy department of the relation of Ethiopia and Egypt, researches on Ethio-Egypt relation over the Nile from Boundary and Trans Boundary relations senior researcher office, Archival records at the FDRE’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding educational and cultural exchanges, level of foreign direct investment from Egypt to Ethiopia from business diplomacy directorate general of FDRE’s Ministry of foreign Affairs, list of agreements of cooperation from African directorate general, organizational structure of the Ministry from the public diplomacy and various documents regarding the Ministry’s organizational structure regarding the Public Diplomacy, Public Relations, and Communication works from the Ministry’s library that helped for the understanding of Public Diplomacy as a concept and as a practice as understood by the Ministry, and policy documents of the FRDE’s National Security and Strategy and related policies of the Country.

While archival documents from the FDRE's Ministry of Culture and Tourism helped in Cultural Diplomacy relations of the country based on the two agreements signed between Ethiopia and Egypt in areas of Culture and Tourism namely Memorandum Of Understanding between the Ministry of Culture of the Arab Republic of Egypt and Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia on Culture and Arts Cooperation (2010) and Memorandum Of Understanding in the field of Tourism Cooperation between the Government of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt (2006).

There were also publications (African perspectives) which are regarding Ethiopia and Egypt's relation taken from the Embassy of Arab Republic of Egypt.

3.4. Data Collection Tools

Data collection in the exploratory research is done by interviews, case study (observations) and in depth analysis.

3.4.1. In-Depth Interview

In-Depth interviews are flexible in their nature for they allow the researcher to get in depth insights from informants who are directly related to the work and can get it from the experts and practitioners. For Bingham and Moore (1959) in Daymon and Holloway (2002), interview is 'conversation with a purpose' for the qualitative interview where researcher and informant become 'conversational partners'. However, Interviewing is more than just conversation, because it is purposeful and has its own structure as preferred by the researcher in order to cover the areas of focus. This allows the researcher in generating maximum amount of data and its open ended in nature due to its flexibility (Daymon and Holloway, 2002).

According to Lindlof (1995:5), in qualitative research "one interviews people to understand their perspective on a scene, to retrieve experiences from the past, to gain expert insight or information, to obtain description of events or scenes that are normally unavailable for observation, to foster trust, to understand a sensitive or intimate relationship or to analyze certain kind of discourse".

Bryman (2004) makes the following statement while discussing the advantage of semi-structured Interview;

Semi-structured interview covers a wide range of types. It typically refers to a context in which the interviewer has a series of questions that are in the General form of interview guides but is able to vary the sequence of questions. The questions are frequently somewhat more general in their frame of reference from that typically found in a structured interview schedule (p.543).

As a result, the research has used an open ended questions so as to make the interviews and the data consistent and complete and so that they allow large amount of discussion and dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewees. The data were also recorded (in audio) and also note taking for an Expert who wanted to stay anonymous for the purpose of privacy. in order not to interrupt the course of interview for note taking and to preserve the discussions more perfectly.

3.4.2. Case Study

A case study is not by itself a research method, but researchers select methods of data collection and analysis that will generate material suitable for case studies in qualitative techniques (unstructured interviews or official document (e.g. reports, manuals, evaluations documents...etc). A case study is an intensive examination, using multiple sources of evidence (which may be qualitative, quantitative or both), of a single entity which is bounded by time and place. And since it is usually associated with location the study will be conducted in an organization to study its process of work, issues, events, or about campaign. The importance is that it offers the opportunity to undertake a deep exploration of a particular instance of a particular phenomenon (Daymon and Holloway, 2002; Hendrix, 2004).

In this case of study, the research is a single case study of the practice of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a government organization communicating with an external public, the Egyptian Public.

3.5. Reliability and Validity of the Study

Qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach, according to (Patton, 2001) in (Golafshani,2003) that seeks to understand a phenomenon in context specific setting which means studying in the real world setting without manipulating the study of interest (Golafshani,2003) .

Although the term 'Reliability' is a concept used for testing or evaluating quantitative research, the idea is most often used in all kinds of research. If it is seen as the idea of testing as a way of information elicitation then the most important test of any qualitative study is its quality. The difference in purposes of evaluating the quality of studies in quantitative and quantitative research is one of the reasons that the concept of reliability is irrelevant in qualitative research.

To be more specific with the term of reliability in qualitative research, Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 300) use "dependability", in qualitative research which closely corresponds to the notion of "reliability" in quantitative research. They further emphasize "inquiry audit" (p. 317) as one measure which might enhance the dependability of qualitative research. This can be used to examine both the process and the product of the research for consistency. In the same vein, (Clont, 1992 and Seale. 1999) in (Hruschka, 2004) endorse the concept of dependability with the concept of consistency or reliability in qualitative research. The consistency of data will be achieved when the steps of the research are verified through examination of such items as raw data, data reduction products, and process notes (Golafshani, 2003).

As a result, in this study the researcher uses coding. A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data. The data consist of interview transcripts, participant observation field notes, journals, documents, literature, artifacts, websites, e-mail correspondence, and soon. Coding is a process by which a codebook is first created which helps coders as a reference for analysis. Each iteration will be called a coding round (Saldana, 2008).

The portion of data to be coded during First Cycle coding processes can range in magnitude from a single word to a full sentence to an entire page of text to a stream of moving images. In Second Cycle coding processes, the portions coded can be the exact same units, longer passages of text,

and even are configuration of the codes themselves developed thus far. The use of coding is to capture and represents a datum's primary content and essence (Hruschka, 2004, Krippendorff, 2010). The purpose of coding in this research is to be able to organize the finding and the Code Book was formed based on what makes Public Diplomacy Strategy more effective based on reviewed country experiences.

3.6.Codebook Manual

Category 1: Sources of Public Diplomacy Strategy

Code 1: FOREIGN POLICY

Code 2: VALUES & CULTURE

Category 2: Context

Code 1: POLITICAL ENVIROMENT

Code 2: NATURE OF RELATIONS

Category 3: Institutional Capacity

Code 1: LISTENING

Code 2: ADVOCACY

Code 3: COORDINATION

Code 4: ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

Category 4: Media Utilization

Code 1: TRADITIONAL

Code 2: MODERN

Code 3: SOCIAL MEDIA

Category 5: Stakeholders in public diplomacy practice

Code 1: CIVIL SOCIETY/NON-STATE ACTORS/

Category 6: IMAGE BUILDING

Code 1: REPUTATION

Code 2: NATION BRANDING

Category 7: People to People

Code 1: COLLECTIVE CULTURE

Code 2: EXCHANGES

3.7. Methods of Data Organization and Presentation

The research follows qualitative methodology to gather data. Hence, the presentation will be explanatory and the analysis, interpretive based on the objectives of the study. The individual in-depth interviews were recorded and notes were taken during the discussions to further strengthen the recorded material. The data was then transcribed to capture the main ideas into the words of the participants. Finally, the responses will be categorized depending on the purpose and objective of the research along with the secondary sources of data and finally were thematically compiled to analyze and examine the practices, prospects and challenges of public diplomacy practice of the FDRE's Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards the Egyptian Public. Finally, based on the finding, conclusion and recommendation will be given to help further study in the topic area.

3.8. Codebook Manual and Meanings

Category 1: Sources of Public Diplomacy Strategy

The aim of this category is find out what the public diplomacy sources are and what they aim to achieve. Public diplomacy sources are either of this three that is Foreign Policy, Values and Culture of a country and they aim to achieve the foreign policy objectives, brand its nation and to achieve mutual understanding (Banks, 2011).

Category 2: Context

This is to mean that any relationship between countries has a context in it defined by history and political relationship. They could be in cooperative and peaceful or rivalries to control a natural

resource or material capability strengthen by who controls information. As a result, their public diplomacy practice towards one another can and will be affected how they relate one another based on their context (Sieb, 2009 p 6, 7)

Category 3: Institutional Capacity

According to Nicolas Cull, for public diplomacy to the public diplomacy practice should take the following to consideration where staff has to listen and advocate as part of the tasks of public diplomacy practitioners. While the other two were taken from country experiences to show that what ministry of foreign affairs (MFA) should take in consideration for effectiveness of Public Diplomacy Strategy and their practice (Cox, 1981, Cull, 2009 and Yespen, 2010).

Category 4: Media Utilization

In media utilization it means, the use of different modes of communication (e.g. One-way- vs- Dialogic communication) is to understand better and new channels of communication, like social media and the internet, have to be researched in more depth (Wang, 2006, p. 94). This is because the practice of public diplomacy was enhanced by the development of information communication technologies (ICT) to reach where it is now.

Category 5: Stakeholders in Public Diplomacy Practice

Code 1: Civil Society/Non-State Actors/

This category deals with the composition and the role of non governmental actors in the over all practice of public diplomacy.

Category 6: Image Building

Image building consists of the concept of nation branding which is quite broad, and Reputation management. Image building was brought up here since it is one of the country's public diplomacy objectives (MOFA, 2003).

Category 7: People to People

In this category, the long term goal of the practice of public diplomacy is to achieve a lasting friendship that will result in people to people relation of the two countries.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter covers the presentation, discussion and analysis of the data obtained qualitatively based on in depth interviewing and documents. This emanates from the research objectives and questions of the research raised in earlier chapters. Important issues pointed out in the literature review are also incorporated as part of the theoretical frameworks in the discussion of the research findings. To make the results of the research more comprehensive and present them clearly tables and graphics are used.

As a result, the discussion has seven sections based on seven categories of what makes a public diplomacy practice of one country effective that is comprise of other countries experiences. Hence, every category is discussed based on the finding of the research and presented as a combination of document analysis, with interviews presented as narrations along with supporting arguments from other related researches and books.

4.2. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.3.SOURCES OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OBJECTIVES

The need of taking into account of a country's foreign policy is not just to show it is one of the sources of the public diplomacy strategy but its values and cultures show how a country sees engagement and how it pursues it. By this it means that a country seeks to achieve its national interest not in isolation from the world around it but seeks to work together with mutuality and respect for others around it (Fitzpatrick, 2011 p. 23).

Therefore, foreign policies and other related policies of a country can show how a country understands the concept of engagement, what tools to use and finally achieve people to people relations by looking at its values and culture. This is found by as Cull (2009) puts it, by understanding how a country tries to manage its international environments with its stakeholders too.

4.3.1. Foreign Policy

Public diplomacy is an instrument of soft power. And soft power has the following three resources namely foreign policy, political values and culture that emanate from its history. Public diplomacy is an instrument and not a direct producer of soft power governments use to achieve their national interest. One must keep in mind that public diplomacy doesn't produce soft power rather it makes soft power visible, tangible and seen through deeds.

According to what Joseph Nye (2008) pointed out in Dougherty (2013):

The resources that produce soft power arise...from the values...a country expresses in its culture, in the examples it sets by its internal practices and policies, and in the way it handles its relations with others. Public diplomacy is an instrument that governments use to mobilize these resources to communicate with and attract the public of other countries. (p.94)

As a result, the goal of public diplomacy is to influence the public of another country by informing about one's values, society, culture, institutions, policies that arise from a country's foreign policy as a bench mark. By these countries try to design or walk towards engaging in order to achieve on their national interest,

In the literature, successful public diplomacy may include bi-directional communication efforts aimed at promoting "greater appreciation and understanding of U.S. society, culture, institutions, values and policies." Subject for debate is the degree to which listening efforts should be tactical or strategic. Promotion of U.S. interests and policy objectives is an integral part of what constitutes success in public diplomacy (Yepsen, 2012 p. 9).

However, when countries do not specifically have a strategy a country's foreign policy, values and culture becomes very central source of a public diplomacy strategy and the practice is analyzed from such prospect if it had achieved what it stated to achieve or not. Based on the above understanding Ethiopia's Foreign policy has three premise that serve as its foundations. And these are:

i. Achieving Economic development and building democratic system,

According to what the Ethiopian foreign affairs and national security strategy states is that the country aims and works towards to achieving rapid economic development and this is achieved centering economic diplomacy (MOFA, 2003, p.1-4).

ii. Securing National Pride,

This is the second most important premise of the Ethiopian foreign affairs and national security strategy that aims to secure the countries national pride in securing sustainable development not to face chronic food insecurity, disability in its region due to vulnerability and not to face failure to build national consensus and failure to make an overall effort to enhance mutual respect among its people and others (MOFA, 2003, p.5-15).

iii. Globalization

Globalization is the third premise where it emphasis ensuring the rapid economic development and democracy cannot be achieved by being outside this framework (MOFA, 2005). At the same time, it also argues that the development of the country is dependent on globalization because, it offers opportunities if exhaustively utilized can guarantee the rapid developments since there will be the involvement and collaboration from different stakeholders from around the world. By this it acknowledges the role of non-governmental actors' participation for development (MOFA, 2003, p.16-20).

This is facilitated because of transnational facilities, increased number of actors, increased density of networks where access to information and other facilities have helped to realize development if the opportunity is used with caution, since this same opportunity could cause damage to countries.

According to Ambassador Ababi³, since Ethiopian public diplomacy does not have a strategy it takes goals from other four basic policies and strategies of the country namely;

³ Interview held with Ambassador Ababi Demisse, Director of the Public Diplomacy and Communications Directorate General, on Monday 27/04/2015 Monday 2:00-2:30 PM

i. Building Democratic System in Ethiopia

This policy shares a common ground with foreign policy in achieving rapid economic developments stating that “development and democratization are fundamental issues for the protection of individual interest and national survival as described in the foreign affairs and national security and strategy”(MOFA, 2005). As a result, how these two policies contribute as a basis of public diplomacy is seen from two main aspects they address mainly from the role given to mass media and civil society in the country.

In both policies, media hold the position to inform and promote the mobilization and participation of people in order to build a democratic system in the country by providing accurate information. The role of media and its relation to public diplomacy is that it serves as a fundamental tool in informing its audience in domestic and abroad because accurate information can help to secure tolerance and mutual respect among people.

On the other hand, the role of civil society is understood as a platform for cultivating constructive ideas for rapid realization of democratic order (MOFA, 2005). Thus it means that with the advent of globalization, both media and civil society have taken the role of being a transnational actor in reaching where the traditional diplomacy normally does not reach before.

ii. Rural development policies, strategies and programs

Although the name is on of policies on rural development, it aspires to do so by attracting foreign direct investment as one of its goals (MOFA, 2005).

iii. Capacity building and programs(service provision policy)

This policy deals highly with attaining trained human power as it main goal and it is service oriented focusing on education and training (MOFA, 2005).

iv. Industrial development policy

In the industrial development policy, it advocates the exchange of innovations and transfers of technologies with the advent of investment between Ethiopia and other countries coming here. This is believed to achieve the economic development that globalization has facilitated and

making use of it since no one can escape it and is helpful for its economic development that it aspires to achieve (MOFA, 2005).

Based on the above points a country's foreign policy and other supportive policies can show the building blocks of what forms the public diplomacy strategy and practice and how it is understood as a concept. By this it is to mean, the ideas and tools that are found in a public diplomacy are found in Ethiopian foreign policy and other related policies of the country. However, they have not been implemented generally and in the case of Egypt particularly. From this what can be taken as a perceived value and culture of Ethiopia is working towards economic development through tolerance and mutual respect which is highly demonstrated in its traditional diplomacy practice with the Nile basin countries in general and sub basin countries in particular. And the culture of creating mutual understanding through dialog can be a form of Ethiopia's soft power that it uses to persuade others and communicate effectively.

However, according to how anonymous expert puts it "Does Ethiopia possesses soft power towards its neighbors in Middle East and specifically to Egypt? No. we do not have it still because there are not effective media tools domestically or abroad. We do not have satellites as well. This is challenging by itself."

4.3.2. Values and Culture

As stated in the Ethiopian Foreign Policy and Security Strategy, the Ethiopian political values and culture revolve around creating mutual understanding through dialogue. This was also seen from the documents that were found from the Ministry and based on interviews; the relation of the two countries is highly dominated by suspicion of one another that even though Ethiopia has been harnessing the idea of mutual understanding through dialogue. However, their relation mainly focused on Nile basin perspective and not taking public diplomacy as an alternative. This was due to reasons such as mistrust due to past history, different paradigms to look at each other, the presence of hegemonic relation in order to control the flow of the Nile and distorted information was disseminated through media and also media and other tool were not used to avert the existing narrative between the two countries by setting an agenda to clear the uncertainty and misunderstanding.

According to the proposal of the public diplomacy department on public diplomacy practice of the two countries, a major breakthrough in their Public diplomacy relation came as a result of two reasons. The first was change in the Egyptian politics since the January 2011 uprising followed by the launching of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) in April, 2011 were the major reasons for the first public diplomacy delegate exchange from the side of Egypt. According to Zerihun, “the delegate came with the intention that Ethiopia to slow down the ratification of Comprehensive Framework Agreement (CFA) until a stable government comes in Egypt. And Ethiopia has agreed to slow it.”

On the other hand, the new administration in Egypt also facilitated highly for the coming together of the two countries to a round table whereby, the new Egyptian president’s stand to enhance dialogue and create mutual understanding opened the ground (MOFA, 2015). This change in history for once opened the stage because the hegemonic world order that existed between them for the first time since their modern state relation begun to shift due to the above reasons which in other words were the contradictions that arouse consciousness on both sides where Egypt’s status quo was in question and Ethiopia, was the potential challenger to Egypt’s hegemonic rule.

The two countries if, they work together, say the anonymous expert “they can support one another in business and investment, health, education.” This was true based on data found from the African Directorate showing the trade exchange between the two countries in the year 2013 amounts to be 137.1 million USD and Ethiopia’s share is (45.4 million USD) where as Egypt’s share (91.7 million USD). When it comes to Ethiopia’s public diplomacy strategy and practice, according to Ambassador Ababi Demise, Director of the Public Diplomacy Directorate General at Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

“The Ethiopian foreign policy adhere the values of mutual understanding, dialogue, and negotiation in order to foster a win-win approach when it comes to its foreign policy strategy towards its neighboring and other countries. The relation between Ethiopia and Egypt is not a new phenomenon. They had been in relation for many years defined by shared history, trade, culture, religion and civilization. But had an on and off relation that was a result of mistrust and suspicion over the control over and utilization of the Nile. The first way was the

Government to Government where Ethiopia has fostered what it did to all other Nile Basin Countries. The idea was sharing a common resource for the benefit of all”.

“By this we worked on forums, trying to create a mutual understanding about and beyond Nile. But recently, we are focusing also on people-to- people relations. This does not mean it is new. We had domestic public diplomacy in ratification of our constitution. But have we implemented it for a foreign public? Not yet. So it is all new as a practice and as a department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. When it comes to Egypt they sent their first delegate to Ethiopia in 2011 and we sent ours in December 2014. To think of the tools we use to reach our audience, we are coming to the age of digitalization and we are also new to its management but have we utilized it for engagement?.... we have a long way to go. There are challenges because to start with we have neither a communication strategy for public diplomacy nor a brand for the country. We lack the human resource for the practice as a discipline. And there needs to be researches that will help us see our gaps. ”

4.4. CONTEXT

Based on the theoretical framework of the study, context as argues by Cox (1981) is two kinds. One of it is a nature of relation defined by hegemony not only in economic and military capability but in production of ideas that create a broader domain of hegemony based on consent which is established by social forces (i.e. elites and their use of mass media) have a leading role within a state and projecting outwards creating a historic bloc. When looking at the Ethiopian and Egypt relationship which is predominantly biased by Egypt’s “hegemony” as shaped by media that resulted on the foundation of a solid and established public opinion emanated from their historical relationships as over the control and use of Nile. Therefore, public diplomacy was not an issue since the conventional diplomacy was at use on both sides. Although there have been educational exchanges between the two, the agenda of public diplomacy practice was set in the second notion of context. And it is when a change in historical period appeared in the already existing and established hegemonic relations between the two countries after the 25th January, 2011 revolution in Egypt.

This notion of context is best understood as Cox (1981) described why his theory was relevant in the 1980’s. The importance of his concept developed in what happened in the year’s preceding

his research around the 1970's where the two superpowers (US and Russia) were in struggle over power relations and it resulted in change in historical period that brought crises and brought about an economic and political power shift around the world.

As a result, there came uncertainty about the risks and opportunities of how to deal with the change that emerged. When uncertainty about the future power relation comes, Cox argues that "people begin to seek to understand the opportunities and risks of the new change." And the same holds true for Ethiopia and Egypt's, first encounter in the change after the 2011 revolution and the beginning of the GERD, a delegate from Egypt officially visited Ethiopia for the first time in their history (Amin, 2011). The aim of the delegate was to slow down the ratification of the Comprehensive Framework Agreement until a stable political system is established in Egypt and Ethiopia agreed not only to slow down but took the initiative to establish International Panel of Experts (IPOE) to study the environmental and dam related concerns are not harmful for the downstream countries (MOFA, 2015).

This was the time when both countries media was setting an agenda about the GERD. Egyptian media were criticizing and Ethiopian media justifying about building the dam by its own expense will benefit not only Ethiopia but other riparian countries especially the downstream riparian states (Ibid, 2015).

Context in this sense is that relating one's country to another differs with context since public opinion, public sphere; attitude and reception are different from time to time in public diplomacy practice. This means that older outlook and mechanism to deal with it should be avoided as well. This means the mindset that handled issues from negative attitude aspect should not meddle in relationship building attempts. And not mixing it with the traditional diplomacy.

The example of traditional diplomacy is illustrative. Originally, diplomatic scholars maintained that principles of negotiations were "universal." Raymond Cohen's landmark study, which was soon followed by others, found that culture does matter. He demonstrated, what seasoned diplomats instinctively knew, namely that Arab, Japanese and U.S. diplomats do not "negotiate" the same way or necessarily from the same premise. The distinctive styles were traceable to the differing cultural and intellectual heritages. The benefit

of exploring culture ultimately led to diplomats being better able to “negotiate” across different contexts.

When public diplomacy initiatives fail and even backfire, the reason may be the hidden side of culture, or the cultural underbelly of public diplomacy. “What culture hides, it hides most effectively from its own members,” remarked Edward T. Hall. In public diplomacy, culture tends to hide in political, economic, and even bureaucratic factors. A critical step in exploring the cultural underbelly in public diplomacy is untangling the cultural from the political (Zaharan, 2012, p.9).

As one of the factors that influence the practice of public diplomacy, according to Nye, the context of two countries relationship matters. “As a result”, says Fitsum Girma the desk officer for the North Africa “the political environment between Ethiopia and Egypt which is on and off at times has affected the smooth relations of their people to people relations. Despite the presences of 27-30 treaties that were signed between the two countries, implementations are not that vivid. What matters at time like this is not the economic benefit rather the political interpretations that are given. The hostile relations that have existed between the two countries that resulted from political and Nile issues have impacted their relations. For example says Fitsum, when their political relationship is conducive and there are smooth relations, investor’s form Egypt would come and show interest and in other times, when they are not smooth relations, things stop.”⁴

When looking at the concept of context, one has to look at the past and present to better understand how a certain context in history was formed. According to an anonymous expert who worked directly in the Ethio-Egypt case closely, shows their relations in two folds.

“The relation between Ethiopia and Egypt has two sets based on the formation of modern state on both sides. That is the Pre-modern era and Modern era. The pre-modern time the two countries under their respective kingdoms had various relations full of rivalry and hegemonic relations which were expressed in war and at time without war that seemed like smooth. Their relations were intertwined in historical relations that resulted from proximity of their

⁴ Interview held on April 23th, 2015 with Fitsum Girma, Desk Officer for Northern African Countries at Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia. 23/04/2015. 2:00- 2:45 pm in the afternoon.

kingdoms and by regional political relations where the Nile was also a center. But after the formation of modern states in the respective countries, especially after the source of the Nile was known, Egypt has tried to control the source of the Nile for its own use claiming it has historical right before the signing of both the 1929 and 1959 treaties that did not include Ethiopia, source of 86% of the water and other upper riparian states. Anyways their relations evolved over time and got where it is now.”

The coordinated practice of the Public Diplomacy on both sides started very recently and was begun by the Egyptian Delegate after the fall of the Mubarak administration in Egypt.

“The need of sending those delegates was as I understand it” says the anonymous expert “was to ask to take it slowly for the ratification and I suppose they have achieved it. However both Ethiopia and Egypt have two different stands which are totally different and that were why we could not communicate effectively with Egypt. Ethiopia’s stand was to create mutual understanding, while Egypt’s was just to take control over the Nile and its issues. It is difficult to communicate when the prism you see the world is different. Egyptian people are not the same as other people”.⁵ As to Fitsum, he recommends that the practice should alienate itself from the political angle meddling in the practice as a whole. In Cox (1981), context is more elaborated by the change it brings in history which has the following characteristics.

A. Non- Hegemonic

This context in a world order is when there are two competing powers and they are rivalry with each other, which in this case was in the pre-modern states of the two countries.

B. Hegemonic

Here there is one hegemonic state creating a center periphery relation with the subordinate in the control of information flow apart than struggle over the control of material capability.

C. Transformation (Order is not yet settled, the previous order is continuing, to a certain extent, with the ideas, material capabilities and institutions of the previous order.)

At this stage, where Ethiopia and Egypt have now, the prevailing world order is in shock and there are two possibilities that can benefit the “used to be hegemon” and the current potential challenger. According to Cox (1981), the characteristic of transformation is that, there will be

⁵ Interview held with anonymous expert that had worked with Ethiopia and Egypt case for more than a decade,

counter hegemony (not aiming to be hegemonic again) but there will be termination of the world order and the hegemony. But this could only happen when the potential challenger must work for counter messaging with consistency to avert existing discourse. One threat to this opportunity is as what Leysens (2009), clarifies is that, when the hegemon is challenged, it will come for a round table discussion which lasts for a short term to come to agreement with the peripheral. If the peripheral country feels satisfied and does nothing, there is the possibility of going back to where it was hegemonic world order. In order to achieve the transformation, the potential challenger that was dissatisfied by the world order because there was no equitable sharing over the material capability, shall work on the following.

Increasing genuine populism meaning broadening form of state by incorporating the non state actors to its circle, counter- messaging to orient and create conducive environment for dialogue and consistency in work to earn intersubjective understanding. Consistency is important to achieve the termination of the world order and hegemony all together which takes time. For this to become reality adapting to changes in international stage is crucial, that is to technological changes which require the state apparatus to adapt to new changes. This is to transform from conservative state centered to a more participatory form of state (Cox, 1981, p. 151).

4.5. INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY

Institutional capacity spans over a large area. It starts from practice and tools that works to listen and advocate up to empowering staff and level of coordination of the Ministry. This is because although public diplomacy is a peoples diplomacy, there has to the professional that has the technical and professional experience and expertise to practice it and yield effective communication as a result. Therefore the FDRE's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has prepared a manual for the implementation of public diplomacy and communication activities as of 2009 aiming to set procedures to achieve stakeholders (partners) and customer's satisfaction in getting information. And by this achieve expected outcomes stated in the manual are aimed at building the image of the country, creating a strong people to people relations with friendly countries, and base on the implementation of the FDRE's Ministry foreign affairs and national

security policy, to provide its fair share by disseminating up-to-date information for citizens, diplomatic community both at the capital and abroad (MOFA, 2009, p. 4-5).

And in order to understand if the above goals have been achieved of the Ministry's public diplomacy practice towards the Egyptian public.

The following arguments are presented, analyzed and discussed to show the cultural/bureaucratic limitations facing the practice as a whole. If staff are limited in the ways they can engage with individuals, particularly in the means of communication, conversations will continue without them and the ability to listen, engage or influence those interactions will be lost (Fisher, 2010).

4.5.1. Listening

Listening as a practice in the short term goal of the public diplomacy and communication department takes the following activities to make listening successful generally by researching and gathering data for dissemination that is well analyzed and shaped to influence public opinion. The communication process in public diplomacy is best maintained if it becomes a dialogue or a two way relationship. In listening what becomes clear is that talking is not always advisable, there has to be listening as well. Otherwise when one fails to listen, the result will be failing to persuade one's audience. These in other words mean that failing to listen can become failing to understand and it will only be a one way communication which is a shortcoming (Yepsen, 2012, p 9)

Based on the public diplomacy and communication process manual, listening in the ministry's practice is put under the short term plan where gathering data and information about target audience awareness level, coming up with key message, selection of tools and dissemination of information that is analyzed is its components of the general public diplomacy practice. When taking the Ethiopia and Egypt's public diplomacy listening practice was impacted by how the two countries see each other due to suspicions and the already existing public opinion of the Egyptian public about Ethiopia which says Ethiopia is to control the Nile waters and harm Egypt. The practice of disseminating information is done by embassy of Ethiopia in Cairo and also through the official website news and the weekly online magazine "A Week in the Horn" and Government communiqués (MOFA, 2009).

However says Biruk Mekonnen director of foreign media relations at the Ministry, “there is solid public opinion about Ethiopia seen as harm to Egypt existence that was formed by Egyptian elite and government through the use of media that influence the public as well as policies. Despite our works in information dissemination, it is questionable penetrating to the well formed opinion regarding Ethiopia.”⁶

There are not any polls that will help to understand about the awareness levels of the Egyptian public although as information gathering regarding day to day news that comes out in Egypt from MENA is always under analysis. The usual problem with listening and opinion research in PD is that it either is not done, or that when done it is not fed into policy (Yepsen, 2012, p 9).

For the Ethiopian experience in listening to its Egyptian audience is a new phenomenon that was experienced as the Ethiopian delegate officially visited Egypt as Ambassador Ababi said it. “What we did first when we went to Egypt was to create the opportunity and the stage for them to speak. And what we found from what they said was that they do not know us.” This same idea was shared by Zerihun Abebe a senior researcher on Ethiopia and Egypt relation who mentioned that the participants said that it was new to them to find out the source of the Nile water they drink actually comes from Ethiopia and also adding that in order to know each other participants raised the issue that we do not know your books, or literature.”⁷

4.5.2. Advocacy

Advocacy in public diplomacy takes a crucial place in the practice because this the way a government reaches its foreign public by the use of technological tools where media is one of them and also institutional tools. It is a government’s end where it speaks its policies not only through Embassy Press releases but also through groups that represent and deliver its intentions to the public. The groups are composed of different sector of the society but have one voice and that is the policy and intentions that a government wants to reach out.

⁶ Interview held with Biruk Mekonnen, Director of the Foreign Relation and Media at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 27/07/2015 Monday 04:00-05:01

⁷ Interview held with Zerihun Abebe a Senior Researcher at Boundary and Trans-boundary Relations Directorate General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Ethiopia on 24/04/2015 Friday 11:45-12:35pm

Ambassador Ababi also mentioned that “we started public diplomacy as a practice was formed by establishing public diplomacy clubs in all universities, creating the stage with celebrities and research centers, also working with former Ambassadors for guidance from their experiences”.

According to Nebiyou “the public diplomacy delegate was the combination of different parts of the society. The team’s aim when it left was aimed at informing the Egyptian public and officials that the Nile was a source of life and also an asset for the development of Ethiopia. The water as it means bread and life to Egypt; it also has the same meaning to Ethiopia.”⁸

This stand of Ethiopia has been advocated using various media tools stating that, the building of the dam over the river means no harm to Egypt’s existence. As a result, it has taken a bilateral step in forming the Tripartite Technical experts to come together and investigate if it causes damage to their environment and was found that it does not. This was a result of Egypt’s public diplomacy delegate at first mentioned as its main concern. By this it can be argued that, advocacy plays a role in expressing a government’s concern to another country. As Cull (2009), put it in example about Ancient examples of advocacy that were found in Herodotus where envoys from Xerxes of Persia appeal to the people of Argos for their neutrality in the Empire’s invasion of Greece in 480 BC.

4.5.3. Coordination

Coordination at the level of ministry means two things. One is between the Ministry commitments to help individuals or group of people that come to it in order to work individually and the other one is the level of coordination between the Ministry and Ethiopian Embassy in Cairo.

According to Zerihun, “the level of coordination between the ministry and other stakeholders be it individuals is low. The ministry needs to cooperate with those who are potential individuals that can promote the people to people relations in areas of cultural exchange. I once remember that there was a person who came seeking help from the ministry regarding a documentary film competition in Egypt and wanted assistance however due to bureaucratic issues she could not attend the contest.”

⁸ Interview held with Nebiyou Daniel, Director of Domestic Media Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Friday 24/04/2015 11:00-11:37

On the other hand, however, from the various interviews taken though it is said that the Ministry and Embassy have coordination, one way that can hinder level of coordination can be from lack of having websites to share information. This means that Ethiopian embassy in Cairo does not have a website where it is linked to the ministry's website and this means they do not share their information with their public. Embassies are at front line in the host country to represent their home country.

4.5.4. Organizational Culture

This part focuses on what a ministry of foreign affairs is faced with and must work to achieve for the effective practice of public diplomacy. That is why the practice of public diplomacy tool kit is different from the conventional diplomacy based on the following requirements. These are professionalism, level of centralization and need of a general strategy (Slotman, 2014. p. 4).

One of the challenges however says Samuel from the social media unit, "We started to motivate the MFA staff by giving technical training in association with the Addis Ababa University's Journalism and Communication School. This was done because almost all staff uses social media only for personal consumption and not for the purpose of promoting the country. But there are few exceptions like His Excellency the Minister and few other diplomats that highly use social media for the purpose of work. On the other hand, when the unit started, the level of awareness was a problem too. But the major one was, we had no guide line for how the staff and diplomats should utilize social media. That was a problem and we are now working on forming a guide line which will come at the end of Ginbot." ⁹

The above changes results from the effects of digitalization requiring staffs within the ministry to adapt to the changes. But the work of public diplomacy varies based on how centralization affects its work. Although there is the public diplomacy department, there has to be collaboration from the different departments within the ministry should not only feed information but also participate in promoting the practice. This is to mean it is not left for a single department to do the work of public diplomacy by disclosing their part. This is beneficiary when using social media, since audience is not limited to existing contacts only; having a broader public is a benefit

⁹ Interview held with Samuel Hailemeskel Digital Diplomacy unit Team Leader at Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia. 28/04/2015. Tuesday 04:00 – 05:22 pm.

if the centralization changes to become a combined work of the public diplomacy department, other departments and individual diplomats work together (Hoffman, 2013, p. 13-14; Slotman, 2014, p. 4).

Another requirement is level of professionalism. Of course, various Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the world stated getting along with social media very recently that their staffs are mainly with valuable tremendous experience in the conventional diplomacy, which is influenced by exercising confidentiality to the most part. So training the existing workforce and also recruiting new skilled manpower in communication backgrounds in of high benefit because effective communication will come from open minded view, a view that is not present in the nature of conventional diplomacy (Slotman, 2014, p. 4).

Finally, the need of having a general strategy for the whole practice of public diplomacy shall have emphasis. The presence of the strategy will help in understanding of the effectiveness of the practice through monitoring and evaluation that will be feed into policy for future developments of engagement. In the absence of a general strategy of course, guide lines are present to inform and shape the practice of the diplomats in their engagement with publics using social media (Noort, 2011 p. 41-43).

4.6. MEDIA UTILIZATION

Media utilization is best understood from the agenda-setting perspective of theoretical framework of the study. Especially from contingent concern of agenda setting research where there are two reasons for agenda setting in based on how familiar issues are in the public's mind. In the first place agenda settings benefit is that it influences people what to think about Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw state explicitly the agenda setting function of the media as:

This notion of the agenda setting function of the mass media is a relational concept specifying a strong positive relationship between the emphases of mass communication and the salience of these topics to the individuals in the audience. This concept is stated in causal terms: increased salience of a topic or issue in the mass media influences (causes) the salience of that topic or issue among the public (McCombs and Show, 1977:12).

Media is the platform to create dialogue through the dissemination of messages to an intended audience. The intended audiences are opinion leaders, groups and organizations that have the power to dominate their government's policies. Dialogue is the prerequisite and not an end by itself that will alone change policies in other countries but there has to be actions such as events, conferences, educational exchanges, working on components of culture such as language, faith diplomacy, music, arts, literature,...etc. The action takes place with the involvement of civil society while media sets the agenda to show the importance of the issue. In public diplomacy, communications is two ways where there is message, medium, feedback and noise. It should not be on way where messaging is central and listening is not present. In such case, it is not possible to understand about how one is perceived in the mind of the other which will sustain the misperception (Noort, 2013).

This part of media uses the print and broadcast media in order to reach its audience. And according to Biruk, "Ethiopia's use of Broadcast is to transmit news most of the time. And it is mostly reactive than proactive and we do plan to work on proactive to set an agenda that runs a long time span. The one thing that is most challenging is, however the language barrier. The Egyptian Public is Arabic speakers. There is Arabic news and the recently started documentaries but it is not huge hit. It can be said we did not do on Arabic language and it has become a barrier. We are planning to work on that on GTP 2 plan of the Ministry after the end of the current fiscal year"¹¹.

According to Zerihun's comment with regards to publicity through international broadcasting he mentioned that, "we have low publicity when it comes to international broadcasting in producing documentaries, features and soap operas. International broadcasting is not only a tool but also an audience."

As to Belisti "Ethiopia and Egypt have along historical relationship and one of the environments of working is in cooperation in media and communication. We have a bilateral agreement for cooperation and a partnership between respective agencies of the two countries. The aim is to work together in areas of media and communications, information exchange, capacity building and work visit in order to enhance the people to people relations of the two

¹¹ Interview held with Biruk Mekonnen director of Foreign Media relations at Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Public diplomacy department. 27/04/2015 04:00 – 05:14 pm.

countries based on credible information. This was manifested by opening of the Egypt Correspondent here in Addis Ababa.”¹²

In the practice of public diplomacy, when two countries exchange their journalists with one another, it becomes a basis for experience sharing and a first hand access to information which will help to avoid distorted opinions that come as a result of not knowing about each other.

A good example can be taken from the BBC’s experience of having correspondents almost all over the world has given its audience to hear news from the site although this needs cooperation in funding (Mirchandani and Abubaker, 2014). In Ethiopia and Egypt case, according to archive data from the FDRE’s Ministry of Culture and Tourism, an Egyptian correspondent came in Ethiopia in the year, 1999 from the Middle East News Agency (MENA) but as to Belisti from the Government Affairs Communication Agency, the correspondent is no longer here due to unspecified reasons. However says Belisti, there are new developments after the official visit of President Al Sisi which has brought good light in inviting our journalist to visit on events that are happening in Egypt.

When looking at the relation of the two countries in working together in media and communications before the coming of the GCAO as a separate ministry office and while it was under the Ministry of Information, Culture and Tourism, there were plenty of agreements but after the GCAO, the 2006 treaty was the first for the new office that aimed to work on information exchange. It was however updated in 2010 and was signed as the bilateral agreement between the Ministry of Information of Egypt and Ministry of Information of Ethiopia. Thereafter, the separate partnership was signed this year, between the two major sources of information of Ethiopia and Egypt between ENA AND MENA respectively.

Although we cannot fully say we are working as planned or going based on the action plan as planned, but there is still some progress between the levels of exchange between the two countries. And when looking at the level of capacity building, Ethiopia has a lot to learn from Egypt and of course Egypt offers training to our media practitioners that range from a

¹² Interview held with Belisti Alemneh senior expert in foreign relations and image building general directorate at Government Communication Affairs office. 28/04/2015 Wednesday 09:00-10:22 .

minimum of 3 month to 1 year. Despite the challenges we have especially since Ethiopian media is not digitalized and there is not extensive worked in reaching the Arab public in Middle East and in general and the Egyptian public in particular using Arabic, the signing of the agreement between the two major news agencies, can be a breakthrough to our people to people relationships.

The trend is also good, even when the Egyptian came this year, of the various issues that were raised, strengthening the cooperation in media and communications was one of the agendas that were discussed. And when the 2010 agreement was kept going /was finalized this year/ with slight changes based on change in technologies because the two parties have agreed to keep it going. It was because that every 3 years the party that did not want to proceed with the relation can leave but none of the parties did that. Instead, it was believed that it can continue and that was it.

“The benefit of signing this agreement was that we got training to IT and Media practionners and Egypt would invite our journalists to attend conference and events that are held in Egypt, which is a good start. Also they have begun to report about the Addis Ababa light train project as a current status of Ethiopia which came as a result of the visiting of the President Al Sisi of Egypt has created a conducive environment. We are working to be reachable to Arabic speaking public by working together with Egypt since they have experience in news and media and communication style in Arabic, we hope to learn more. On the long run we are planning to work works we have never done before, is to work on common projects such as exhibitions to show Ethio-Egypt relationship, common events, increase airtime to Arabic programs and to do documentaries that are produced in Egypt in EBC and ours in Egypt media.”

When it comes to forming opinion, what we do is that we set agenda based on the trend of the time which is seasonal and by designing our own agenda. However we don't have any international survey or poll regarding the public opinion in Egypt or any place and also that we do not do research about who consumes our information but it is in plane for the long run in order to help us understand about our audience. And these exercise even begun quite recently only for domestic consumption.

Therefore, news media has a role in persuading its audience because its main question rests in asking “what is our country’s problem?” when ever the agenda are raised. As a result, factors affecting agenda setting will also be discussed as follows;

4.6.1. Print Media

4.6.1.1. Al-Alam

Using print in public diplomacy requires consistency and wider circulation for the audience is not limited in number. The audiences are both the elite power and mass audience. Therefore, engagement is best achieved when there is consistent transfer of messages and also listening to understand about what the audience thinks through research. For this to happen there has to be day-to-day news management and also deliberate planning in informing the right message in order to orient and show past misunderstandings can be removed. The other aspect is reaching the audience it intends to with the language it understands. That was engaging can become possible since the audience understands what is meant to be delivered to it through its own language.

Al Alam is a government owned Arabic newspaper that had been in circulations since 1941. It is a four page newspaper has been in work although it is only limited to Arabic speaking missions in Addis Ababa and Middle eastern and Arab speaking African countries. It is not distributed to the wider public domestically or in the host countries. So it is only limited to officials use only. However, it has its limitations since in skilled human power since this is a newspaper that reaches the audience in a language that it knows. Ethiopia is surrounded by Middle East.

The aim of starting the Al Alam is to reach the Arab speaking audience of neighboring countries in their own language about Ethiopia’s current issues.

As Ayu Gidey, the Editor- in Chief of the newspaper says “when it fir¹³st started during Emperor Hailesilasse’s regime, the aim was to reach Arab speaking countries in the language they best understand and promoting Ethiopia’s national interest. And has a better circulation in Ethiopian communities abroad. It circulation however decreased in the following regime. When it comes to its current status, Al Alam, which means our Banner, has different columns and agenda is set

¹³ Ato Ayu Gidey, Editor-in-Chief of the Al Alam newspaper published by Ethiopian Press Agency.

with Egypt's case in terms of the political environment. It has done its fair share with regards to informing the Egyptian public. That is because Egyptian online newspapers use our newspaper as sources for their news. However, despite the benefit of having Arabic media present, Al Alam is underutilized since our news that we get from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are just based on press release and interview with spokesperson. We do not go in depth by traveling to Egypt and write solid news. And we lack professional Arabic speaking journalists as well."

So in order to improve the practice, the Ministry working towards building mutual understanding helps to narrow the gap by working on language, skilled and trained manpower, also messages should be planned that non deliberate action.

4.6.1.2. The Ethiopian Herald

The Ethiopian Herald is a government owned English Newspaper that has a distribution only in missions in Addis Ababa and abroad. It has online presence. According to Belisti, the two newspapers are on limited distributions and cannot be said to have reached the Egyptian public.

4.6.2. International Broadcasting

The importance of international broadcasting in news is to reach people's home across the globe and it is not limited to satellite broadcasting but feedback from audience is also facilitated thanks to booming importance of social media these days. International broadcasting is a tool to make a marginalized state to come to visibility and re-brand its image or perception that was once formed due to misinformation or negligence to appear to the international community (Cull, 2009). International broadcasting, serving as an international public forum can serve as a platform to disclose by setting agenda, of the priorities that were once not considered as issue of importance. By this, there comes the opportunity to inform, influence and engage an intended audience not only through day-to-day news management which can last few weeks and months, but, it has to be strategically planned. But this does not mean, it has to be propaganda where, news or messages that are disseminated to be biased, and unbalanced. This is because, the audiences are elite powers that serve as gatekeepers or that they are opinion leaders of their countries and disseminating a one sided view that does not incorporate the other can backfire in losing an important audience.

This when put in example of what the US controlled Alhurra TV station transmitting to the Middle East in Arabic experienced in its broadcast was that, the news was biased and did not include the questions of the Arab audience and so it was received badly as only focusing on western policies at the expense of its audience. As a result, changing public opinion or engaging the Arab audience was a difficulty for the US international broadcasting experience (BBG, 2008).

Engaging through the International Broadcasting should have the following characters if it wants to achieve its objectives such as openness, transparency, credibility, verifiable through action, serving as a public forum, balanced and bring about change in public opinion (Ibid, 2008).

This means that in order to engage the audience has to know about the sending country so that it understands and comes in agreement to the message and create dialogue. This is because public diplomacy requires openness and transparency. But the risk that Ministry of foreign Affairs of countries fear is that to what extent is disclosing? Of course, openness and transparency does not refer to releasing all information. No, releasing all information for the sake of free flow of information is risky in harming the countries in relation or leading to chaos. That is why there is gate keeping and censorship. Even censored and released news on media have the risk because of time constraints for verifications. But despite all these, using international broadcasting can become the public sphere where public opinion can be formed by informing and arousing consciousness. This in turn benefits the country from simply messaging to mutual understandings through feedbacks that are got from researches such as polls or social media (Noort, 2013).

Another means to mutual understanding is to strategically plan and work in collaboration with the media of the foreign public which in this case, the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation and the Egypt Middle East News Agency working together since that is what strategic communication is all about. But most importantly, there had to be a strategy and guideline to base their actions, plans and expected results from the cooperation. And it requires them to work by sharing news, collaboration to work on documentaries, features and other programs. By this reaching the audience is done through deliberate planning. And also feedback is not just limited to understand the level of consciousness but it has to be feed with policies and by

this building trust among people of the two countries can be enhanced since the work to inform, influence and engage is not done by the governments but stakeholders that are not official and also from people that are from the society of the audience. This is why it becomes credible source of information for it balances the views of both sides in its work (Noort, 2013). One obvious danger is to evaluate an international broadcaster by the size of its audience rather than the influence of its audience (Cull, 2009).

“When looking at Ethiopia’s appearance in international media, the following media outlets are used, these are BBC, CNN international, Al Jazeera and France 24.” according to Zerihun Abebe.

4.6.2.1.Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) Approach

There are news and documentaries that come with the political environment between the two countries. News is covered in Arabic, English and French. Also there are few documents that are done.

4.6.2.2.Aljazeera’s Approach

When looking at the coverage of Ethiopia and Egypt relation presentation especially when the dam construction was begun, water ministries of the three countries that are Ethiopia, Egypt and Sudan were invited by Al Jazeera and the issue was discussed in depth. And also in March 20th /2015 Aljazeera transmitted a documentary on the Ethiopia and Egypt relations entitled the *Struggle over the Nile* where it mainly emphasized on works of Egypt use over the Nile and its relations with Sudan in building dams over the Nile about the 1929 and 1959 agreement as historical legacies of the two countries leaving Ethiopia out as a source of the water and its role on the basin as seeking after greater share of the Nile. As one Egyptian official mentioned how the Entebbe summit was against Egyptian a favor and how it was unfriendly situation because other basin countries did not agree to accept past colonial agreements (Al Jazeera, 2015).

Overall the approach Al Jazeera taking is critics based and sometimes biased in favors of Egypt’s position. This on the other hand means that Ethiopia has not set its agenda to make its self visible internationally especially in Middle East area.

4.6.2.3.BBC's Approach

News that is covered in BBC is primarily focused meeting between officials and documentaries that talk about the current developments of the country especially after 2011 with regards to the dam construction and economic boom in the country.

4.6.2.4. France 24's Approach

France 24 covers news of current happening like summits and agreements between the two countries with fairly in depth analysis as associated with current situations.

4.6.3. Ministry Website

Although social media (Public diplomacy web 2.0) is a platform for dialogue, which comes as a result of digitalization or practice of digital diplomacy and its aim is to produce a two-way communication through dialogue. This two way communication is different from a one way communication that is mainly based on messaging and not working to respond on audience's demands. As a result since there is no feedback, there is no actual dialogue. This can happen out of two reasons, one the confidential nature of diplomacy and institutional culture as related to affecting or enhancing the institutional capacity.

The notion of digital diplomacy or public diplomacy web 2.0 in its essence simply means to execute diplomacy online with foreign citizens. This new tool is regarded a "new stage in diplomatic representation" and seen as a particularly useful part of public diplomacy due to its two-way communication that enables the diplomat to monitor opinions and needs (Noort, 2013).

As a result, this change requires catching up with the innovations and revolution of Information Communication Technologies (ICT) developments that can facilitate the practice of public diplomacy to a more openness and transparency of messages transmitted to the foreign audience. But in the practice of ministry of foreign affairs of many countries, digitalization came after 2008/2009 and catching up may be challenging since there has to be a change in the institutional culture which use to focus on peer dialogue between diplomats or conversation with governments and not the non-state area of conversation was not present. But the new public diplomacy requires this soft border from the practice of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of countries.

But with regards to openness and transparency as part of the new public diplomacy and the notion of free flow of information, not all information is important. That is why there will be gate keeping and censorship because letting all out can be a source of chaos, and new misunderstanding. Therefore, news and information shall be balanced and neutral as much as possible (Noort, 2013).

The Ministry's website started as a pioneer to other ministry offices in 2006. The feature on the website ranges from daily news to other important documents about organizational structure and links. Basic information regarding contacts is present but they are not up to date. Openness and transparency in this regard mean presenting authentic data that are have to be consistent and that go along with changes in the organization. Also, Ministry website is at front line and they must serve as important source of credible information for audiences. Another issue with regards to Ministry website is integration with missions abroad. However, Ethiopian embassy in Cairo does not have a website.

Where as in management of day to day news, there are two kinds of news posted on the ministry website; daily news and a weekly online magazine entitled "A Week in the Horn". Here the daily news is connected to social media but it is not integrated to the actual links. As a result integrating the social media with the website can bring effective communications. On the other hand, Newspaper archives are easily accessible and downloading new and old articles is for free.

As also observed from the practice of the FDRE Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its online magazine "*A Week in the Horn*" that is due every Friday, news contents regarding Egypt are neutral, and only reported when there are official visits, or meetings or conferences that are related to Ethiopia or the Nile Basin or public diplomacy related issues. This emphasis came especially after the public diplomacy delegate official visit. News is linked to social media to like for face book, or twitt for twitter as well.

4.6.4. Social Media

4.6.4.1. Twitter

With the advancement of technology, using social media has now moved to an all channel network where information or the flow of information is not in the hands of few unlike the hub

or chain network. In such kinds of network information cannot become direct, multidirectional and simultaneous since it is in the hands of few information holders. This power dynamic changes within the all-channel network in that each member of the network is equally powerful in terms of connections and information (Yepsen, 2012 p.37). This is also affected by how an organization empowers its staffs to work. If only the few staffs of a certain department are only participating and other are not it limits the flow of information where only few become responsible. On the other hand, when information becomes one directional it will only be messaging as what McQuil (2005) puts it in Nabit (2010), "Messaging or one-way communication often ascribes the potential to control the communication process to the source or sender of information. This a s result hinders engagement.

Twitter, launched in 2006, is a real-time information network that connects you to the latest information about what you find interesting. Users communicate via "Tweets" which are short posts limited to 140 characters, also allowing for embedded media links. Twitter users can "follow" or essentially subscribe to the updates of other users, some of which include conventional media sources, such as Newsweek or Al-Jazeera, celebrities, and friends. Additionally, tweets can be categorized using "hashtags" which "group posts together by topic or type." (Chebib & Sohail 2011, pp. 141)

Twitter operates with replies and retweets. A re-tweet is a message that another user has sent and that is then copied into the own tweet. Re-tweeting is a powerful tool of Twitter as it "empowers users to spread information of their choice beyond the reach of the original tweet's followers". On Twitter, it is thus not necessarily relevant how many followers an account has but rather how many re-tweets it can generate. (Hoffman, 2013)

In the Ethiopian public diplomacy experience, using twitter is a new phenomenon according to the digital diplomacy unit. Samuel Hailemeskel, "when the unit started", he says, "It was and still is on the shoulder of the social media staff. As a result we started to make it the responsibility of all staffs by starting to give technical training to create awareness among the staffs. Using twitter helps greatly in making a country visible in the today's world where ICT has presented itself to reach many that you cannot reach before. But when it comes to Egypt, according to a statistics done by www.Twittermap.com few years back, our followers from Egypt are less than 1% and frankly speaking we have not done any work when it comes to

engaging the Egyptian public. Although this has been started especially after the beginning of the dam issue, the only time the idea of engaging Egyptian public increased is when the Pope had an official five days visits to Egypt.”

Even in having the a strategy to practice public diplomacy, measuring the impact of twitter is quite difficult such as attitudes of public diplomats towards the media itself and not having a strategy makes it even harder to evaluate the effectiveness of using social media (Hoffman, 2013). According to Biruk Mekonnen, the foreign media relations director and Samuel Hailemeskel, the team leader of digital diplomacy unit at the Ethiopian Public Diplomacy, “measuring it is not scientific and we only try to measure by number of followers and retweets. And we also try to see trends that are surfaced on twitter pages. One of the challenges is that, many uses twitter or face book for personal consumption than using it for promoting the country’s image. As a result we are now working on guidelines for our public diplomats so that they know how to effectively manage the social media and it was prepared by which is in draft stage.

The theme used by the Public Diplomacy department on Twitter is **#Ethiopia# Inspiring Africa’s Future.**

Having a theme message is not only a matter of having it. A country’s image is not only drawn from its economic data and “hard facts”. There has to be also messages that capture the minds of foreign publics. (Gonesh and Milssan, 2005)

4.6.4.2. Face book

Launched in 2004 as a social networking website exclusively for Harvard students, Face book now has roughly 800 million active users, as of November, 2011. Face book users interact with other users, or “Facebook friends” by updating their “status”, writing on other members “walls” or sending direct personal messages. Users are able to “create and join interest groups, ‘like’ pages, import and search for contacts, and upload photos and videos (Madeline, 2014).

“The **Ethiopian public diplomacy**, Facebook page is usually managed by individuals. “We post and share news every day. Events or official visits are also posted be it in weekends too”

says Samuel H/Meskel. “Very recently, we have also begun to post videos where we are getting good comments. We also have managed crises with it although it was for the Saudi returnees. When it comes to Egypt we posted about the delegate that visited Egypt. But there is no specific job done to engage the Egyptian public and the medium of communication is in English and not in Arabic.”

One of the problems noted was that the website was not integrative in connecting it to the different social media. If one wanted to visit either Facebook or twitter, they must log in using search engines and this makes accessibility quite difficult. However, the study has found out that the portal which will be launched within this year will be an integrative one and will make it more accessible.

As Samuel said it the concern for Egyptian public was not in plan until the end of the current Fiscal Year of the institution. “We have not been working towards Egypt in the GTP 1 (the first five years plan of the organization 2010 - 2015), it was not a concern but we do plan to add it in the next 5 years plan. Also have not been working using YouTube but now we are”.

One of the developments of the Ministry face book page as of June 19/2015 is that it has opened a stage of agenda setting for its followers to ask question with different topics set at agenda every week. Its effectiveness will be seen of course in time but it is a start to work on engaging.

The challenges that were raised were that just because there is bilateral agreement, it does not guarantee the effective exchange of innovation and education, there has to be partnerships. Also mentioned by experts from the Ministry and the Government Communication Affairs Office was that lack of coordination where it is only believed that it is just the job of the Ministry when it is the result of all concerned bodies coming together. Not having a brand at all. Also lack of monitoring and evaluations from the side of the Ministry in the practice were also mentioned.

4.7. STAKEHOLDERS

The essentiality of the presence of Stakeholders in the practice of public diplomacy is because of the notion that it's no longer the work of diplomats dealing with issues behind doors. The Non

Governmental Stakeholders are *<crucial in terms of successful public diplomacy because they have “three key resources not readily available to foreign governments: credibility, expertise, and appropriate networks”>* (Leonard, 2002, p. 54).

And this is because of the fact that, they are external actors that can be creating opportunities and threats to Ministry of Foreign Affairs. When stakeholders are incorporated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the forms of state changes from a statist approach to a broader based participation approach which becomes composed of various actors from within the society. Here, actors do mean influential people from all walks of life and they represent the society. They come from non-governmental organizations, think-tanks, educational institutes, religious institutions, former ambassadors, business people, and media practitioners....etc that represent all sectors and becomes a voice for the represented. At the same time it has its equivalent in the foreign public. The aim of forming the civil society “Public diplomacy delegate” is to influence the decision making of the other country in favor of the sending country’s foreign policy objectives.

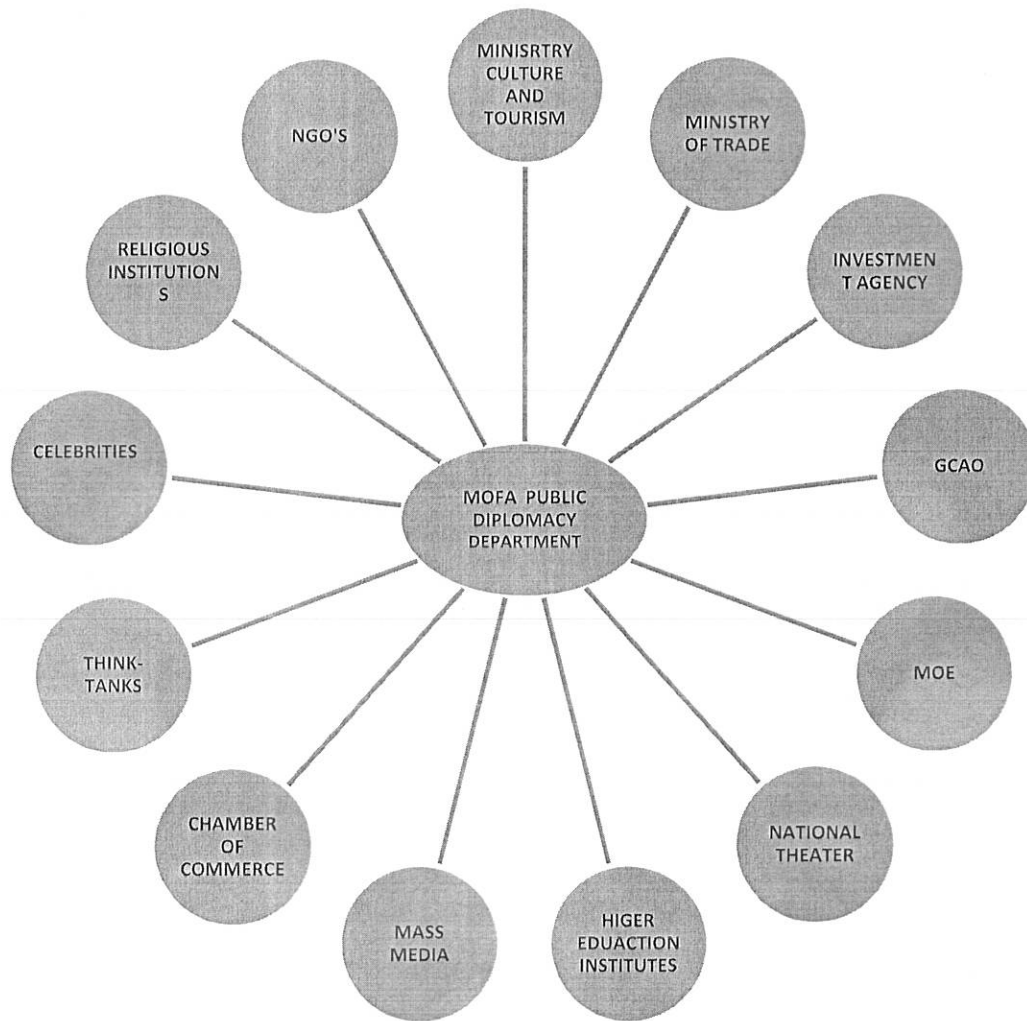


Fig 3. Composition of stakeholders in public diplomacy delegate

However, the decision of the other country by its foreign public is highly determined by the context of their relationships. That means the misunderstanding must be lifted and the delegate is one tool to inform, convince and facilitate engagement between two countries.

Public diplomacy as a tool of soft power and means of effective communication is that, it creates the platform where the influential civil society groups of the two countries to know about each other and make them cooperate. “But when it comes to Ethiopia’s public diplomacy practice towards Egypt,” says the anonymous expert “the delegate was the first of its kind in the history of Ethiopian public diplomacy practice and came as a short notice. To start with, I do not think we even have a tool and we lack a soft power unlike Egypt’s Soft

power towards the Middle East. But for starters, I think they made a move to influence their foreign publics and I say we have a long way to go.”

On the other hand, the report and on the public diplomacy manual that was given to the Ethiopian delegate the time for preparation was also mentioned to be so soon and this has to be worked on especially in the report, it is mentioned to include farmers to be part of the delegate (MOFA, 2014 and MOFA,2015).

4.8. IMAGE BUILDING

4.8.1. Reputation

Reputation is the way a country is perceived in the international environment. The Ethiopian foreign affairs and national strategy along with other four related policies and document strive to achieve their own objectives. And one of them is national image and change in the exiting image of Ethiopia.

However, “Ethiopia does not have a brand or a strategy to work on brand as a whole. It a new concept to Ethiopia as is public diplomacy.” Says Belisti.

Reputations are earned from how both international broadcasting are used and with recent developments on how social media are utilized. Based on understanding, explanation, improvement and innovation the dialogue is there to ultimately listen and respond.

4.8.2. Nation Branding

Ethiopia does not have a well designed brand. And our relation with the Egyptian public in areas of business has shown and up and down. However, says Melaku Trade and Investment Promotion Director at Chamber Of Commerce, “the two have formed a Joint business forum between their Chamber of Commerce’s’ and had been working for more than 10 years together. We had about three meetings in which the last one was this year 2015”¹⁴

¹⁴ Interview held with Melaku Juhar, Trade And Investment Promotion Director At Chamber Of Commerce

“Although, we have the mandate to work on content and nation branding,” says Belisti, “we have not had a specific strategy to deal with it until very recently. Now we have devised a document based on other countries experience such as South Korea, S. Africa and India. The first level of selecting the right stakeholders has now been completed and one of the things we were able to find out when our crew was working on the strategy and stakeholders is that, there was lack of coordination, ministries follow their own path and there was no one clearly set message when it comes to nation branding understanding. The concept by itself is a new thing for us. And as Ambassador Ababi, also shares the above idea saying “since we do not have a strategy for our public diplomacy practice, by default, it means we are not working in nation branding which shows why we do not have a brand as a country”.

4.9. PEOPLE TO PEOPLE

After disclosing, orienting, explaining, and creating an intersubjective understanding between the two countries, the next phase to building long term relationships. The above six categories were about how to form an intersubjective understanding while this last category focus on working on collective image to strengthen their cultural diplomacy and also working towards the second generation through educational exchanges. The end result is to bring about cooperative relationships and peaceful coexistence between the two people.

4.9.1. Cultural Exchange

The term “Cultural diplomacy” was coined by Milton Cummings as “the exchange of ideas, information, values, systems, traditions, beliefs, and other aspects of culture, with the intention of fostering mutual understanding (Einbinder, 2013).

Cultural Diplomacy is an extension of public diplomacy. The Oxford English Dictionary defines culture as both “the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively” and “the ideas, customs, and social behavior of a particular people or society.” These ‘manifestations’ include all variations of the arts, educational opportunities, language, ideas, food, religion, sport, and more (Rivera, 2015).

“Ethiopia has just begun to use cultural exchange with Egypt by sending our first cultural Troupe,” says Ambassador Ababi Demisse. “However, we have to work even harder to

achieve cultural exchange between the two countries. We have now started it with Egypt and Sudan but it will not be limited on these two for the long run.”

Ethiopia and Egypt had along years of relations where they share common religion in Christianity and Islam. And that was why when the delegate that went to Egypt also visited and held talk between the both the Coptic orthodox church and Al-Azhar institute which has led to the official five days visit of the Ethiopian Pope to Egypt counterpart in Alexandria that made the faith diplomacy to move to the next level. (EBC, 2015)

According to Cull (2009), Cultural diplomacy is not limited only to opening cultural and language centers or working on joint projects between the two countries. This is because he argues, with international borders becoming perforated and there is exchange of citizens of one country with another, due to International Communication through the internet makes the invisible social media a means of communication, Cultural Diplomacy begins to include the Diaspora and refugees:

“Cultural diplomacy is an international actor’s attempt to manage the international environment by facilitating cultural transmission across an international boundary, there are many ways to do this besides teaching one’s language, organizing an exhibition or sending a play on tour. The obvious missing dimension is attention to the interpersonal level of communication and the people whose lives cross the international boundaries who carry messages whether international actors like it or not. Two major groups which have been used historically for interpersonal work in public diplomacy are Refugees and Diasporas.”

In the Ethiopia and Egypt relations, as to the anonyms expert clearly states is that the Ethiopian diaspora in Egypt in not active since most of them go there to work as maids or use Egypt as a transit to pass to Europe and even if there are they are few in number as to Biruk Mekonnen, director of the international media agrees. This was also mentioned on the report that one of the challenges of the public diplomacy delegate in its visit was to be in contact with the Diaspora (MOFA, 2015).

The two countries have signed a Memorandum of Understanding in March 30th, 2010 but little has been done says Ato Yaregal senior expert in public Relations and International affairs from the Ethiopia Ministry of Culture and Tourism.¹⁵

Regarding the national troupe that visited the Egypt, according to the report received from the Ethiopian National Theater from Solomon Tsegaye, an Orchestra Manager of music directorate in Ethiopian National Theater, “the visit was the first of its kind though there were invitations before the one went this year. We did not go before due to finance problems.”¹⁶

As also found from archives from the Ministry of Culture, there are plenty of invitations in areas of Festivals of small films, children’s painting contest, in theaters.... But none had been accepted due to financial issues of invitee.

Type of cultural exchange (Ethiopia to Egypt)	Number of exchange (1991-Present)
Cultural Troops	Only one April 19-25, 2015
Festivals	Only one April 19-25, 2015
Sports	None
Soap Operas	None
Arts	None
Cultural centers	None
Joint Projects	Under Discussion

Table 1: The practice of cultural diplomacy between Ethiopia and Egypt

4.9.2. Exchange

The role of exchange in public diplomacy takes different roles ranging from educational exchange to twinning of cities. And its aim is to connect one another and share innovation and technologies. In Ethiopian and Egyptian relation, that have counted to have passed its 80th anniversary, they have exchange varies agreements that support educational exchanges, transfer of technologies and innovations in area of Agriculture, Health, Military and Police and Engineering and few scholarships according to records from the Ministry. “With

¹⁵ Ato yaregal senior expert in public relations and international affairs at FDRE Ministry of Culture and Tourism

¹⁶ Interview held with Solomon Tsegaye, Orchestra Manager in Ethiopian National Theaters.

exceptions to areas of Intelligence” says Anonymous expert. It also involves higher education institutions exchange in forums between their scholars and areas where they are and want to work together.

From records that were found on their exchange experiences, Ethiopia does not provide scholarships but based on their agreement, Egypt provided trainings are two kinds as was found from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Culture and Tourism archives. And these are, trainings invited by Egyptian university in collaboration with International Aid like Japan Aid or Ministry Office offered training and on the other hand, trainings requested from Ethiopia to Ethiopian professionals. One such example, is when information ministry was still a part of ministry of culture and tourism, it requested training from the MENA for its new department of press professionals to be trained for a week visit in Egypt.

In practice as Snow (2009) puts it, educational exchange in public diplomacy has the role of not only engaging. But the essence by itself is unique in how it engages. It is not message centered rather experience centered to inform, influence and engage its audience. Students or professionals when they travel overseas and stay in another country, their agenda is not to promote the country they came from, it's rather their own motive that drives them to peruse their professional carrier or so.

The practical motivations of sponsored exchanges do not exclude fulfillment of some public diplomacy goals like those intercultural competence skills.... but in a more open and independent manner than traditional message-centered public diplomacy efforts like international broadcasting or short-term targeted international visitor exchanges (Snow& Taylor, 2009, pp.237).

However, in order even to know there is an alternative to their dream as students, they should have information about options available. For example in the case of Ethiopia and Egypt educational exchange is mainly centered as a one way flow of exchanges, where Ethiopia is mainly receiver of training or scholarships. But for students and professionals from Egypt, in order to come or favor education in Ethiopia, there must be first a communication through the use of media to inform them about options from a neighboring country.

At this point the media sets the agenda to change an existing public opinion for two reasons and these are due to their relevance and in order to lower the degree of uncertainty created in the minds of the Egyptian audience.

As to Haregwa Sahle, “Ethiopia and Egypt despite their age long relations; the two countries do not even share twin cities. It has been a question for me for so long. There have been cultural troops visiting from Egypt but not from ours as I recall. But, says Haregwa, who also traveled with the public diplomacy delegate to Egypt by the end of 2014, despite how we felt towards each other, during our stay in Egypt, the people welcomed us cheerfully. There was even a young Egyptian boy who studied and sang Teddy Afro’s song “Tsebaye Tsenay”. The delegate was overwhelmed and we gave him a round of applaud. It was touching. It gave us the chance to know someone knew where we came from and even sung our song. I think we have to work hard towards the people in order to engage them. And we have to do our part as well for that is how public diplomacy works.”¹⁷

People to people relation are all about knowing one another and that happen not only having the ideas in mind without communicating them. And its is not to mean communicating plainly but purposefully as Snow (2010) puts it in Tsikizas (2013) to lower the degree of uncertainty. It is as one of the Egyptian participants on the official visit of the Ethiopian delegate said on a meeting with various groups from the Egyptian side, “I never knew Ethiopia was the source of the water that provides 86% of the Nile. I do not know books, literatures or any of the kind that talk about Ethiopia. We drank from the same water yet we do not know about each other” (EBC, 2015).

Unless there comes a bridge in the era of ICT where media facilitates and creates the opinions, people cannot know one another out of the blue. Therefore utilizing the technological tools and institutional tools along with stakeholders will create and enhance the continuity of the people to people relations.

¹⁷ Interview held with Haregwa Sahle, Desk officer of the Cultural and Promotion Department under Public Diplomacy Directorate General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia.

LEVEL OF ENGAGEMENT WITH EGYPTIAN PUBLIC				
Approaches	Present	Absent	On Process	Tools
Listening	✓			Twitter
	✓			Facebook
		✓		YouTube
	✓			Official Website
		✓		Mission Website
				Web Portal
Advocacy	✓			Twitter
				Facebook
				Official Website
Exchanges (Ethiopia to Egypt)		✓		Educational exchanges
		✓		Twinning of cities
		✓		Twinning of institutions
		✓		Science and Innovation Transfer
Cultural Diplomacy	✓			Faith Diplomacy
		✓		Language Center
		✓		Cultural Institute
		✓		Soap Operas
International Broadcasting	✓			News
		✓		Documentaries
	✓			Journalist Invitations
		✓		Films

Table 2: Level Of engagement with the Egyptian public

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to explore the public diplomacy practice of the FDRE Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards the Egyptian public. Based on the finding of the study, the research has come up with the following conclusions.

The FDRE Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not have a public diplomacy and communications strategy as a nation and this was seen as a short coming in looking at the practice and also the department was also a new phenomenon in the practice of public diplomacy of the Ministry since it started recently and is using media little or no work has been done with regards to inform, influence and engage its Egyptian public.

This was because the over relationship between the two countries was highly biased by the historical context they shared in which Egypt's hegemonic attitude have blinded their relation not to get smoother overlapping with the practice of public diplomacy principles in which mixing it with the political mind set can disturb the work of public diplomacy.

Although Ethiopia does not give scholarships nor did little in cultural diplomacy for both practices needs financial support. But it needs consistency for public diplomacy to flourish and build relationships despite changes in governments and their politics. As found from the research, the public diplomacy delegate formed recently and it did not exist since the start of public diplomacy delegate exchange between the two countries. Also was found that the relation in foreign direct investment (FDI) was low when it is compared although Ethiopia does not have a brand or a strategy to brand the country. That way it will be a great opportunity to know and learn where the practice is heading. The other issue for successful public diplomacy practice is engagement. One engage by telling their side of the story and it is best told to the other side in a way that is best understood, which in this case there must be a commitment to work in area of broadcasting in Arabic to reach the audience and must listen back their thoughts and that needs research like polls and surveys that can show the numbers which can help the practitioners leap forward to make their relationships go from hostile to relationship building. That is because public diplomacy is about listening.

The way of building a relationship is coming together to work diligently, signing agreements and not working on them is a problem. In the people to people relations, even if politics get rough, if the people are at the center of the communication, divorce won't be an option since they exchange and learn from one another. Ethiopia and Egypt can work in areas where they can build their economy, tourism, trade, cultural and educational exchange so as to strengthen their relationships.

5.2.RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the conclusion drawn from the study, the researcher would like to forward the following recommendations.

1. The Public Diplomacy and Communication Department Directorate shall have a clear and up-to-date public diplomacy strategy for the success of its practice as whole.
2. Effective utilization of media as tool to reach the Egyptian public will be helpful to engage the Egyptian public and using Arabic can elevate the language barrier. Therefore, the Ministry should present its message in using Arabic language in its broadcasting and on using social media to transmit message that is best understood by the Egyptian public.
3. Empowering the Public diplomacy staff and changing organizational culture with regards to public diplomacy can increase the institutional capacity for the effective practice of public diplomacy as a whole and specifically, in the case of Ethiopia and Egypt relationship. Thus the ministry shall provide training to its staff and empower them will help the practice of public diplomacy not to be limited to the public diplomacy department staffs only.
4. The Ministry should encourage the participation of other actors to create a broad based participation involving civil society and other actors in order to increase the level of people to people relation by creating a well informed foreign public.
5. The Ministry shall work to alienate the practice of public diplomacy from the political mindset that can hinder effective communication since the political line should not overlap with the practice and create negative attitude and belief of not changing.
6. The Ministry shall enhance the level of exchanges between the two countries by opening centers for language studies and cultural institutes.

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APPENDIX I
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATIONS
INTERVIEW HELD WITH PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DEPARTMENT
EXPERTS

The following interview questions are designed to explore the practice of FDRE's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Public Diplomacy Strategy and Practice towards the Egyptian Public since (1991-Present). As a result, your contribution in this matter is highly appreciated by the researcher and it is to be used for the purpose of this research only.

Interview Questions

1. Who are the target audiences of the Egyptian public and tools do you use to reach them?
2. What has been the practice of FDRE's Ministry of Foreign Affairs works to make it dialogic to its Egyptian Public using social media
3. What are the works regarding international broadcasting with regards to the Egyptian Public? Any attempt to invite their media to cover about Ethiopia?
4. What were the levels of exchanges in education and cultural diplomacy and their challenges?
5. What have been the attempts to strengthen People to People relations using media?
7. What is the level of participation of the MFA staff and also the participation practicing Public Diplomacy?
8. What are the challenges in the practice of the Public Diplomacy of Ministry of foreign affairs towards the Egyptian Publics?

Thank you very much for your time!

APPENDIX II
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATIONS
AN INTERVIEW HELD WITH EXPERTS IN ETHIOPIA AND EGYPT
RELATIONS

The following interview questions are designed to explore the practice of FDRE's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Public Diplomacy Strategy and Practice towards the Egyptian Public since (1991-Present). As a result, your contribution in this matter is highly appreciated by the researcher and it is to be used for the purpose of this research only.

Interview Questions

1. Who are the target audiences of the Egyptian public and tools do you use to reach them?
2. What are the Numbers of treaties signed with Egypt, area of focus and how many became effective since 1991?
3. Are there treaties under to strengthen collective cultural ties? What are their progresses so far?
4. Are there Cities that are twin with Egypt and vice versa, how many and which cities are they and what privilege do they have?
5. What has been done to the brand of Ethiopia towards Egypt and its success in doing so?
6. What are the levels of exchanges in education and cultural diplomacy and their challenges?
7. What is the theme of attracting visitors and Number of tourist flows between the years 1991-2015?
8. How has the Diaspora in Egypt contributing to the Ethiopian and Egyptian relationship?
9. What are the challenges in the facing the Ministry of foreign affairs in dealing with it's the Egyptian Publics?

Thank You for Your Time!

DECLARATION

I declare that, this thesis (The Public Diplomacy Practices of the FDRE Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards the Egyptian Public) is my own work and I have duly acknowledged the sources of materials I have used.

Name: ELLENI DEREJE

Signature: _____



Date: July 2015