Public Relations Communications in Public Diplomacy

Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK

Khalid.S. A. Abdalla

School of Arts and Media, University of Salford,

Salford, UK

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where references have been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

Libya's recent past has limited any potential economic and political benefits, such as interaction, cooperation and association, which positive perceptions of the country might bring about. However, following the revolution of 17 February 2011, Libya has employed public relations communications in its public diplomacy efforts. Yet these efforts have not been subject to any evaluative assessment with regard to public relations communications models, methods, strategies, and themes provided to foreign publics abroad.

The key aim of this study is to provide an enriched understanding of Libyan institutions' public relations practices post 2011 revolution, utilizing the interpretivist paradigm and inductive reasoning due to a lack of previous studies addressing Libyan public relations practices for public diplomacy purposes. Content analysis and interviews were used to investigate the behaviours, opinions, and attitudes of public relations practitioners in Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK.

Anholt's Nation Brand theory and Grunig's Excellence theory are proposed as a theoretical framework used to gain a comprehensive understanding of the practice of public relations adopted by Libyan institutions. The findings indicate that this practice depends heavily on a one-way communication model aimed at publicity that concentrates on two key themes: People and Governance. Two image-repair strategies have been utilised by these institutions: the reduction of offensiveness and corrective action. However, the findings also suggest that Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK do not employ any evaluation strategies to assess the success of their public relations efforts.

The study concludes that Libyan public relations practice has not adopted the new concept of public diplomacy in its communication efforts; instead, it has adopted the old, narrow concept of public diplomacy: providing information to that public, most likely through the publicity model.

The study is the first to present a comprehensive understanding of the practice of public relations of Libyan institutions abroad. The theoretical framework may be utilized for future academic studies concerning the converging relationship between public relations and public diplomacy. The study also offers a set of recommendations to improve public relations practices in Libyan institutions abroad.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

A debate concerning the potential convergence of public relations and public diplomacy has recently arisen in the literature of both fields, which in turn has shed light on many of the potential advantages of this relationship (Valentini, Kruckeberg, & Starck, 2012).

One of these advantages is the ability of public relations to effectively manage communications with a foreign public for public diplomacy purposes.The current study therefore seeks to investigate the practice of public relations employed by Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK post the revolution of 17 February 2011, to explore and assess the communication models, strategies, methods and themes set up to enhance Libyan public diplomacy.

The study has been established based on two principal justifications: First, the failure of the current literature to deliver adequate studies on public diplomacy, modelled around public relations theories (Hayes, 2012). Second, Libya presents a very suitable case study to investigate communication efforts used to rebrand a nation in an international context, given its post-revolution efforts to use public diplomacy to repair its image and reputation in the minds of other countries' peoples (see e.g. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation − State of Libya, 2011; Council of the European Union, 2017).

The first section of this chapter states the importance of the research problem and highlights the gap in knowledge the current study seeks to address.

The second section elucidates the research questions, which arose from the need to close the gap in knowledge.

The third section indicates the research objectives required to answer the research questions.

As the study seeks to address the gap in knowledge, the fourth section states the conceptual contribution of the current study to present knowledge.

The methodological approach, and the methods and theoretical framework utilised in the course of this study are briefly explained in the fifth section.

The chapter concludes with an overview of the structure of the thesis, which summarises and illustrates the contents and purpose of each subsequent chapter.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

A study by Hiebert (2005) suggests that significant challenges face Arab public relations and public diplomacy. One of these challenges is the negative image of Arabs in foreign countries. For example, Hiebert indicates that a survey was carried out by the Arab American Institute 'Zogby' in late 2011, to investigate American public opinion towards certain Arabcountries, including Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. It notes disparities in respondents' opinion towards different Arabcountries; the overall result is that there is only one positive opinion to every four negatives. The study strongly emphasised the need to make more effort to influence American public opinion, with the aim to create a positive image of Arab countries as a whole.

Similarly, Khakimova (2012) conducted a study in 2012to examine how Arab public diplomacy strategies are introduced by Arab embassies in the US in an attempt to create a desirable image of their countries there. The study found that Arab public diplomacy is characterised by an old public diplomacy approach, the'one-way communication model'. Furthermore, the ability of Arab public diplomacy to build relationships with American society depends on individual initiatives by respective embassies'staff using an unclear and short-term communications strategy.

In fact, for a number of reasons, Libya, more than any other Arab country, must make concerted public-diplomacy efforts to repair, or even rebuild, its national brand abroad. Chief among these reasons are the 42 years it spent under the authoritarian and undemocratic 'Qaddafi's regime', which was suspected of committing many terrorist acts, such as the Lockerbie bombing in 1988, and the bombing of the French plane, 'Utah'in 1989. Consequently, "in both 1987 and 1988, Libya was the third most active state sponsor of terrorism" (Jentleson &Whytock, 2005, p.81).

In light of this history, Libya needs to repair its unfavourable image and reputation. Second, following the Libyan revolution of 2011, there is an urgent need to communicate and establish close relationships with the international community, specifically with developed countries, which can contribute to rebuilding the Libyan state:

"That nation branding can help transitional states to distance themselves from the previous political system, as well as help to portray the country as a modern state and eligible member of a new world system" (Szondi, 2008, cited in Jordan, 2014, p. 290).

With the transition to democracy, freedom and peace, Libya might today face a real challenge regarding how to present its identity to the outside world as an attractive and eligible nation deserving of an active rolein the international community. In other words, in the context of international competition, what should be internationally presented asLibya'sdistinctive nation brand, and how should it be done?

The Libyan public diplomacy efforts launched in late 2011, first through its embassies and then through other Libyan institutions abroad, have not yet been the subject ofany academic evaluative studies in terms of performance or content. This raises questions about the effectiveness of such efforts and their ability to presenta favourable image of Libya abroad.

Consequently, the purpose of this study isto investigate Libyan institutions' public relations practices abroad following the 2011 revolution. In other words, to investigate the practice of public relations that aims to create impressions and perceptions of Libya in the foreign public's mindand ultimately lead to the creation of a strong nation brand of Libya abroad, taking into account that the national brand of a country is made up of acollective effort that requires engagement on the part of many stakeholders, including government and non-government organisations, corporate and civil society institutions.

In addition, there is a consensus among scholars on the ability of such actors to reach a broad group of target audiences and provide them with information and facts that shape their perceptions of a country.The sum of these perceptions in the foreign public's mind then produces a nation brand of that country (see e.g. Freeman, 2012; Pamment, 2015; Cromwell, 2015). Hence, a crucial question that be raised here is, how do Libyan government and non-government institutions abroad employ public relations practice to assist in the promotion of Libyain other countries?

The importance of this study can therefore lie in two areas. First, due to a lack of pertinent literature, the study seeks to close the gap in knowledge regarding the potential contribution of public relations practice to public diplomacy purposes. Second, as yet there are no studies or research seeking to investigate and clarify the nature of current public relations practice in Libyan institutions abroad post revolution of 17 February 2011; as a result, the current study provides a significant contribution to the literature of Libyan public relations and Libyan public diplomacy.

Furthermore, in practical terms, the study can be considered as an evaluation assisting those who manage Libyan diplomacy efforts post revolution of 17 February 2011, through bringing to light any positive aspects that may be enhanced, and negative aspects to be addressed early:

> *"The public relations frameworks are transferable to conceptualising and measuring public diplomacy behaviour and excellence in public diplomacy"* (Yun, 2006, p.307).

In short, the current study investigates the communication efforts executed through public relations practice with foreign publics by Libyan institutions located in Egypt and the UK, aimed to promote an image and shape the reputation of Libya abroad, as well as to enhance its national brand post revolution of 17 February 2011. To do so, the researcher posed several questions that arose from the need to close the above identified gap in knowledge. These questions arepresented in the following section.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Public diplomacy efforts such as building strong relationships with foreign public and establishment of diplomatic programs abroad to promote the national interestare cumulative efforts, the results of which require a long time to become apparent, and can be measured and compared with the established goals (Moilanen & Seppo, 2009, cited in Martínez, 2010).Political, commercial, cultural, and tourism organisations such as embassies, corporations, and government and non-government organisations can be considered the public diplomacy institutions of a country(Brown, 2012).

Accordingly, these institutions implement different communication strategies with foreign publics worldwide, which promote an image and reputation of a country abroad. Assuming favourable conditions, this can allow the country to create distinctive national image, more likely to provide advantages on the international and domestic level. For example, Barr (2012, p.47) argues that "Branding serves multiple functions. Externally, it attracts more buyers for a country's exports and encourages tourism; internally it encourages citizens to feel confident in their homeland and promotes a sense of belonging, among self, nation and state".

These communication strategies are derived from one, or a combination, of the established public relations models of international communication: press agentry, public information, the two-way asymmetrical and two-way symmetrical models, as well as the personal influence model and the cultural interpreter model (see e.g. Hiebert, 2005; Yun, 2006; Milam & Avery, 2012; Grunig et al, 1995). These models are explored in detail in Chapter Three.

> *"The field of public diplomacy consists essentially in the application of PR*
> *to strategic relationships of organisations with international publics"*
> (Rasmussen & Merkelsen, 2012, p. 811).

In addition, Valentini, Kruckeberg, and Starck (2012, p.168) acknowledge "the need to explore and test new paradigms of public relations worldwide". It was long ago noted that analysis of the models of public relations can contribute to the description and classifications of public relations behaviour (Grunig et al, 1995).

The following are the questions which the current study seeks to answer:

1.3.1 In what ways, and how does public relations communication with the foreign public of Libyan institutions in Egypt and the United Kingdom post revolution of 17 February intend to contribute to shaping those publics' perceptions of Libya?

1.3.2 To what extent do public relations practitioners at the chosen Libyan institutions consider they are satisfied with their current public relations communication strategies with their foreign public, and how can these strategies be developed in the future?

1.3.3 Which models of communication are in evidence in the public relations of Libyan institutions in Egypt and the United Kingdom post revolution of 17 February and what are their relations to public diplomacy?

To answer these questions, several objectives must be achieved in order to address the main purpose of the current study. These are introduced and defined in the following ssection.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The aim of this study is to provide an enriched understanding of Libyan institutions' public relations practice with regard to a foreign public post 2011 revolution.

This is realised through the pursuit of the following objectives:

1.4.1 To undertake a critical evaluation of the literature on public relations and public diplomacy

1.4.2 To identify the models of communication utilised for public relations purposes by Libyan institutions operating in Egypt and the United Kingdom post revolution of 17 February 2011.

1.4.3 To explore the methods, strategies, and themes of such public relations communication.

1.4.4 To develop a new explanatory model of public relations for Libyan institutions based overseas.

1.4.5 To provide a set of practical recommendations for internationally based Libyan institutions in their efforts to promote Libya post 2011 revolution.

As it is essential that any research should present a worthwhile contribution to knowledge that advances existing literature within the field, the following ssection identifies and clarifies the current study's contributions to that knowledge.

1.5 THE CONCEPTUAL CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

The current literature on public relations identifies the need to explore the various issues that exist in the current international environment (Valentini, Kruckeberg, & Starck, 2012). As a result, this study focuses on investigating the practice of public relations with a foreign public conducted by Libyan institutions abroad post the revolution of 17 February 2011, in particular, the practice of public relations employed for public diplomacy purposes by Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK. The reason for this focus is a failure of the current literature to deliver adequate studies on public diplomacy, modelled around public relations theories (Hayes, 2012).

Consequently, this research provides a significant contribution to several aspects of current knowledge:

First, the study provides an overarching review of public relations practice employed by government and non-government institutions abroad for the purposes of public diplomacy, which will feed into the literature of the two fields.

Second, it closes the gap in knowledge regarding the expected contribution of public relations practice to meet public diplomacy goals, due to a lack of current studies in the literature aimed at addressing this specific issue.

Third, the study presents a comprehensive understanding of the practice of public relations in relation to a foreign public employed by Libyan institutions located in Egypt and the UK, which aims to promote an image and reputation of Libya abroad post revolution of 17 February 2011. It is the first study to attempt such an investigation, and as such is a pioneering contribution to both Libyan public relations and Libyan public diplomacy literature.

Fourth, the study presents an explanatory framework which can be drawn on in future academic studies of issues of the convergence relationship between public relations and public diplomacy.

Fifth, the recommendations that are presented at the end of this research can assist in improving public relations practice at Libyan institutions abroad by highlighting the positive aspects of this practice that can be further developed and at the same, those less efficacious aspects that need to be attended to.

1.6 METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to achieve its stated objectives, the study employs a set of methodological approach and methods. Specifically, it adopts the interpretivist paradigm for social research given that this approach aims to consider all environmental variables around any phenomenon under study (Scribd, 2013). It is here argued that the practice of public relations cannot be isolated from local variables.

In addition, due to a lack of previous studies addressing Libyan public relations practice for public diplomacy purposes, whether before or after revolution of 17 February 2011, the study adopts inductive reasoning, which begins with investigation of the research issue to arrive at explanations about it, which can be generalised (Trochim, 2011).

As the current study aims to provide an enriched understanding of Libyan institutions' public relations practice with foreign publics post the 2011 revolution, the survey method was selected as the most suitable to investigate such practice based on this method's focus on gathering data regarding behaviours, opinions, and attitudes existent within institutions. In addition, the survey method allows the researcher to generalise the results of the study (Keegan, 2015).

Content analysis was utilised first to gain an initial understanding of public relations practice through the analysis of electronic and printed media content produced for public relations purposes by Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK, in their efforts to communicate with foreign publics post revolution of 17 February 2011. This was done to identify any themes and adopted models employed by these institutions for Libyan public diplomacy purposes.

The semi-structured interviews were also subsequently deployed to gather data related to the practice of public relations with foreign publics of Libyan institutions located in Egypt and the UK, from public relations practitioners in these institutions. This type of interview can allow the researcher to have open conversations with targeted participants, which can clarify, expand and enrich the collected data (Anderson, 2009).

The critical review of the literature undertaken in this research (see Chapter Three and Chapter Four) allowed the researcher to create an initial explanatory framework with which

to explain the empirical data gathered from the content analysis and semi-structured interviews. This framework is based on two complementary theories, which are Anholt's Nation Brand theory and Grunig's Excellence theory.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The key aim of the study is to provide an enriched understanding of Libyan institutions' public relations practice with foreign publics post revolution of 17 February 2011. Thus, in order to achieve this aim and find answers to the questions that arose from the need to close this specified gap in knowledge, the main body of this thesis has been divided into seven chapters, with each chapter sub-divided into several sections based on the study requirements.

Chapter One (this current chapter) sets out the importance of conducting the current study and highlights the gap in knowledge the study seeks to address. It also sets out the research questions, aims, and objectives which arose from the need to close the gap in knowledge.

In addition, this chapter sheds light on the conceptual contribution of the study to current knowledge, and presents an explanation of the methodological approach and methods, and theoretical framework utilised to achieve this study.

Chapter Two presents adetailed explorationof the home of the targeted institutions in the current study, Libya, in terms of geographical location, cities, population, culture, languages, religion, history, tourist attractions and politics. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a contextualisation of Libya's core features and development and the possibilities available that might allow it gain a favourable image and status in the international community.

This chapter also explores the literature on Libyan public relations and diplomacy practice within three different periods of Libyan history with the aim of showing their historical development and impact on the current Libyan practice of both fields.

Chapter Three serves as a critical review of the literature on concepts, theories, models, and strategies of both public relations and public diplomacy in order to draw out an explanatory framework, to assistin the interpretation, illustration, and understanding of the ultimate findings of the study.

Chapter Four provides a detailed exposition of the methodology and methods adopted in this study with the aim ofsetting out paradigms, approaches, and explanatory theories that fit

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with the study's aim to provide an enriched understanding of Libyan institutions' public relations practice with foreign publics post revolution of 17 February 2011.

The chapter also provides a detailed explanation of how the data were gathered through two main data collection tools: content analysis and interviews. Moreover, it identifies how the data generated from the interviews were analysed.

This chapter concludes with an elucidation of the crucial ethical issues taken into consideration while conducting both the theoretical and empirical work of the current study.

Chapter Five undertakes a presentation and analysis of the data generated from conducting content analysis of printed and electronic media through public relations practice with foreign publics by Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK post revolution of 17 February 2011, as well as the data gathered from carrying out semi-structured interviews with public relations practitioners in these institutions.

Chapter Six presents an in-depth discussion of the study findings with regards to models, methods, strategies, and themes of public relations communication with foreign publics by Libyan institutions in Egypt and the United Kingdom post revolution of 17 February 2011.

Chapter Seven sets out the key contributions to knowledge of the research. These relate to enrichment of our understanding of Libyan public relations and public diplomacy through the evidence provided and analysed. From this, the chapter provides a set of recommendations aimed at improving the practice of public relations with foreign publics of Libyan institutions abroad, which can lead to promoting better the image and status of Libya in the international context.

This chapter sets out possible future research related to the practice of public relations for public diplomacy purposes by highlighting the limitations of the current study, and other gaps in knowledge that need to be addressed.

CHAPTER TWO
AN INTRODUCTION TO LIBYA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces Libya in terms of its geographical location, cities, population, culture, languages, religion, history, tourist attractions, and politics, since Libya represents the home of the Libyan institutions abroad targeted in this study. The chapter attempts to provide an overview of the possibilities available to Libya to attract and influence a foreign public in an effort to gain favourable image and reputation, andassist substantially in protecting and promoting its national and international interests.

In addition, the chapter entails an investigation on the literature of Libyan public relations and diplomacy practice within three different periods of Libyan history, as follows:

1. The period of Ottoman rule 1551−1911.

2. The period of Italian occupation 1911−1951.

3. The period of the Qaddafi regime 1969−2011.

The aim of this investigation is to provide evidence of the changes in Libyan public relations and diplomacy practice within the three periods above, as well as to highlight their influence on the current Libyan practice of public relations and diplomacy, and underline any changes and developments made following revolution of 17 February, if discovered.

2.2 LOCATION AND POPULATION

Libya is located in the centre of the northern coast of Africa, on the Mediterranean Sea, and its vast land stretches to the highlands of north-central Africa; it is bordered in the north by the Mediterranean Sea, in the south by Sudan, Chad, and Niger, inthe east by Egypt, and inthe west by Algeria and Tunisia, as shown on the map of Libya below. Geographically, Libya extends between latitudes 19° and 34°N, and longitudes 9° and 26°E (Al-Abboushi, 2014). Arabic is the official language of Libya. Other, older languages are still spoken today, but are rarely used, such as the Berber language. English and Italian languages are understood to some degree (African Union, 2012).

Fig **(1)** Map of Libya.

SOURCE: The African Business Development Association ABDAS, 2011.

The capital city of Libya is Tripoli, while cities such as Benghazi, Misrata, and Sirte are considered major cities. However, other cities and towns, such as Al Bayda, Shahat, Sousa, Derna, Tobruk, Al Kufrah, Al Marj, Al Zawiyah, Ghadames, Murzuq, Sabha, Sabratha and Lebda, have distinctive economic, heritage, and historical characteristics (African Union, 2012). For example, Ghadames was recently awarded the title of Arab Heritage City 2016 according to the Arab Journalists Union (2015).

In addition, Libya is characterised by its spatial expanse, with a surface area in the range of 1,759,540 square kilometres; Libya is thus the fourth largest African country in terms of space, and its Mediterranean coast is nearly two thousand kilometres in length. Moreover, the Libyan territory has many distinctive and geological features, notably, the Suda mountains, the Jebel Akhdar mountains, the Nafusa mountains, the Acacus mountains, the Tibesti mountains, the Owaynat mountains, the Al-Shati valley, the Fezzan valleys, the Al-Kuf valley, the Berjuj valley, the gulf of Sidra, the gulf of Bombe, the gulf of Sirte, the oasis of Awjila, the oasis of Ghadames, the oasis of Kufra, the oasis of Al-Jaghbub, the Capron lake, the waterfall of Derna, and the waterfall of Ras Al-Helal (Al-Abboushi, 2014).

The population of Libya is approximately 6,244,174 million according to UN data dated 2013. The majority of the population belong to the Islamic religion, specifically 97% of them are Sunni Muslim, and just 3% belong to other religions which most of them are foreign and non-resident in Libya permanently (CNN, 2013). This population can be classified based on the age structure of Libyan people as shown in Table (1).

Gender / Age	Male	Female	Total	%
0−14	859,016	820,643	1,679,659	26.9%
15−24	586,749	546,602	1,133,351	18.2%
25−54	1,509,108	1,370,709	2,879,817	46.1%
55−64	154,847	145,330	300,177	4.8%
65 and over	126,691	124,479	251,170	4%
Total	3,236,411	3,007,763	6,244,174	100%

Table (**1**) Percentage of Libyan population per age range categorisation.
Source: CIA World Factbook, 2014.

Libyan authorities pay a great deal of attention to education, allocating approximately 30 per cent of the state budget to support and develop the education process in Libya (Maps of World, 2016). Education in Libya is free and provided bypublic schools, colleges anduniversities, and is compulsory until age fifteen (Fetouri, 2016).

A study by Taib (2011) concluded that there has beena significant improvement and increase in the rate of literacy and enrolment in educational institutions at all levels of education in Libya. For example, according to Actualitix (2015), the rate of literacy in 1984 was 60.16 per cent; ten years later, in 1994, the level was 75.81 per cent; in 2004 it was 85.42 per cent, and in 2013 it reached 90.26 per cent, which marks a significant improvement in the reality of education in Libya within the last thirty years.

2.3 TOURISM

Based on its geographical location, Libya is an important bridge linking Africa and Europe. Its location on the southern coast of the Mediterranean has also led to it being, since ancient times, directly affected by important historical events in theregion. Its ports, such as the port of Benghazi, the port of Tripoli, and others, are able to receive ships throughout the year for some African countries' trade, such as Niger, Chad, and Mali, with the outside world. Libya's strategic location represents an important bridge between the western and eastern parts of the Arab world, and this is why the confluence of Islamic and Arabic culture and civilisation are clearly evident in Libya today (Abdullah, 2010).

In addition, Libya is linked with neighbouring countries by a network of paved roads, which makes it easy to reach, whether by sea, land or air.

Libya's climate is characterised by drought with a significant difference in seasonal temperatures; the winters are mild, despite occasional snow in some highland areas, with a low of 5 °C, while the summer is considered relatively hot, with an average temperature exceeding 30 °C. Rain is uncommon during the summer (Abdullah, 2010).

Overall, Libya's climate is mild and characterised by diversity, which makes it an attractive and important element of the tourism industry. For example, tourists can visit Libya any time over the year in some areas of Libya, while some other areas have proper certain seasons to visit them as shown in Table (2):

Geographical area	Main tourist season
Coastal region	Year-round.
Eastern mountains	September−June.
Western mountains	September−May.
Desert and semi-desert areas	October−mid-March.

Table (**2**) Main tourist season by geographical area in Libya.

Source: The Delegation of Libya to UNESCO, 2015.

Administratively, the Libyan General Authority for Tourism was founded in 1989 and was officially responsible for organising and managing the tourism sector in Libya until 2011, under Law No. 44/1989. This General Authority was tasked with developing the Libyan tourism sector to take advantage of the economic returns from invest available tourist resources in Libyan state, where the most important tasks for this Authority were as follows:

- Supervising the tourism affairs, activating a tourism movement, and facilitating the arrival of tourists in Libya.

- Collecting and preparing data, information, and statistics related to tourism activities, and granting licences for establishing and managing travel and tourism offices.

- Granting licences to establish and manage hostels, tourist accommodations and other tourist facilities, as well as supervising, observing, and assessing their performance and price.

- Organising tourist guidance and granting licences to guides) Allan, 2006).

These tasks were executed in collaboration with other Libyan government organisations and institutions such as the Archaeology Authority, the General Authority for Transportation and the Media Authority; a general strategy was also put in place to develop the Libyan tourism sector based on a common plan with the United Nations that started in the early part of 1999 and was due to be continue until 2018. According to this plan, Libya has been divided into four tourist regions, as follows:

- The West county or Western regions

  In this region, thirty locations are identified as tourist attraction locations, which include cities, beaches, unique islands, varied archaeology, and museums. The most important among them are in Tripoli, which is rich in Islamic and Christian heritage and archaeology, and different civilisations. The coastal city of Misrata and the desert city of Ghadames are oases.

- The South county or Southern regions

  This area contains approximately sixteen locations of tourist attraction, such as the oases of Sebha, Murzuk, Zuwayla, Wadi Al-Hayaa and Wadi the Al-Shati, and the Acacus Mountains.

- The centre county or central regions

  There are approximately fifteen locations of tourist attraction covered by this county, of which most are located in great cities such as Sirte, and the oases of Kufra, Gallo, and Buzeima.

- The East county or Eastern regions

  This region boasts sixteen locations of tourist attraction, and cities such as Benghazi, Al Marj, Al Bayda, Shahat, Sousa, Derna, and Tobruk are considered the most attractive tourist cities in the county, with unique archaeology. In general, these cities have a wealth of tourism resources, beaches, mountain areas, and facilities perfect for summer tourism (Allan, 2006).

However, a study conducted by Taib (2011) to discover the potential for tourism development in Libya concluded that, although Libya has enormous potential for tourism, such as its geographical location, mild weather, and variety of terrain, let alone the cultural heritage, beginning in prehistoric times and passing through Phoenician, Greek, Roman, and Islamic civilisations, which have left behind them the kinds of attractions popular with tourists from all over the world, these tourist locations and monuments suffer from neglect, damage, looting, and a shortage of guide services and tourist information.

In addition, there is a lack of basic tourist facilities such as restaurants, cafes, and communication networks. Consequently, the rate of demand for visiting Libya by international tourists over the past years is very low, and is not proportionate with a country of such potential.

In the same context, Taib's study (2011) also found that tourism in Libya essentially relies on tourists from Arab countries, followed by European countries, the United States, and Asian, and African countries. Moreover, the average age of these tourists ranged from 50 to 70 years, while it is rare for young tourists, who usually look for good tourist services, proper facilities, and convenient guest houses with a lower cost, to visit. In general, the study summarises the obstacles that face the tourism industry in Libya as follows:

- Bureaucracy, whether related to obtaining a visa, or difficulties related to arrival in and departure from Libya.

- The rarity and irregularity of flights to Libya due to the tense political situation between Libya and most European countries, as well as some Arab countries. There is also a lack of quality local transportation between tourist cities, regions, and locations.

- The lack of hotels and guest houses that provide good services and a proper standard of hospitality.

- A shortage of trained staff who are able to deal with international tourists and communicate in a variety of languages.

- A poor standard of wired and wireless communication, which leads to tourists' isolation from the outside world.

- The lack of tourist guidance centres to provide information, maps, regulations, and names of tourist locations in a variety of languages other than Arabic.

- The wide lack of entertainment and leisure facilities.

- The neglect of tourist locations and the closure of museums, as well as the state of disrepair of historical and archaeological sites.

- A low level of tourist awareness at both official and public levels (Taib, 2011).

It is important to note that, beginning in 2005 with the preparation of the so-called 'Libya Tomorrow' project, launched in 2006 under the auspices of Gaddafi's son, Saif al-Islam, the country has to some extent witnessed concrete developments in all sectors, after a growing interest was shown by public authorities and economic decision-makers in Libya regarding the need to find alternative resources to oil. The tourism sector was among those targeted for development as an economic source, and the General People's Committee for Tourism was established, with an investment fund estimated at approximately $7 billion over five years to support this sector. In addition, increasing attention was given to organising local tourist exhibitions with the aim of encouraginga wide audience to join this strategic plan (The Pan African News Agency, 2005).

Moreover, according to the Pan African News Agency (2005), many considerable projects aiming to enhance Libya's tourism infrastructure have been launched, such as the Tajura Tourist Complex in Tripoli and the Tower of Ghazala Hotel in Tripoli, the expansion of guest houses to accommodate larger numbers of tourists, and a project to protect and maintain the

Old City of Tripoli through maintaining its historic character and making it a tourist attraction centre.

These developments coincided with the addressing of the air embargo imposed by the UN Security Council on Libya following the Lockerbie incident, a critical international issue that that Libya has been faced for more than ten years and obstructed the Libyan tourism sector between 1992 and 2003. Once this crisis was settled, the Libyan aviation sector enjoyed an increase in the number of destinations and flights to and from Libya, which contributed to improved services to international tourists (The Pan African News Agency, 2005).

Despite the successes achieved in a relatively short time for the advancement of the tourism sector, Libyan international tourism-advertising campaigns, particularly those targeting Europe, to attract more international tourists and to highlight the richness of civilisation and culture of the country, as well as Libyan participation in global tourist events, were marked by neglect and inexperience during this period.

In 2011, in particular post revolution of 17 February 2011, Libya aspired to complete previous tourism projects, as well as work to develop new projects, plans and strategies to serve the Libyan tourism sector commensurate with a new era of openness to the world. However, these aspirations rapidly collided with the fragile security situation and political instability in Libya following the revolution. As a result, development efforts across all Libyan sectors, including the tourism sector, were obstructed. This situation forced the Tourism Ministry to focus the entirety of its efforts on protecting Libyan monuments and tourist locations from looting and destruction, as well as from the devastation caused by the war between the conflicting parties rather than take advantage of available tourism potential and promoting its attractions internationally.

In such unstable circumstances, it becomes illogical to discuss development or investment in the tourism sector; this was confirmed in 2013 by Libyan Undersecretary of the Ministry of Tourism, Dr Abd Alsamea Amer, when he stated that, although the revolution contributed greatly to introducing Libya, its people and cities to the outside world through global news coverage during that period, the security chaos after the revolution prevented the exploitation of such coverage as a basis for building favourable international relationships with foreign

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publics and introducing them to certain Libyan tourist locations to attract international visitors (*Libya Aljadidah Journal*, 2013).

However, Amer added that the government expected an imminent solution to the security crisis and political instability in the country, allowing the resumption of work on all tourism projects with a view to increasing the number of annual tourists to 7 million in the future (*Libya Aljadidah Journal*, 2013).

In addition, the Observer of Sabratah's monuments, Arhoma Mohammed, states that the situation immediately following the revolution was intolerable, but lately improvements have been made, albeit slow and limited in scope (Sky News Arabia, 2013). In general, it is still too early to talk about any actual developments in the Libyan tourism sector, when concerns regarding the security situation remain and stand in the way of any intentions to develop. The situation as obstructed the successive Libyan governments' efforts since 2011.

2.4 INVESTMENT

The discovery of oil in Libya in 1958, and the beginning of its production in 1961, in the era of the Libyan Kingdom, is considered as the start of investors', in particular, foreign investors', attention to Libya as a promising country for future investment, worthy of further interest. As a result, certain foreign companies began to seek a place in Libya's investment market, where at the time most investments concentrated on the exploration and extraction of oil, as well as marketing it to other countries through foreign investment companies.

A few years later, with the increase in income and profits from oil and subsequent improvement in the economic status of the Libyan state, it beganto give serious consideration to launching investment projects in order to build and develop all major sectors, such as industry, education, health, agriculture, tourism, housing and utilities, as well as expanding and developing investment in the oil sector (Aghnioa, 2010). For example, the Libyan Kingdom contracted with several foreign companies to build houses for Libyan citizens, infrastructure for cities, roads, government facilities, schools, universities, hospitals, ports, airports, stadiums and sports facilities, as well as several factories for petrochemical products cement (Mudafari, 2012).

Most of these projects were completed during the period of the Libyan Kingdom and some of them still exist today, but in 1969 the country was controlled by the so-called Free Officers Movement, which announced the end of the King's rule and Libya's new status as a Republic. This led to the obstruction and suspension of ongoing investment projects prior to their completion, and forced Libya to pay a huge amount of financial compensation to those companies contracted to implement these projects during that time (Candol, 1988).

Moreover, tensions between Colonel Qaddafi, who took power of Libya in 1969 and ruled until the revolution of 17 February 2011, and the international community, in particular the United States and European countries, were high. When Qaddafi took power, one of his first acts was to expel the US and European bases that had been placed on Libyan territories under prior agreements with the King. This marked the beginning of hostilities with the West and the United States, after which they withdrew their interests and companies from (Rubin, 2011).

In the years that followed, Libya's external relationships with the US, European countries, and even Arab countries were often characterised by hostility as a result of Qaddafi's foreign policies.

In addition, Qaddafi's ideas had a largely negative impacton Libya's economic policies; the public sector dominated most of the country's institutions and investments, while the private sector, whether local or foreign, had limited scope. Furthermore, a number of legislations and regulations were founded on external investment, which was discouraging for foreign capital (Albayan, 2010).

As a result, Libya's political and economic relationships with most other countries were strained, and Libya was seen as a state sponsor of international terrorism and violence (Jentleson & Whytock, 2005). Consequently, foreign investment in Libya decreased dramatically from 1969 until the late 1990s, focus in merely on essential investments in the oil sector and its derivatives, which also suffered from Qaddafi's conflicts with their countries' governments (Aghnioa, 2010).

However, in the early 2000s it became noticeable that Libya had entered into a period of peace and openness with the international community beginning with the signing of several reconciliations with former enemies such as the United States and the United Kingdom. In fact, a reformist current, led by Saif al-Islam, one of Colonel Qaddafi's sons, through his project 'Libya Tomorrow', was behind these changes.

Alhuni (2009) states that this current succeeded in addressing a number of outstanding political and economic issues in Libya; it also called for the drafting of a constitution to regulate the economic and political affairs of the country and its relationship with other countries, and to guarantee the basic rights of both Libyan citizens and foreign investors. It would, moreover, eliminate previous legislations that had long obstructed the Libyan economy.

This new economic trend, as well as its openness to the global market, helped encourage the private sector and foreign investors to establish investment projects in Libya. As a result, the desire of companies to invest in Libya increased significantly, and many investment were

launched alongside al-Islam's reforms and developments during that period. Between 2007 and 2009, contracts with foreign companies amounted to approximately $109 billion (Almhir, 2013).

Most of those projects were focused on reconstruction, housing, infrastructure, water treatment, and several other projects in major sectors such as electricity, health, and tourism, as shown in Fig (2). For example, in 2006 the Libyan government contracted with a Malaysian company to build 40 thousand housing units in several Libyan cities, valued at $2 billion (The Libyan Foreign Ministry, 2010).
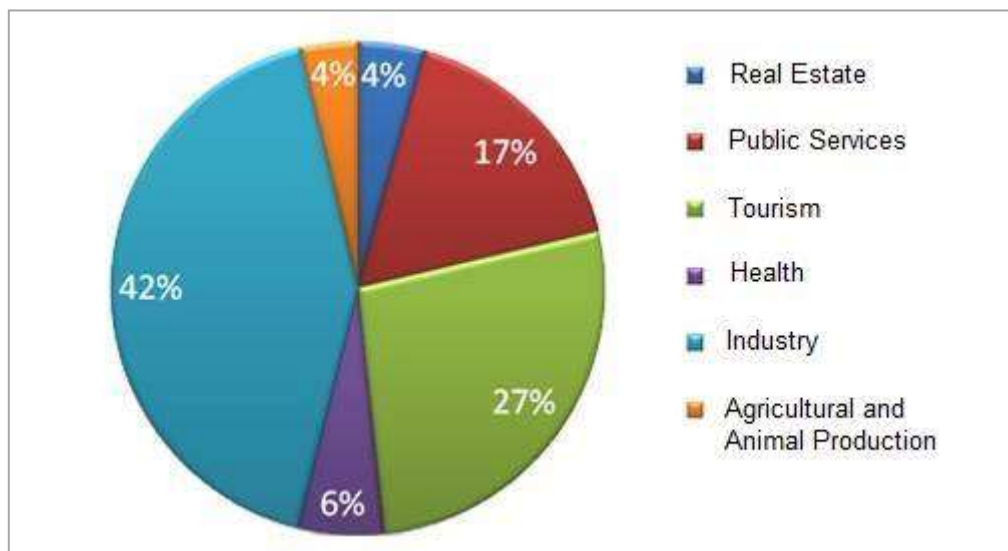
Fig (**2**) Percentage of investment projects per Libyan sector range categorisation.
SOURCE: The Libyan Foreign Ministry Report, 2010.

In addition, the successful launch of a number of tourist investment projects in 2003, such as the Corinthia hotel 'Bab Africa', achieved via partnership between Libyan economic actors and their Maltese counterparts, attracted other investors interested in investing in the tourism sector in Libya, in particular, Italian investors, of whom many visited Libya to explore the market with a view to establishing partnerships with Libyan counterparts (The Pan African News Agency, 2005). In fact, a variety of contracts were signed with a variety offoreign companies, as stated in a report of the Libyan Economy Ministry (2014) related to projects contracted with foreign companies under Law No. 9/2010, as shown in Table (3):

Continent	Country	Unachieved Projects	Achieved Projects	Total
Europe	Spain	$3,120,000.000	$16,648,740.000	$19,768,740.000
Europe	Italy	$3,437,206,336.000	$37,507,299.000	$3,474,713,635.000
Europe	Britain	$644,615,999.000	249,973,677.000	$894,589,676.000
Europe	Swaziland	$102,906,250.000	$1,147,905.000	$104,054,155.000
Europe	France	$422,100,001.000	$27,734,923.000	$449,834,924.000
Europe	Malta	$1,237,676,428.000	$473,609,978.000	$1,711,286,406.000
Europe	Netherlands	–	$662,450,348.000	$662,450,348.000
Europe	Greece	$6,160,001.000	$6,064,741.000	$12,224,742.000
Europe	Turkey	$101,414,621.000	$25,558,029.000	$126,972,650.000
Europe	Belgium	–	$1,819,244.000	$1,819,244.000
Europe	Germany	$9,381,953.000	$10,940,018.000	$20,321,971.000
Europe	Austria	$1,365,000.000	$819,373.000	$2,184,373.000
Europe	Belarus	–	$10,322,399.000	$10,322,399.000
Europe	Luxembourg	–	$19,800,000.000	$19,800,000.000
Europe	Cyprus	$14,085,999.000	$61,353,805.000	$75,439,804.000
Europe	Anguilla Islands	$2,112,500,000.000	–	$2,112,500,000.000
Europe	Bosnia	–	$116,550.000	$116,550.000
Europe	Ukraine	$9,069,743.000	–	$9,069,743.000

Europe	Slovakia	$629,200.000	–	$629,200.000
Europe	Norway	$15,600,000.000	–	$15,600,000.000
North America	Canada	$15,493,547.000	$4,186,454.000	$19,680,001.000
North America	The United States	$11,879,999.000	$11,148,689.000	$23,028,688.000
North America	Bahamas	$406,000,000.000	$3,553,000.000	$409,553,000.000
Asia	Jordan	$3,258,000.000	$471,468.000	$3,729,468.000
Asia	The United Arab Emirates	$2,817,960,286.000	$57,553,902.000	$2,875,514,188.000
Asia	Kuwait	$48,513,328.000	–	$48,513,328.000
Asia	Syria	$10,035,000.000	–	$10,035,000.000
Asia	Saudi Arabia	–	$3,796,807.000	$3,796,807.000
Asia	China	$86,699,300.000	$54,718,949.000	$141,418,249.000
Asia	Korea	–	$127,173,001.000	$127,173,001.000
Asia	Bahrain	–	$4,339,999.000	$4,339,999.000
Asia	Iran	–	$9,873,500.000	$9,873,500.000
Asia	Japan	$13,800,000.000	–	$13,800,000.000
Asia	India	$2,874,300.000	$4,982,836.000	$7,857,136.000
Asia	Iraq	–	$6,692,483.000	$6,692,483.000

Asia	Qatar	$93,600,000.000	$16,097,999.000	$109,697,999.000
Asia	Philippines	$5,750,000.000	–	$5,750,000.000
Africa	Tunisia	$49,669,584.000	$56,780,006.000	$119,735,200.000
Africa	Egypt	$70,065,616.000	$9,770,306.000	$79,835,922.000
Africa	Morocco	–	$4,807,300.000	$4,807,300.000
Africa	South Africa	–	$38,257,001.000	$38,257,001.000
Africa	Mauritius	$206,500,000.000	$9,207,450.000	$215,707,450.000
Africa	Central African Republic	–	$136,051.000	$136,051.000
Total		$11,959,930,491,000	$2,029,414,230,000	$13,989,344,721,000

Table **(3)** The nationalities of investment companies and the amounts of unachieved and achieved investment projects in Libya.

SOURCE: The Libyan Foreign Ministry Report, 2014.

Consequently, the Libyan economy was lifted out of the recession that had plagued it over previous decades, and a stage of reconstruction and reform beganat all levels of government and economy, including human rights issues. However, this era of reform ended abruptly on 17 February 2011, when the revolution broke out and the country entered into civil war. Foreign investment companies were forced to leave Libya after the destruction and looting of many projects took place in the chaos that ensued.

A few years later, when the security situation was relatively stable, the Libyan government demanded that these companies return to complete the contracted projects, while the companies demanded financial compensation from the Libyan government for damage to their sites and equipment duringthe revolution. They also expressed their concerns regarding the poor security and unsuitability of the Libyan working environment, despite assurances from the government to provide sufficient protection (Almhir, 2013).

Notably, the only foreign companies that agreed to return to work in Libya wereoil investment companies, the majority of whose sites were somewhat removed from regions of conflict. As such, since 2011, the Libyan government has not launched any new investment project in Libya; projects put on hold at the time remain suspended, and the economic field has remained closed to local and foreign investment. As a result, the Libyan economy continues to suffer from several critical issues (Alsheikhi, 2012).

On the other hand, one improvement of the situation in Libya is that it is on its way to forming a consensus government that would work to address suspended projects across all major sectors in Libya, one of which is the investment sector (Agdoad, 2015).

2.5 IMMIGRATION

The history of Libya is rich with migration stories. In fact, the demographic components of the Libyan state are built on immigration from other countries and continents to Libyan territories. The original population of Libya, such as the Berbers and Tabu, today represent only approximately 20 per cent of the total Libyan population, while Ara btribes in Libya, most of whom came from the Arabian Peninsula before immigrating to Libya and integrating with its community, represent approximately 73 % of the total population. The remaining 7 % is comprised of immigrants of European, Turkish, Kurdish, Albanian, and Circassian origin (see e.g.Essa, 2012; Mohammad, 2013; Amazigh Nafus, 2015).

From the above figures, it is clear that more than twothirds of Libya's population is comprised of tribes and groups who migrated to Libya in 800 AD, either for economic and religious reasons, or as a result of wars and conflicts that occurred during that time (Mohammad, 2013). However, today Libya is no longer considered a favourable destination for immigrants, but rather hasbecome a route for illegal immigrants to Europe (Townsend, 2015). This can be attributed to the nature of Libyan society, which is described as relatively small, homogeneous and to some extent tribal (Ben Amer, 2013). A stranger or foreign immigrant would be easily recognised in a such community, which might make it difficult for immigrants to comfortable and safe in a such social environment.

In addition, there are significant differences related to the quality of life, services and benefits provided to immigrants in European countries compared with those in Libya in terms of employment opportunities, citizenship, quality education, and the ability to travel with a European passport all over the world. Therefore, most immigrants would prefer to utilise Libya as a stepping stone to Europe in order to gain a better life, with more rights and options (BBC, 2014).

However, there is some evidence to suggest that in recent years, individuals and small groups have immigrated to Libya at various times, the majority from neighbouring countries such as Egypt, Tunisia, Chad, Morocco, and Sudan, as well as Palestine (see e.g. Hsawi, 2008; Magid, 2015; Saleem, 2015). It can be said that most of these immigrants sought decent work, a better income, freedom and equality, among other purposes, and they managed to

integrate into Libyan society by joining large and powerful Libyan tribes in order togain protection for themselves and their interests.

Furthermore, many of those immigrants have been granted Libyan citizenship under the Libyan constitution, set out in 1951, granting Libyan citizenship to non-Libyan people, where it stated that Libyan citizenship would be granted to every adult of sound mind wishing to remaining Libya in any of the following cases:

- An Arab man who is married to a Libyan woman and has lived in Libya for three years.
- Those of Arab origin who havelived in Libya for five years.
- Children of a Libyan mother and foreign father who have lived in Libya for three years (Forum for Democratic Libya, 2013).

Although some amendments were made to the conditions of granting citizenship during Gaddafi's rule from 1969−2011, in general it is still subject to meeting any of these three conditions.

At the present time, despite the difficult security situation and political instability in Libya, the number of immigrants to Libya has grown significantly. This has caused an increase in illegal immigration journeys from the Libyan coasts to Europe, which in recent times has become a concern to both Europe and the international community as a whole (Harrison & Scammell, 2015).

In fact, the Libyan government seeks to address this issue and regularly calls upon those European countries most affected by illegal immigration to provide logistical and informational support to the Libyan state, to assist in preventing the infiltration of illegal immigrants into its territory, and to control and secure its land borders and maritime boundaries (see e.g. EU business, 2015; Fetouri, 2015). In addition, it seeks to provide appropriate alternatives to potential immigrants discourage them from undertaking these illegal journeys by supporting developing countries, in particular, poor African countries, for example, by providing job opportunities, education facilities, and health centres in their home countries.

2.6 IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

Libya is categorised as a consuming country more than an exporting country, importing to meet the majority of its products and material needs, such as food, cereals, machines and equipment, clothes, medicines, paper and glass products, and building materials, from several manufacturing countries including Italy, Germany, China, Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia (Temehu, 2015).

There is a lack of accurate information or figures regarding Libya's imports due to a lack of national database during Gaddafi's era. This is because the regime considered such things almost as secrets of the state, which should be kept confidential and unavailable to the public (Nefoussa, 2008). Nevertheless, some data have recently been published by certain Libyan government organisations and Arab economic institutions; for example, the Arab Monetary Fund (2010) published data related to Libya's imports, including their categories and amounts in USD covering the period from 1997 to 2007, as shown in Table (4).

Imports / Year	Food & Beverages	Cereals	Crude materials	Mineral fuels	Chemicals	Machinery & Transport	Manufacturers	Others	**Total**
1997	116789	52316	17605	1368	42053	2025,05	179608	2868	**615112**
1998	131219	39261	27148	1299	40509	183042	165859	1324	**589661**
1999	65359	23181	22383	1682	33401	159655	133392	0	**439053**
2000	74977	24229	20120	2354	30049	135686	113144	0	**400559**
2001	77322	35939	17942	669	28547	187095	130331	25	**477870**
2002	125715	34282	25128	10449	68907	350370	233979	319	**849149**
2003	106123	26216	35460	5355	41202	376203	219807	0	**810366**
2004	137265	62958	32078	6584	39071	462684	286765	0	**1027405**

2005	186617	48807	39773	4640	70798	585235	341995	53	**1277918**
2006	176876	38154	64286	11489	91528	650078	324987	0	**1357398**
2007	291662	62916	79292	13229	117302	988983	555501	32	**2108917**

Note: All above figures in millions of USD.

Table **(4)** Imports of Libya from 1997 to 2007.

SOURCE: The Arab Monetary Fund, 2010.

The majority of Libya's exports are comprised of oil and fuels, which represent approximately 95.93 % of the total export trade, while other products and materials such as metals, precious stones, pearls, alloys and fertilisers represent only 4.07 % of the total. According to some reports, the production of oil in Libya prior to revolution of 17 February 2011 is estimated at approximately 1.5 to 1.6 million bpd, with approximately 1.3 million bpd exported via oil ports and pipelines supplied from major oil fields, as shown in Fig (3) (see e.g. Almisrati, 2012; Khamisi, 2015; The US Energy Information Administration, 2015).
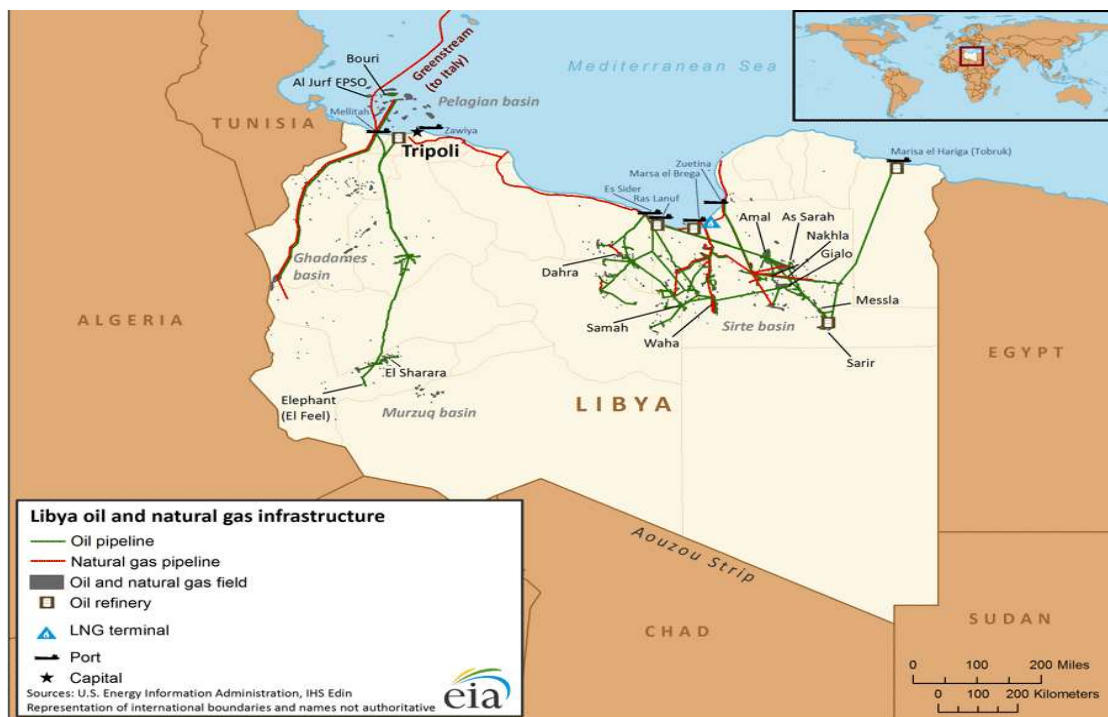
Fig **(3)** Libya oil and natural gas infrastructure.

SOURCE: The US Energy Information Administration EIA, 2015.

However, in 2011, Libya's exports were completely ceased due to events of the revolution and the war that broke out near oil ports and fields, of which some were affected as a result of these events. Nevertheless, in mid-2012, approximately seven months after the date the interim National Transitional Council announced Libya's freedom and the end of the war against Qaddafi's 42-year rule, Libya became a free state with a transitional government. This allowed Libya to return to actively exportingoil, achieving approximately 485,149 bpd, around a third of the amount of oil exported prior to 2011 (CNN Arabic, 2013). This marked the positive return of the Libyan oil sector, and the Libyan economy as a whole.

However, a civil war and conflict between armed militias in 2013 led to the closure of Libya's major eastern oil ports, Bregaand Sidra, as well as the destruction of a number fuel tanks and other facilities in several oil fields (Aljazeera, 2015). Consequently, the production of oil in Libya has decreased to only 300,000 bpd according to the last report from Reuters News Agency (2015, cited in Libya Business News, 2015).

2.7 POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY

An analysis of the literature shows that relatively little attention has been given to Libyan politics and diplomacy, while a wider interest has instead been given to the diplomacy used by great countries in their dealings with Libya. In fact, the literature addresses Libyan politics and diplomacy more in terms of the West's reactions to its regimes' actions than elucidating the ideologies and motives behind those acts.

From a historical point of view, Libya is like the vast majority of Third World countries that fell for more than thirty-eight years under Western Colonialism. This in turn has affected its present and any opportunities it might have had to become a developed country in its own right.

Notably, although during that period of colonialism there were no political practices that may be attributed to the Libyan people, certain unofficial diplomatic practices can, occasionally, be clearly recognised, in particular during the period of the Libyan Resistance to the Italian Occupation in 1911. During this time, Libya adopted an unofficial form of diplomacy in order to gain advocacy and support for the Libyan issue at that time. These diplomatic efforts are often described from a narrow point of view in the literature of Libyan history, as war efforts. Thismay due to the war and resistance climate predominant in that period of history (see e.g. Hasnawi, 1988; Jumaili, 2003; Aljali, 2015).

One example of those efforts is a letter written by the leader of the Libyan Resistance against the Italian Occupation, Al-Sheikh Omar al-Mukhtar, which was sent to the Lebanese journalist Shakib Arslan in 1931 to express gratitude and appreciation forhis article in the Journal of Arab States referring to Italian warcrimes committed during its invasion of Al Kufrah. The article played a considerable role in informing Islamic and Arabian public opinion as to what was really occurring in Libya (Al-Slabi, 2013). In this respect, Shakib Arslan says "When I edited the published article about the massacres that were committed in Tripoli and Cyrenaica during the Italian invasion of Kufra, the Islamic world was shocked and there were angry protests everywhere against these heinous crimes of the Italian occupation" (Al-Slabi, 2013, p.66).

It appears that Omar al-Mukhtar's initiative went beyond simple gratitude towards a journalist, to admitting the need to establish foreign relations with actors, lobbies, and even countries, in order to gain support that might assist the Libyan people in defeating the Italian Occupation and gaining dignity, justice and freedom. As such, itcan be said that these diplomatic efforts were a turning point in the Libyan conflict around the Occupation, transforming it from a national, to an international, issue.

According to Awimmer (2010), the Libyan issue gained both Arabic and international attention; the Muslim Youth Association in Egypt issued a statement condemning Italian colonialism, genocide, and deportation of Libyan people, and demanding that the United Nations open an urgent international investigation regarding human rights in Libya. The statement was signed and sent to the United Nations, at which time Libyan issue becamean international matter.

Another example of the practice of diplomatic activities, even before Libya had an independent political regime, can be seen clearly in the political unrest between 1943 and 1951, when Libya gained its independence by dint of hard work and successful diplomatic management on the part of Libyan leaders at that time.

By 1940, Allied forces defeated Italian colonialism with the aid of Prince Idris, who managed to build a force of Libyan people called 'the Libyan Arab Force'. This force fought alongside Allied forces until the liberation of Libya from Italian occupationin 1943. A few years later, Italy officially granted Libya to the Allied countries under the peace treaty of 1947. After the signing of this treaty, Tripoli and Cyrenaica became subject to British administration, while Fezzan became subject to France. Unfortunately, this did not meet the aspirations of the Libyan people, who still found themselves under occupation or trusteeship after the removal of the Italian Occupation (Al-Sharif, 2011).

Prince Idris began to convene meetings and debates with opinion leaders in the three Libyan provinces of Tripoli, Cyrenaica, and Fezzan, who considered Prince Idris the right man to unite the provinces and convince Britain to grant Libya's independence. At the same time, Prince Idris also communicated with several Arab and neighbouring countries to gain their

support inthe Libyan issue, although Arab regimes at that time were characterised by weakness and a lack of sufficient experience.

> *"The diplomatic Arab practice has started modestly because some Arab states were under the colonialisms, while others that gained its independence were constrained by military treaties with Britain"* (Wady, 2013, p.29).

Furthermore, Prince Idris's diplomatic activities became apparent when he convened several meetings with British administration representatives in Cyrenaica in order to convince them to influence their country's attitudes towards Libya's independence, as well as sending diplomatic letters to the British government through its representatives in Libya for the same purpose.

In addition, Prince Idris also contributed to the establishment of a national group in 1948, 'The National Congress', whose key task was to represent Cyrenaica abroad, speaking on behalf of the Libyan people to the fact-finding commission, sent in 1948 by greater states to make a decision concerning Cyrenaica's independence, and defending Libya's rights at the international level (Gandul,1990).

It is worth mentioning that during that period, Libya suffered from arelative absence of real national institutions able to exert influence in matters of international import, such as embassies, ambassadors, and diplomatic missions in other countries. Thus, Prince Idris and the National Congress were forced to lead a political and diplomatic battle, both locally and internationally. For example, the National Congress sent a letter to the British Foreign Ministry saying, "We reject any trusteeships, we are willing to announce our independence and establishing a treaty of alliance with Britain" (Gandul, 1990, p.136).

This letter, then, makes a significant and great practice of diplomacy dependant on the idea of offering interests, a treaty, in return for benefits, independence, for the sake of reaching an agreement acceptable to both parties. To some extent, this idea is quite similar to the concept of diplomacy today.

Generally, it can be said that personal relations and diplomacy played a significant role in gaining Libya its independence; in 1949, the United Nations convened to vote on a draft resolution, 'Bevin-Sforza', which aimed to impose Italian trusteeship on Libya. At this meeting, 33 states voted for 17 states voted against, and seven states abstained from voting. Only one more vote in favour was required for the draft to be accepted internationally; surprisingly, Haiti's representative, Emile San Lu, voted against it, which led to the resolution's failure. Later, Lu admitted that prior to the meeting, his government asked him to vote in favour the resolution, but he chose to vote against it.

According to Gandul (1999), when a commissioner of the Libyan delegation to the United Nations, Dr. Ali Al-Enezi, noticed the Haitian representative's merciful heart and sensitive conscience, he made a serious attempt to open a dialogue and establish a friendship with him, and through that he managed to explain to him the past experience and suffering of Libyan people under the Italian Occupation, as well as their aspirationsto gain independence. Undoubtedly, Al-Enezi succeeded in convincing Lu to vote both against the draft and his government's wishes.

By 1951, Libya had won the battle to become independent by virtue of Prince Idris's wisdom and ability to win the Libyan people's support and confidence, as wellas the role he played in selecting effective political leaders and characters, unifying and guiding efforts, and organising and prioritising national targets, which he began by demanding Cyrenaica's independence, building a government, and drafting a constitution.

Likewise, on the international stage, he wrote letters to several Arab and foreign governments asking them to admit Cyrenaica's independence. With regard to Libya's independence as a whole, he conducted a number of diplomatic visits to effective countries for this purpose. For example, he visited London in 1949 and convened several meetings with British officials and decision-makers in Oxford, Cambridge, and Eastbourne, which contributed significantly to promoting the idea that Libya was capable of managing its own affairs (see e.g. Al-Sharif, 2011; Ibrahim, 2014; Kabta, 2014; Ninet & Tushnet, 2015).

In like manner, Ibrahim (2014) states that, in late 1951, Prince Idris became King of Libya, with three local governments for the three provinces of Tripoli, Cyrenaica, and Fezzan. Then,

in the early 1960s, the Libyan constitution was amended in order to abolish the federal system and replace it with the municipal system, besides amending the name of Libya from the United Kingdom of Libya to the Kingdom of Libya.

As has been noted, during the period before 1969, whether before or after it gained independence under the rule of the kingdom, Libya enjoyed strong and excellent diplomatic relations with most countries of the world, including those who had erstwhile been enemies.

In fact, King Idris, together with his political and diplomatic institutions, and diplomatic missions to other countries, managed to present a positive image and bolster the reputation of Libya abroad, in spite of the fact that Libya was a new state suffering from a lack of experience. Nevertheless, Libya's new status of openness to the world helped it to build the basis for a democratic state and shed the ignorance and backwardness left by a long history of colonialism. Consequently, life began to thrive in Libya with the ensuing improvements in education, health, and income levels; the country also began to take advantage of oil revenues to launch great infrastructure and development projects.

However, this did not continue for long; the era of the Libyan Kingdom spans less than two decades, from 1951 to late 1969, when Qaddafi and his colleagues led a coup d'état and seized control of Libya in early September. In the beginning, Qaddafi spouted slogans of freedom, democracy, and a decent life for every Libyan citizen, and in his first speech after the coup, he showed respect and commitment to international treaties and agreements with Western countries, promising to protect their interests and properties in Libya. Furthermore, he expressed his intent to establish strong relationships with all the countries of the world (Jaafar, 2014).

The reality of Qaddafi regime soon became apparent, both to the Libyan people and the world at large, when he abolished the Libyan constitution and replaced it with his Green Book, banned political practice, placed restrictions on the freedom of the press and freedom of expression, imprisoned his opponents, and neglected development, construction, education, health, and other major sectors of Libyan society. Qaddafi recruited Libya's resources only to protect his regime and his political ideas. Internationally, in 1970, Qaddafi issued orders to inspect the international treaties in order to expel all foreign bases and forces from Libya, and

limit their military and civilian representation on Libyan territories (see e.g. Jentleson & Whytock, 2005; Takeyh, 2011; Langhi, 2014).

> *"When Qaddafi seized power in 1969, not only did the State Department's regional experts welcome the revolution, but some diplomats helped preserve his rule by leaking to the new junta the names of counter-conspirators, Washington's reward? The expulsion of most Americans and closure of Willies Air Base, one of American's most important cold war hubs"* (Rubin, 2011, n.p.).

Hence, the West began to become aware of another side to Muammar Qaddafi, through comparing his authoritarianism with King Idris's way, of diplomacy and respect forforeign governments and international treaties. Most likely it was the beginning of tense relationships between Libya and the West, in particular the UK and the US. In fact, those relationships took many different forms over the 42 years of the Qaddafi regime, ranging between estrangement, diplomatic boycotting, and even military confrontation.

Generally, Libya's relationships with other countries over the years have been characterised by instability and tension, even with neighbouring countries. Zoubir (2011) argues that in the mid-1980s the hostility between Libya and the United States reached an all-time high when the United States launched air strikes against Libya in 1986, while Qaddafi expressed anger and promised 'harsh revenge' against imperialist powers due to the killing of Libyan civilians.

Two years later, the Qaddafi regime was accused of the Lockerbie bombing, which claimed 270 victims, the majority of whom were American. Notably, despite the accusations, there was no obvious evidence to prove that the attack had been committed by the Qaddafi regime, but it is widely considered as revenge for the US air strikes against Tripoli and Benghazi in 1986, an assumption founded the regime's alleged links to previous, similar terrorist attacks, such as the murder of police officer Yvonne Fletcher in front of the Libyan embassy in London in 1984, the bombing of the La Belle discotheque in West Berlin in 1986, and the assassination of Qaddafi's opponents abroad (see e.g. John, 2002; Aljazeera, 2011; Takeyh, 2011; Zoubir, 2011).

According to a former political adviser in the Libyan embassy in Morocco, Nasser Eldissi, these, and other, terrorist acts were planned and committed with assistance from Libyan embassies abroad, which Qaddafi transformed from diplomatic institutions for building international relationships and understanding foreign public opinion, to intelligence operation centres with the purpose of implementing his ideas and ideologies, and monitoring and assassinating his opponents (Eldissi, personal communication, 26 April 2014).

The diplomatic practice during the Qaddafi era was a far cry from the essential principles of the professional practice of diplomacy. For instance, in 1979 Qaddafi renamed Libyan embassies abroad 'Libyan People's Bureaus'. Those bureaus presented to the world an incorrect and distorted image of Libya and its people through so-called 'Revolutionary Committee Movement's members', who took control of the bureaus in the 1980s and exploited diplomatic immunity to assassinate Libyan opponents, smuggle weapons, and implement suspicious tasks (Eldissi, personal communication, 26 April 2014).

Eldissi added that warnings were issued to all Libyan ambassadors and diplomatic missions to avoid practising any media-related activity or giving statements to foreign media. When Qaddafi required media support or wished to disseminate information concerning certain matters, permissions were given only to specific journalists to do so. Furthermore, Eldissi stated the following:

> *"It was impossible for any Libyan diplomat abroad to provide information or even express his opinion about international issues to media since surely he/she would be sent to a prison in Tripoli even without investigation, I remember when I wrote an article in the Middle East Newspaper in London in 2001, I have been asked form Libyan authorities to come to Tripoli for conducting an investigation with me"* (Eldissi, personal communication, 26 April 2014).

The only diplomats whom could work freely in Libyan embassies abroad were those so-called 'Revolutionary Committees Members' whose remit was confined to distributing Qaddafi's Green Book and providing financial 'support'in the form of bribes to certain international newspapers and journalists, to promote an image of Qaddafi and his regime.

In like manner, a former Libyan ambassador in London, Mohamed Al-Mismari states the following:

> *"I remember when I convened a news conference in London in 1977, that was related to a crisis among relationships between Libya and Egypt at that time, in the end of the conference's day, a Libyan foreign minister has called me and he said; Who did allow you to convene that conference?, I replied confidently: Qaddafi did, then he did not dare to say anything more, in fact, I had no permission from Qaddafi or anyone else, I did it on my own"*(Al-Mismari, personal communication, 29 April 2014).

By the early 1990s, relations between Libya and the West came to a dead end after the bombing of French airline UTA flight 772 in 1989, and the Qaddafi regime was indicted for being responsible (Segell, 2005). Consequently, economic sanctions, an air ban, and an arms embargo were imposed on Libya for almost a decade, between 1992 and 2003, at which time Qaddafi was subjected to international pressures forcing him to change his international policies and dismantle weapons of mass destruction, as well as seek to settle and at one for past mistakes by paying substantial compensation to the families of victims of the Lockerbie and UTA bombings (see e.g. McMahon, 2006; Blanchard, 2009; Morris, 2014).

In addition, a set of remarkable reforms to internalpolicy emerged, alongside the launch of dialogue with Libyan opposition leaders at home and abroad.

While there are those who view these steps as merely precautionary, to avoid what happened to Iraq, especially asthey came after the capture of Saddam Hussein in 2003, the Qaddafi regime justified these changes on the basis of national interests, which required cooperation with the international community and the West to open the door to Libya to become a partner in a way not previously possible.

This coincided with the appearance of Qaddafi's son, Saif al-Islam, on the Libyan political scene in the 2000s, as theleader of a broad reformative project in Libya that aimed to reactivate its political practice and draft a constitution guaranteeing essential rights to Libyan citizens and institutions.

Accordingly, Saif al-Islam began by convening several meetings with leaders of the Libyan opposition abroad, inviting them to return and contribute to rebuilding Libya based on a new vision of freedom of expression and peaceful opposition. He also approached political prisoners in Libya, managing to persuade them of the validity of his political and reformative project, and attempted to open Libya to the outside world by allowing private media institutions such as the television station 'Al Mutawassit TV', and two newspapers, *Oya* in Tripoli and *Quryna* in Benghazi, to provide transparent and credible media services for the first time, with the aim of enhancing the media's contribution to the reform of Libyan society.

However, all these attempts at reform conflicted with the Revolutionary Committees Movement's ideology, which resisted any change or development to the Libyan political system, or even rethinking its attitudes towards the US and the West as imperialist countries. Consequently, Saif Al-Islam entered into a political war against this ideological lobby, and as a result of this conflict, many reformative plans and projects were suspended.

Morris (2014, n.p.) reveals that, "in 2009 all private media outlets were nationalised and all media became again state regulated". Furthermore, in 2010, approximately 20 journalists belonging to private media institution 'Tomorrow Company' were arrested after publishing an article about the reality of the political situation in Libya (see e.g. Libya Al-mostakbal, 2010; BBC Arabic, 2011).

In addition, Qaddafi committed an unexpected act at the 2009 General Assembly in New York, when he deliberately tore and threw the Charter of the United Nations after delivering an angry speech related to Arab issues, injustice, and oppression (Asser, 2011). This act was considered a negative sign of the Qaddafi regime's ideology and attitudes towards the international community.

It appears difficult for a country such as Libya to transition from a past rife with hostility and hatred to a present of openness and cooperation, considering that for more than three decades, Libyan foreign policy was built on ideas of revenge, struggle, challenging the West, and support of liberation movements all over the world.

> *"Libya's foreign policy rested on ideological beliefs, such as freedom from foreign domination, Islamic socialism, nationalism, pan-Arabism and anti-imperialism"* (Zoubir, 2011, p. 278).

In any event, the case of Libya has caused wide debate concerning the expected advantages of adopting a 'coercive diplomacy' based on prioritising the threat of military and economic sanctions rather than the actual utilisation of them. According to Jentleson and Whytock (2005), advocates of this trend believe that the threat of military and economic power can be more effective than using this power against countries whose policies represent a risk to the international community and global peace such as Libya.

In late 2011, the end of Qaddafi regime and the liberation of Libya were declared by the National Transitional Council of Libya. Accordingly, Libya entered into a new stage, supposedly built on democracy, justice, and freedom of expression. Notably, the first elected Libyan government was formed in late 2012, amid significant challenges to put Libya on the right track. The most difficult of these challenges were to address military and security chaos, and the dissemination of weapons; the urgent need to rebuild certain cities after the war of liberation; and an absence of state institutions. In fact, all these tasks, and others, were top of the list of challenges that faced the first elected government, and were transferred in due course to successive governments.

On the other hand, since 2011, Libyan governments have sought to restructure the Libyan diplomatic sector to become in tune with Libya's new values and the requirements of the current epoch, as well as the need to redress its long history of destroyed relationships with most countries of the world (Council of the European Union, 2017).

In like manner, the first foreign minister following revolution of 17 February 2011, Ashour Ben Khayal, indicates that the Ministry works to establisha consultative council of experts and former Libyan diplomats in order to improve diplomatic practice in accordance with new foundations and principles; he emphasises that the challenges of Libya's dark past are in urgent need of being addressed (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation − State of Libya, 2011).

It appearsthat the biggest challenge facing any Libyan government's efforts to build strong diplomatic relations with other countries is the pre-impression of Libya in the minds of foreign governments and people, which is almost exclusively associated with past experience of irresponsible acts committed by the Qaddafi regime. This issue can also be clearly seen in the literature of diplomacy and even through views expressed by politicians, where most scholars and politicians make no distinction between the Qaddafi as a despotic political regime, and Libya as an independent state; as a result, they often describe Libya as a rogue state rather than describing the Qaddafi regime as a rogue regime (see e.g. Jentleson & Whytock, 2005; Takeyh, 2011; Zoubir, 2011). For example:

> *"Libya's end to its WMD programmes and terrorism shows that it is possible to gain cooperation even from 'rogue' states through coercive diplomacy"* (Jentleson, 2006, p.1).

In fact, correcting such misconceptions about Libya will likely require great diplomatic efforts alongside the launching of targeted public relations campaigns to reshape current mental images and rebrand Libya abroad.

Despite the lack of any real academic evaluation of Libyan governments and diplomatic activities post revolution of 17 February 2011, it can nevertheless be said that, over the last five years, remarkable official diplomatic efforts have been made, through diplomatic institutions such as Libyan embassies abroad and the diplomatic mission of Libya within the United Nations, as well as unofficial efforts, including Libya's participation in several international competitions such as the London Olympic Games of 2012, and engagement in international exhibitions and cultural and educational exchange programmes in order to present Libya in a new light and help it to attain a position of acceptance and positive reputation in the international community.

2.8 PUBLIC RELATIONS

From reviewing the literature of public relations, it is clear that there is a dearth of attention given to public relations in Libya, except what was found in several practical domestic studies, conducted on occasion by Libyan researchers, to identify the current concept of public relations in Libya, or in studies that address public relations in Arab region as whole. Arguably, this lack of enquiry can be traced to the period of Libyan isolation from the rest of the world under the Qaddafi regime of 1969−2011.

It is also worth mentioning that the impact of the relative absence of studies and research related to Libyan public relations in the literature maybe viewed from two different perspectives: the first is that the public relations profession in Libya has been deprived of taking advantage of broad expected outcomes from scientific research and studies in order to develop its plans and programmes. The second is that the literature itself has missed the potential contribution of an experience of public relations in Libya to enrich understanding of the true concept and practice of this profession in developing countries. This is especially pertinent when considering that some domestic studies attribute the initial practice of public relations in Libya to the period of Ottoman rule between 1551 and 1911 (see e.g. Zahry, 2003; Alabiady, 2006; Abdalla, 2008).

These studies divide the development of public relations in Libya into three main stages, as follows:

First: Public relations during the period of Ottoman rule of Libya from 1551−1911.

The Ottoman Empire was characterised by effective management and organisation fits territory through relying on effective and influential leaders in their local environments (Barkeya & Gavrilisa, 2015).

In Libya, the Ottoman government depended on dividing Libya into regions, states, provinces, and municipalities. It then appointed administrators for each municipality to manage citizens' affairs and enforce Ottoman policies. These administrators required assistants to carry out their work and tasks effectively, and for this, certain leaders of public

opinion in Libyan society known as Sheikh of the town, 'the most respectable and wisest people in the town', were deliberately selected to fulfil these functions.

Accordingly, these leaders practised public relations in their role as intermediaries between the administrators of Libyan municipalities and their citizens; they were tasked with delivering and explaining instructions and new regulations to the ordinary citizens of each region in order to persuade them to obey, follow, and implement these orders. In turn, they delivered the people's demands, needs, and complaints to the administrators of these municipalities, to be then transmitted to the Wali, or Governor General (see e.g. Anderson, 1984; Ferro, 1994; Baldinetti, 2014).

In fact, this administrative system succeeded in controlling all the cities and towns of Libya. However, Ágoston (2010) argues that deep divisions between the Ottoman leaders and the spread of corruption into Ottoman governmental departments led to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Its 360-yearrule of Libya ended with the Italian invasion and subsequent occupation of Libya in 1911.

Second: Public relations during the Italian occupation of Libya from 1911−1951.

At the beginning of the Italian invasion of Libya in 1911, coercion and the military were the dominant methods employed by the Occupation in its attempt to control Libyan territories. Libyan citizens stood up to the brutality of the Occupation and refused to be subjected to its orders and to pay taxes; as a result, bloody confrontations and battles occurred between the Libyan people and the Occupation across the country (Azikiwe, 2011).

As a result, the Occupation realised that an alternative method must be adopted in order to attaints goals in Libya. This realisation drove Italy to consider the structure of Libyan society, concluding that the two key factors underpinning Libyan society were its tribes and religion. Consequently, the Occupation sought to exploit religious and tribal leaders to promote its policies and plans. Notably, those leaders succeeded to some extent, convincing a number of Libyan citizens to accept the Occupation, and encouraging participation in the Occupation's national and religious celebrations (see e.g. Ungari, 2014; John, 2015; Mitchell, 2015).

In addition, the Occupation sought to gain the respect and support of the educated class in Libyan society by recruiting the judges to the administrative councils of Libyan cities with the aim of presenting a positive image of the Occupation (Abd Al-Fattah, 2013). It can be said that all those religious and tribal leaders and judges provided public relations services and played a crucial role in creating means of communication between the Occupation and Libyan people, by disseminating messages, giving speeches, and distributing leaflets and statements calling for peace, respect for religions, and establishing utilitarian relationships with the Occupation.

However, the Libyan Resistance continued its efforts to defend Libyan territories against the Occupation. According to Manhal (2011) and Al-Slabi (2013), the Libyan Resistance took a new approach to counter the Occupation's publicity efforts, using communication, persuasion, and other methods of public relations to urge and encourage Libyan citizens to join in the Jihad against the Occupation. The Resistance also relied on religious arguments, using tribal leaders to win ordinary people's hearts, advocacy, and support, despite its lack of resources compared with a state such as Italy.

Eventually, the Libyan Resistance managed to liberate Libya and expel the Occupation by dint of Jihad leaders such as Omar al-Mukhtar, Yousef Borahil, and Al-Fadeel Abo Omar, who united domestic powers and unified Libyan resistance movements, while Cordell (2016) indicates that Prince Idris al-Senussi helped gain international support by communicating with Arab and international organisations, international decision-makers and elite, and the United Nations.

It is worth mentioning that both domestic and international organisational and political efforts on the part of Libyan leaders can be considered domestic and international public relations campaigns, with the aim of ending the Occupation and gaining independence, which finally occurred in 1951.

Third: Public relations during the Qaddafi regime of 1969−2011

For almost 42 years, Libya was under the ruleof the Qaddafi regime, which was characterised by dictatorship since it first abolished the Libyan constitution and then imposed on the

Libyan people the unreal political practice of the so-called People's Congress. This led to reluctance on the part of Libyan citizens to engage in illogical and fake political activities (Senauth, 2013).

Lack of accountability dominated public services throughout the country, which was a key factor in the spread of administrative and economic corruption throughout public sector institutions. Furthermore, the enactment of legislations hindering private sector investors limited their ability to contribute to the development of all aspects of the society, and the regime's economic strategy reduced job opportunities and development projects. As a result, the rate of unemployment increased with the absence of effective competition (see e.g. Takeyh, 2000; Kafala, 2011; Langhi, 2014).

At the international level, under the Qaddafi regime, Libya entered into unjustified international political and military conflicts, often with the only purpose of demonstrating the power of the regime and promoting Qaddafi's ideology of anti-domination and anti-imperialism of superpower countries, and calling for freedom and democracy as defined by his political theory and Green Book (Zoubir, 2011).

Consequently, Libya long suffered from international isolation and economic and political sanctions, which led to the deprivation of its right to take advantage of global scientific progress, international cooperation, and participation in educational and cultural exchange programmes. Besides which, the Qaddafi regime committed a series of terrorist acts throughout the world, which doubtless affected Libya's image, reputation, and position, both in the international community and in the minds of foreign publics.

> *"According to the US State Department's reports on patterns of global terrorism, in both 1987 and 1988 Libya was the third most active state sponsor of terrorism"* (Jentleson & Whytock, 2005, p.59).

Of equal importance is the fact that, under the Qaddafi regime, Libya suffered from a lack of modern information and communication technologies, and communication networks, until the mid-2000s, since from Qaddafi's point of view, such technologies and networks were tools for the cultural invasion of peoples in developing countries.

Morris (2014) observes that such ideas have led to a negative impact on understanding the effective utilisation of these technologies across all fields, and have also increased the gap between Libya, as a developing country, and developed countries in terms of its ability to deliver media messages, disseminate information and manage international communication. In this regard, Mahmood, Hartley and Rowley (2011, p.73), who conducted a study on communication among scientists in Libya, concluded that "the lack of e-culture among some scientists here, limits contact with other scientists outside the country."

In addition, during the period of the Qaddafi regime Libya was ranked among the worst countries in terms of freedom of press and expression, with several cases of violations of journalists' rights been noted in the country. There was also a lack of private media institutions able to freely and transparently address political and economic issues, and other crucial topics in Libyan society (see e.g. Morris, 2014; Cordell, 2016).

Thus, it may be surmised from the above discussion, not just the reality of Libya under the Qaddafi regime, but also the reality of public relations duringthat period and the potential impact of such political, economic, and communication culture on a proper practice of the profession.

Ajwa and Fareed (2005) have identified three key factors for developing a public relations profession in any society, which are a stable democratic government, a political and economic system that allows foreign investors to establish projects and encourages effective competition in all fields, and the availability of independent media and communication channels free from government control.

In the same context, according to Ben Amer (2013), there is a strong relationship between prevailing cultural values in Libyan society and the political regime's ideology, beliefs, and thoughts about this society. Furthermore, a study of Mahmood et al (2011) found that Libyan culture has a negative impact on communication behaviours in Libyan society. Accordingly, public relations may also be affected by this culture, as it is widely acknowledged that the public relations profession is based on planned, quality communication with all audiences and/or stakeholders.

In general, it can be said that the practice of public relations in Libya is similar toits counterparts in the vast majority of Arab countries, with some notable variations; in particular, in the Arabian Gulf countries, where the profession of public relations has recently gained a great deal of attention, which may result in the development and openness of these countries to the world, as well as attracting foreign investment.

However, according to several practical studies, the practice of public relations in the Arab Gulf countries, Libya, and almost all Arab countries still suffers from four key issues, which are the dominance of a faulty concept in public relations practice, a lack of sufficient experience and facilities, practising other administrations' functions and tasks, and ignorance of senior management to the important and effective role of public relations in the field of administration (see e.g. Jadallah, 2003; Almansory, 2004; Ayish, 2005; AlKhaja, 2009; Gaither & Al-Kandari, 2011).

It is worth mentioning that two other stages maybe added to the evolution of a public relations profession in Libya, which can contribute to providing an enriched understanding of the current reality of this profession, as well as identify the factors and circumstances that have shaped it; these two stages are marked by their absence from the literature of public relations in Libya, and are as follows:

The first is the period of Libya's post-independence, the period of the Libyan Kingdom from 1951 until Qaddafi's coup d'état in 1969. Despite the fact that this stage represents an important period of administration, politics, and economy, beginning with the discovery of oil in 1959 and the initial phases Libya's development as an independent state (see e.g. Al-Sharif, 2011; Murza, 2012; Mashharawi, 2015), little attention has been given to conducting research studies about this stage. Instead, research has concentrated only on certain events and aspects of the period, such as political efforts to gain Libya's independence, King Idris's life and personality, and the Libyan Kingdom's foreign relations and agreements, while other aspects, such as the nature of administration, planning, organisation, and public relations in that era remained almost completely unaddressed by the literature.

Arguably, the key reason behind this issue can be attributed to the deliberate damage of documents and disappearance of archives related to the period of the Kingdom on the part of

the Qaddafi regime (Nabata, 2012). In fact, the regime considered such data a risk to its stability, political thought and ideologies, which are extremely anti-monarchy and call for the 'people's rule'.

Consequently, this period of intended and/or unintended practice of public relations across all sectors of Libyan society as yet remain unclear and unaddressed due to a lack of reliable sources that can be utilised to describe and clarify the reality of public relations during almost two decades of Libyan history.

The second period is post revolution of 17 February 2011, which ended more than 40 years of Qaddafi's rule. As a result, Libya has entered into a stage of democracy and state-building based on principles of freedom, justice, equality, freedom of expression, and freedom of the press, as well as a serious desire to establish strong relationships throughout the world, to take advantage of international experience and capabilities in its efforts to rebuild.

Thus, depending on the principles adopted after the revolution 2011, it can be said that a new environment might emerge suitable for adopting a new approach to the practice of public relations with the ability to work freely and professionally. Libya urgently needs to adopt public relations programmes at both the local and international levels to rebuild Libya internally and rebrand its image and reputation externally. This may also lead this profession rising in status and the importance of its role, whether in the public or private sector, being reconsidered.

2.9 CONCLUSION

Libya is a developing country with considerable potential due to its strategic location, tourist attractions, strong investment opportunities, and status as an excellent source of the most in-demand natural resources, oil and gas. It is a culturally country, which after the current transition period, is expected to become a democracy, supportive of freedom and rights, and capable of enjoying renewed status within the international community.

However, in order to do so, Libya must utilise the above advantages judiciously and in the international environment must address foreign governments and their peoples. Establishing effective communication with those peoples and employing the outcomes of such communication effectively to create the correct image and reputation will assist Libya in the promotion of its nation brand abroad is a major undertaken. This type of effective communication embodied in the effective convergence between public relations and public diplomacy.

Although the literature refers to the practice of public relations in Libyan society and to the potential practice of public diplomacy employed by Libyan institutions abroad, and concludes that some difficulties remain to be overcome before either fieldis practised strongly, as yet no study has addressed the ways in which Libyan public relations and public diplomacy strategies use communication abroad to try to shape foreign public opinion on Libya, whether in terms of the nature of that communication or in terms of its content.

This is because the vast majority of studies that dominate the literature of both disciplines are Western studies, which have largely concentrated on an exploration and interpretation of the reality of the practice of public relations and public diplomacy in Western communities. Thus, most principles and theories in both fields have been produced according to that reality, while the same practice in other parts of the world, such as Arab, African, and Asian countries, has received little attention.

This is what has driven the researcher to delve more deeply into the general literature of public relations and public diplomacy in the next chapter, with the aim of exploring key theories that might serve to assist the process of gaining a better understanding of the practice

of public relations for purposes of Libyan public diplomacy abroad. The current study has the goal of providing a significant contribution to the literature of public relations and public diplomacy in Libya by investigating and clarifying the nature of public relations practice in Libyan institutions abroad post revolution of 17 February 2011.

CHAPTER THREE
PUBLIC RELATIONS AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN PERSPECTIVE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of a literature review is "to analyse critically a segment of a published body of knowledge through summary, classification, and comparison of prior research studies, reviews of literature, and theoretical articles" (The Writing Center, 2017, n.p.) in order to shed light on exemplary studies which are most relevant to answer the current study questions and meet its objectives.

Therefore, this chapter is a critical review of the literature of both public relations and public diplomacy. It entails a detailed discussion of the concepts, theories, models, and strategies of both fields. It also highlights the relationship between public relations and public diplomacy, and the extent to which they are interconnected.

The chapter aims to bring together knowledge from both fields to draw out a theoretical explanatory framework, which may contribute to the interpretation, illustrating, and understanding of the ultimate findings of the study.

3.2 PUBLIC RELATIONS MODELS

A model in public relations is a framework used to explain and address the relationship between an organisation and the public, and to determine the approach to communication between the two.

> *"It assumed that the organization should adopt one public relations model as a function of the overall environment that the organization faces"*
> (Leichty & Springston, 1993, p.333).

In the late 1960s, scholars sought to determine the function of public relations, and its contribution to the field of management, by describing the role of public relations in strategic management. This work also addressed the tendency to confuse public relations with other concepts, such as propaganda and marketing, and to capture how public relations can be used to regulate the relationship between an organisation and the public. These scholarly attempts produced a number of theories on the topic, such as situational theory, which is based on an assumption that the situation dictates the appropriate leadership style to use, and therefore different situations and tasks require different types of leadership, meaning that the style of leadership is influenced by circumstance, situation, and leadership position. This theory emphasises that there is no single style of leadership that is suitable for all situations (Spahr, 2015).

Another product of this era of scholarship is organisational theory, which "studies organizations to identify the patterns and structures they use to solve problems, maximize efficiency and productivity, and meet the expectations of stakeholders" (Ansell & Torfing, 2016, p.36).

In 1984, James Grunig determined four models of public relations, as a result of his work on the Excellence study, which described the ways in which an organisation communicates with the public. These four models are: press agentry/publicity, public information, two-way asymmetrical, and two-way symmetrical. These four modelshave dominated the literature on public relations ever since (Hayes, 2012).

The Excellence study conducted by Grunig began in 1976, and was undertaken in the belief that framing the practice of public relations through the construction of reliable models would help to describe and explain approaches to public relations in organisations. Through this, it would thereby contribute to a greater understanding of the nature of the relationship between these organisations and the public. In his research, Grunig attempted to identify factors that explain why organisations undertake public relations efforts in a specific way, rather than using other potential approaches (Grunig, Grunig, Sriramesh, Huang & Lyra, 1995).

To answer this question, 216 public relations practitioners were selected by Grunig to represent a study sample from different organisations in the Washington, United States, employing 16 popular procedures employed by those organisations and then combining them into two public relations behaviour theories, 'Synchronic Theory' and 'Diachronic Theory' (Gruniget al, 1995).

Four public relations models were introduced by Grunig's study, which describes the behaviour of US public relations practice. In fact, the four models were presented and explained by Grunig as follows: First, the press agentry model, which depends on propaganda to improve the image of an organisation. Second, the public information model, whose main thrust relies on publishing only information that gives a good impression of the organisation, avoiding disclosing any negative information. Third, the two-way asymmetrical model seeks to influence public opinion in favour of the organisation by providing information to the public based on research outcomes.

Finally, the two-way symmetrical model is built on dialogue, negotiation and interactive approaches between the organisation and its public by way of certain communication processes, with emphasis that the two-way symmetrical model is the model that is most ethical and suitable for achieving an effective relationship between the organisation and public from Grunig's point of view (Kruckeberg &Vujnovic, 2005).

To further understand Grunig's models, Yun (2006) identifies four key aspects upon which these models were built: direction, purpose, channel and ethics. In the field of public relations, direction means that merely providing information to the public is 'one-way', while the ability to exchange information is 'two-way'. Purpose suggests that making an impact on

a one communicating party is 'asymmetry', whereas seeking to reach an impact on both communicating parties is 'symmetry'. Channel describes public relations depending on direct communication channels as 'interpersonal communication', and on indirect communication channels as 'mass communication' to reach the targeted public. Ethics reflects to what extent the practice of public relations is ethical, and is further classified into teleology, disclosure, and social responsibility.

Theunissen and Noordin (2011) indicate that Grunig's Four Models of Public Relations: press agentry, public information, two-way asymmetrical, and two-way symmetrical, dominate heavily in the practice of public relations and in practitioners' thinking. In fact, Theunissen and Noordin focus more on two-way symmetrical communication model as the only model built on the concept of dialogue with the public. From their point of view, this dialogue must be constant and continuous, and should also aim "to increase understanding or shared meaning, raise awareness of taken for granted assumptions and beliefs, enhance learning, encourage collaboration and enhance the quality of decisions andactions" (Roper, Zorn & Weaver, 2004, cited in Theunissen & Noordin, 2011, P.5).

Theunissen and Noordin distinguish between two concepts of public relations, 'dialogue' and 'persuasion'. They consider dialogue as 'symmetric communication', while persuasion is an 'asymmetric connection'. They also believe that dialogue is more ethical than persuasion because dialogue often benefits both communicating parties, while persuasion usually serves only one side's communication interests.

Accordingly, they criticise the two-way symmetrical communication model in terms of neglecting the need to distinguish between the concept of dialogue and the concept of persuasion, which may lead to confusion or overlap between the two concepts in public relations practice dependent on this model. Although there is an interrelated and linear relationship between the two concepts, dialogue usually comes before persuasion in the communication process (Theunissen & Noordin, 2011).

However, Theunissen and Noordin do not deny the risks that might face an organisation as a result of the dialogue process; this is because the outcomes of dialogue cannot be predicted or guaranteed. Another element of risk lies in the fact that the dialogue process requires the

organisation to cede a portion of its control to the public, in which case the organisation may to some extent become exposedto it, potentially leading to adverse results. In addition, the problem of quantitative measuring of dialogue results may drive the organisation to prefer to adopt the persuasion method in order to protect its public image.

Theunissen and Noordin argue that public relations literature embraced and adopted Grunig's four models of public relations as effective and reliable models for a professional practice in this field. However, the literature has widely neglected to address the practical environment and determine the most suitable circumstances under which those models may work most efficiently. Similarly, the literature also fails to present clear concept of dialogue in the communication process, rather focusing on how to introduce all parts of the targeted communication process into dialogue.

Thus, Theunissen and Noordin (2011) believe that public relations literature has not yet offered any considerable contribution to the development of a philosophical understanding of dialogue theory in public relations practice, which is built on the idea that "the synergies between the role of public relations that is embodied in identifying, maintaining, and enhancing relationships between organizations and stakeholders for the benefit of all involved, and dialogue as two-way communication based on inclusivity, respectfulness, and mutual responsiveness between participants, leading to mutual understanding" (Lane & Bartlett, 2016, p.405).

This in turn has led first to narrowing the range of development of the field of public relations, and limited existing opportunities for the advancement of further public relations theories; second, it has raised questions regarding the viability of dialogue for organisation the nature of whose work requires opening communication channels with public.

They concluded that effective public relations with the public can be built on dialogue through a two-way symmetrical communication model, but this requires that scholars work on develop dialogic theory to serve public relations practice (Theunissen & Noordin, 2011).

It should be stressed that the above point does not mean organisations have to adopt a dialogue method as always being the most successful way to reach public; the success of the

dialogue process depends on the presence of specific factors and conditions, such as the organisation's ability to manage dialogue, the public's perception of the organisation, and to what extent the organisation's atmosphere is suitable for conducting dialogue. If these factors are not present, then the dialogue approach becomes difficult and it might be better for the organisation to adopt the persuasion method instead.

Stoker and Tusinski (2006) also note the dominance of Grunig's four models on public relations practitioners' and scholars' thinking. Indeed, while they agree with Grunig and other scholars' views regarding the two-way symmetrical communication model as the most ethical model, they claim that this model is not a realistic model and cannot be exercised practically by organisations that seek profitability and face competitive challenges. Such organisations may prefer to protect their image and position from direct communication with the public.

In addition, adopting this model in times of crisis and conflict may represent a risk tothe organisations and its message, either as a result of dealing directly with the public under abnormal circumstances, or perhaps because neither practitioner nor public is able commit to the ethical principles in such circumstances.

In fact, Stoker and Tusinski (2006) criticise the two-way symmetrical communication model to dialogue approach in terms of its ethical aspect. They believe that dialogue is not necessarily an ethical approach due to the fact that, even if an organisation depends on the dialogue approach to communicate with the public, it can in certain circumstances act unethically. For example, the organisation may not attain fully successful communication and mutual understanding with a public that has different attitudes through the two-way symmetrical communication model unless it adopts a selective communications approach, in the sense that the organisation selects branches of the public that have demonstrated prior homogeneity and compatibility with the organisation to conduct dialogue with them. In this case, the dialogue process aims merely to enhance that compatibility, while dialogue with a public with whom the organisation's relationship is inharmonious may be considered a waste of the organisation's energies and efforts.

However, selective communication contradicts the open system theory's standards and principles, which call for the organisation's need to adapt to its surroundings rather than

controlling and limiting its environment (Stoker &Tusinski, 2006). Moreover, the selective process itself may clearly refute the idea that the two-way symmetrical communication model is an ethical model because the selective communication process explicitly requiresan organisation to neglect and ignore a segment ofits public and isolate it from the dialogue process, deprivingits members of the right to make their views heard.

Accordingly, selective communication is non-neutral and unethical communication, which aims solely to enhance the organisation's relations with a selected public whom has demonstrated prior harmony with the organisation, and may be considered as biased and unequal in opportunities (Stoker &Tusinski, 2006).

> *"Dialogue can be tyrannical, and dissemination can be just"* (Peters, 1999, cited in Stoker & Tusinski, 2006, p. 160).

Hence, Burleson and Kline provide the following four main principles, which from their point of view are essential to ensure an ethical dialogue process:

- *Participants must have an equal chance to initiate and maintain discourse.*

- *Participants must have an equal chance to make challenges, explanations, or interpretations.*

- *Interaction among participants must be free of manipulations, domination, or control.*

- *Participants must be equal with respect to power* (Burleson & Kline, 1979, cited in Fawkes, 2007).

Clearly, Fawkes (2007), who conducted a study to examine the ethical aspects of public relations models by investigating prevalent ethical theories in public relations literature, believes that all existing public relations models, including the two-way symmetrical model, are unethical, despite claims of ethical aspect in practice either by media, propaganda, and persuasion, or by negotiating with public.

In fact, it cannot be said that they are ethical models due to the potential for manipulation of the public as an implicit part of the previous processes. The first step towards addressing this issue, from Fawkes' point of view, is for public relations scholars and practitioners to admit that there is a misunderstanding often associated with the confusion between persuasion and propaganda, and as a result of this the models, while appearing theoretically to be ethical, are not ethical in practice.

Accordingly, Fawkes attempted to present a framework, adapted from Gerhard Maletzke, in order to address the problematic ethics of the communication process between the communicator 'public relations practitioners' and its targeted public, as shown in Fig (4) below.
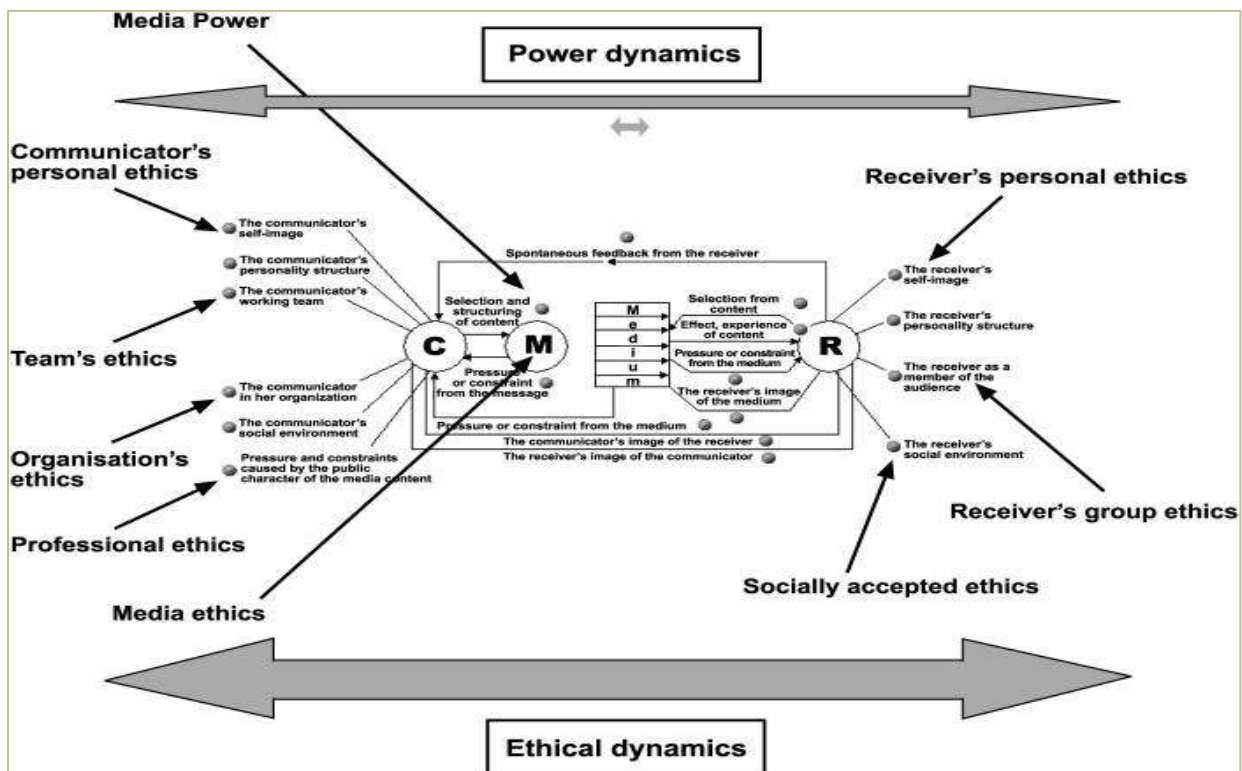
Fig (4) Ethical dynamics of communication.
(Adopted from Fawkes, 2007).

It is clear that Fawkes attempts to collect and reconcile the majority of ethical standards of all those elements with potential to affect the communication process, directly or indirectly, such as ethics of communicative environment, ethics of media, professional ethics, and ethics of

organisations, as well as the ethics of both communicator and public in a two-way dynamic communication process, which is generally subjected to two powers: the organisation's environment and media influence, and the influence of the organisation itself (Fawkes, 2007).

This ethical communication model might prove to be of great value in terms of, first, providing a full understanding of each potential participant in the communication process both during the planning period and prior to commencing communication with the public in order to achieve effective communication. Second, this model can assist in an assessment stage to ethical aspects of public relations models to determine to what extent they are ethical.

Stoker and Tusinski conclude that a model based on recognising and reconciling differences maybe more suitable and ethical for public relations practice than amodel built on dialogue. This is because reaching an agreement perse is not a goal of communication efforts in public relations. In addition, the nature of any differences is a feature that allows the organisation to recognise its position with the public, which helps it to adapt and adjust in order to influence its standing there with. Furthermore, the process of exchanging values and meanings between the organisation and public in an attempt to address differences is a desirable process to build long-term mutual understanding, which is undoubtedly preferable than to a relatively short-term, artificial agreement.

Therefore, Stoker and Tusinski believe that the model presented by philosopher Carl Friedrich in 1963 may represent a suitable alternative to the two-way symmetrical communication model; Friedrich's model allows that the conflict of interests and ideas is an inevitable and constant element between the organisation and public, and the organisation should intensify communication efforts that not only aim to reach an agreement with the public, but also aim to involve that public in the organisation's decisions and policies, and deal with them as a partner. This may require the organisation grant some of its control to public.

In short, this model ascribes greater value to the differences between the organisation and the public than merely reaching an agreement, since the latter is a by nature a temporary achievement (Stoker & Tusinski, 2006).

It is worth mentioning that Stoker and Tusinski's 'recognise and reconcile differences' model, which is inspired from Friedrich's model, is a considerable and valuable attempt to address the relationship between the organisation and public outside the crucible of dialogue, persuasion and propaganda in public relations literature. This model calls for scholars to reconsider the feasibility of Grunig's four models in terms of practising public relations at times of extraordinary conflict or crisis, compared to the effectiveness of the recognise and reconcile differences model, which can be practised in different circumstances.

However, this has raised several questions about the practice of public relations abroad. For example, are these four models of public relations practised worldwide or not? If not, then what other models of public relations are practised in different countries?

Many empirical studies have been undertaken to attempt to answer these crucial questions by examining the nature of public relations practice in different countries; more precisely, in countries not covered by Grunig's study. Indeed, while some researchers believe that studying public relations practice worldwide should move away from prior Western theories and assumptions in the field, research efforts may nevertheless remain narrow in scope and expectation, which reduces the value and reliability of such studies.

In this respect, Gregory and Halff (2013) have drawn attention to the concepts of 'simplicity' and 'complexity' in studying the practice of public relations worldwide. They argue that the simplification in experimental studies that aim to determine public relations models based on prior Western assumptions cannot benefit the field of public relations. Instead, they believe that these studies must include elements such as culture, values and components of the studied phenomenon's society, even if they are complex and produce a variety of models that may be different or similar to those produced in the West's 'Excellence models'. Researchers should be aware that the core strength of public relations lies in complexity and diversity, and its ability to face challenges.

On the other hand, some scholars point out that employing Western assumptions and theories to explore the reality of public relations in other countries can be an effective method. They believe that ignoring Western scientific efforts in this area when studying the public relations practice of other countries may bring us back to the starting point of these efforts.

For example, Lim, Goh and Sriramesh (2005), who conducted a study to explore the nature of the practice of public relations in Singapore based on Grunig's Excellence theory, justified this approach by stating that despite the need to study public relations in its reality and through dimensions and theories belonging to its particular environment,in some cases, such as that of Singapore, researchers are forced to depend on Western research and study results, and employ existing public relations models, to identify and measure the effectiveness of local public relations practice. This is due to a lack of basic data and previous research related to the field of public relations in most developing countries.

In fact, the Lim, Goh and Sriramesh's study demonstrates that, although the practice of public relations in some of Singapore's governmental organisations relies on the public information model due to the nature of their work, which requires the constant provision of information to the public, the agentry 'propaganda' model is the most dominant model in public relations practice in Singapore.

According to the study's respondents, approximately 127 public relations practitioners, the main target of this practice is to create a desirable image of an organisation through publishing positive news and stories related to the organisation in question. The study also revealed evidence of public relations practice dependent on a combination of two-way symmetrical and asymmetrical public relations models, the so-called 'mixed-motive model'. This model is practised by multinational organisations in Singapore, and was described as the model that could best achieve the organisation's interests and public interests through a negotiation process (Lim, Goh & Sriramesh, 2005).

According to Hayes (2012), some changes have been made to Grunig's models over the years. For example, in 1991 and as a result of recognising that all Grunig's public relations models can be practised by an organisation concurrently or at different times, the two-way symmetrical model was developed by employing mixed motives concept that attempts to reconcile the organisation's interests with those of the public by employing two methods, dialogue and persuasion, together, and relying on negotiation and communication processes adopted by the organisation to achieve the mutual interests of both sides, which requires a 'collaborative advocacy' model, as shown in Fig (5) below.
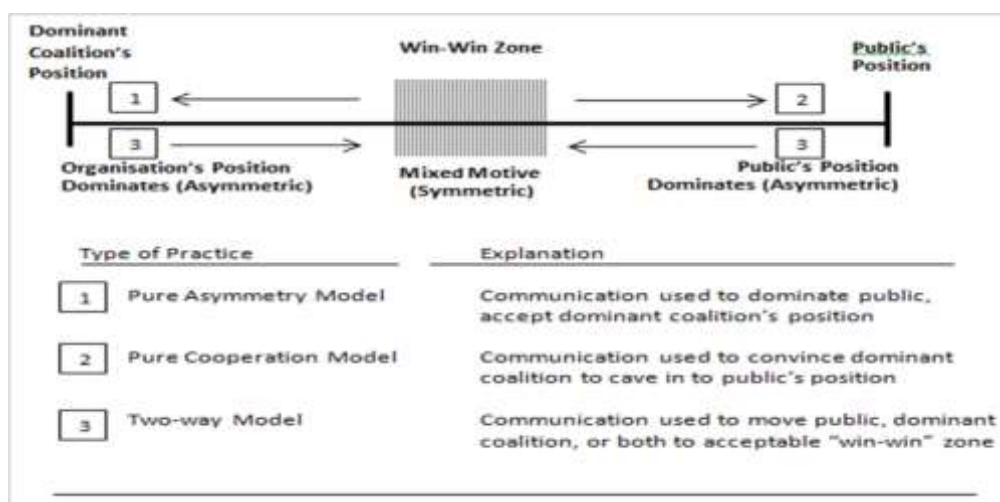
Fig **(5)** New model of symmetry as two-way practices (adopted from Hayes, 2012).

Similarly, Karadjov, Kim and Karavasilev (2000) sought to investigate the practice of public relations, as well as measure the job satisfaction of its practitioners in Bulgaria depending on Grunig's four models. The number of respondents amounted to approximately 102 public relations practitioners in Bulgaria, and represent approximately half of its total public relations practitioners.

In fact, although the respondents' answers support the claim that they practise two-way symmetrical and asymmetrical models in public relations through their efforts to create a mutual understanding with the public, Karadjov, Kim and Karavasilev assert that the most dominant model practised in public relations in Bulgaria is the agentry–publicity model. Nevertheless, this contradiction can be explained by the fact that respondents only think they practice two-way symmetrical and asymmetrical models to create relationships of understanding and harmony with the public by influencing public opinion and through the use of propaganda. However, by doing this they completely deviate from both the two-way symmetrical and asymmetrical models' principles and assumptions; they also mistakenly use the term propaganda as a synonym for persuasion, and believe manipulating the public is inherent to both (Karadjov, Kim & Karavasilev, 2000).

This clearly reflects the gap between theory and practice, and the lack of full understanding of the profession of public relations and its models. Finally, the study indicates the presence

of a strong desire among public relations practitioners in Bulgaria to adopt effective Western models such as the two-way symmetrical model.

The factors that led public relations practitioners in Bulgaria to embrace the agentry−publicity model rather than the other models were explained by the researchers as due to most Bulgarian organisations being small private companies unable to undertake research into public opinion due to the cost of surveying said public. Furthermore, Bulgarian culture does not encourage dialogue between organisations and the public, nor does it ascribe anyreal value to public opinion. In addition, public relations in Bulgaria is relatively new, being adopted only as recently as 1990 (Karadjov, Kim & Karavasilev, 2000).

Furthermore, the communist ideology that was previously prevalent in Bulgaria, and its link to the concept of propaganda and restrictions on thought and the freedom of the press, may still help to shape a particular view of public relations in practitioners' minds.

Likewise, a study of public relations history in Turkey conducted by Bıcakcı and Hürmeric (2013) refers to the prevalence of Grunig's models, such as the press agentry−publicity model, the public information model, and the two-way asymmetric model, throughout the evolution of public relations in Turkey, which began in 1920 and is ongoing. For example, during a period of single-party rule, the public information model dominated public relations practice in order to create a desirable image of Turkey. During a multi-party period, it appears that the press agentry−publicity model was the prevalent model due to the requirements of the political process and the need for election campaigns to win over voters.

The ensuing period of Turkish public relations history is characterised by the development of the economy and entering of multinational companies to the Turkish market, in addition to establishing the Turkish Public Relations Society in 1972, which encouraged research into the potential adoption of the two-way asymmetrical model, while the actual models practised were the press agentry−publicity model and the public information model (Bıcakcı & Hürmeric, 2013).

Many years later, the success of government policies, thriving of development, emergence of competition among commercial companies and the importance of attracting consumers, in

addition to the launch of several private public relations agencies and the dissemination among them of the social responsibility theory, all led Turkey to apply the two-way asymmetrical model, taking into account that the public information model was more dominant.

At the present time and due to a lack of research, it is not only difficult to adopt the two-way symmetrical and asymmetrical models, but also to identify the models that are truly practised by public relations practitioners in Turkey, which are most likely to be a combination of the public information, press agentry−publicity and two-way asymmetrical models (Bıcakcı & Hürmeric, 2013) .

From the above study of public relations history in Turkey, it can be seen that most of Grunig's models, with the exception of the two-way symmetrical model, have been practised during different periods of public relations history, and each period required public relations to be practised in a particular way to meet political and economic needs and goals. Moreover, the study takes into account the potential role of new communications technology in employing or excluding specific models, and as such those models reported in the study may still be in use today.

Additionally, a study by Taylor and Kent (1999) attempted to investigate the practice of public relations in Malaysia with the belief that Western public relations theories and models were generally built on assumptions of a Western reality.

Thus, Western theories and models might not be suitable for applying to other societies with a different reality. For example, Grunig's models assume that the targeted public of public relations usually consists of groups known to practitioners, such as agents, citizens and journalists. Grunig also applied the term public in his models as a general term due to the awareness of Western publics, as well as their ability to reject or accept products and services or ideas presented to them.

Accordingly, the public in Western countries can directly affect an organisation's future, but this likely not the case in developing countries, even allowing for a similarity of categorisation between these countries and those in the West; the difference lies in

practitioners' focus on a specific kind of public relations audience in developing countries as opposed to the general public of Western countries (Taylor & Kent, 1999). Therefore, it might be not appropriate to employ such models that have been designed based on the nature of a particular public in public relations practice with other public and in other societies.

In their study, Taylor and Kent concluded that the practice of public relations in Malaysian organisations does not pay much attention to public opinion, focusing more on specific stakeholders such as government officials. This may be due to several reasons, such as the political regime, the prevailing culture and values in Malaysian society and, more importantly, the Malaysian economic system. In fact, the development of public relations in Malaysia came about as a result of the growth and flourishing of its economic sector (Taylor & Kent, 1999).

Clearly, respondents from the public relations practitioners in this study stated that public relations activities in Malaysian organisations do not differ greatly from those in American organisations such as publishing, advertising and reputation building. However, the difference lies in the nature of the relationship between the organisations and the Malaysian government. Respondents claimed that despite the development across all sectors in Malaysia, as well as the growth of Malaysian public relations and the emergence of the private public relations agencies, the government continues todominateall economic activities. Respondents also expressed continuing concern regarding the publishing of negative news for fear of angering the government, and therefore focus for the most part on positive aspects, in addition to making efforts to please government officials and prioritise building relationships with them over other publics (Taylor & Kent, 1999).

In this respect, respondents justified those differences in Malaysian public relations practice by saying that Malaysian government bureaucracy has the right to approve or reject their contracts with commercial and investment company clients; establishing direct relationships with the authority became a key factor for business success, alongside the ability of public relations practitioners to communicate and influence the government's decision in this regard. In addition, the Malaysian public does not know to oppose or boycott companies' services or products. Hence the need arose to influence the government more than other categories of public (Taylor & Kent, 1999). Heath and Cousino argue the same idea, that "organisations

must communicate with key stakeholders such as government officials to benefit from favourable public policy decisions" (Heath & Cousino, 1990, cited in Taylor & Kent, 1999, p.134).

However, Grunig's four models may be unsuitable for practice in this case. For example, the two-way symmetrical communication model assumes that the organisation has full power and that it cedes aportion of this power to the public through communication processes, but in the Malaysian case, the 'Malaysian government' is who holds that power and implicitly determines the organisation's policies and priorities. Grunig makes clear that there are certain conditions requisite to the practice of public relations depending on the two-way symmetrical communication model. He states that "symmetrical public relations is based on equality, autonomy, innovation, decentralisation of management, responsibility, conflict resolution, and interest group liberalism" (Grunig, 1992, cited in Taylor & Kent, 1999, p.139).

To put it another way, the most obvious, and perhaps the most practised, public relations model in this case is the personal influence model based on establishing personal relationships with a targeted public, due to the need to build relationships with Malaysian government officials.

 By the same token, models such as 'cultural interpreter' and 'personal influence' were presented as additional models to Grunig's four models by a public relations practice study in Greece, India and Taiwan in 1991. The cultural interpreter model is often employed by multinational companies and other organisations that operate outside their states, such as embassies and international organisations (Grunig, Grunig, Sriramesh, Huang & Lyra, 1995), in order to fill the gap of culture, language and values between foreign organisations and a host country by relying on public relations agencies and consultants native to the targeted society to interpret and explain the organisation's policies and objectives to the public in a manner suitable to that society.

The personal influence model seems different in that it aligns more with the nature of public relations practice in countries that are characterised by government dominion over organisations' priorities and interests (Taylor & Kent, 1999).

Clearly, the idea of the personal influence model is built on public relations practitioners giving a great attention to an organisation to establish close relationships with two elements. First, journalists, to shape media coverage and ensure a positive attitude towards the organisation; second, government officials, to influence their decisions and gain government approval for the organisation's business and projects.

The personal influence model may be suitable for applying in developing countries that prioritise authority over ordinary citizens. According to this model, the priority is to concentrate on influencing government officials individually instead of wasting communicative efforts on other public, which is less important to the organisation's projects and future.

However, the ethical aspect of the personal influence model is open serious criticism in that full dependence on personal influencein building relationships in public relations often involves deception and unprofessional practice, under which circumstances it becomes impossible to frame any ethical controls.

For example, the exchange of gifts, and the granting of advantages, informal meetings and invitations may open the door to bribery and corruption. Furthermore, the personal power model, which focuses only on a certain group, a 'government officials and journalists public', is inconsistent with the social responsibility theory of public relations, which calls for balance in dealing with the different categories of public whom represent the main target of internal and external communications efforts in organisations.

A study by Wu and Baah-Boakye (2009) of 120 Ghanaian organisations, which aimed to determine the models practised by public relations practitioners in Ghana, concluded that the cultural interpreter model is the most practised model compared to other models found in Ghana, followed by the personal influence model. The study also identified the two-way symmetrical and asymmetrical models, and press agentry−publicity model as being practised to varying degrees, while the public information model represented a very low percentage. According to Wu and Baah-Boakye, the key reasons behind the above results are Ghanaian cultural and social values, which are deep-rooted in Ghanaian society.

Likewise, a study by Kiambi and Nadler (2012) sought to identify public relations models practised in Kenya; nearly 51 respondents from public relations practitioners were questioned via an online survey.

The study is built on Grunig's four public relations models, plus the personal influence and cultural interpreter models. Indeed, the study results appear to be quite similar to the results from the Ghanaian study above; the personal influence model and cultural interpreter model are the most practised models, taking into account that in this study, the personal influence model came first ahead of the cultural interpreter model, while the Ghanaian study found the opposite.

In addition, the two-way symmetrical and asymmetrical, press agentry−publicity and public information models are noted to beless important in practice. The study also reported a strong correlation between the structure and application of public relations models in Kenya and Kenyan cultural values such as individuality and gender.

From the above two studies, it can be understood that Ghanaian culture and Kenyan social values have both forced public relations practitioners in these countries to employ two principle models of public relations practice, the cultural interpreter model and the personal influence model.

Indeed, practitioners adopted these two specific models in order to:

1. Gain local public relations agencies and advisers' assistance in transmitting their messages in a way familiar to local society and thereby influence public opinion, as well as to act as 'cultural interpreter' of the local public's culture and behaviour.
2. Build and streng then personal relationships, which are required to guarantee the continued success of the organisations' businesses and projects, as well as its reputation in the eyes of the public. Such relationships are termed 'personal influence'.

This brings our attention back to a hypothesis proposed by Leichty and Springston (1993, p.333) that "the best PR model depended upon the type of environment which the

organisation faced". That said, there is so far no concrete evidence to confirm or refute this hypothesis.

Nevertheless, the notion that the organisation always has the option to select the public with whom to communicate, and consequently to determine a model of public relations practiceas assumed by Grunig's Excellence theory, was criticised by Leichty and Springston in 1993. While they admit that organisations communicate and interact in varying ways and at varying levels with the public at any given time, they argue that the organisation is often forced to give a particular type of public greater attention and value than others. For example, in the Malaysian case, government officials were the group selected by Malaysian public relations (Reviewed in Taylor & Kent, 1999). Thus, it is not logical to say that the organisation has the choice of whether to adopt or refuse a certain model of public relations models.

It appears that the personal influence model is at the midst of a real controversy regarding the concept of public in the literature of public relations practice due to the nature of public as a social term on the one hand, and factors that surround the practice of public relations with this public on the other.

Clearly, there is an urgent need to generate a theory to address the relationships between organisation and public, and provide a logical explanation for the behaviour of an organisation towards different elements of this public (Leichty & Springston, 1993).

A study conducted by Hoyos (2013, p.591) on the nature of public relations practice and its role in social responsibility in electricity sector companies in Columbia, found that "studies dealing with the practice of public relations, it is stated that, organisations work best when they align corporate responsibility communication with the concerns of the organisation's stakeholders". Hoyos explained that the term stakeholders refers to "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by managerial actions" (Hoyos, 2013, p.591).

Recently, Valentini, Kruckeberg and Starck (2012) point out that models and theories of public relations in the past often defined the term public in relation to three categories: companies, non-governmental and civil society organisations, and governments. In contrast, they rarely used the term public to refer to a comprehensive group.

They claim that it may no longer be acceptable to focus on such a narrow concept of public, which limits it to groups with direct relationships with an organisation's interests. In the era of the internet and social media there is an urgent need to reshape the concept of public in the process of building, adopting and practising public relations models to suit the era of globalisation and technology, and the and fusion of cultures identities.

Valentiniet al (2012) also call for a change to the concept of public opinion on which past public relations theories and models are built. Needless to say, globalisation and new technology have demolished geographical boundaries and minimised the differences between cultures, identities and religions, and therefore have the ability to create a new concept of public opinion, involving all categories of public instead of only certain limited categories.

At the same time, this is a challenge for public relations and requires an increase in organisations' communication efforts, as well as are thinking of communication models based on the old concept of public. In fact, at the present time, public opinion can be shaped by an unexpected public to public relations practitioners and from outside the direct scope of an organisation's interests.

> *"We must question prior assumptions and devise and explore new paradigms that take into account the dynamic environment wrought by changes in communication technology"* (Valentiniet al, 2012, p. 874).

From the brief discussion above, it can be surmised that the personal influence model is not today a valid public relations practice, exceptin certain developing countries, which may suffer from specific circumstances such as undemocratic regimes, corruption and a lack of modern technology. Despite Valentiniet a drawing attention to the need to produce a model for public relations practice consistent with the status quo in terms of globalisation, internet and the social media era, they do not provide an alternative model for the practice of public relations with a supposed public.

3.2.1 Public Relations Models in the Arab World

With regard to models of public relations in Arab countries, a vast majority of the studies conducted on identifying the reality of public relations in the Arab world more or less agree

that, while the public relations model appears somewhat mysterious, combining secretarial services, publishing, hospitality and receiving guests, and attracting the public, it tends generally to align with the publicity model according to Grunig's models classification (see e.g. Mulla, 1993; Kirat, 2005; Alabiady, 2006; AlKhaja, 2009; Hassen, 2012).

For example, a study by Latif (1985) to evaluate the functions of public relations in airways companies in Egypt suggests that there exists a variety of different concepts of public relations among certain Egyptian airways companies, not all of which are compatible with the proper concept of public relations. This certainly affects the extent to which the benefits of its activities and programmes may be felt. Moreover, most public relations activities focus on non-essential functions such as receiving delegations, facilitating administrative procedures and advertising activities, which has served to create a disorganised and unclear model of public relations that reduces its own opportunities for success.

Recently, a study conducted by Alsaqer (2008) to explore barriers facing the practice of public relations by Arab women in Bahrain, indicates that there are many challenges facing these women in the Arab environment, but the most important challenge from Arab women's perspective is the marginalisation of the public relations profession, both from institution managers and Arab society, due to a prevailing ignorance of the essence and importance of this field. Alsaqer also describes other difficulties related to Arab culture.

Likewise, more than half a century since the emergence of public relations in the Arab world, Kirat (2005) argues that Arab public relations faces many challenges, which affect its effectiveness and shape the way in which it is practised in the status quo. The most obvious challenge that impedes public relations from practising models other than the publicity model is the nature of the political regimes in the majority of Arab countries, which contribute to an environment of tyranny and dictatorship, making it difficult to practise public relations freely. It is clear that these regimes do not give any real weight to the public opinion of Arab citizens in societies whereby there is not a real democratic political practice.

In addition, the weakness of economic and civil activities and the lack of private sector contributions has led the majority of public relations practices to centre only on government activities; these practices adopt a publicity and manipulation approach to ensure the

preservation of those regimes and to polish their image, both locally and internationally. Kirat also refers to other factors which force Arab public relations to adopt the publicity model, such as the prevailing misconception in most Arab countries of public relations functions slacking strategy, research, planning and evaluation, and mismanagement.

In a study of public relations functions in the United Arab Emirates, Al Khaja (2009, p.112) clearly admits that "Arab public relations problems are administrative problems".

Similarly, in a recent study of models of public relations in Arab countries, including Egypt, Sudan, Oman, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates conducted by Hassen (2012), found that the prevailing model of public relations in Arab countries is the publicity model. In addition, the role of public relations in the Arab world is confined to coordinating with the media to ensure the dissemination of positive publicity, news and information about an organisation.

Bekhit (2009), who conducted a study to investigate communication models of public relations in Arabic governmental websites, found that the publicity model is also the dominant model employed by online governmental public relations in Arab countries, but he added that the public information model is also employed due to the governmental nature of the public relations websites studied, whose main task is providing necessary information to the public.

A further reason public relations in the Arab world is practised specifically in accordance with the publicity model can be added to Kirat's reasons mentioned above. This is that the nature of Arab culture enhances implicit concepts of propaganda such as obedience, praise and loyalty, as well as its dependence on connections and personal relationships rather than formal methods of achieving business success.

In fact, the Arab environment appears to some extent similar to the Malaysian reality in that both may be described as developing regions. The difference lies in that Malaysian public relations is practised professionally somewhat, while this is not the case in most Arab countries.

> *"Arab culture offers a richness of ancient traditions, complex social customs and an invigorating diversity among its people. Much of public relations process involves communication as a ritual, rather than communication as transmission of information, it involves interpersonal communication rather than mass communication. It involves relationship building as opposed to persuasion"* (Vujnovic & Kruckeberg, 2005, p.341).

However, in recent years, there has been a noticeable improvement in Arab public relations (Kirat, 2005). This may be due to the variables that have been imposed by the global reality that is the growth and openness of the international economy, and scientific and cultural exchange in the age of technology and the internet.

According to a report published by the Madar Centre for Research and Development (2012), the rate of use of technology and communication in 18 Arab countries has risen to 1.48 % in 2011, compared with 1.32 % in 2010.

Equally importantly, Ayish (2005) believes that the internet has not only changed humans behaviour but has also affected the pattern of public relations practice employed by institutions, which take advantage of this new communication technology to provide services in a different and interactive way. Ayish conducted a study on 20 Emirati organisations and concluded that the organisations involved in the study practice the two-way symmetrical model of public relations on internet, through open channels and an interactive dialogue with the public. This has led to fruitful two-way communication between them.

In addition, a definition presented by the Middle East Public Relations Association, reports that public relations is a two-way communication between a communicator and a receiver intended to reach at last a mutual harmony of ideas or trends to satisfy both the communicator and the receiver (Gaitherb & Al-Kandaria, 2011).

It is clear that this definition implicitly assumes a set of processes such as dialogue, negotiation and persuasion through the communication process. This is completely consistent with Grunig's two-way communication model. Another element that may force some Arabic regimes to rethink their practice of public relations is the emergence international activist

organisations, which call for more freedoms and rights at the individual and institutional level, and monitor matters related to their practice, in particular in developing countries.

> *"The increasing number of democracies throughout the world has created new environment for the practice of public relations"* (Whit & Imre, 2013, p.394).

In fact, this may be in tune with the claim made by Ayish (2005, p.382) that "the prevailing model of public relations in the developing countries is a propaganda type that involves questionable ethical practices, with some notable exceptions". For example, of these exceptions, it can be said that the most economically advantaged, in particular the Arab Gulf countries, have witnessed an obvious development of the public relations profession due to an environment that allowed multinational companies to enter into the region and provide public relations services via agencies and offices. This contributed to a different model of public relations practice.

One of the great examples of this development can be clearly seen in a study by Zayani (2008) ofthe most controversial news channel in the Arab world, Al Jazeera, which attracts approximately 40−60 million viewers, of whom an estimated 15 million are international. The study shows to what extent this channel managed to take advantage of the environment and exploit this reality to gain success by relying on a new model of public relations rather than the publicity model employed by the majority of Arab channels.

From the perspective of Naieli (2014), the establishment of Al Jazeera in 1996 marksa turning point in the history of Arab countries. In fact, it has broken the monopoly of information and news held by official media, and created and imposed a new model for the practice of media and public relations.

Al Jazeera's public relations department is sometimes described as performing poorly disorientated in facing the same accusation that threatens the image of Arab countries abroad, which is the assumed link with terrorism and al-Qaeda. This because Al Jazeera has broadcast a number of videos and interviews with al-Qaeda leaders (Zayani, 2008).

Moreover, Al Jazeera faces challenges inside the Arab world itself, often being viewed as a threat to the authority of Arab regimes, and exceeding the extent of liberties granted in these countries. These concerns are in line with what is mentioned by Bardhan and Weaver (2011, cited in Whit & Imre, 2013), which reveals the potential and importance of mass media and public relations in building a democratic reality. During the Arab Spring, media and public relations played a key role in arousing events and toppling regimes, by influencing attitudes and beliefs, and filling the public consciousness with a new paradigm (Soufi & Bureihi, 2014).

However, Al Jazeera succeeded in shifting the Arab practice of public relations from the publicity model to the two-way asymmetrical model by opening communication channels with the public through its programmes and media coverage.

In brief, the Al Jazeera channel is a unique example of the practice of public relations in the Arab world. One of the most important reasons behind its success in jump out of a publicity practice crucible is the separation of channel from the political regime that controls the country where it operates, this gave the channel more space to work freely, even if AlJazeera channel is still partly funded by the Qatari government (Zayani, 2008).

It is clear from the above discussion that according to Grunig's classification, the prevailing model of public relations practice in Arab countries is the publicity model; this is in most part due to the Arab culture, political regimes and economic systems, as well as the relative newness of the public relations profession in the Arab world. However, there is a marked belief in the Arab world that this profession's reality will improve in the future. According to a study of 82 Arab organisations by Rizk (2005, p.397) to exploring the future of public relations in the United Arab Emirates, the majority of respondents' answers confirmed that the "future of public relations is shining, promising, and bright".

However, we must consider here is, how do Arab practitioners of public relations practice the profession outside Arab countries when they are commissioned to perform this function abroad, whether in Arab embassies or in government and private Arab companies and organisations abroad?

It is unfortunate that, although the literature addresses the practice of public relations in the international field by way of a multitude of previous studies of this aspect of practice, they are nevertheless often conducted to cover two main points of research interest in this area.

First, is the practice of public relations by multinational companies all over the world, particularly in developing countries, and because the majority of these companies originate in the West and reflect their way of practice, as a result, Arab practice of public relations abroad is overlooked.

Second, the few studies that focus on Arab public relations practice outside Arab countries tend to limit themselves only to the government practice of the profession usually embodied in Arab embassies abroad, despite the fact that other forms of Arab practice abroad exist, such as in non-government and private companies, organisations, and student unions.

It is worth mentioning that the Arab Spring enabled certain Arab countries such as Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Yemen to dispose of the dictatorial and tyrannical regimes that have dominated media and public relations practice in these countries for decades. Thus, it is expected that, after the elimination of the most important reasons behind the traditional practice of public relations, a new type of practice will emerge, in a new, democratic political climate built on two-way communication and the persuasion of public opinion to influence ideas and trends, rather than suppression.

Furthermore, it should be recognised that current practice of public relations in Arab Spring countries faces several obstacles and problems, particularly in those countries that have not recovered rapidly from the conflict engendered by their respective revolutions. Such countries continue to suffer from the problems of the transition of power, as is the case in Libya.

Therefore, the current study intends to provide a modest contribution to the literature of public relations by investigating and clarifying the nature of public relations practice in Libyan institutions abroad, with the aim of assisting this practice, in Libyan and other Arab countries' institutions, to address and overcome such obstacles as they are faced with.

3.2.2 Public Relations Models in Libya

The reality of public relations practice in Libya is not very different from its counterparts in the Arab world, whereby the majority of previous studies regarding the reality of public relations in Libya acknowledge that the practice of public relations in Libyan organisations is exemplified by misunderstanding as to the nature of profession, being often limited to the performance of minor roles and functions such as coordinating celebrations, arranging meetings and welcoming guests, or dealing with other administration tasks, such as public and administrative affairs (see e.g. Jadallah, 2003; Almansory, 2004; Alabiady, 2006; Abdalla, 2008).

In addition, Libyan public relations practitioners or their organisations generally do not conduct any kind of research or planning, and almost all of their operations are improvisational and depends on their own views and personal relationships and tends to be unrelated to the practical and theoretical knowledge of the profession. Furthermore, the Libyan public sector dominated the practice of public relations in the absence of the private sector for 42 years under a socialist and authoritarian regime that paid no heed to public opinion (see e.g. Jadallah, 2003; Almansory, 2004; Alabiady, 2006; Abdalla, 2008).

For example, the work of Jadallah (2003) shows that, despite the existence of public relations practice in Libyan oil companies, this practice is confined to the employment of simple means of communication such as notice boards and paper publications. In addition, the objectives of public relations are not clear due to a lack of conviction onthe part of senior management as to its importance. It cannot even be said that public relations in Libya follows any of the existing public relations models; but its activities and tasks tend to be based on propaganda rather than real communication.

The researcher himself conducted a field study on public relations programmes in Libyan society in 2008 and reached the same conclusion, whereby the study revealed that entertainment and media programmes are those most implemented by public relations practitioners (Abdalla, 2008).

The study also showed that the objectives of public relations programmes are determined largely by the personal interpretations and efforts of practitioners, while only 5.71% of respondents claimed to conduct research as part of their public relations practice. In fact, the model of Libyan public relations that can be deduced from analysing respondents' answers and summarising interviews with several public relations office managers is much closer to a propaganda model in practice than any other model (Abdalla, 2008).

To understand the reality of the prevailing pattern of public relations in Libyan society we should first understand the nature of this community's culture and structure. According to a studyby Ben Amer (2013) regarding the components of Libyan cultural heritage, the most important findings regarding the features of Libyan society show that:

First, there is a strong relationship between the prevailing set of values in society and the quality of political thought formed in this community.

Second, there is a low level of political awareness among respondents due to neglecting to connect political awareness with the values of the former regime, instead confining their awareness to a specific set of ideas and political ideologies associated with the so-called Green Book. This reality has produced a type of closed culture and narrow political thought that rejects pluralism, diversity and communication with other cultures.

Third, there is a strong correlation between the prevailing historical culture in the community and the quality of existing political thought, since an analysis of the results shows that the historical culture among the community was specifically limited and politicised to serve the ideologies and interests of the political regime.

Fourth, there is a strong relationship between the quality of political culture formed in the community and the community's awareness of human rights culture and the dimensions of citizenship comprised of the legal dimension, represented in the equality of rights and opportunities, without discrimination, in terms of culture, race or gender; and the political dimension, represented in the right of citizens to participate in the decision-making process regarding social affairs, the future, and the natureof the government and constitution, in addition to the social dimension represented in citizens' right to access equal and fair

opportunities to improve their quality of life, the provision of public services and social security. The study found that all these values and concepts are nearly non-existentin the respondents' culture.

> *"Scholars argue that a healthy democracy with political stability, economic development, and a dynamic media are vital components that provide both the foundation and impetus for thriving public relations sector"* (Waymer, 2013, p.327).

Furthermore, Fareed and Ajoa (2005) identify the following factors for the growth and prosperity of public relations in any society: First, the existence of a stable democratic government. Second, the existence of a political and economic system that allows the establishment of foreign projects and encourages competition across all sectors. Third, the availability of independent means of communication that are not subject to government control, except in terms of ethical obligations.

This may explain the clear variation between the Western model of public relations, which depends on recruiting multiple communication means and aims to deliver mass messages, and the Arab model formed by Arab culture and built on bringing about change by relying on personal communication and the influence of society's leaders (Gaither & Al-Kandari, 2011).

Accordingly, the personal influence model should be one of potential models to describe the practice of public relations in the Arab world as represented here by Libya, since the social aspect is a significant part of the prevailing management pattern of Arab countries, in contrast to the Western style, which pays a little attention to the social element in terms of management.

Notably, the study Gaither and Al-Kandariis one of the few studies that examines a model of public relations practice in an Arab cultural and social context, and suggests the personal influence model in the Arab world, as well as its effectiveness in a such environment.

Seemingly, Agnaia (1996) reached the same conclusion, which emphasises the depth of cultural and social factors in the management of Libyan companies. He makes clear that

personal relationships play a considerable role in the management process and affect decision-making, as well as selecting strategies and priorities in the companies examined.

> *"Results of the empirical studies on Libyan management practice generally, and Management Training Department MTD in particular, indicate that the administrative functions are practised and operated without effective methods, Furthermore, the decisions related to MTD activity are still dependent on personal relations, family ties, tribalism, etc. rather than on an established procedure"* (Agnaia, 1996, p.17).

Thus, it may support the likelihood of Libyan public relations practitioners practising the personal influence model, most likely unconsciously, and solely in response to the reality of a community based on an interconnected social fabric, which profoundly overlaps with the professional approach of management.

Equally importantly, Ghazi Gheblawi, a media consultant at the Libyan embassy in London, has drawn attention to obstacles facing Libya's current public relations practice in the international field. He clearly pointed out thatas public relations practitioners cannot engage indirect dialogue with their international public on Facebook or Twitter due the unstable situation, civil war and conflict in Libya, that public has extremely different attitudes towards what is going on in Libya. Thus, it is difficult to manage two-way communication under these circumstances and seems impossible to expect the outcomes of such a step (G. Gheblawi, personal communication, 30 April 2014).

In addition, Osama Takita, a media consultant in the Libyan embassy in Cairo, has also expressed the same opinion, whereby he argues that because of the war and unstable situation in Libya since 2011, large numbers of displaced Libyan refugees have been forced to stay in Egypt, which often holds extremely different views and political ideologies. Thus, it is wise to not engage directly in two-way communication or even enter into debate with the public abroad, as this may harm relationships more than repair them (O. Takita, personal communication, 22 July, 2014).

As shown above, in an undemocratic society such as this, with its values of culture heritage and political and ideological differences, it seems difficult to practise public relations usinga

scientific approach and obtain satisfying outcomes, so that even where the public relations profession exists at the local and international level, it might be limited in scope and devoid of any influential content.

3.3 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Public diplomacy is "a government's process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation's ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and current policies" (Tuch, 1990, cited in Rasmussen & Merkelsen, 2012, p.811). Undoubtedly, the emergence of diplomacy as an activity cannot be precisely dated, whereby scholars in this matter are divided into two camps. The first believes that diplomacy was practised by primitive tribes, which often made use of an envoy or 'ambassador' to encourage alliances, renounce wars, call for peace and friendship treaties, and organise hunting trips, as well as attending social occasions, funerals and celebrations such as tribal coronation ceremonies.

The second camp claims that diplomacy emerged with the appearance of the features of modern society and its development and entanglement of interests, after having passed through several stages of poorly regulated practices during the time of ancient civilisations such as the Greek, Roman and Byzantine civilisations, and each civilisation is distinguished by its use of diplomatic activities and strategies (see e.g. Khamis [no date]; Nirwandy & Awang, 2013; Pamment, 2014).

Conversely, the diplomatic historian Harold Nicolson believes that diplomacy can be attributed to the French School, whose most prominent founder is Cardinal Richelieu, which was adopted by European countries for more than three centuries, until 1919. This era is marked by a professionalism of practice that relied on diplomats' knowledge and experience, and also the confidential managing of negotiations away from the impact of pressure from the media and public opinion, which allowed ambassadors and diplomats to successfully reach important settlements and agreements, such as the European agreements of 1815, which provided Europe with almost 100 years of peace, as well as contributing to addressing critical conflicts such as the Balkan crisis in 1913 (Shalbi, 2014).

Unlike what Nicolson stated above, this old style of 'government-to-government relations' diplomacy faced many criticisms, mostly directed at its lack of ethical principles, transparency and democracy, as well as blaming it for contemporaneous wars (Snow &

Taylor, 2009). This pattern of diplomacy is called old diplomacy, following the emergence of a new model of diplomacy in response to multiple domestic and global variables.

In this respect, Nirwandy and Awang (2013), and also Shalbi (2014), argue that many factors led to the imposing of a new model of diplomacy called public diplomacy. For example, the change of international power centres and the emergence of the United States as a politically and militarily dominant power; the expansion of the international community as a result of many countries gaining their independence after the Second World War; and the technology and communications revolution that began in the early twentieth century, which reshaped the world map, crossing borders and modernising the mechanisms of sending, receiving, or otherwise disseminating information. As a consequence, the media became more powerful and influential.

In addition, an increase in international trade and cultural exchange led to the establishment of organisations and alliances aimed at addressing issues of global common concern such as terrorism, famine, migration, disease and environment. Another factor that cannot be ignored to do with the emergence of public diplomacy is the development of democracy in general and the importance of public opinion in managing states affairs, guiding foreign policies, and influencing leaders' decisions.

Public diplomacy in practice originated and thrived in the United States after the Second World War (Milam & Avery, 2012). A former ambassador of the United States in the 1960s, Edmund Gullion, is the real founder of the new concept of public diplomacy. He also provided a definition of public diplomacy, as "a form of influence over public opinion which would in turn have an impact upon the conduct of diplomacy" (Pamment, 2014, p.52).

The Smith Act, which was issued by the US Congress in 1948, can be considered as the real origin of public diplomacy today. This act allowed the American Foreign Ministry to communicate with the foreign public for the first time, in order to influence their attitudes towards the interests of the US (Altman & Shore, 2014).

Consequently, Milam and Avery (2012, p.329) define public diplomacy as the "direct or indirect engagement of foreign publics in support of national security, political, cultural, and

economic objectives". With this in mind, the old diplomatic activities approved by the UN's Vienna Convention of Diplomatic Relations in 1961, which determined the function of ambassadors and diplomatic missions in a host country and allowed them to communicate and exchange diplomatic messages with its government, as well as sending feedback by way of embassies and consulates to their home countries, nevertheless supported public diplomacy strategies. This assertion is based on the fact that the targets of both models are the same, even if the content, channels, models and receiving public of the communications are different.

Clearly, public diplomacy pays more attention to ordinary foreign people than it does with foreign governments due to the power of public opinion and civil society organisations, and cultural and educational exchange programmes. For example, Vandekerckhove (2004) attempted to define public diplomacy by distinguishing it from public affairs in terms of that the first presents its activities and programmes to a foreign public, while public affairs offers its programmes and functions to a local public. Moreover, he claims that the two concepts are convergent in their efforts to influence the foreign policies of states and form positive public opinion towards a particular idea or strategy.

It must be acknowledged that the role of old diplomacy has dwindled compared to the multiple functions of public diplomacy, whereby the virtual world of modern media technology forms a new and crucial element of the circle of diplomatic work that is ordinary public (Chang & Lin, 2014). Public here can be seen through two angles; first as a target of new diplomacy activities, and second as an effective party of this pattern of diplomacy itself. Given modern communication techniques such as mobile and email, as well as social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter, it can be noted that they render the public a sender of information and news, internationally and immediately, almost even without their knowledge of the nature of this role.

It is worth mentioning that all above discussions can be considered as belonging to the tough-minded school of public diplomacy, which is based on two approaches, persuasion and propaganda, to shape and change publics' attitudes in other countries, in particular, political attitudes, by delivering relevant information via by mass media rather than through direct interactive communication.

Therefore, this school does not pay even a little attention to interactive communication strategies with foreign publics, such as cultural and educational exchange programmes and international cooperation. In addition, although criteria such as credibility and trust are part of this public diplomacy school's ethics here, their standards are not strict in the sense that they are sometimes overlooked to achieve national political goals. This is mostly the outcome of limited-period diplomatic plans and strategies (Vandekerckhove, 2004).

Nevertheless, this old informational concept of public diplomacy usually confined to governments, ambassadors and diplomatic missions on the one hand, and foreign governments, governmental actors and public on the other hand (Pamment, 2014), is not designed to deal with such broad concept of public and their cultural and social variations. In fact, the expansion of visual and printed media functions, as well as the public's ability to transmit information and events, have affected functions and tasks of diplomats, which began to dwindle at times to merely preparing detailed reports of information and events similar to those already transmitted by media or public in their own countries.

As stated by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2006), the goal of public diplomacy programmes promoting Japanese culture and values in other countries and strengthening ties with foreign citizens to achieve mutual understanding and trust, is to create a favourable atmosphere for advancing a Japanese foreign policy that can serve Japan's image and interests in those countries, as well as supporting the status of its citizens abroad.

Therefore, the Ministry believes that military force and coercion are no longer viable in today's world, not least because of the ratio of expense compared to outcome. These methods were replaced with a softer power, 'public diplomacy', which was defined by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs as "an approach that does not rely on traditional diplomacy between governments but rather enlists the cooperation of the private sector to directly reach out to the people and public opinion of foreign countries" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2006, n.p).

According to a series of interviews with diplomats from different countries conducted by Archetti (2010) within a study of media impact on diplomatic practice in London, the majority of the diplomats interviewed admitted that modern communication means, including

the internet, have stormed the field of diplomacy and presented both benefits and obstacles at the same time. In terms of advantage, modern media enabled them to communicate instantly with their home governments, discuss crucial and outstanding issues, and address them faster than they were previously able.

Furthermore, thanks to this technology, they were able to communicate with their diplomatic colleagues and host governments, and transmit messages to multiple destinations at once, using, for example, email, mobile, fax, and more recently, via social media sites.

On the other hand, in terms of disadvantages, diplomats indicated the pressures placed on diplomatic work due to spread of communication technology and the huge amount of published and broadcast news and information, which must be inspected and checked in order to present a summary report of their value to their home countries. It is truly difficult because it requires diplomats to read and watch almost everything introduced by the media regarding issues and events both localand international.

Moreover, one diplomat explained that "the global availability of media cross borders also affects the kind of information that diplomats report back to their home governments. As the basic facts among current developments in the host country 'at least in the UK' are largely available back home through TV reporting or the internet, diplomats can concentrate on their analyst function and managerial" (Archetti, 2010, p.9).

In addition, with regard to the impact of globalisation and modern media technology on diplomatic practice, most studies in the literature of diplomacy indicate two important international events that have had a huge impact on the field, which are: first, the end of the Cold War in 1989, which drove countries to rethink diplomatic strategies in line with the developments of the modern global environment and which brought about, for instance, the effective role of media, cultural exchange and nation branding. The war altered the relationship between states from hostility to competition in an open environment, requiring the modernisation of existing public diplomacy programmes or even the creation of new approaches, to protect the status of a state in the context of ideological, technological, commercial and cultural international competition.

Second, the terrorist attacks of 9/11, which were a sign of the failure of US public diplomacy in winning the hearts and support of foreign publics. According to a former US ambassador in Morocco and then Undersecretary of public diplomacy, Margaret Tutwiler in 2004, it will "take us many years of hard, focused work to restore America's standing in the world" (Melissen, 2005, p.161). American public diplomacy in the Muslim world in particular, after these attacks, marked a significant departure from one-way communication with the targeted public to two-way symmetrical communication aimed at building relationships and ties with foreign citizens (see e.g. Snow & Taylor, 2009; Khakimova, 2013; Brown, 2012; Chang & Lin, 2014; Pamment, 2014).

> *"It was not until the end of the Cold War and the 9/11 attack on America that public diplomacy became an integral part of governments' armoury"* (Hayes, 2012, p.34). Also *"following the 2001 attacks, new life was injected into public diplomacy"* (Dimitriu, 2012, p.83).

In contrast to this failure of US public diplomacy, Chang and Lin (2014) note recent, significant progress in China's diplomacy at the international level. However, they found it difficult to differentiate between the international propaganda that has been practised for more than 300 years and the public diplomacy, which appeared in the international arena relatively recently, after the Second World War, with the subsequent entanglement of nations' interests for the sake of addressing the effects of wars and conflicts.

In fact, an important question to ask here is whether countries such as America, Britain, China, and others that used misleading propaganda to manipulate the public during the period of the First and Second World War abandoned these practices when they adopted the concept of public diplomacy, or whether they in fact employ similar practices, under the guise of public diplomacy, even during times of global peace, cooperation, and advances in technology and communication.

Here, scholars have attempted to differentiate between international propaganda and public diplomacy terms, whereby some argue that international propaganda often includes an element of disruption or distortion directed at an enemy or competitor party, and seeks to eliminate it by spreading rumours and negative news rather than focus on plans and strategies

designed to present a positive self-image or influence public opinion in their favour (see e.g. Findlay, Heder & Ledgerwood, 1998; Sterling, 2004).

An example of this is the diplomatic campaign that accompanied the invasion of Iraq in 2003, and the international propaganda employed to distort perceptions of the Iraqi regime and portray it as a terrorist threat to global peace and security. Others believe that international propaganda can influence public opinion and create a positive perception of a country by harnessing the media and increasing positive news coverage (Chang & Lin, 2014). However, the effect here is usually targeted and temporary, and does not bring about significant change, such as changes in behaviour or perception and support, in contrast to public diplomacy, which seeks permanent and long-term goals built on hard work and well-prepared programmes, and trustworthy, positive news.

> *"Whereas propaganda tries to tell people what to think, narrowing their minds, public diplomacy's purpose is the opposite to broaden people's perspectives, whilst listening to them in the process"* (Altman & Shore, 2014, p.338).

The attacks of 9/11 and the events that followed led scholars and politicians to rethink the new model of public diplomacy in an attempt to bridge gaps in the old practice, to address the hatred and negative attitudes felt towards America. Khakimova (2013) points out that it is not enough for public diplomacy to merely communicate with the general public, but it should also seek to listen and respond to it svisions and ideas.

The head of an Egyptian news channel, Samiha Danhrough, clearly stated that the current negative perception of America in the Arab world will only change when America changes its policies towards Arabs and their issues (Kruckeberg & Vujnovic, 2005).

This is also recognised by the former head of The Global Alliance for Public Relations and Communication Management, John Paluszek, who noted that "our nation's success will depend not only on such public diplomacy, but also on changes in our foreign policy" (Kruckeberg & Vujnovic, 2005, p.302), in the sense that changing policies and strategies based on the outcome of the communication process with the public is necessary.

> *"Public diplomacy is about positioning a nation in a wider context and strategically using relationships to accomplish foreign policy goals"* (Servaes, 2012, p.645).

This comes under the umbrella of another school of public diplomacy, the tender-minded school, and it is completely unlike the idea of the 'tough-minded school' previously discussed in terms of methods, tools, goals and the employment of culture to build bridges of understanding with foreign publics and the aim to create profound cultural ties through long-term communications and strategies founded on honesty, fairness and good intentions in order to promote a favourable image and perception of a country all over the world, rather than coercion or temporary political gains (Vandekerckhove, 2004).

This new type of public diplomacy has benefited from modern communication technology, which provides an interdependent environment for its users, and through it, the new public diplomacy has succeeded in building interactive communications networks with foreign publics.

This is similar to what was explained by Park and Lim (2014) as a new pattern associated with modern technological communications and social media sites that has begun to prevail in today's public diplomacy practice. They called this pattern 'networked public diplomacy' or 'collaborative public diplomacy', which is applied by way of "relational public diplomacy with the aim of generating favourable ties with the foreign public by generating dialog and collaboration" (Park & Lim, 2014, p.79).

In this respect, Zaharna (2010, p.87) also makes clear that "connectivity and interactivity have become the defining features of the new media". In fact, this interactive relationship between governments and foreign people has helped the new public diplomacy's strategies to succeed.

For example, the US government has succeeded in building good relationships with Chinese people and familiarising them with American society, culture and values by way of an interactive communication built on trust and credibility among all parties, who are

represented in the US embassy in China on the one side and Chinese citizens on the other side (Zhong & Lu, 2013).

This diplomatic process of exchanging messages, comments, ideas and opinions is often conducted through the American embassy's smart blogs to encourage the Chinese public to participate in dialogue and express opinions on social media sites; these efforts are usually enhanced by Chinese−Americans, who have the ability to deliver messages in a simple and influential language without misunderstanding, as well as the charisma to create interaction and cultural exchange in a realistic and spontaneous way (Zhong & Lu, 2013).

As shown above, this is one of the most important features that distinguishes new public diplomacy from the previous concept of public diplomacy. In short, the engagement of foreign citizens in setting diplomatic strategy and foreign policy.

In like manner, Chengyu (2013) raises the issue of public diplomacy practice by people, specifically, society's elite. He believes that, along with the traditional role of governments in new public diplomacy, the private sector, and other groups in this field, also playa vital role.

For example, elite-to-elite diplomacy, as it is called by Chengyu, achieved great progress in solving disagreements between the US and China over issues related to internet governance and regulations, as the United States controls the internet, and China has a larger number of internet users internationally.

It is therefore necessary to coordinate between the two countries to reach a satisfactory agreement and advance both their interests taking into account public opinion in both states, which is represented in this debate by a minority of elites.

It is important, however, not to overemphasise each school of public diplomacy separately since many studies acknowledge that new public diplomacy should be a combination of both the tough-minded and tender-minded schools' ideas and approaches to achieving goals (see e.g. Sriramesh & Verčič, 2003; Vandekerckhove, 2004; Windahl, Signitzer & Olson, 2008; Snow & Taylor, 2009).

In fact, integrating the two schools of public diplomacy practice can most likely benefit new public diplomacy because of the need to provide foreign publics within formation to first attract their attention and interest and then communicate politically, culturally and educationally with them to support and promote that information, as well as measuring their feedback and attitudes towards the country in question.

However, public diplomacy efforts alone may not achieve what a country seeks to achieve, such as a desirable image and reputation, strong relationships and worldwide influence. In this respect, Joseph Nye, who coined the term soft power for the first time in 1990, believes that to be effective, public diplomacy must be accompanied by power, and together the constitute a new concept he referred to as 'smart power' (Snow & Taylor, 2009).

It is important to clarify that the power to which Nye alludes is not necessarily military power, but can be, for example, cultural, financial or ideological power, where the power can, according to Nye, range from a threat and intimidation to persuasion or even attraction.

> *"Power is the ability to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes you want"* (Nye, 2008, cited in Khakimova, 2013, p.22).

Notably, Nye's assumption may provide an opportunity to countries without a strong military arsenal, compared to countries such as America, Britain, Russia and China, to make an effective contribution to public diplomacy to strikea balance between the flow of international communications and diplomatic exchange depending on other aspects of power.

Taking Arab countries as an example, despite their lack of adequate military force with which to impose foreign policy and enable public diplomacy strategies to succeed, these countries have a very strong culture, and deep-rooted and coherent traditions.

According to Vujnovic and Kruckeberg (2005, p.342) "Arab culture offers a richness of ancient traditions, complex social customs and an invigorating diversity among its people… and these rich traditions should be recognised and examined for their utility and value in help resolve the plethora of 21st century issues that threaten global stability and ultimately the well-being of all cultures and societies". Thus, the Arab cultural inheritance embodied in

habits, values, art and morals can be invested alongside Arab public diplomacy strategies to achieve smart power.

However, this is not in fact the reality of Arab diplomacy. Despite the seemingly obvious lack of studies within the literature of diplomacy addressing the practice of Arab diplomacy, most of that literature focuses on Western countries, particularly the US, there are nevertheless a few studies, the majority of which took place after the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

Therefore, it can be noted that most of these studies presented Arab diplomacy as a solution to repair its culture's distorted image and poor reputation abroad, rather than as an initiative to develop this image or improve the Arab reputation, considering that Arab countries werenot just affected by the 9/11 attacks, but can be seen as the part of the world most damaged by them in the diplomatic sense (see e.g. Zhang & Benoit, 2004; Hiebert, 2005; Al-Kandari & Gaither, 2011; Khakimova, 2013).

A study by Zhang & Benoit (2004) to identify the content of Saudi Arabian diplomacy after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, found that there is a strong relationship between the Arab image in general and Saudi Arabia's in particular, and the notion of terrorism in American society, according to the results of several surveys.

Zhang & Benoit (2004) worked within Benoit's theory of image repair, which consists of five strategies to defend a country against accusation, as follows: denial, evading responsibility, reducing offensiveness, corrective action, and mortification. The study showed that Saudi Arabia was able to restore its image by relying on diplomatic efforts built on a number of these strategies, such as denial, reducing offensiveness, and corrective action. These efforts which were not designed to improve Saudi Arabia's image, but were partly successful in restoring it to previous levels.

Similarly, a study by Khakimova (2013) shows that the majority of Arab diplomats working in Arab embassies in the United States agree that the biggest challenge facing their diplomatic aspirations is time wasted addressing the past actions of certain terrorist groups attributed to the Arab world, which cause an unfavourable image and perception of Arabs abroad and must be repaired. Time spent working on programmes related to this detracts

from efforts to promote and raise the status of their countries internationally. They also pointed out that, while adverse events in the outside world can damage the image of Arab countries and their citizens, such events in their home countries can do the same.

This may justify Arab embassies in the United States hiring consulting firms and public relations agencies to prepare public diplomacy programmes, which is described asone-way communication, as the study showed.

Most importantly, Khakimova highlights the term cultural diplomacy and the vital role it plays in attracting international publics, referring to the possibility of employing Arab culture in effective diplomacy programmes. This was confirmed by a number of respondents in his study.

For example, one diplomat in an Arab embassy in the United States believes that:

> *"Cultural diplomacy could be effective even when the governments did not agree on political issues... We believe, probably, art is the best ambassador and art is a common language that we can all speak. We might disagree on the Arab-Israeli conflict, we might disagree on the invasion of Iraq, but we can all agree that a certain opera aria is beautiful, or a symphony is beautiful, and painting, and so on"* (Khakimova, 2013. p.32).

Melissen (2005) also emphasises the role of cultural diplomacy through admitting that post-9/11 it became clear to the US administration that American culture centres abroad are significantly important in order to understand and communicate with other countries' people.

In light of the increased focus on integrating a nation's culture with its public diplomacy efforts, another branch of public diplomacy appeared that maybe considered a part of cultural diplomacy, or itself may represent a new type of public diplomacy called 'gastro diplomacy' or 'culinary diplomacy'.

At first glance, this type of public diplomacy may seem absurd. However, according to evidence presented by Nirwandy and Awang (2013), gastro diplomacy may prove to be a beneficial approach to the case of Arab diplomacy based on its definition as the employment

of a country's distinctive cuisineas a nation brand to promote a particular image and reputation, which can in turn create apositive initial impression in the foreign public and motivate them to visit the country, thereby improving its position among other nations. Arab cuisine boasts arich variety of dishes to whet the appetite of foreign visitors, and may provide an avenue for Arab people to share their identity in a relatable way with those with a fondness for Arab cooking.

The idea of national brand emanates from investing in a nation's special features, such as its culture, traditions and values, and promoting them internationally in order to form an identifiable link with other nations worldwide (Fullerton & Kendrick, 2013).

By implanting this perception in foreign people's minds, it seeks to gain their love and respect. The national brand can also be employed for tourist attractions in support of the national economy.

For example, American McDonald's restaurants were used to promote American values and culture to Romania by presenting their services and fast food there, which familiarised Romanian people with the American lifestyle and reflected it in everyday life. Furthermore, they disseminated American views regarding many critical global issues by integrating into Romanian society and providing aid to the Romanian government and people, as well as assisting them with the completion of certain national projects (Whit, Vanc & Coman, 2011).

Thus, it can be said that McDonald's restaurants play a vital mediation role between American and Romanian societies, and help US public diplomacy efforts win the hearts and minds of Romanian citizens. This activity amounts to a non-government effort emerging from McDonald's restaurants' national responsibility towards their hometown (Whit, Vanc & Coman, 2011).

Accordingly, nation brand can be defined as "a compendium of discourses and practices aimed at reconstituting nationhood through marketing and branding paradigms" (Kaneva, 2013, p.118).

In this regard, the work of Fullerton and Kendrick (2013) stresses that there is an interdependent relationship between the terms public diplomacy, nation brand, and tourism.

Simply, the study suggests that promoting the brand of a nation globally or merely in several specific areas through government and/or non-government efforts, can support the tourism sector of this country. As a result, foreign people would be encouraged to visit and discover for themselves the reality, culture, landmarks, and civilisation of this country.

Evidently, tourists are considered the most reliable and effective medium for the transfer of diplomatic messages to their home countries: they speak the native language, have social status, and are also members of groups within their local communities; most importantly, their people have confidence in, and are more likely to be persuaded by, their words.

Furthermore, Arab countries can harness their culinary culture to participate in international culinary competitions, which are periodically organised. The mere presence of Arab countries in these international forums, is a positive representation of the Arab image promoting their reputation. This is considered a success for public diplomacy, which can assist in the launching of other strategies to communicate with foreign publics and help shape a positive perception of the Arab world.

In the field of diplomacy, the employment of Arab culture by Arab embassies in the United States came in the context of applying Benoit's strategies for diplomatic communication in order to repair a nation image.

Khakimova (2013) concluded that Arab embassies adopt three strategies, which are: first, deny accusations of terrorism and reject their attribution to Arabs or Islam, and instead lay the blame on other parties seeking to distort the image of Arabs, such as Western media and the traditional enemy of Arab countries, Israel.

Second, assist with international efforts to combat terrorism within a corrective acts strategy by emphasising that international values are supported by all Arab countries. Finally, reduce offensiveness by employing culture to present a set of customs, traditions and values that renounce violence and terrorism, and show to the world the aspects of Arabic culture that favour peace and co-existence.

On the other hand, the ability to deal with cultural differences between peoples is an extremely important matter. Arab cultural richness may become an obstacle if it fails to

bridge the gap with other cultures and focus on common points of convergence; moreover, certain deep-rooted ideas of cultural heritage may negatively affect the nature of communication activities in modern diplomatic practice.

For example, a study by Khakimova (2013) found that the status of tribal leaders or rulers in Arabic culture is what drives Arab diplomats to concentrate their communication efforts, strategies and diplomacy programmeson decision-making centres, giving priority to leaderships and actors rather than the general public in the United States.

Having said that, communication in modern public diplomacy is not a goal per se, nor is increasing communications a guaranteeof success. On the contrary, it can sometimes be a cause of misunderstanding and confusion. Consequently, accurately determining the direction of this communication and carefully recognising a country's strengths should be the cornerstone of public diplomacy programmes to win over the public, progress foreign policies and market a country's image internationally.

This is exactly what is concluded by a study by Park and Lim (2014) that compared South Korea and Japan in terms of how they might benefit from using social media networks in their cultural diplomacy practice. Although the study acknowledges that both South Korea and Japan succeeded to some extent in using social media to achieve diplomatic goals and promote the national image, as well as shaping a positive impression of the two countries in the foreign public's minds in various countries worldwide, including the United States, the Middle East, and Europe, they nevertheless failed to attain the maximum ideal levels of investment possible from the use of modern social media networks.

For example, Japan employs social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter in one-way communication pattern to deliver information that promotes Japanese culture, values and traditions, while South Korea successfully opened a two-way communication and interactive dialogue with foreign public, and has incorporated this public's feedback and comments to advance its public diplomacy strategies. However, the content of its diplomatic message is not as valuable and worth while as that of Japan (Park & Lim, 2014).

The results of Kuzma's study (2010) show that more than two thirds of Asian governments are unsuccessful when it comes to harnessing new technology, in particular, social media, to communicate with the public; they use these interdependent social networking channels in the same way as other media, which is built on the idea of top-down, one-way communication that deliversits messages to the public without listening to them.

It is important to recognise that the new public diplomacy needs to organise and manage communication efforts with foreign publics, and identify its strategies and priorities, as well as disseminating messages in such a way as to advance national brand and shape a positive image of the country worldwide.

That being the case, public relations may seem the best choice to achieve these tasks because it is the most geared towards dealing with media, carefully and selecting the content of its messages commensurate with the target public's nature, characteristics, and culture in each individual country (see e.g. Smith, 2004; Newsom, Turk & Kruckeberg, 2010; Sriramesh &Verčič, 2012; Hassen, 2012; Kunczik, 2012).

Thus, there is an urgent need to determine the nature of the relationship between the new public diplomacy and public relations in the context of modern technological communications and interaction with foreign publics, as well as to respond to their reactions and aspirations with regard to foreign policy.

> *"The public relation firm must understand what the client views as the most important metric. Each client focuses on something different. It is therefore not simply a question of producing data to solve a theoretical or methodological problem, but of producing pragmatic data which meets very particular expectations, in the appropriate format and on time"*(Pamment, 2014, p.51).

Several questions arise depending upon the above discussion, which are: what communication model should be adopted by public relations practitioners to communicate with foreign publics in order to advance new public diplomacy? Is there a specific pattern or model of communication that suits all diplomatic environments, or doeseach environment require a different model of communication? Do all countries have the ability in terms of

technology, human resources, and other required sources to follow the ideal model of communication? Is the public relations utilised by governments to communicate with foreign publics differ from that employed by the private sector abroad?

These questions will be asked and answered in section **3.4**, which addresses the potential relationship between public relations and public diplomacy.

3.4 CONVERGENCE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

Most studies consider the relationship between public relations and public diplomacy from the perspective of convergence between the two fields, and it can be said that this convergence resulted from both fields seeking to communicate with the public and gain their trust and support by way of similar channels used for this purpose. In the context of international communications, the studies also attempted to discover the overlap between them based on two facts: first, public diplomacy needs strategic communications to reach multiple foreign publics and influence public opinion. Second, public relations has the experience and capability to not only prepare, manage and organise effective strategic communications, but also to listen to and assess feedback from its audience to guarantee the positive outcome of diplomatic efforts (see e.g.Signitzer & Coombs, 1992; L'Etang, 1996; Zhang & Benoit, 2004; Hayes, 2012; Zhong & Lu, 2013; Park & Lim, 2014).

For example, Copeland (2009, p.9) argues that "public diplomats use the tools and tactics of public relations to connect with populations abroad and they count on that connection to produce intelligence, so as to move host governments towards desired ends."

Recently, Zhou, Shen, Zhang and Zhong (2013) have studied in depth the role of media in public diplomacy and arrived at the same conclusion mentioned by Entman (2008), which suggests that diplomatic leaders employ strategic communications to resolve disputes between nations and to build bridges of mutual understanding to assist with negotiation and dialogue processes, as well as to create positive public opinion towards outcomes.

Entman (2008) expands on this by claiming that the employment of media by diplomatic leaders to influence foreign public opinion can also advance and promote the foreign policies of their respective states.

Likewise, Gilboa (2001, cited in Archetti, 2010) presents a prominent attempt to identify the relationship between diplomacy and media by categorising it in three forms to describe how diplomacy utilises communications abroad to advance foreign policy and relations of a state with other states in a global context. Three forms are emphasised here. The first form is called public diplomacy, in which communications are employed to influence and attract the

public opinion of foreign audiences by governments and non-governmental actors. The second form is called media diplomacy, in which state authorities seek to build effective relationships with actors at the international level by depending on the media for the sake of reaching agreements on outstanding disputes. The third form is called media-broker diplomacy, in which journalists act as peacemakers for an interim period to reconcile views between negotiators in the global context.

> *"Public diplomacy is in fact a core part of various PR strategies"*
> (Armstrong, 2009, cited in Fitzpatrick, Fullerton & Kendrick, 2013, p.2).

In fact, this is not a new idea. L'Etang (2009, cited in Hayes, 2012, p.81) clearly indicated the potential communications role of public relations within public diplomacy efforts, saying that public relations is "responsible for official communication with other organisations and groups and that it is responsive to public opinion and media coverage."

Equally importantly, L'Etang (1996, cited in Yun, 2006) concluded that academic efforts to discover a convergence relationship between public relations and public diplomacy show that both endeavours have entailed in them similar tasks, which are advocacy, dialogue, and advice giving. However, these commonalities do not mean that public diplomacy is the same as public relations.

More than two decades ago, the intent emergedto globalise public relations to be much closer in nature to public diplomacy work. In turn, public diplomacy took advantage of this shift by utilising public relations to execute multiple functions, which are usually linked to matters of reputation and addressing global issues.

This intent to introduce public relations to the international level and expand its activities is a result of the impact of globalisation itself on international economic, political and cultural, phenomena has driven governments to be more open and participate in international competitions, dialogues and relations with new and multiple actors (Hayes, 2012). In this respect, from the perspective of government, public relations can be considered an ideal approach to managing a new challenge:

> *"The globalisation of public relations is an extension of diplomacy, international activism and international business"* (Coombs & Holladay, 2007, p.36).

Similarly, Park and Lim (2014) summarise the essence of the relationship between public diplomacy and media 'public relations' in that globalisation has increased the complexity and engagement of countries' diplomatic relations with multiple actors such as individuals, groups, organisations and countries, which in turn requires a new concept of public diplomacy in order to deal with all these actors. Networked public diplomacy is the term suggested by Park and Lim; its ideas centre around proposing networked relations between all stakeholders in a diplomatic context based on modern communication technology, which is characterised by the ability to crossborders, allowing all actors to participate and interact.

Most importantly, Park and Lim concentrate on the role of the internet and social media can play in this regard, such as connecting countries with foreign publics, whether as individuals or groups, increasing the interaction around specific topics and events that can advance countries' foreign policies, organise and management worked relations with stakeholders, and provide immediate feedback, which allows for adjustments to be made to the policies and strategies which govern the networked relations.

This is confirmed by Zhong and Lu (2013), who believe that both public relations and public diplomacy are similar in terms of focusing on goals, attitudes and audiences to influence public opinion. Furthermore, they consider public diplomacy, when combined with international communication, as a pattern of international public relations that works through a diplomatic communication network to make a positive impact on the foreign policy of a country.

In addition, Ostick, an officer in the US Department of State (2002, cited in Vandekerckhove, 2004, p.31), expresses a similar view when he stated that "public diplomacy as an aspect of US foreign policy should properly be seen as public relations focused on building long-term relationships with foreign audiences and providing policy explication and advocacy for the United States".

For example, a study by Park and Lim (2014) shows that South Korea managed to take advantage of the internet, and more specifically, Facebook, to produce effective and successful public diplomacy. They achieved this by utilising it as an interrelated network with the ability to access different targeted actors in terms of orientation, background, and demographic characteristics.

While most studies concentrate on explaining how public diplomacy can benefit from communication and public relations to provide effective diplomacy programmes to foreign publics, a study by Fitzpatrick et al (2013) as to the nature of the conceptual and practical relationship between public diplomacy and public relations, which concluded the necessity of convergence and integration between the two fields, draws attention to another aspect of this convergence's advantages. It illustrates that public relations can also take advantage of public diplomacy and the experience of its practitioners in engaging with foreign audiences with different cultures through their work abroad.

Methods and strategies of dealing with parties, entities and countries have varying power, and coordinating between them, managing negotiations, settling conflicts, accepting and engaging with others, admitting when there is a problem and engaging with and listening to the public in order to address it, may help public relations practitioners to perform their tasks in foreign countries and increase their understanding of the nature of public and the diversity of cultures and values. By doing this, they may find the most effective ways to communicate with those publics.

This means that the benefits of the convergence relationship between the two fields is not only one-way, from public relations to public diplomacy, but is in facta two-way, mutually beneficial relationship, sharing skills and abilities to attain effective communication programmes and strategies based on the experience and professionalization of both fields in terms of attracting, polarising and communicating with foreign audiences.

The above discussion may elucidate how public relations through communication is utilised by diplomacy, in particular, by public diplomacy, and vice versa. However, there is another aspect that needs to be understood, which is the impact of media on diplomacy. In other words, what changes take place in diplomatic practices by engaging the media as a partner?

Some studies suggest that the proliferation and development of media provide it with the opportunity to contribute to the restructuring of the communication model of diplomacy from 'government to government' to multi-direction communication (see e.g. Signitzer & Coombs, 1992; Archetti, 2010).

In addition, the media has created a kind of balance between the interests of a state and the interests of its target audiences, where, to some extent, the media imposes transparency and credibility on diplomacy work. As a result, it has become increasingly difficult to deceive or manipulate the public (Archetti, 2010). This has caused international negotiations and agreements to be carried out more publicly, with the media monitoring the outcome of such negotiations.

Furthermore, diplomatic messages themselves have been affected by new media in terms of form, content, methods of dissemination and distribution, and the ability to cross borders; this has led to an increased focuson mass media rather than direct personal communication, which renders the extent of media coverage and interaction with a diplomatic event or news a crucial factor in the success or failure of message to achieveits goal (see e.g. Signitzer & Coombs, 1992; Archetti, 2010; Chengyu, 2012; Zhou et al., 2013).

Eliminating barriers and distance between countries through media can also lead to diplomats being unable to discriminate between local and international matters, as well as drastically increasing the number of issues requiring attention and a quick respond from diplomats due the huge amount of information in flux. This is one of key reasons driving diplomats to abandon traditional methods of receiving and sending political information and adopt a pattern of engagement with the public, mostly through social media such as Facebook and Twitter.

However, adopting this pattern of communication through social media does not necessarily lead to facilitating practices of diplomacy. From the perspective of Snow and Taylor (2009), one of the biggest disadvantages of the internet is that while the amount of available information is increased, so too is the number of rumours, which has led to governments losing their status as the main source of information. By contrast, a greater contribution is

made by ordinary public to the flow of information and news. Together, these factors have made diplomacy work more difficult and complicated.

The question that must be asked here is, is this the case for countries all over the world? In particular, Asian and African countries, which generally still have gainlimited benefit from communication techniques and modern technology, as well astheir lack of any real contribution to the literature of both public relations and public diplomacy, and their environmental, political and economic differences compared to European countries or the United States.

For example, a study by Khakimova (2013) of public diplomacy in Arab embassies in the United States shows that Arab diplomacy still embraces the old diplomatic approach, with most communication strategies in Arab embassies focusing on building strong relationships with the US government and Congress; this can perhaps be attributed to the nature of Arab communication culture, which tends to prefera top-down approach to communication.

Furthermore, these embassies do not give any import to communicating with ordinary foreign publics. According to this study, this is due to deep-rooted conviction in their countries' governments, which do not consider communication and dialogue with foreign publics as important because instant and precise information and news is required from diplomats concerning political and economic events, and developments within the host country.

This has forced Arab embassies to adopt a traditional one-way communication model. Although Arab diplomats sometimes use social media such as Facebook and Twitter, this is of little benefit since these channels are used to say what their governments want to say, and not to exchange information and views with foreign public and listen to their responses through mutual dialogue. Negative news from the Arab countries themselves presents further challenges to Arab diplomacy efforts and increases feelings of enmity towards these countries.

For example, in Libya, as a result of the current violence and lack of political and security stability since 2011, the US ambassador was killed in Benghazi, the Jordanian ambassador was kidnapped for several weeks in Tripoli, Egyptian and Tunisian diplomats were also

kidnapped for several days in Tripoli, and several Arab and European embassies and consulates have been attacked and bombed in both Benghazi and Tripoli (BBC, 2012).

This will undoubtedly affect Libyan diplomacy efforts abroad and limit their chances of success. How can Libyan diplomats prepare the content of any communication message to be presented to the foreign public when such negative news is spread globally? In other words, how they can say one thing to the foreign public when the reality in Libya is contrary to what they say?

During initial interviews for the current study in 2014, Ghazi Gheblawi, a media consultant in the Libyan embassy in London, and Osama Takita, a media officer in the Libyan embassy in Cairo, both expressed another important aspect of the impact on Libyan diplomacy work and communication with foreign public in both the United Kingdom and Egypt, which is that public relations practitioners cannot engage indirect dialogue on Facebook or Twitter with the foreign public. Due to the unstable situation, civil war and conflict in Libya, the public has extremely different attitudes towards what is going there. It is quite difficult under such circumstances to manage two-way communication, and it is impossible to predict the outcomes of such measures (G. Gheblawi, personal communication, 30 April 2014; O. Takita, personal communication, 22 July 2014).

It appears that this observation on the part of Gheblawi and Takita is logical and based on soundevidence. For example, the US Ambassador in Libya, Deborah Jones, was forced to close her Twitter account on 23 March 2015 after tweeting about a particular Libyan issue. Her tweet angered many of her Libyan followers, who expressed their indignation about her attitude towards the issue. She explained her decision to deactivate her Twitter account by saying, "I have concluded that it is best to cease efforts to communicate via Twitter insofar as it distracts from our goal of peace & stability 4 Libya" (Alarabiya, 2015, n.p).

Let alone, Libya was more than 40 years under an undemocratic regime 'Qaddafi regime' that has contributed to distort an image and reputation of Libya by involving Libya in several international conflicts and disputes.

It is extremely difficult to categorise the diplomacy pattern of the Qaddafi era as any of the known patterns of diplomacy; it is characterised by a series of irresponsible actions,

unjustified hostilities with several countries, sudden openness and excessive isolation. This is not a kind of diplomacy that can be easily understood; it appears to be a random diplomacy combining hard power and a lack of clear and long-term diplomatic strategies.

In 2011, the Qaddafi regime was eliminated following revolution of 17 February, but what are the lingering impacts on Libyan diplomacy today? The Qaddafi era's distorted image of Libya, which cemented its reputation in the minds of the foreign public as a rogue country and sponsor of terrorism, undoubtedly requires a great deal of work to be rated from the foreign public's collective mind. This may be the most difficult task facing diplomats today, and affects the building of new relationships with actors in a host country, in particular, those whom have had bad experiences dealing with the Gaddafi regime in the past.

In addition, the regime deliberately ignored the public relations profession and modern technology, with most studies suggesting that public relations in Libya suffers from poor management, marginalisation, and misunderstanding as to its real functions. Moreover, public relations practitioners use neither modern technology nor social media, the majority still relying on bulletin boards and publicity papers as means to communicate with the public. This in turn might reflect on the Libyan practice of diplomacy and public relations abroad, as well as affecting, or even preventing taking advantage of the convergence relationship between the two fields to advance Libyan foreign policy.

> *"To succeed in global communications efforts, nations must align internal communication before addressing external communication issues"* (Moss & Desanto, 2011, p.477).

Despite the lack of studies conducted on Libyan diplomacy post revolution of 17 February 2011, and perhaps even before that date to the knowledge of the researcher, nevertheless, some logical results can be deduced from what is mentioned above, such as thelack of diplomatic experience today indealing with international issues and foreign public in a host country, and representing Libya through modern media in a new and different form.

Therefore, it is illogical to generalise as sumptions and theories resulting from combining public diplomacy, public relations and strategic communications globally; it is not possible to

compare a country such as the United States with a country that has only recently begun to repair its dark past with the international community, such as Libya.

Notably, the official communication mentioned by L'Etang (2009, cited in Hayes, 2012) as a function of public relations after the events of 9/11, has taken a new form, where the United States established a department called the Strategic Communication Department, which is concerned with organising the relationship between the government and foreign audiences by explaining, interpreting and promoting foreign policies, as well as reconciling points of view depending on public relations' expertise and tactics in this area.

> *"Soft power, public diplomacy and nation brands represent an interesting and important area of international communication"* (Pamment, 2014, p.58).

Hence, the utilisation of public relations by governments, institutions, and companies in order to manage strategic communications within public diplomacy programmes, is associated with many concepts such as international propaganda, soft power, nation brand, competitive identity, and corporate diplomacy. Thus, clarifying these terms can assist in understanding the convergence relationship between public relations and public diplomacy.

3.4.1 International Propaganda

It is also worth mentioning that there are scholars who criticise and refute the idea of a potential convergence between public diplomacy and public relations. Moreover, some scholars believe that this convergence may disadvantage public diplomacy more than benefit it. This belief is based on a misunderstanding of the nature of public relations as a result of judging it through unethical practices carried out by those practitioners who do not commit to the principles of the profession, or confusion between public relations and international propaganda, which can be attributed to a long and overlapping relationship between the two concepts, which has led to the view that modern public relations is a tool for selling and marketing foreign policy (Snow & Taylor, 2009).

For example, Price Floyd, a State Department official in the US, has expressed that this view of public relations is incorrect, saying that, "Public diplomacy is not PR, public diplomacy is

more about influencing foreign publics and broadening dialogue between American citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad than it is about selling a particular policy" (Snow & Taylor, 2009, p.9).

According to Khakimova (2013), propaganda was prevalent in the 20th century and in the beginning of 21st century as an alternative to diplomacy to influence foreign public's attitudes. Thus, it should be stated that public relations and public diplomacy are not international propaganda, and seek only topromote and market a nation image, reputation and policy.

What really brings public relations and public diplomacy to convergence are concepts such as communication, dialogue and persuasion, which influence foreign public by providing facts, exchanging information and creating a sustained and long-term relationship with them that meets all involved parties' interests. This is in clear opposition to the concept of international propaganda. In this regard, Heath, Toth, and Waymer (2009) argue that propaganda usually works within a framework of manipulation and deception of the public to meet temporary goals and build a short-term relationship with them.

> *"The term propaganda indicates elements of social control and coercion whereas public diplomacy uses persuasion and argument to influence attitude and behaviour"* (Ostick, 2002, cited in Vandekerckhove, 2004, p.54).

At the inception of diplomacy, the prevailing idea of diplomacy practice was to gain all necessary advantages from communication while offering little reward. This led to diplomacy at that time being considered as a propaganda tool for states or governments to promote their foreign policies and expand their interests internationally (Zhou et al., 2013).

Likewise, public relations has also been associated, through its past, with propaganda. For a long time, it was described to individuals and organisations as propaganda, to protect them from the demands and rebellions of communities or labourers (see e.g. Kruckeberg & Vujnovic, 2005; Click, 2012; John, Lamme & L'Etang, 2014).

It is worth mentioning that taking advantage of the convergence relationship between public diplomacy and public relations to increase political and economic gain is acceptable and understandable to both practitioners and public, but employing this relationship to accomplish military and intelligence tasks can have a negative impact by giving the public a sense that the idea of this convergence is similar to war time propaganda and media manipulation for colonial purposes.

Accordingly, this might lead to the failure of any potential efforts under the convergence of the two fields and their association with strategic communications. Van Dyke and Verčič (2009, cited in Fitzpatrick et al., 2013) warned of the consequences of utilising public diplomacy and public relations together in matters of military and war. From their point of view doing so can affect the standards and principles of these fields that distinguish them from biased and crude propaganda.

The link between propaganda and previous international wars and conflicts, and the nature of that stage, which required strategies of defeat, victory and destruction of an enemy, and ingrained division and fear among its groups, still dominates the perception of propaganda today, and gives a negative impression of this concept, even if its content today is far removed from that of its dark past (Rasmussen & Merkelsen, 2012).

This is clearly shown in Jowett and O'Donnell (1999, cited in Vandekerckhove, 2004, p.52). In their attempt to analyse certain popular definitions of propaganda, they concluded that most of these definitions have negative synonyms, which reflect its strong association with the practices of the past, such as "lies, distortion, manipulation, mind control, psychological warfare, brainwashing, and palaver".

However, it is not correct to say that propaganda today has only poor content. It seems that propaganda itself is also prey to the misleading practices of the past, which have coloured modern perceptions of it.

Therefore, some scholars have sought to distinguish between different types of propaganda by classifying it into old propaganda, centred on eliminating other parties or limiting their activities using methods such as lying, deception and misleading, while modern propaganda

seeks to promote the value of a person, organisation or state, bringing to light and disseminating a positive image to mobilise public opinion by methods more accurate and credible than those employed by old propaganda (Vandekerckhove, 2004).

In addition, propaganda has also been categorised into different colours depending on the degree of credibility and misleading public opinion, and the confidence placed in its source. For example, white propaganda refers to efforts to create and promote ideas, images and news which give additional value to an event or a person. It requires a known source and news known to be true. This kind of propaganda can be considered as the closest to public diplomacy and public relations strategies. Grey propaganda, on the other hand, disseminate inaccurate and unconfirmed information and news, from a known or unknown source, to its audiences.

The final kind is black propaganda, which gives deliberately incorrect information, news and rumours to the public in order to deceive and manipulate them for the achievement of clear and specific goals that require taking into account several crucial variables such as the psychological state of public when they receive these rumours, and their response and interaction with the source (Vandekerckhove, 2004).

At the present time, with the evolution of propaganda and its use of methods and tools of media and new technology completely similar to those used by public relations and public diplomacy, it can be said that the distinction between these concepts is more complicated in practice than it is in theory. Some scholars attempt to differentiate between propaganda and public relations and public diplomacy based on the underlying intent behind their communication efforts.

For example, Lasswell (1941, cited in Vandekerckhove, 2004, p.49) pointed out that "propaganda is an act of intention in which someone deliberately sets out to influence attitudes by manipulating symbols (that is, words and word substitutes)". Consequently, communication activities can be categorised as propaganda or public relations and public diplomacy by knowing, examining and measuring the intent of these activities (Pamment, 2014).

However, how can one measure and examine these intentions? An intentions standard is a relative, variable and inconstant standard depending mostly on the vision of the stakeholders of this communication activity. What areseen by a particular public as goodwill intentions may be deemed evil by another public. This is not an accurate standard for categorising communication efforts, especially on an international scale, where there exist different interests, values, and cultures among communities.

Meanwhile, other scholars try to distinguish propaganda from other concepts related to communication with a public, by suggesting standards such as targets and outcomes of communication (see e.g. Hiebert, 2005; Heath, Toth & Waymer, 2009). This assumption is based on the fact that the targets and goals of propaganda are always limited and short-term, while public relations and public diplomacy often seek to attain comprehensive goals and long-term relationships.

This distinction is also unrealistic, because it assumes that the goals and targets of communication efforts are always revealed and can then be categorised. This is simply not the case, since communicators tend usually to keep the goals and targets of their communications hidden and undeclared as far as possible.

Zhou et al. (2013) believe that engagement and transparency are what distinguish public diplomacy from propaganda, where public diplomacy tends to involve foreign audiences in all stages and steps of communication and through accurate and credible channels, meaning that the engagement itself may be an important factor in distinguishing between public diplomacy and propaganda, where it is seen from an ethical perspective as a protective way to manipulate and deceive the public.

In fact, the literature of both public diplomacy and public relations clearly indicates that the issue of confusion between these fields and international propaganda remains aconcern of scholars. For example, Chang and Lin (2014, p.451) concluded that "the line between propaganda and public diplomacy is often thin and may be interpreted differently, depending on one's perspective".

Furthermore, despite the apparent development of studies and research in this literature, it does not address this crucial issue as much as certain publications within both fields have increased misunderstanding by using the term propaganda to describe activities of public diplomacy and public relations, or vice versa. They often consider the three terms as interchangeable (Hayes, 2012).

An example of negative views and misunderstanding of the convergence between public diplomacy and public relations, and linking its outcomes with propaganda, is expressed by Yun (2006, p.287) this: "when the two forms of public communication 'Public relations and Public diplomacy' were compared, both were lumped together either as crude propaganda or sophisticated persuasion".

At any rate, regardless of these incorrect beliefs and perceptions of the nature of public diplomacy and public relations, and the convergence relationship between them, the question that needs to be asked here is, behind all this development and change in the practice of public relations and public diplomacy, especially after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, which were the turning point in the practice of the two fields internationally, do great countries such the United States, the United Kingdom, and China still practice international propaganda, rebranded as public diplomacy and public relations?

Anholt (2009, cited in Martínez, 2010, p.271) points out that "places can't construct or manipulate their images with advertising or PR, slogans or logos – and although some governments spend large amounts of money trying to do just that, there is absolutely no proof that it works". Nevertheless, circumstantial evidence indicates that at a practice level, some countries still intentionally seek to manipulate foreign public and the international community through propaganda under the name of public diplomacy and public relations, since it is more accepted and respected among peoples.

For example, although the United States is considered a pioneer in the areas of public diplomacy and public relations, and also has the biggest quota in the literature of both fields (see e.g. Yaxley, 2012; Pamment, 2014), nevertheless, "propaganda was central to US public diplomacy in earlier times, and remains central today, the United States must now practice

true public diplomacy, which should rely on theories and models of public relations" (Kruckeberg & Vujnovic, 2005, p.43).

Another example of the deviation of practising both public relations and public diplomacy and utilising them as crude propaganda in the modern era can be clearly seen in the Beijing Olympic Games 2008, where the Chinese government sought to use strategic communications in a negative way through public diplomacy in order to hide facts about the deteriorated reality of civil rights, and press and media freedom in Chinese society (Li, 2013).

> *"China could invest so many resources into using the Beijing Olympics to reconstruct its brand and make itself more attractive.... despite enormous efforts to rebrand itself, China has not substantively shifted the negative perceptions that are widely held in the West"* (Louw, 2013, p.145).

Instead of usingthese Olympic Games to encourage the Chinese government to take serious steps to repair and improve this reality, most communication efforts during this sporting event focused on promoting and polishing the ruling authority and serving political goals, as well as giving an impression of China as a state with economic and military power and emphasising the typical image of the state.

It is worth mentioning that all these efforts of political propaganda were conducted under the guise of public diplomacy and public relations. Therefore, the Beijing Olympic Games 2008 did not leave any actual impressions and impacts on foreign public that were not concerned with international competition and dominance.

This is really a concern for scholars about how to prevent deviation in the practice of public diplomacy and public relations; how can we guarantee that the public will not be deceived and manipulated? In this regard, Rasmussen and Merkelsen (2012, p.811) argue that "the ruling paradigm of late 20th century public relations has sought to define public relations practice in terms of mutual understanding rather than advocacy or manipulation".

Seemingly, the literature of public relations may initially address this issue of communication with the public by providing two-way symmetrical communication model within Excellence

theory as an ethical communicative model that can to some extent ensure transparency and credibility in dealing between a communicator and a target audience.

The idea of this model depends on dialogue, negotiation and interaction with the public, and listening to them through a mutual communication process instead of merely seeking to persuade them. In addition, this model adopts principles of social responsibility theory, which call for assuring the interests of all parties inthis communication process, where dialogue should be constant and not only for the achievement of specific ends (see e.g. Kruckeberg & Vujnovic, 2005; Yun, 2006; Theunissen & Noordin, 2011).

However, this model has faced many criticisms, such as its lack of a clear distinction between dialogue and persuasion, and clarification of the overlap between them, considering persuasion as propaganda, and ignoring risks of dialogue with public and the appropriate time and environment for it, especially for competitive and profitable organisations and the expected benefits of this dialogue (see e.g. Stoker & Tusinski, 2006; Fawkes, 2007; Theunissen & Noordin, 2011). Nevertheless, the two-way symmetrical communication model remains a great contribution in efforts to address the deception and manipulation of the public, since, if this model is adopted in the practice of public relations and public diplomacy, it could serve to distinguish them from propaganda, which relies on persuasion to meet interests of communicator only.

This is confirmed by Grunig (1993, cited in Fitzpatrick et al., 2013, p.13) when he states that "symmetrical public relations would eliminate most ethical problems of international public relations. More importantly, it would make public relations more effective in producing international understanding and collaboration".

3.4.2 Soft Power

The vast majority of studies defer to Nye's original definition of soft power, which is "the ability to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes one wants" (see e.g. Hayes, 2012; Nirwandy & Awang, 2013; Li, 2013; Pamment, 2014). In the same context, Nye added that soft power is no less important and influential than hard power, in which case, what is hard power? Hard power, from Nye's point of view, is the use of military or economic power

to force other countries to accept certain policies that meet the goals of the owner of that power (Khakimova, 2013). For example, the US bombing of Libya in 1986 and the economic sanctions against Libya in the same year (Burweila, 2006).

Almost half a century ago, Robert McNamara clearly indicated that "the decisive factor for a powerful nation already adequately armed is the character of its relationships with the world" (McDowell, 2008, p.12). However, in the present era it has become much clearer to politicians and diplomats that hard power is a high-cost power and a mostly futile approach because it causes adverse reactions and a long-lasting feeling of hostility, which might make it difficult to deal with them in future (Melissen, 2005).

Actually, there is much evidence to support this thought regarding the failure of hard power to achieve desirable goals internationally. For example, America, the greatest military power in the world, has failed to impose particular policies and views in the Islamic world by relying only on this power, such as in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Hiebert (2005, p.319) argues that "negative public opinion about America, since the war in Iraq, has been rising worldwide, and especially in the Arab world". In addition, the attack of 9/11 can be seen as a clear reaction of American hard power policy to resolve conflicts in the Middle East and all over the world.

Therefore, most scholars observe that there is a significant change and development in relationships among countries and their strategies with foreign people after the 9/11 attacks, in particular, American policies abroad, in which the most significant change is utilising communication technology and strategies to produce soft power programmes (see e.g. Vujnovic & Kruckeberg, 2005; Hayes, 2012; Pamment, 2014).

> *"The US government has revamped its interest in Public Diplomacy as a soft power approach to alleviate threats to the security of the nation and to counter the propagation of disinformation since the 9/11 attack"* (Nirwandy & Awang, 2013, p.326).

However, this does not mean replacing hard power with soft power; it can be understood as reducing use of the first versus increasing use of the second in response to international

changes and their demands. This significant departure from hard power to focus on soft power approaches is embodied in effective public diplomacy programmes.

Li (2013, p.1724) states that "public diplomacy has been inextricably linked to a country's soft power". While some scholars believe that soft power will only be achieved through public diplomacy, at the same time, they admit that soft power efforts can doubtless achieve great results when public relations highlights them in a positive way (Zhou et al., 2013).

This can be clearly understood by knowing that the old diplomacy, along with hard power, which relied on secret negotiations and keeping governmental agreements away from the public eye, are no longer acceptable to public opinion, which has become powerful enough to pressure governments, through media monitoring, to execute most foreign policies and economic exchanges in the spirit of transparency and visibility.

Another perspective of this convergence is that most soft power methods, such as influence, persuasion and attraction public opinion, have been borrowed from the field of public relations. Furthermore, soft power has lifted many of its concepts, principles and ideas, in particular those related to communication with target audiences, from the professional evolution of public relations (Hayes, 2012).

The partnership between public diplomacy, communications, public relations and foreign public as individuals or groups to achieve soft power, has become inevitable for countries in the age of technology, modern communications, and the increasing importance of public opinion.

While it can be said that this partnership is new and is generated by engaging public diplomacy with soft power, Cull (2009) is of the view that the main aim of public diplomacy, which is to control the environment of foreign policy and prepare it to achieve state goals at an international level, is still the same as it was 63 years ago, and it has been linked since then with military power, economic power, and today with soft power and communication with foreign audiences.

In fact, the relationship between soft power, public relations and public diplomacy has been simply described by Li (2013), who believes that persuading and polarising foreign public,

and increasing their level of cultural engagement with a nation with a greater focus on active actors is soft power which seeks nation's political and economic goals outside its borders by delivering desired diplomatic messages.

Persuading and polarising a foreign public, and increasing their cultural engagement, can be all considered as public relations activities; also, the concept of active actors exists in the public relations field, where they are called 'opinion leaders'. These public relations activities seek to spread a well-prepared diplomatic message to achieve a soft power that meets a nation's foreign policy and advances its interests globally.

For example, public diplomacy managed, by employing public relations tools such as dialogue, consultation, and persuasion among elites from both the United States and China, to contribute significantly to addressing many of the outstanding issues between the two countries regarding internet freedom, management and protection (Chengyu, 2012). This informal diplomatic contribution is seen by Chengyu as a form of soft power called elite‒public diplomacy.

Unlike other scholars, who believe that public diplomacy and soft power is a tool for world peace and harmony, Nirwandy and Awang (2013) observe that soft power is a technique of a different kind of war to confront issues such as increased population, lack of water and energy, resource scarcity, and terrorism. They state that public diplomacy, soft power, and modern communications are together in charge of protecting a state from these threats, as well as to achieve reaching multiple economic interests by influencing foreign public opinion and gaining its support regarding a state's policy and goals abroad.

However, Pamment (2014) criticises the evaluation methods of soft power activities. He claims that it might be a reason for doubting the real effectiveness of soft power in the political area.

Pamment discusses the assumption that certain patterns of soft power such as public diplomacy and nation brand will always achieve a country's goals through communication without taking into account vital environmental factors and differences. It is clearly a faulty belief because it deliberately ignores the environment that surrounds this communication and

its appropriate conditions, as well as ignoring the differences of goals among the stakeholders of this communication, where communication in soft power must be considered as a complete process and not only as a process of delivering information and messages that reflect a country's culture, values and traditions without giving attention to the expectations and ambitions of the targeted public of this operation.

A study by Zhong and Liu (2013) indicates that perceiving the proper ways to gain access to a particular public and understanding when they should be carried out is crucial to communication strategies in public diplomacy.

The literature of public relations refers to the same communication experience that soft power experiences today, Excellence theory provides four models of communication in public relations, which have been examined in different environments all over the world and are built on analysis, facts and logic. Furthermore, they are enriched by a set of academic studies in most targeted communications environments, in particular, Western environments.

On the other hand, this issue has attracted little attention in soft power literature, and even in public diplomacy literature. Zhong and Lu (2013, p.546) point out that "public diplomacy is often criticised for a paucity of theoretical grounding and the tools necessary to attract and persuade foreign publics". Public diplomacy scholars still assume that certain patterns of communications practices, which are evaluated by their goals and results, can always achieve success without paying any attention to the requirements and characteristics of each individual case (Pamment, 2014), with the exception of a few attempts to categorise public diplomacy practices according to communicative visions.

For example, a study by Wight (1955, cited in Hayes, 2012) attempts to link public diplomacy with the Excellence theory of public relations to produce similar communication models in terms of construction and function with those in public relations as follows:

- A realistic model, which seeks, through persuasion, to address matters and gain support based on the 'end justifies the means' principle, to 'adjust, defeat, and influence', which is nearly the same as the content of public relations' press agentry model and asymmetric model.

- A rationalist tradition model, which focuses broadly on global exchange relationships among states in different areas such as education exchange, tourism exchange, and sport exchange, depending on credibility and confidence. It appears similar to the two-way communication dialogic model and the social responsibility theory of public relations, which aims to reconcile institutions' targets and their environments' goals and needs. This model can, in some cases, converge with the public information and asymmetrical models.

- A revolutionist model, which has been considered the most ideal model, because it embodies the ideal aims of an organisation, such as symmetry, which can lead to amicable co-existence.

In like manner, Yun (2006, p.295) also attempted to examine the applicability of Excellence theory in public diplomacy, and concluding that there are "conceptual convergences between communication practices and excellence in communication management between public diplomacy and public relations".

Similarly, Evans and Steven (2008) attempted to indicate four perceptions to determine forms of communication in public diplomacy, which are engagement, shaping, disruptive, and destructive.

Despite these valuable attempts by Wight, and Evans and Steven, the issue of communication in soft power remains a challenge and needs to be addressed, since it cannot by any means accept the risk of success or failure of a state's foreign policies, and its reputation and image depending only on expectations and measuring goals and outcomes of a communication process, but there must be communication strategies and models built on a clear and realistic practice, alongside listening to the targeted audiences of diplomatic efforts.

> *"Strategies to shape messages were scarcely attended in public diplomacy research"* (Zhang & Benoit, 2004, p.162).

This can be another logical reason to drive the necessity of convergence between public relations and public diplomacy, especially through public diplomacy taking advantage of public relations' long experience with communication in terms of the evaluation and

measurement of audiences' public opinion and feedback, as well as the utilisation of communication models by public diplomacy that are based on theoretical and practical evidence from the literature of public relations.

This is, perhaps, exactly what Signitzer and Coombs (1992) meant by their call to public relations scholars more than two decades ago to carry out studies on public diplomacy by relying on assumptions and theories inspired by public relations practice, which can serve public diplomacy both theoretically and practically. It may also tend to clarify the extent of convergence between the two fields, in particular, from the perspective of communications.

In fact, utilising theoretical communication inheritance of public relations for public diplomacy programmes is crucial due to a lack of experience of both soft power and public diplomacy in this domain.

For example, Yun (2006) notes that, although the public diplomacy profession has experience of both the theoretical and practical aspects thatis estimated as spanning more than 100 years, nevertheless, most scholars have concentrated only on describing public diplomacy activities and best methods of application and supervision, as well as how to measure their effects, without taking into account the serious need for a real analysis of diplomacy behaviour within frameworks associated with effective variables such as environments, directions and audiences of communication, such asin the Excellence theory of public relations.

Likewise, Khakimova (2013, p.21) has drawn attention to the fact that "public diplomacy research lacks a theoretical infrastructure."

In fact, it can be said that public diplomacy has already borrowed from some public relations communication models, such as Grunig's four models, to advance its strategies and goals (see e.g. Signitzer & Coombs, 1992; Zhang & Benoit, 2004; Kruckeberg & Vujnovic, 2005; L'Etang, 2009; Khakimova, 2013). However, this borrowing requires further research efforts in order to be set on the right track and to gain the maximum benefits of this communicative convergence between public relations, soft power, and public diplomacy.

Notably, it is not only countries and governments that are responsible for presenting public diplomacy strategies practically to the public abroad through their embassies and institutions;

organisations and multinational corporations also play a vital role in this regard. By virtue of their presence inhost countries, they can attract the foreign public and consolidate relationships with them, as well as earn their support to make an appropriate foundation for the foreign policies of their home countries (Golan & Viatchaninova, 2013).

In addition, they can facilitate their governments in opening channels of two-way communication with foreign audiences based on engagement, as giving information only through one-way communication is no longer an effective technique in the era of mutual interests and information technology. This role of organisations and multinational corporations in public diplomacy can be clearly seen in their efforts to promote the national brand of their states abroad.

3.4.3 Nation Brand

Communication with foreign publics in times of crisis, and explaining policies or outstanding issues, are vital elements of a state's diplomacy strategies, but most important is to remain in constant communication with the public, which can ensure their positive response towards the foreign policy of a country when it is required at any time or during any event. This explains the idea of nation brand that is defined by Zhou et al. (2013, p.870) as "a government's use of transparent means to communicate with foreign and domestic publics about its policies, values, and culture to advance its national interests and foreign policy goals".

However, Jordan (2014) believes that nation brand can only be described as government public relations on the international level, and it is widely acknowledged that countries or governments are the biggest beneficiary of nation brand strategies to support their interests and to promote foreign policies through creating a favourable image of the cultures and traditions of their peoples.

However, governments are not alone in needing to work on this issue. Besides embassies and government organisations that make efforts to this end in host countries, there are also non-government organisations, which today may wield a similar amount of economic power and influence as states, or at least a reflect their home nation to host countries; through them, cultures, values, and behaviour are transferred to other peoples (Park & Lim, 2014). This may

be viewed as a result of the overlapping of governments' interests with those of private companies and non-profit organisations (Pasotti, 2014).

> *"Non-state actors are increasingly getting involved in public diplomacy"*(Park & Lim, 2014, p. 80).

Snow and Taylor (2009) recognise that the reputation and image of the United States abroad today faces perhaps the most serious threats, especially after it engaged in several wars that created hostility and hatred towards America, such as in Iraq and Afghanistan. They also admit that non-government organisations and American businessmen have more skills and capabilities to support American public diplomacy and rescue the state from this issue than the US government itself; they can, through their position, play a crucial role with the foreign public and restore America's favourable image abroad.

The same idea was widely espoused by Lencucha, Kothari and Labonte (2011), who argue that non-government organisations have the most important role on the international stage today.

From Snow and Taylor's point of view, the reasons these non-government organisations, corporations and businessmen are driven to contribute to the success of strategies of public diplomacy are two folds: the first is that the expansion of their business and interests throughout the world are strongly linked to the reputation and image of their home countries, and improving them will inevitably reflect positively on their business activities and develop the growth of their own relationships abroad. The second is that these organisations and corporations have a patriotic duty towards their home countries and their citizens to protect national prestige and to support and raise their international status.

Here, the public diplomacy that is practised by non-government organisations abroad comes close to global public relations, which is defined as "strategic communications and actions carried out by private, government, or non-profit organizations to build and maintain relationships with publics in socioeconomic and political environments outside their home location" (Molleda, 2011, n.p).

In fact, a corporate diplomacy expression that has recently been introduced to the literature of diplomacy elucidates the potentially crucial role of companies and non-government organisations in supporting public diplomacy strategies through undertaking global public relations programmes in host countries. There is almost a consensus that these companies and organisations can, under certain conditions, play a role more important than that of governments in the context of public diplomacy by advancing the national brand of a state and drawing attention to it abroad due to their contacts and regular, direct dealings with foreign publics, which are usually built on mutual trust.

Therefore, public relations in non-government organisations is often described as having more transparency and credibility in its communications with foreign audiences. Moreover, previous satisfying experiences with non-government public relations are more favourable for establishing long-term relations between the two sides, while government public relations has, in general, a discouraging past with those audiences, often described in terms of unilateral interests and temporary gains (Hayes, 2012).

In fact, when comparing the practice of these non-government organisations and trade companies with the governmental practice of public diplomacy, it becomes clear that governmental practice, which is usually embodied in embassies and certain other government institutions in host countries, suffers mostly from bureaucracy, complicated procedures, bias towards political leaders' views as to the nature and form of relationships with other countries, and the nature of the work itself, which requires secrecy and reticence. A lack of experience, human resources, and funding, in particular, in embassies of developing countries, is also a contributing factor (Khakimova, 2013). These barriers can affect the quality and content of communications with foreign audiences, as well as the ability to establish excellent relationships with them.

At any rate, this does not mean that corporate diplomacy has no disadvantages; the difficulty of assessing and pursuing this kind of public diplomacy and the extent of its achievement of goals, are barriers to the practice of corporate diplomacy. While this diplomacy works successfully at raising the status of countries in the international context, it nevertheless does not appear to effectively and directly contribute to addressing the urgent issues, crises, disagreements, and conflicts that may face these countries abroad (Servaes, 2012).

Besides corporate diplomacy, international sport, cultural and artistic events such as the Olympic Games, the World Cup, film and music festivals, and international exhibitions, all play a role in nation brand efforts, especially for the countries that host those global events.

> *"Nation branding must embrace political, cultural, business and sport activities"* (Jaffe & Nebenzahl, 2001, cited in Simons, 2011, p.324).

According to Grix & Lee (2013), sporting events are viewed by governments as a comparatively 'cheap means' to promote a national image, reputation, and identity of a state abroad.

For example, by using the London Olympics 2012 to spread diplomacy messages to foreign publics that expressed its community values and enhanced its international status, and engaging the public and non-government organisations, and a diverse array of diplomacy messages, including sport, social, humanitarian, and charity content, the United Kingdom took a pioneering role in the international community following the Olympics, as shown in a study conducted in late 2012 (Li, 2013).

In addition, a former British ambassador stated that the London 2012 Olympics were utilised "as a platform to get across some key messages about 21st century Britain to broad audiences round the globe and people who might not be interested in the traditional issues of international relations" (Rofe, 2014, p.1143).

It can therefore be said that global sporting events represent a good opportunity for foreign publics to learn more about other countries' features, and as such are considered as a valuable opportunity for these countries to promote national values and communicate with foreign publics all over the world, attracting their respect and support.

Furthermore, a study by Freeman (2012) indicates that governments of developing countries also seek earnestly to host international sport occasions, viewing them as a bridge to international society and playing an effective role in global affairs, as well as to emphasise their influence and internal control, represent all social groups, unify positions, visions and internal efforts, and enhance patriotism and affiliation among citizens.

> *"Games are a new form of public relations for cities and countries, these events are believed to help brand national and government images of the host city or country"* (Servaes, 2012, p. 648).

However, some studies have revealed that hosting sporting activities may have a detrimental impact on public diplomacy efforts when methods of winning these activities turns into a conflict and enmity rather than competition. However, despite the fact that a number of genuine cases are mentioned in these studies as evidence of the risk, they are nevertheless rare and cannot be generalised or even compared with the significant benefits that can be obtained from employing sporting activities in public diplomacy programmes at both the local and international level (see e.g. Freeman, 2012; Deos, 2014; Rofe, 2014).

It is worth mentioning that the success of a state's nation brand as part of its public diplomacy programmes depends essentially on employing resources, organisations, and even citizens of that state abroad to present a favourable image and perception, which enables their government to reach the foreign public in host countries by creating a prior positive impression. This facilitates foreign policies, economic interests, and international cooperation (see e.g. Park & Lim, 2014; Deos, 2014).

In fact, there is another aspect to the benefits of employing all these elements; through them, a state can measure attitudes, trends, and feedback from the foreign public towards the state and prepare future policies and strategies accordingly.

Nirwandy and Awang (2013. p.328) described Anholt's definition of nation brand as "a strategic, policy-making approach, intended to assist nations to construct on the strengths that later will benefit them a grander reputation". They also brought to light a very important point in this regard, when they asked what content should be transferred to other countries as the nation brand of a state abroad. They suggested prioritising components such as tourist attractions, culture, language, values, customs, arts, and even the food and national dishes of a country when promoting a nation brand abroad.

These components are mainly inspired by Anholt's nation branding theory. Anholt said that an effective nation brand of a country should comprise a balance of six key areas, which are: 'Exports, Governance, Culture and Heritage, People, Tourism, Investment and Immigration'

(Clancy, 2011). These components, or areas as they were named by Anholt, have been introduced and explained widely in the literature of public diplomacy, as follows:

Export

Export includes everything related to a country's exports and products, and their reputation as a distinctive brand of this country internationally, such as Coca-Cola, McDonald's, Chanel, Samsungand so on. It also includes the country's contribution to scientific research in technology, humanitarian, and medical fields.

Governance

Governance reflects the ethical standards of a state's government as evidenced by its local and foreign policies, and to what extent it supports freedoms, human rights, minorities, and respect of religions, as well as its role in global-peace efforts and its contribution to crucial international issues such as terrorism, environmental pollution and poverty.

Culture and Heritage

All nations have habits, traditions, and attributes that distinguish them from others, and that distinction is the essence of the idea of nation branding. Therefore, sharing a state's heritage and culture, which appear in things such as music, poetry, arts and so on, and presenting them to other countries' peoples, is an important part of its identity in the eyes of the foreign public in those countries.

People

This aspect can be seen through the ability of a country's citizens to establish friendly relations with other peoples and emulate their feelings towards local and international issues, as well as the extent of their acceptance of others and their ability to co-existing harmony with different cultures and values, and their openness to the world.

Tourism

Tourism includes a state's tourist sites and attractions, and available facilities for tourists such as hotels, transportation, and markets, which encourage people from other countries to visit it.

Investment and Immigration

This elementis embodied in the availability of valued investment opportunities in terms of an encouraging environment, purchasing power, labour, the suitability of laws and regulations that govern commercial activities, as well as providing a comfortable environment for foreigners residing in that country (Martínez, 2010).

Based on that, Anholt presented a nation branding index in the late 1990s, through which may be determined the nation brand value of each country in the minds of foreign publics, which measures the six previous areas of the nation brand, placed by Anholt in a Hexagon model, as shown in Fig (6):

Fig **(6)** Anholt's Nation Brand Hexagon (adopted from Anholt, 2005 cited in Martínez, 2010)

By 2005, and with help from the firm GFK, Anholt managed to develop the nation brand index, which is based on polling foreign public online regarding their opinion of the six areas of the nation brand. By 2010, the countries that measured their nation brands according to Anholt's Nation Brand index totalled approximately 50 countries around the world, including countries from Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa, in addition to the United States and some Arab countries such as the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia (Clancy, 2011).

In fact, it is important to note that there are other indexes to measure the national brands of countries that have also gained attention and support in the literature of nation branding inrecent years, such as:

FutureBrand Country Brand Index (**FCBI**)

This index was derived mainly from a study of 110 countries. It is based on the notion that the national brand of a country is reflected through a set of links between the country and stakeholders such as tourists, investors, and other groups of foreign audiences that have relations with that country, driving them to visit it frequently. According to the FCBI Index, those links can be measured through seven aspects: 'awareness, familiarity, associations, preference, consideration, visitation, and advocacy'. This index depends on collecting qualitative and quantitative data about these seven aspects, which lends validity and reliability to the results. An advantage of this index is that the links that should be measured have been precisely defined by FutureBrand, which prevents confusion and reduces errors (Sevin, 2014). The FCBI Index resembles Anholt's Nation Brand index in terms ofthe difference of areas that need to be measured and uncovered in both indexes.

East–West Communications Nation Brands Perception Index (**NBPI**)

The NBPI Index focuses mainly on media materials that depict a country in a positive or negative way in the minds of the foreign public, since they are the main sources that shape the concepts and perceptions of that public about the country in question. Therefore, according to this index, measuring the volume and content of media coverage of a country reflects the volume and content of its national brand based on the important role of the media in shaping public opinion in communication theories. Consequently, this index focuses only on measuring what is offered to the foreign public through media such as news, information, and reports, and thereby determines the value of a national brand (Sevin, 2014).

One of this index's disadvantages is that it ignores other factors that may also contribute to the shaping of foreign public perception and their impressions towards other countries such as previous experience, personal communications, sharing opinions, and entrenched

impressions, and it depends only on interpreting the language and measuring contents provided through media.

However, Anholt's Nation Brand index remains the index that most scientists and researchers agree is the most reliable and effective index for determining the value of a country's nation brand in the eyes of foreign publics around the world (see e.g. Wang & Shoemaker, 2011; Rasmussen & Merkelsen, 2012; Mendez, 2013; Jordan, 2014).

It is worth noting that this does not mean Anholt's index has no defects and receives no criticism. For example, while Anholt's index concentrates on foreign publics' perceptions ofthe six key areas, Exports, Governance, Culture and Heritage, People, Tourism, Investment and Immigration, it ignores the historical dimension and its role in shaping the national brands of countries, which can be a positive or negative factor in the creating of appositive image and reputation of a country abroad (Rasmussen & Merkelsen, 2012).

In that sense, countries with a past link to terrorism, genocide, racism, and colonialism would have less opportunity to promote their national brands than countries with a rich history of peace, humanity and justice. Nevertheless, Anholt's index remains a distinctive and pioneering effort; according to the literature of nation branding it is the best scientific contribution made in this regard to date.

However, the key problem is that usually, countries, and especially those with a lack of public relations and communication strategy, consider nation brand activities as marketing a state's foreign policies through diplomacy messages. Consequently, and depending on this narrow concept of communicating with foreign publics, these countries often work only on giving the maximum amount of information and data about itself to foreign audiences abroad (Snow & Taylor, 2009).

Thus, the questions which should be asked here are, is merely giving the largest possible amount of information about a state to foreign publics abroad enough to create that state's nation brand? Does this alone help a state to win a place in the hearts of those publics and their support in the international arena?

In this regard, the literature of communication, public relations, and public diplomacy presents two extremely different opinions. The first is represented by Pamment (2014, p.55), who argues that "an organization producing communication and distributing it widely is surely better than an organization which does not produce communication at all".

The second opinion is introduced by Snow and Taylor (2009, p.9), who believe that "More communication does not by itself guarantee better communication. In most instances, it merely multiplies the possibilities for misunderstandings and misinterpretation".

Generally, it can be said that promoting the components of a state such as tourist attractions, culture, language, values, customs, and arts without a strategy or clear plan adopted from public relations in a long-term diplomacy vision, and without coordination with non-government organisations to prevent conflicting and confusing efforts to target audiences, may lead to these components losing their real value with the foreign public and cost a state more than any expected benefits.

Furthermore, it is possible that attempts by some scholars to emphasise the competitive identity of a state are attempts to address this outstanding issue and controversy regarding the components of a nation brand and its ability to compete internationally. The competitive identity simply means that investing all of what distinguishes a state from other nations to form a perception about that state serves its foreign policy and economic interests. This perception, according to Anholt (2007, cited in Zhou et al., 2013), includes structural influences, which are represented in the degree of understanding of how issues, and internal and foreign affairs, are managed by a state, functional influences that rely on a prevalent image and impression of the state among foreign publics, and how the state presents itself to the world.

The competitive identity that is the essence of a state's national brand relies essentially on the amount and content of media coverage of that state, whether in international or local media in the host country, to attract and win the hearts and minds of its people towards the concerned state. What is presented by the media often serves to form preconceptions about a country in foreign publics' minds abroad, which are enhanced through the time and experience (Sheafer & Gabay, 2009).

In addition, diverting attention to positive topics related to that country and gaining sufficient media coverage can be an important and influential factor in supporting the national brand of that country abroad. It may also work on raising questions and inquiries to learn more about the country (Sheafer & Gabay, 2009).

In this regard, Zhou et al. (2013) believe that foreign audiences generally recognise the national brand of most states in the world, in particular, those that play a significant role at the global level. For example, Switzerland is known for its wealth and precision, Japan for its technology, France for its culture and style, and Brazil for its soccer and carnivals. However, the most important issue here is how to maintain the national brand of those countries at the top of the foreign public's mind. This may require two things: first, creating events, news, and themes, preferably made by non-government actors such as non-government organisations, trade companies, businessmen, and even the concerned state's citizens in a host country. Second, highlighting these events, news, and themes repeatedly and positively via the media in the host country.

> *"The media will influence not only 'what people think about,' but also 'what they think'"* (Servaes, 2012, p.648).

Hence, the role of public relations that accompanies corporate diplomacy works on documenting these events and news, focusing on positive aspects, giving priority to effective issues, supplying information to the media, and observing the potential impact of these events and news on foreign publics, as well as building good relationships with media personnel, journalists and actors in a host country to ensure strong public support of expected debates about the country concerned within a host society.

Therefore, corporate diplomacy is usually described as a function to create a favourable climate to receive information about a country, while public relations is described as a function to deliver that information to the foreign public in a host country (see e.g. Moss & Desanto, 2011; Hayes, 2012; Kunczik, 2012).

According to Semetko, Kolmer and Schatz (2011, cited in Servaes, 2012, p.647), media is rated as the first source of knowledge to foreign audiences about the outside world, where they admit that "the media provide the primary information sources for most people in

obtaining news about events in the world each day, in forming opinions about foreign countries, issues and foreign affairs".

3.5 CONCLUSION

It should be emphasised here that the purpose of this chapter was to highlight theories and hypotheses that mightserve the main objective of the current study, which is to provide an enriched understanding of Libyan institutions' public relations strategies for foreign publics post 2011 revolution. In other words, the chapter sought to employ the literature of public relations and public diplomacy to build a potential explanatory framework that can be utilised to understand and interpret the current study results.

The researcher has utilised Western theories and hypotheses from the literature of public relations and public diplomacy to structure this explanatory framework because previous research has failed to deliver adequate studies on Libyan public diplomacy modelled around Libyan public relations, taking into account the differences of purpose, audience, and environments of communication, which can produce different patterns of practices of public relations and public diplomacy.

This raises some inevitable and crucial questions that reflect a key contribution of the current study to investigate how practitioners of public relations in Libyan government and non-government institutions abroad practice communication with foreign in the host countries. Do they adopt local public relations models applied in Libya, which are, according to the literature, the public information model and the publicity model, in their practice of communication abroad? Are these models appropriate for different international environments? Or, do they adopt other new models to meet the requirements of new environments? If they do, then what are these new models? Are they recognised in the literature of communication and public relations? Are they a combination of different models? Or, are they totally new models?

The present study seeks to investigate the practice of public relations in Libyan institutions located in Egypt and the UK for public diplomacy purposes post revolution of 17 February 2011, by achieving two key objectives: first, identifying the models of communication utilised by public relations practitioners in communication efforts with the foreign publics of the target institutions. Second, exploring the methods, strategies, and themes of public

relations communication implemented by Libyan institutions located in Egypt and the UK for public diplomacy purposes.

Consequently, it becomes necessary for the researcher to deploy an explanatory framework in order to interpret the results expected from achieving the above two research objectives. This framework was created based on two key theories widely addressed in the literature of public relations and public diplomacy, which are Grunig's Excellence theory and Anholt's Nation Brand theory.

The selection of Grunig's theory to interpret the results from identifying the models of communication utilised by Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK's public relations practice in their efforts to communicate with foreign publics is based the following justification:

First, this theory has been widely tested in many parts of the world and has proved its worth and reliability

Second, the theory is widely applicable to different societies and cultures, and has plausible scope to interpret results concerning the practice of public relations communication in these societies and cultures. This particular characteristic of Grunig's theory can be significantly advantageous to the current study as the two societies of its empirical work are completely different in terms of culture, with the UK being a Western society and Egypt being an Arab society.

Third, the theory is characterised by inclusiveness: it combines old models of public relations with contemporary models, which can to some extent guarantee the ability of this theory to interpret all models expected to be found from the empirical work of the current study.

Fourth, the recognition of most scholars and academics of the distinction and dominance of this theory on all work presented in the literature of public relations is a compelling factor in it having been chosen for this research (see e.g. Kruckeberg & Vujnovic, 2005; Yun, 2006; Theunissen & Noordin, 2011; Bıcakcı & Hürmeric, 2013).

Anholt's Nation Brand theory was selected in this study because it is a pioneering theory that can allow the researcher, through the elements of its Nation Brand Index, to interpret the data

gathered on public relations themes in communications made to the foreign publics of Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK post revolution of 17 February 2011, with the aim of enhancing the nation brand of Libya in the host countries. This theory has gained the recognition of most scholars in the literature regarding its reliability, validity, and effectiveness, when applied around the world (see e.g. Martínez, 2010; Clancy, 2011; Nirwandy & Awang, 2013; Sevin, 2014; Jordan, 2014).

The study, therefore, combines two theories, Grunig's Excellence theory and Anholt's Nation Brand theory, in an explanatory framework to help interpret and understand relationships among different factors and themes when analysing the empirical data gathered. This is the first time the two theories selected have been combined in a single scientific study, whether in an international context or in a study regarding Libyan public relations and public diplomacy.

CHAPTER FOUR
UNDERSTANDING PUBLIC RELATIONS PRACTICE IN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY − A METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter reviewed the literature of public relations models and public diplomacy in order to extract knowledge regarding the two fields and allow the researcher to set a theoretical framework. The first section of this chapter focuses on the philosophy and methodology of the research, and aims to clarify and justify the selection of paradigms, approaches, and explanatory theories in the current study.

The second section explains the chosen data collection methods, which are a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods: content analysis and interviews.

Samples, themes, units, categories, and forms of the content analysis are identified and clarified in this section.

Likewise, the section sheds light on interview procedures, samples, and how they have been accurately recorded and transcribed.

The remainder of the chapter focuses on the thematic analysis, which explains how the generated data will be interpreted in Chapter Five: Findings − Analysis. The chapter concludes with a detailing of key ethical issues which were addressed throughout the process of conducting the research.

4.2 RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

The initial stage in efforts to investigate a research problem or inquiry is the philosophical treatment of that problem or inquiry (Hansson, 2008). A research philosophy is defined by Surju (2009, p.188) as "a belief about the way in which data about a phenomenon should be gathered, analysed and used".

This study works within the interpretivist paradigm. Evidence suggests that the interpretivist paradigm is suitable for social science research that seeks to investigate a phenomenon in its reality, taking into account all the variables surrounding it (Scribd, 2013).

This is because we cannot separate a phenomenon from its surroundings if we want to gain an enriched understanding of that phenomenon (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006). Moreover, our knowledge and beliefs concerning subjects or actions in a certain reality are a conclusion of the mutual effect of those knowledge, beliefs and that reality. This effect of this relationship, together with its results, can be detected and understood through conversation and dialogue.

Accordingly, investigating public relations practices being executed within public diplomacy efforts for communication with foreign public of Libyan institutions abroad post revolution of 17 February 2011, through investigating the perspectives, insights, and experiences of communication practitioners in these institutions, also requires investigation and interpretation of all factors that contribute, directly or indirectly, to shaping those perspectives, insights, and experiences associated with the practitioners' environments.

The researcher considers the current practice of public relations communication employed by Libyan institutions abroad as a visible reflection of perspectives, insights, and experiences of communication practitioners in those institutions, as well as the reality that shapes the practices in a certain way.

Thus, the selection of the interpretivist paradigm in the current study is based on the fact that the study aims to investigate communication practice by public relations practitioners as a social phenomenon in a certain environment.

To that end, the current study went through two key steps: First, the collection and analysis of data regarding public relations communication efforts and their reality. Second, gaining knowledge and generalisations in this regard to help frame a model that advances both public relations and public diplomacy. It is worth noting that these two key steps have six sub-steps, which were worked through one at a timeto achieve the final findings of this study. These sub-steps are content analysis, observation, interviews, findings, framing models, and conclusions, respectively, as shown in Fig (7).

Accordingly, the adoption of inductive reasoning in this study, which is described by Trochim (2011, p.69) as "in inductive reasoning, we begin with specific observations and measures, begin to detect patterns and regularities, formulate some tentative hypotheses that we can explore, and finally end up developing some general conclusions or theories", is extremely logical due to a lack of research that determines and clarifies the relationship between public relations, public diplomacy, and nation brand (see e.g. Vandekerckhove, 2004; Hiebert, 2005; Wilkinson, 2006; Yun, 2006; Snow & Taylor, 2009).
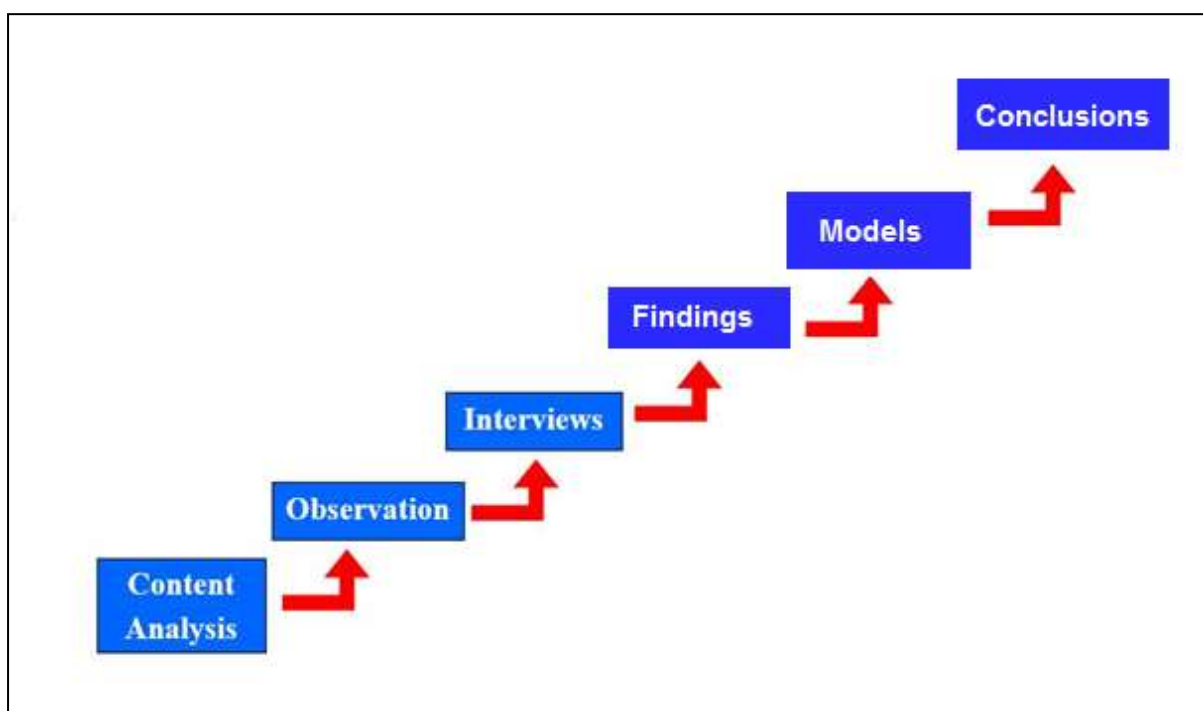
Fig **(7)**: Explanation of inductive reason of the study.

(Adopted from Trochim, 2011).

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4.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.3.1 Survey Method

Since the main objective of this study is to provide an enriched understanding of Libyan institutions' public relations practice for foreign publics post 2011 revolution, through gathering data that describe and explain the reality of practice in Libyan institutions in two countries, Egypt and the UK, over that period, then to organise and analyse these data to extract justifications and results concerning that reality with the aim of improving performance and conditions, the survey method is selected as the most appropriate method here to reach this objective.

This is because the survey method is an organised gathering of data relating to institutions, and their staff and activities in a certain period, followed by analysis and interpretation of the data to draw conclusions (Qandilji, 2008).

> *"The Survey method is the technique of gathering data by asking questions to people who are thought to have desired information"* (Kumar, 2015, p.111).

Consequently, the employment of this method provides the researcher with more details and a thorough explanation of the 'How' and 'Why' of public relations practitioners' communication behaviours, opinions, and attitudes.

In addition, the most important feature of this method is giving the ability to generalise the generated results, if the sample is truly representative, which allows the researcher to generalise the current study's findings by investigating public relations practice with foreign public of Libyan institutions in only two countries, Egypt and the UK, post 2011 revolution, to draw overall conclusions for all Libyan institutions abroad (Keegan, 2015).

The researcher has utilised the interview as a central tool in this research to collect data concerning communication strategies, communication activities, communication means, communication audiences, communication models, and communication themes, since this kind of data can be collected properly through qualitative interviews with public relations

practitioners in the Libyan institutions abroad. Based on this, the interview is one of the most common and suitable tools that can be adopted in the descriptive approach (Arifj et al., 1999).

In addition, content analysis has been employed to analyse media content provided by public relations practitioners at the target Libyan institutions to foreign public in the host countries. The content analysis here aims to investigate the nature of communication themes and the extent of representation of each theme inside media content, as well as identify types of public relations models and the extent of representation of each model in that content. This contributes to arriving at findings that can enrich the overall understanding of critical aspects of the practice of public relations with foreign public of Libyan institutions in Egypt and UK post 2011 revolution.

Accordingly, the study combines the qualitative methodology and quantitative methodologies at the same time. The qualitative methodology is the proper methodology to capture and describe behaviour and activities of human communication (McLeod, 2008). Furthermore, Wakefield (1995, cited in Hayes, 2012) asserts that the qualitative approach maybe most appropriate for research related to public relations, specifically that which attempts to investigate international public relations efforts.

The quantitative methodology is embodied in an adoption of the content analysis tool to analyse media content provided by public relations practitioners at the target institutions to the foreign public in host countries to collect data of a quantitative nature.

> *"Qualitative research is often used to gain a general sense of phenomena and to form theories that can be tested using further quantitative research"*(Nomm, 2007, p. 19).

It is important to note that the literature review conducted to this point in the research has highlighted the potential explanatory utility of two complementary theories, which can explain how communications practice through public relations presents the content of Libya's brand in other countries, as well as to determine the communication models used to implement it. The theories are Anholt's Nation Brand theory and Grunig's Excellence theory.

4.3.2 Data Collection

Prior of commencing the main phase of data collection, the researcher made two visits to the field study in Egypt and the UK that aimed togain a comprehensive understanding of how to deal with the study community in terms of determining a sample of respondents, engaging with them, and making a decision regarding the best possible ways to collect data from them in line with the current study's questions and objectives.

The study sought to elicit data such as perceptions, ideas, views, experiences, and intentions regarding public relations, public diplomacy, and nation brand of Libya from public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad. Consequently, according to Arifj et al (1999), and also Daymon and Holloway (2011), the interview method is the most appropriate method to gather such data.

In addition, data that was collected in this study is related to relatively new scientific fields such as public diplomacy and national brand. As a result, some terms and expressions of those scientific fields have uncommon and unclear meanings, which may lead to confusion and misunderstanding among the targeted practitioners (see e.g. Simons, 2011; Hayes, 2012; Chang & Lin, 2014). Thus, the researcher was obliged to select the interviews in this study to be able to explain, interpret, and provide actual meanings to the participants.

> *"Most 'idealist' and 'relativist' approaches to social research emphasise the search for 'meanings' rather than attempt to 'measure' aspects of the social world"* (Yates, 2004, p.156).

More specifically, the semi-structured interviews were selected in this study to collect data from all public relations practitioners at the Libyan institutions abroad, such as Libyan embassies, corporate, government and non-government organisations in Egypt and the UK.

The researcher has specifically selected the semi-structured interviews due to their ability to allow the researcher to have mutual and open conversations with public relations practitioners (Anderson, 2009). This can help to expand and enrich views, ideas, and knowledge, which in turn reflects on the value and quality of collected data in this study.

However, in attempting to obtain an initial understanding of the nature of communication practices conducted by public relations practitioners at the Libyan institutions abroad that can widely assist with designing and constructing the interview questions, the study intended first to analyse electronic and printed media content produced by public relations practitioners at the Libyan institutions abroad, after which the interviews were conducted taking into account data that was collected from the content analysis.

The content analysis method is an effective method of social research, ensuring reliable results by combining it with other qualitative data sources and methods, such as interviews (Bowen, 2009). Furthermore, it has been defined specifically in the communication field by Berelson as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Nomm, 2007, p.20).

In addition, the researcher also employed the observation method, through several visits to the study's field, which assisted him to record what he saw and heard through these visits and add it the data collected via the content analysis and interviews, with the aim to enrich the study's outcomes (Altai & Abu-Bakr, 2007).

> *"Interpretive approaches rely heavily on naturalistic methods (interviewing and observation and analysis of existing texts)"* (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006, n.p.).

4.3.2.1 ContentAnalysis

Content analysis is a method related to selecting and reading contents of a particular text or subject, and then providing an accurate description of these contents and writing it in a specific summary (AlQaem, 2014).

> *"Content analysis is a technique for systematically describing written, spoken or visual communication"* (Abbas, 2017, p.123).

In fact, there is no accurate date of the beginnings of content analysis as a research method, it grew in importance in the social sciences during the early twentieth century. However, content analysis method dates back to a study of Speed's (1893) longitudinal analysis of four

New York newspapers between 1881 and 1893 , as well as to Lasswill and his colleagues in 1930 when they were at the Columbia School of Journalism in America (West, 2001).

Content analysis as a research method is characterized by several advantages that drive researchers to prefer to employ. It allows researchers identify implicit meanings in a piece of content and then investigating linkage relationships between these meanings through quantitative research to the features of this content. In fact, there is a consensus among scholars that what distinguishes the content analysis method from other research methods are the following:

- Content analysis seeks through categorizing the data to describe the explicit content or the apparent content of media materials.

- Content analysis depends on the repeated appearance of sentences, words, terms, and meanings included in the researcher's analysis lists of the selected material based on the determination by researcher of appropriate categories and units.

- Content analysis is not solely limited to thematic aspects, but it also includes aspects of the shape of media material.

- The process of content analysis is from technically, methodologically and procedural aspects related to the research problem, hypotheses, questions, and objectives.

- Content analysis relies mainly on the quantitative approach to analyse qualitative contents based on certain principles.

- The results of content analysis can be generalized.

- The results of content analysis can be combined with other findings of the research and placed in more a comprehensive frame in order to gain a complete analysis the media material in its general context and surrounding circumstances (see e.g. Hussein, 2006; Zgheib, 2009; Abdul Hamid, 2010; AlQaem, 2014).

- This method can be used if researchers cannot contact respondents directly to identify their attitudes, ideas, and responds through observation, interviews, or questionnaires, which

drives researchers to utilize other alternative methods such as investigating written texts of these respondents through an organized and strict method.

In addition, the content analysis as a research method can be utilized to identify functions, objectives, and effects of mass media. In this regard, some areas where this method can be used were identified as follows:

- Identifying attitudes of individuals and groups towards different matters.

- Comparison between the mass media in terms of their themes, trends, and objectives.

- Measuring to what extent media means apply cultural standards and media principles.

- Identifying the psychological and social case of individuals and groups in normal and unusual situations through analysing messages in which they express themselves in different ways.

- Obtaining assumptions regarding the potential impact of media on public.

- It allows a state to know information, intentions, and objectives of other states, especially in situations of conflict and war, where each party seeks to analyze documents, statements, speeches, and what media publishes about the other party (Al-Qaim, 2007).

In addition, it can be used to identify knowledge, values, goals, and effects of books, educational curricula, and cultural literature.

Al-Hiti (2002) has set out six successive steps of content analysis: determination of sample, determination of analysis units, determination of analysis categories, scheduling categories, counting repetitions of each category, and interpreting results and drawing conclusions.

In the current study, a content analysis sample was identified as all printed and electronic media contents provided bypublic relations practitioners through communication practices with foreign public of 19 Libyan government and non-governmental institutions in Egypt and the UKpost revolution of 17 February 2011.

It is of note that three Libyan institutions in Egypt were excluded by the researcher because they do not produce any media content at all; these institutions are the Sixth of October Company, the International Company for Investment Services, and the Libyan Company for Investment, meaning that the total number of Libyan institutions whose printed and electronic media content was subjected to content analysis in this study is 16 (see Table 12, p.168).

Accordingly, the study analysed all printed and electronic media contents provided through communication practices by public relations practitioners at targeted Libyan institutions post revolution of 17 February 2011 to the present day (see Appendix II, p.301 & Appendix III, p.304). This was carried out by describing and classifying six key themes of communication contents, which are Exports, Governance, Investment and Immigration, Culture and Heritage, People, and Tourism, into words and phrases, and then count their repetition to gain a representation of each of these six themes in communication contents, as well as to find out the extent of attention being given to each theme within communication contents.

After the selection of these six themes as content analysis units, the researcher attempted to provide them with procedural definitions in line with utilisation them in the current study as shown in Table (5):

Definitions / Themes (Units)	Constructive definitions of content analysis themes (units).	Operational definitions of content analysis themes (units).
Exports	This includes everything related to a country's exports and products, and their reputation as a distinctive brand of this country internationally, such as Coca-Cola, McDonald's, Chanel, Samsungand so on,as well as the country's contribution to scientific research in technology, humanitarian, and medical fields (Martínez, 2010).	This theme focuses on news and information that reflects Libyan exports to the outside world, whether those exports are natural exports or industrial exports.

Governance	This reflects the ethical standards committed to by a state's government in its local and foreign policies, and to what extent it supports freedoms, human rights, minorities, and respect of religions, as well as its role in efforts to achieve global peace, and its contribution to crucial international issues such as terrorism, environmental pollution, and poverty (Martínez, 2010).	This theme is about Libya's ruling regimes from 1951 to 2011 (the Constitutional Monarchy system, the Republican system, the Jamahiriya system). It also includes all issues related to the nature of the current political regime of Libya (the Parliamentary democracy system) and its institutions and attitudes towards fundamental issues such as democracy, devolution of power, freedom, and human rights and minorities, and how the current Libyan government manages affairs of Libyan state and its ways of dealing with the development of political events, both domestically and internationally.
Investment and Immigration	The investment theme (unit) is embodied in the availability of valuable opportunities to invest in a country in terms of an encouraging environment, purchasing power, labourers, and the suitability of laws and regulations governing commercial activities. The immigration theme (unit) is reflected in the extent of the desire and willingness of foreigners to reside and live in a country due to the advantages offered to them from that country in one or all of the following aspects: economic, political, and social (Martínez, 2010).	The investments theme covers all news and information designed to draw the foreign public's attention to Libya as a country offering great investment opportunities by highlighting benefits and advantages to foreign investors of entering the Libyan market and establishment commercial business in Libya. The immigration theme refers to any media contents related to encouraging foreign public to stay and live in Libya. It is worth mentioning that the immigration and investment themes are combined here, as they were in the literature, based on the fact that a recovery of one of them can widely boost the other, for example, improvement of investments in Libya can be a reason forincreased migration.
Culture and Heritage	All nations have habits, traditions, and attributes that distinguish one nation from others, and these distinctionsare the essence of the idea of nation	When joined together, culture and heritage themes can be understood as all media content that reflects components of the cultural identity of Libyan society,

	branding. Sharing a state's heritage and culture, which appear in things such as music, poetry, arts and so on, and presenting them to other countries' peoples is an important part of its identity in the eyes of the foreign public in those countries (Martínez, 2010).	such as art, music, folk costume, and poetry, which distinguish the Libyan society from other societies. These components represent a source of pride to Libyan people and making them known abroad can contribute to the creation ofa mutual understanding between them and foreign public.
People	This may be seen through the ability of a country's citizens to establish friendly relations with other peoples and emulate their feelings towards local and international issues, as well as the extent of their acceptance of others and their ability to co-exist with different cultures and values, as well as openness to the world (Martínez, 2010).	This theme relates to behaviours, morals, values, activities, and achievements that reflect the positive aspects of Libyan citizens and highlight attractive qualities, whether of Libyan society as a whole or as individuals and groups, in particular, those that express their openness and their willingness to co-exist with others, and accept and respect other peoples' opinions, beliefs, and religions.
Tourism	This includes a state's tourist sites and attractions, and available facilities for tourists such as hotels, transportation, and markets, which can encourage people from other countries to visit it (Martínez, 2010).	The Tourism theme in the current study refers to all news content and information provided with the aim to introduce Libyan tourism in terms of tourist sites, facilities, attractions, and guides, and requirements for obtaining a tourist visa for potential foreign tourists. This content can encourage the targeted foreign public to visit Libya and/or recommend others to do so.

Table **(5)** Constructive definitions and operational definitions of the content analysis theme's 'units'.

4.3.2.1.1 Analysis categories

The researcher has selected categories of content analysis in this study based on those determined by Berelson as categories to analyse any communication content depending on the nature of the communication content itself (Berelson, 1952). Accordingly, the categories of the content analysis can be presented as follows:

Categories of 'what has been said'

These categories include a communication subject category, which is the most common category. It is related to detecting subjects covered from communication content in general. A communication content direction category seeks to uncover views in communication content. A standards category usually employed by a researcher to judge communication content. A values category aims to disclose existing values in communication content. A methods of goal achievement category seeks to identify methodsused in communication contentin order to reach goals. A personal attributes category is used for individuals involved in communication content, such as age, gender, career and so on. An actor category aims to identify people who play key roles in communication content. A place category attempts to determine where communication content originates. Finally, a targeted audiences category that aims to identify targeted groups of a communication content.

Categories of 'how it has been said'

These categories include a communication form category that aims to detect the form of each item of communications content, for example, story, novel, news, article, and text. They also comprise an expression category, which relates to the measurement of emotions and tones that appear in communications content. In addition, the categories of how it has been said include a method category that focuses on a method adopted from communications content to ensure its trustworthiness, such as evaluation, reliable references, reports, and statistics.

From the above choices of analysis categories, the researcher has selected one from the categories of 'what has been said', which is the communication subject category to be adopted as an analysis category in this study to ensure objectivity and comprehensiveness, since this category broadly helps to draw a description of apparent meanings of communication contents, whether in terms of its nature or representation as themes of communication, since the current study is a descriptive study.

In addition, the selection of this category was based on the research questions and objectives, where this study aims, through identifying communication themes to provide an enriched

understanding of Libyan institutions' public relations strategies applied through communication with foreign publics abroad post revolution of 17 February 2011.

In the same context, the researcher also has chosen one category from 'how it has been said', which is the communication form category. The selection of this category is based on the need to identify adopted communication models from public relations through communication practices with foreign public of the targeted Libyan institutions post revolution of 17 February 2011.

The researcher assumes three types of communication models likely applied through the communication practices of public relations practitioners at the targeted Libyan institutions abroad, which are: publicity, public information, and dialogue and negotiation. This assumption is based on the fact that these three models have been widely evidenced in the literature as dominant and common models in the practice of public relations in many regions of the world (see e.g. Grunig, Grunig, Sriramesh, Huang & Lyra, 1995; Kruckeberg & Vujnovic, 2005; Stoker & Tusinski, 2006; Theunissen & Noordin, 2011; Hassen, 2012; Hayes, 2012).

Consequently, these models have been selected to be investigated in communications content provided to foreign publics by public relations practitioners at the targeted Libyan institutions, taking into account the likelihood of finding other known or unknown types of public relations models in conducting the content analysis. To identify and distinguish each model of the above communication models, the researcher conducted a deep theoretical research concerning each model's concepts, definitions, characteristics, and functions in the literature. The researcher has managed to develop a number of criteria to distinguish each model from the others with the aim of preventing overlap into the process of detecting the models found within the content analysed. This assisted in achieving reliable and valid outcomes from the content analysis in the current study.

For example, to identify the publicity model in communication contents, reviewing the literature indicates that publicity is a tool or form of public relations that encourages public deliberately and directly to purchase a product or request a service, as well as to improve the image or reputation of an institution or state in certain audiences' minds through different

communication channels (see e.g. Fawkes, 2007; Kapoor, 2014; Spotts, Weinberger & Weinberger, 2014; Hyatt, 2015).

> *"Publicity is probably the most widely visible tool of public relations"*(Pavlik, 1987, cited in Verčič & Tkalac, 2015, p.143).

Furthermore, Vandekerckhove (2004) argues that there are three kinds of publicity based on credibility, misleading public opinion, and the extent of knowing its source. These three kinds of publicity are: first, the white publicity that refers to efforts of promoting ideas, images, and news that lend an event or a person additional value. In this kind of publicity, the sources of provided images and news must be known to the public. They should also be essentially true. Second, the grey publicity embodied by the dissemination of inaccurate and untrustworthy information or news from sources known or unknown to the audience. Third, the black publicity, which deliberately disseminates incorrect information, news or rumours, from unfamiliar sources, to the public in order to deceive and manipulate them to achieve certain goals.

Consequently, the researcher constructed criteria to identify the publicity model in communication contents, taking into account that the publicity the researcher sought to identify is so-called 'white' publicity, because this kind of publicity is visible and measurable, characterised by content with known sources, and employs direct and deliberate promotional effort and evident truthfulness (Al-Shammari, 2014). Moreover, this kind of publicity is associated with positive expressions and statements (Al-Shammari, 2014). It is of note that all these characteristics of the white publicity model were considered as criteria in this study to distinguish the publicity model from other models found in communication contents.

Regarding the public information model, there are several definitions of public information related to certain fields such as business, military, politics, health, environment, and technology (see e.g. Valone& Templeton, 2002; Shea & Garson, 2010; Barron, 2012; Pankowska, 2015).

More specifically, 'public information means information that is collected, assembled, or maintained under a law or ordinance or in connection with the transaction of official business'

(The term is defined in Section 552.002 of the Government Code, cited in Watler & Walker, 2009, p.1).

According to Canosa Abogados (2016, n.p) "public information means all information included in any document in possession of the entities bound by the Law".

It is worth mentioning that both of the above-mentioned definitions of public information, and other available definitions of this term in the literature, do not accurately reflect the precise meaning of the term in this study. As a result, the researcher established his own definition of the public information as'all facts about situations, persons, events concerning Libya and being provided to foreign public from Libyan institutions abroad, and it is characterised by neutrality and generalisation'.

Accordingly, the researcher managed to set up criteria to identify the public information model in the communication contents. These criteria are mainly based on the above established definition of public information. Thus, the communications content that reflects the public information model must be characterised by criteria of truthfulness, objectivity, neutrality, and generalisation.

By the same token, the dialogue and negotiation model is another model of communication that aims to persuade publics or shape their minds towards issues, ideas, and events (Theunissen & Noordin, 2011). This model of communication essentially relies on a positive and constant interaction between a communicator and public in order to reach a mutual understanding.

Consequently, to identify the dialogue and negotiation model in the communication contents that were provided through communication practices from public relations in the targeted Libyan institutions, the researcher has set up criteria to distinguish this model depending on those features of the dialogue and negotiation model proposed by Burleson and Kline (1979, cited in Fawkes, 2007).

The communications content that reflects the dialogue and negotiation model must be characterised by two-way communication with the public, encourage that public to express their opinions, provide equal opportunities for all publics to communicate, respond to public

and enrich the dialogue, commit to general ethical standards of communication, and be free from manipulation, deception or misleading information.

It is important to note that the researcher has dealt with each type of communication contents separately while conducting content analysis of them. Posts, tweets, articles, and blogs are examples of these kinds of communication contents.

The forms shown below in Table (6), Table (7), Table (8), Table (9), Table (10), and Table (11) are the content analysis forms that were used by the researcher to measure a representation of nation brand's six themes, which are exports, governance, investment and immigration, culture and heritage, people, and tourism, in the communications content that was provided through communication practices by public relations practitioners at the targeted Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK post revolution of 17 February 2011. In addition, these forms were also utilised to identify and distinguish adopted communication models from public relations through communication practices with foreign public of the targeted Libyan institutions abroad.

No.	Phrases	Models of communication				F	%
		Publicity	Public information	Dialogue and negotiation	Other		
1	Oil and gas						
2	National Oil Corporation's activities and decisions						
3	Libyan Oil Ministry's news, activities, and decisions						
4	Iron and steel						

5	Others						
	Total						

Table **(6)** Analysis form of the Exports theme.

No.	Phrases	Models of communication				F	%
		Publicity	Public information	Dialogue and negotiation	Other		
1	Libya's ruling regimes from 1951 to 2011 (the Constitutional Monarchy system, the Republican system, the Jamahiriya system).						
2	Libyan governments, municipal councils, and Parliament post revolution of 17 February 2011.						
3	Elections, voters, and political parties.						
4	Democracy, constitution, public rights, justice, and freedoms.						

5	Libyan army and military cooperation.						
6	Foreign embassies, ambassadors, diplomatic missions, and the UN missions in Libya.						
7	Libyan embassies, ambassadors, and diplomatic missions abroad.						
8	Libyan Foreign Ministry's activities and decisions.						
9	Others.						
	Total						

Table **(7)** Analysis form of the Governance theme.

No.	Phrases	Models of communication				F	%
		Publicity	Public information	Dialogue and negotiation	Other		
1	Development projects and reforming of infrastructure.						
2	Foreign investment and international companies in Libya.						
3	Libyan National Investment Corporation, Libyan investment, and Libyan economy.						
4	The Central Bank of Libya and Libyan currency.						
5	Foreign labourers in Libya.						
6	Immigration and Libyan border.						
7	Passports and Naturalisation and Customs Authority's activities and decisions.						

8	The Libyan Ministry of Labour and Training.						
9	Others.						
	Total						

<center>Table (**8**) Analysis form of the Investment and Immigration theme.</center>

No.	Phrases	Models of communication				F	%
		Publicity	Public information	Dialogue and negotiation	Other		
1	Libyan culture: media, music, novels, stories, art, theatre, cinema, and sport activities.						
2	Libyan heritage: Libya's key heritage sites, buildings, exhibitions, and festivals.						
3	Culture and Civil Society Ministry's activities and decisions.						

4	Others.						
	Total						

Table (**9**) Analysis form of the Culture and Heritage theme.

No.	Phrases	Models of communication				F	%
		Publicity	Public information	Dialogue and negotiation	Other		
1	Libyan people's beliefs, religion, and values.						
2	Libyan customs, habits, traditional meals and dress of Libya, and traditions to welcome guests and visitors and their hospitality.						
3	Libyan Scouts, Red Crescent, and other humanitarian groups.						
4	Libyan civil society organisations.						

5	Libyan history and famous and historical figures such as the Sheikh of martyrs Omar al-Mukhtar and King Idris Al-Sanusi.						
6	Honouring distinctive Libyan characters and works, and granting them awards in local and international ceremonies.						
7	Libyan communities' affairs, activities, and celebrations in the host countries.						
8	Others.						
	Total						

Table (**10**) Analysis form of the People theme.

No.	Phrases	Models of communication				F	%
		Publicity	Public information	Dialogue and negotiation	Other		
1	Tourist visas, hotels, maps, communication networks, travel advices, transportations, weather, Libyan airports and ports, and Libyan airlines' flights.						
2	Libyan archaeology and tourist attractions, centres, spas, villages, countryside, and nature.						
3	Libyan tourist carnivals and festivals' dates, places, and other additional details.						
4	Libyan Tourism Ministry's news, activities, and decisions.						
5	Others.						
	Total						

Table **(11)** Analysis form of the Tourism theme.

4.3.2.2 Interview

The researcher adopted the semi-structured interviews, recruiting 19 participants to undertake a 45-minute to one-hour interview with each media officer in Libyan government and non-governmental institutions located in Egypt and the UK, eleven institutions in the former and eight in the latter, which represent all Libyan institutions in these two countries as a purposive sample, as shown in Table (12).

However, despite the commitment given to the researcher from all Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK that expressed their willing to participate in this study, at the beginning of the interview stage, two Libyan institutions in Egypt asked to withdraw. The two institutions that unexpectedly withdrew at this crucial stage of the study are the International Company for Investment Services and the Libyan Bright Star Schools in Egypt. Both justified their unexpected actions by expressing their fears of participation in any study due to the poor security situation in Libya.

Consequently, the researcher intended to interview 17 of 19 media officers in Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK. In other words, the interviews sample in this study is designed to include all media officers in public relations bureaus in the targeted Libyan institutions, with the exception of the two institutions that withdrew at the interviews stage.

This is attributed to the small number of media officers, only 17 officers across all targeted Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK. It is of note that this overall sample may increase the likelihood of obtaining reliable and accurate data. In addition, this number of interviewees is estimated to be sufficient to generate enough data to address the objectives of the current study.

To begin conducting the interviews, the researcher set several questions for them depending on the current study's questions, objectives, literature review, and the findings of the content analysis of communication contents provided through communication practices of public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions Egypt and the UK (see Appendix VIII: Interviews Questions Form, p.317).

Then, all interviews were written and recorded in Arabic since the interviewees clearly indicated that using their mother tongue to express their opinions and views, and explain their responses is more suitable and easier for them than using any other language. However, all interviewees in Libyan institutions in Egypt rejected to have their responses recorded, preferring instead to talk and while the researcher transcribed their responses.

The interviews were conducted in the period between April 2016 and July 2016; then the researcher accurately transcribed them in Arabic, and the data collected were analysed by employing a thematic approach.

Finally, the analysed data were carefully translated from Arabic to English while ensuring no loss words, distorted meanings or replaced terms. It is important to preserve conceptual, rather than linguistic equivalence. All the transcripts and translation of the interviews were provided to a professional Arabic translator for review to guarantee that no mistakes had been made.

Libyan institutions in Egypt	Libyan institutions in the UK
Libyan Embassy−Cairo	Libyan Embassy− London
Libyan Community Club	Libyan Youth Club− Manchester
Libyan Students Union− Egypt	Huddersfield's Libyan Students Society
Libyan Company for Investment	Libyan Society −Universities of Great Manchester
Libyan Airlines Company	Libyan Society − University of Nottingham
Afriqiyah Airways Company	Libyan Scouts and Guides in UK
Sixth of October Company	Libyan Women Association in Britain
Ouia Company for Real Estate Investment	Libyan Woman Solidarity Organisation
Arab Agricultural Projects Company	

International Company for Investment Services	
Libyan Bright Star Schools	

Table **(12)** Libyan institutions in Egypt and the United Kingdom

4.4 THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Thematic analysis is the most common method of analysis in qualitative data, which allows researchers to generate meaning from wide-ranging data in a way that leads to an accuracy and consistency of judgement, brief description, and reasonable interpretation of that data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In particular, it assists researchers to link their qualitative data to other data generated from observation and/or reviewing literature, which can provide the researchers great insight into the research problem and allow them to reach adequate answers to their questions or hypotheses.

In the same context, while thematic analysis is simply defined as "a process for encoding qualitative information" (Boyatzis, 1998, p.4), Braun and Clarke (2006) clearly do not consider this method as a form only ofencoding a certain kind of data; instead they set particular steps to reach reliable outcomes depending on this method, as follows:

- Researchers who intend to use this method should first be familiar with their initial generated data, for example through transcription, translation, and rereading this data.
- Creating premier codes.
- Finding themes and then collating codes into these themes.
- Thinking through the themes, ensuring they work properly and creating a thematic map.
- Giving definitions and names to the themes.
- Preparing and achieving the report.

By the same token, researchers should providea code or name that is closest to the concept it describes, because the researcher must be able to get back to the original concept quickly without having to translate the code into the concept; it is also important that a second reader be able to do the same (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The thematic analysis method has many advantages that make researchers often prefer to adopt it over other methods of analysis. It is characterised by flexibility and simplicity to understand and apply, even for those who have insufficient experience of dealing with qualitative data. It is a beneficial method that enables researchers to sum up the main points

of a huge amount of data, refers to and emphasises similarities and differences among the qualitative data, and finally, provides the researchers with new and crucial insights and ideas regarding the data and findings (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Accordingly, the thematic analysis method was utilised by the researcher as an appropriate method to interpret qualitative data generated by conducting interviews with media officers in Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK. This method assisted significantly in generating meaning from interviewees' responses as raw data, which ultimately led to an enriched understanding of the study findings (see p.189).

4.5 ETHICAL ISSUES

It is important to note that scholars have sought earnestly to insert a set of moral commitments and principles into the research process, which may limit the potential harm that can result from scientific efforts to study a phenomenon or problem, as well as to guarantee the integrity of the results (Alasuutari, Bickman, & Brannen, 2008).

In fact, scholars have identified a set of necessary ethical codes of research integrity to achieve effective results without exceeding research principles and morals. Recently, the following four ethical codes: informed consent, objectivity, accuracy, and privacy and confidentiality, have gained the consensus of most scholars in different fields (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Marco & Larkin, 2000; Bryman, 2001; Flick, 2009).

In this regard, the researcher strictly emphasises that the study was committed and subjected to all research ethics identified from scientific research, to ensure the study's credibility and scientific integrity, as well as to guarantee the protection of participants.

In addition, since human subjects are involved in this research in terms of conducting the interviews with media officers at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK, the researcher has given great attention to two key points concerning this matter: first, ensuring that all the research actions, in particular, those related to conducting the interviews, are compatible with Salford University's policy and procedures on the integrity issues of research (see http://www.rgc.salford.ac.uk/7__Ethics.shtml). Second, obtaining the necessary approval from Salford University Research Governance and Ethics Committee before data collection (see Appendix IV, p.309).

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this chapter to present and analyse the data collected from the two methods used in this research: content analysis and interviews.

The chapter focuses on an analysis of the data generated from content analysis of electronic and printed media contents produced from public relations in the Libyan institutions abroad in efforts to communication with foreign publics post revolution of 17 February 2011.

A comparison between data collected from the analysis of communication contents, which resulted from the practice of public relations at Libyan institution in two different environments, Egypt and the UK, is included in this section to show aspects of similarity and difference of this practice, which can later assist in the interpretation of findings, taking into account that the current study is not a comparative study.

The thematic analysis method was utilised in this section to summarise the main points of data generated from semi-structured interviews with public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK.

5.2 ANALYSIS

5.2.1 Analysis of the Content Analysis Findings

This section reports on the key findings generated from analysis of all electronic and printed communication contents of public relations practices with foreign public of Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK post revolution of 17 February 2011. The total number of communication contents which were analysed in the current study is 4386 contents from different media means such as websites articles, Facebook posts, tweets, magazines and newspapers articles, brochures, and posters (see Appendix II, p.301 & Appendix III, p.304). In order to do so, the findings in this section were divided into two key categories, which are the representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents provided from public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK, and the representation of identified communication models within this content. Thereafter, withineach category, data was dividedinto three subcategories:

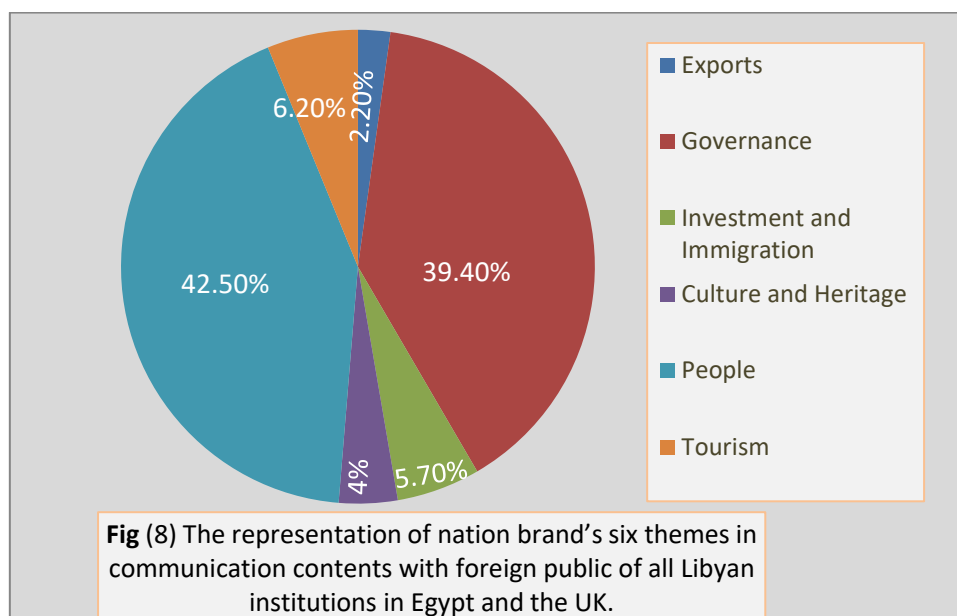First, in all Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK.

Second, in Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK.

Third, in Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK.

A comparison was drawn between Libyan institutions in Egypt and their counterparts in UK within each category, with the aim of identifying similarities and differences between the generated findings from the two different environments.

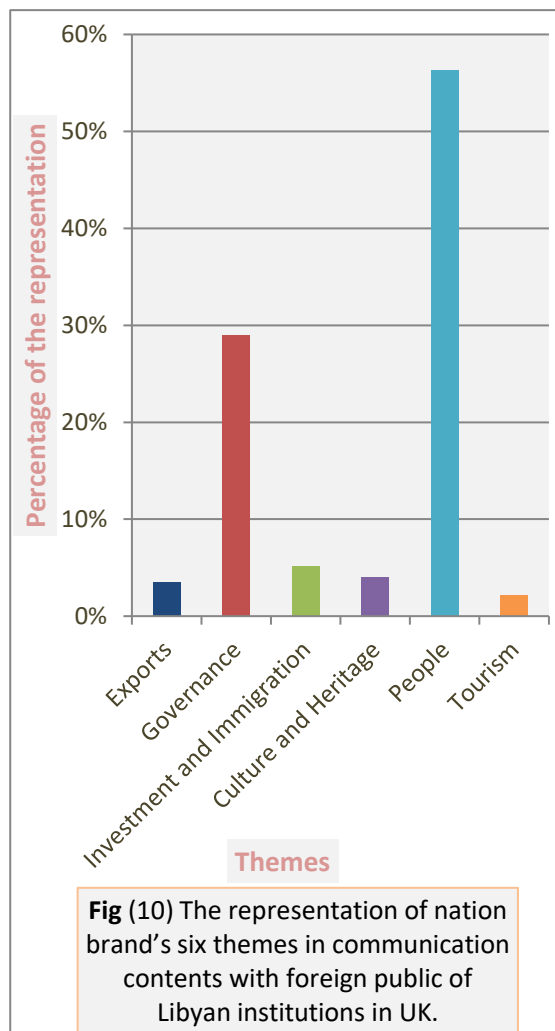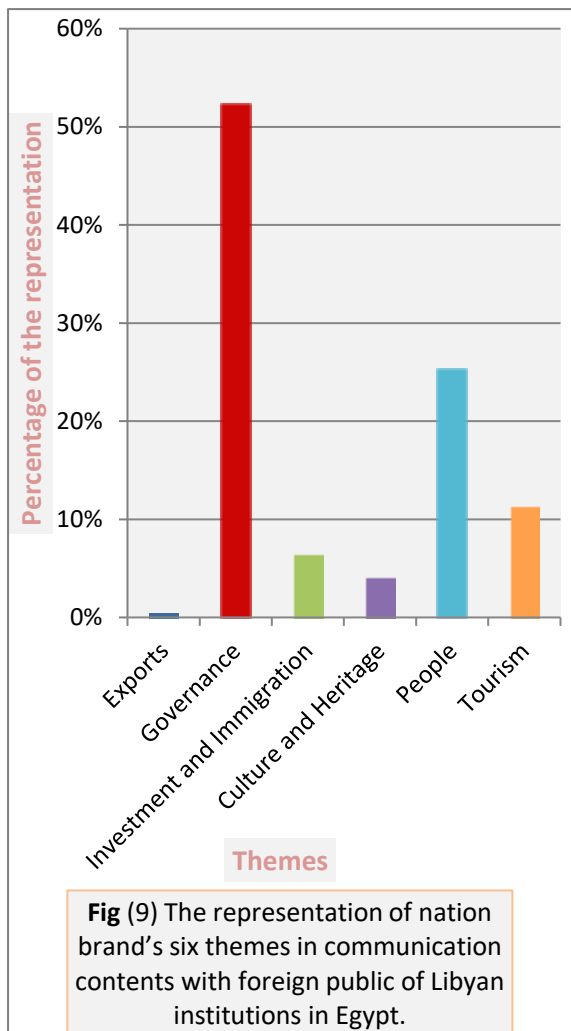**5.2.1.1 The Nation Brand's Six Themes in Communication Contents:**

5.2.1.1.1 The representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents provided through public relations at all Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK

Fig (8) The representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents with foreign public of all Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK.

The pie chart in Fig (**8**) shows the percentages of the representation of each theme of Anholt's Nation Brand's six themes in communication contents with foreign public provided through public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK. It is of note that the People theme was the most representative theme in communication contents, followed by the Governance theme, at 42.5% and 39.4% respectively, representing more than three quarters of the total percentage of representation, while the Exports theme was the lowest representation in communication contents, with only 2.2% of the total percentage of representation.

Accordingly, it can be said that the People theme and the Governance theme have been given far more attention in the communication efforts of Libyan institutions to promote Libya's national brand in Egypt and the UK than other themes. In stark contrast, themes such as the Exports theme and culture and heritage theme have been given very little attention by the communication efforts of these institutions.

5.2.1.1.2 A comparison between the representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents provided through public relations at all Libyan institutions in Egypt and their counterparts in UK

Fig (9) The representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan institutions in Egypt.

Fig (10) The representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan institutions in UK.

The charts in Fig (**9**) and Fig (**10**) show the differences and similarities between the representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents provided through public relations at all Libyan institutions in Egypt and their counterparts in the UK.

The chart in Fig (**9**) shows that the Governance theme has the highest representation in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt, with 52.3%, while the second most represented theme was the People theme, with 25.3%.
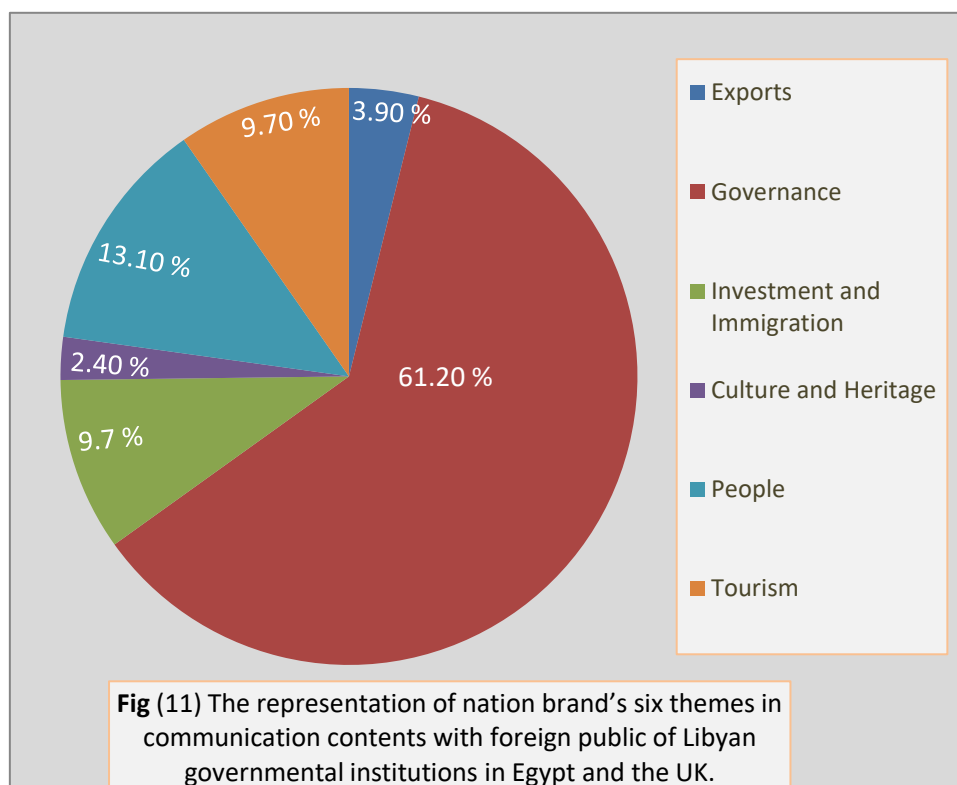
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The chart in Fig (10) shows that the People theme has the highest representation in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan institutions in the UK, with 56.3%, followed by the Governance theme at approximately 29%.

In both charts, all other themes of nation brand were at less than 10%, except the Tourism theme, at approximately 11.3%.

It is clear that the communication efforts made through public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK in order to promote Libya's national brand abroad place a great deal of attention on the People and Governance themes in communication contents, but to varying degrees.

However, other themes such as Exports, Investment and Immigration, Culture and Heritage, and Tourism have been given very little attention by communication efforts through public relations at Libyan institutions in both Egypt and the UK.

5.2.1.1.3 *The representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK*

Fig (11) The representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK.

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The pie chart in Fig (**11**) shows the percentage of representation of each theme of nation brand's six themes in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK.
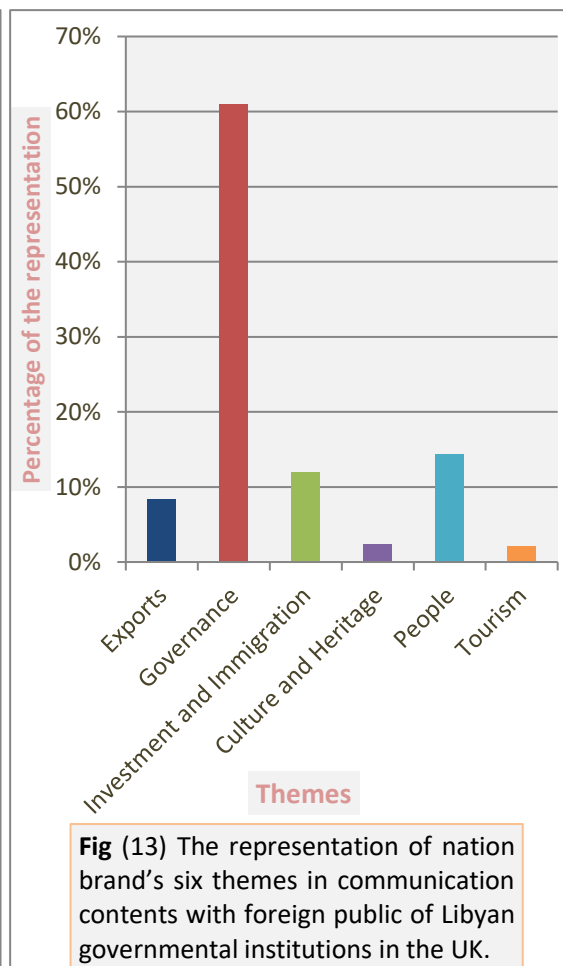
It can be clearly seen that the Governance theme had the highest representation by some margin in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK, with 61.2%, approximately two thirds of the total percentage of representation, while all other themes of nation brand's six themes in communication contents were at less than 10%, except the People theme, at 13.1%.

Thus, it seems obvious that the Governance theme dominates the communication efforts made through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK in order to promote Libya's national brand abroad.

5.2.1.1.4 A comparison between the representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and their counterparts in the UK
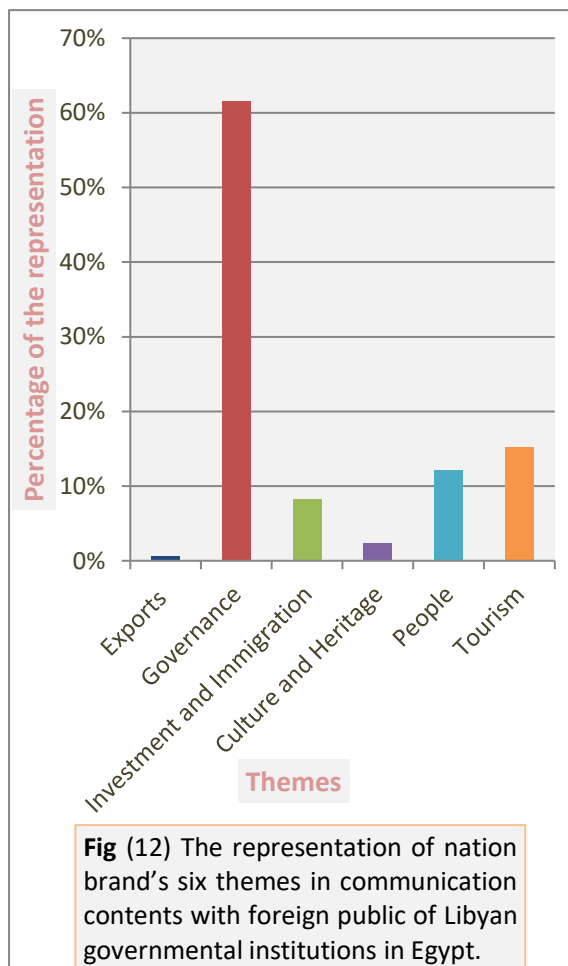

Fig (12) The representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt.

Fig (13) The representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan governmental institutions in the UK.

The charts in Fig (**12**) and Fig (**13**) show the differences and similarities between the representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and their counterparts in the UK.
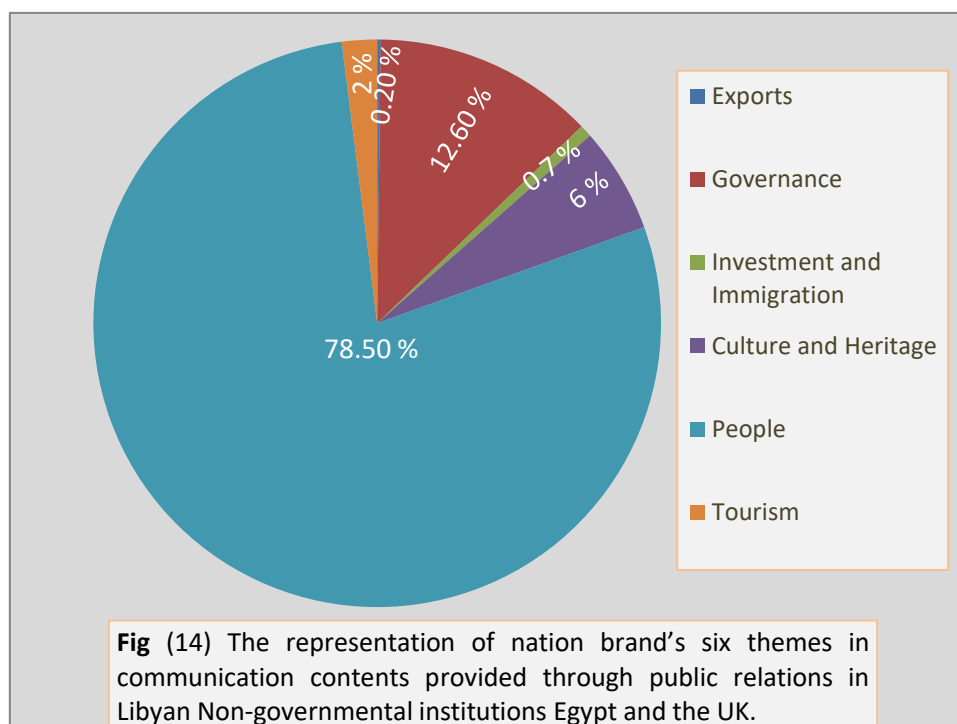
The chart in Fig (**12**) shows that the Governance theme had the highest representation in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt, with 61.5%, while the second most represented theme was the Tourism theme, with 15.2%, followed by the People theme, with only 12.1%.

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Likewise, the chart in Fig (13) shows that the Governance theme was also the highest representation in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in the UK, with 60.9%, while the second most represented theme was the People theme, with only 14.3%.

Accordingly, it can be said that the Governance theme has gained most attention in the communication efforts provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK in order to promote Libya's national brand abroad, while other themes have been given far less attention in the communication efforts of these institutions.

5.2.1.1.5 ***The representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK***

Fig (14) The representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents provided through public relations in Libyan Non-governmental institutions Egypt and the UK.

The pie chart in Fig (**14**) shows the percentages of representation of each theme of nation brand's six themes in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK.
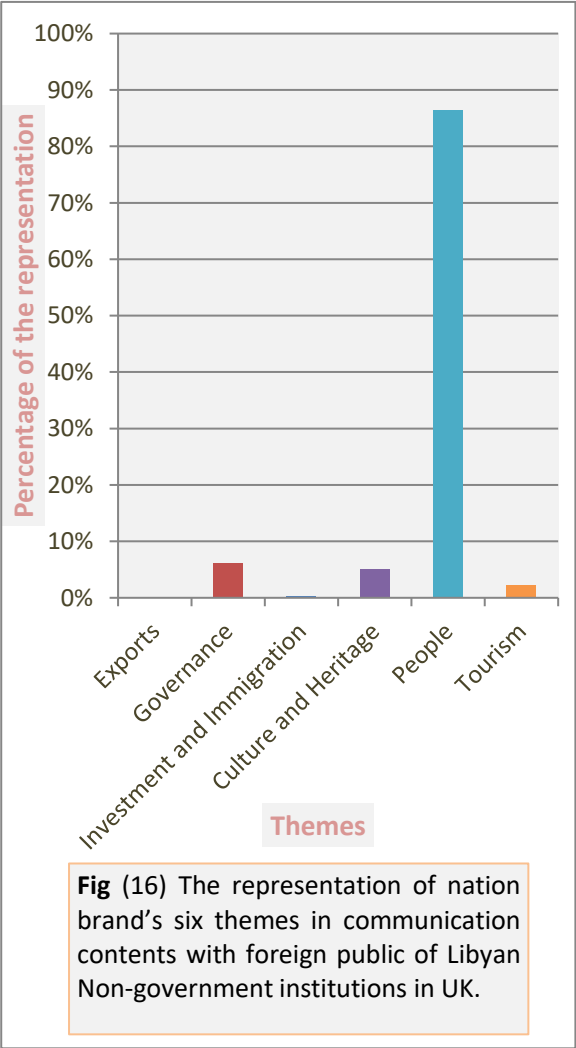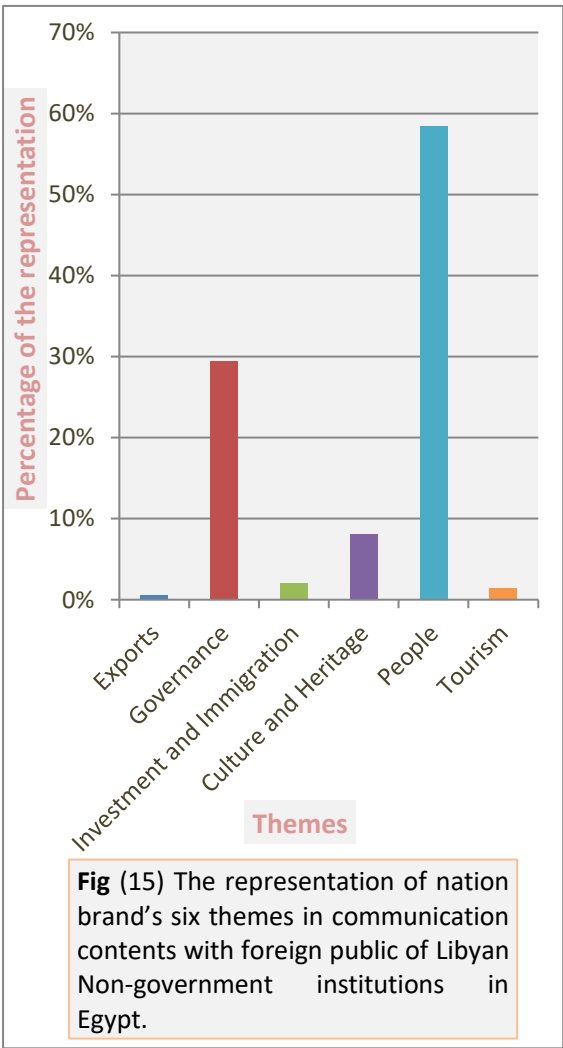
It can be clearly seen that the People theme had the highest representation in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt

and the UK, with 78.5%, which is more than three quarters of the total percentage of representation, while the export theme had the lowest representation, with only 0.2%, followed by the Investment and Immigration theme with only 0.7%.

Thus, it can be said that the People theme has been given considerable attention from communication efforts made through public relations in Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK in order to promote Libya's national brand abroad. By contrast, other themes have been given very little attention by communication efforts in these institutions, in particular, the Export theme and the Investment and Immigration theme.

5.2.1.1.6 A comparison between the representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt and their counterparts in the UK

Fig (15) The representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan Non-government institutions in Egypt.

Fig (16) The representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan Non-government institutions in UK.

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The charts in Fig (**15**) and Fig (**16**) show the differences and similarities between the representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt and their counterparts in the UK.
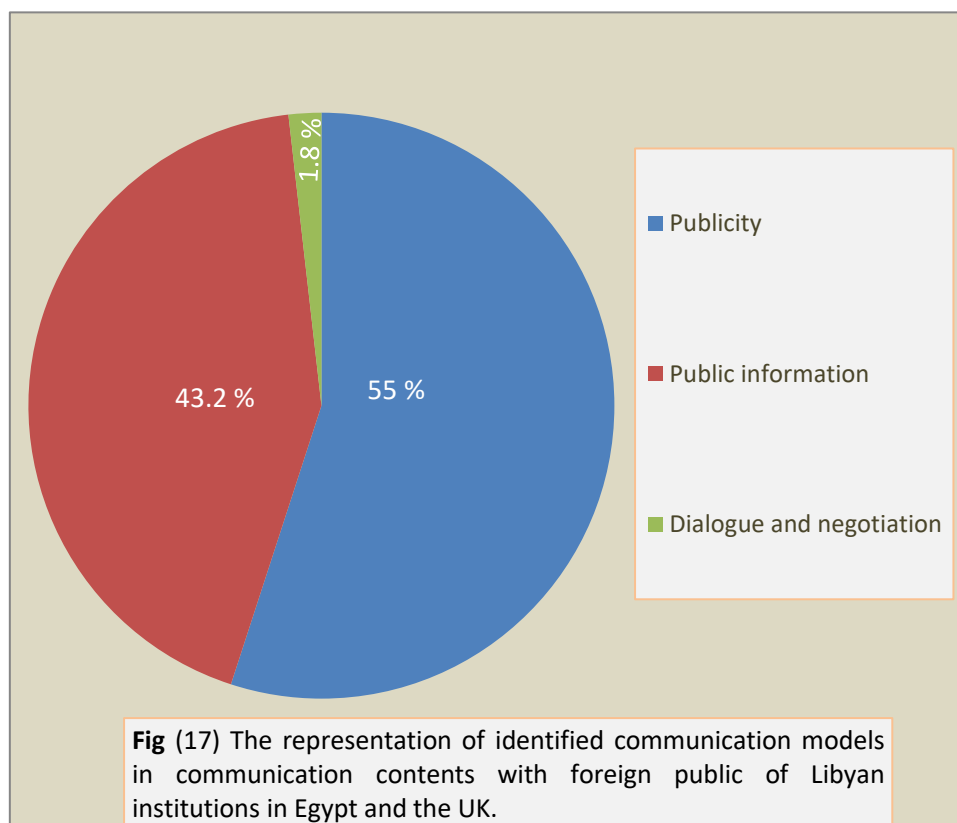
The chart in Fig (**15**) shows that the People theme had the highest representation in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt, with 58.5%, followed by the Governance theme, with 29.4%, while the exports theme has the lowest representation, with only 0.6%.

The chart in Fig (**16**) shows that the People theme also had the highest representation in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in the UK, with 86.4%, while all other themes were under 10%. The Exports theme was totally absent from the representation, with 0%.

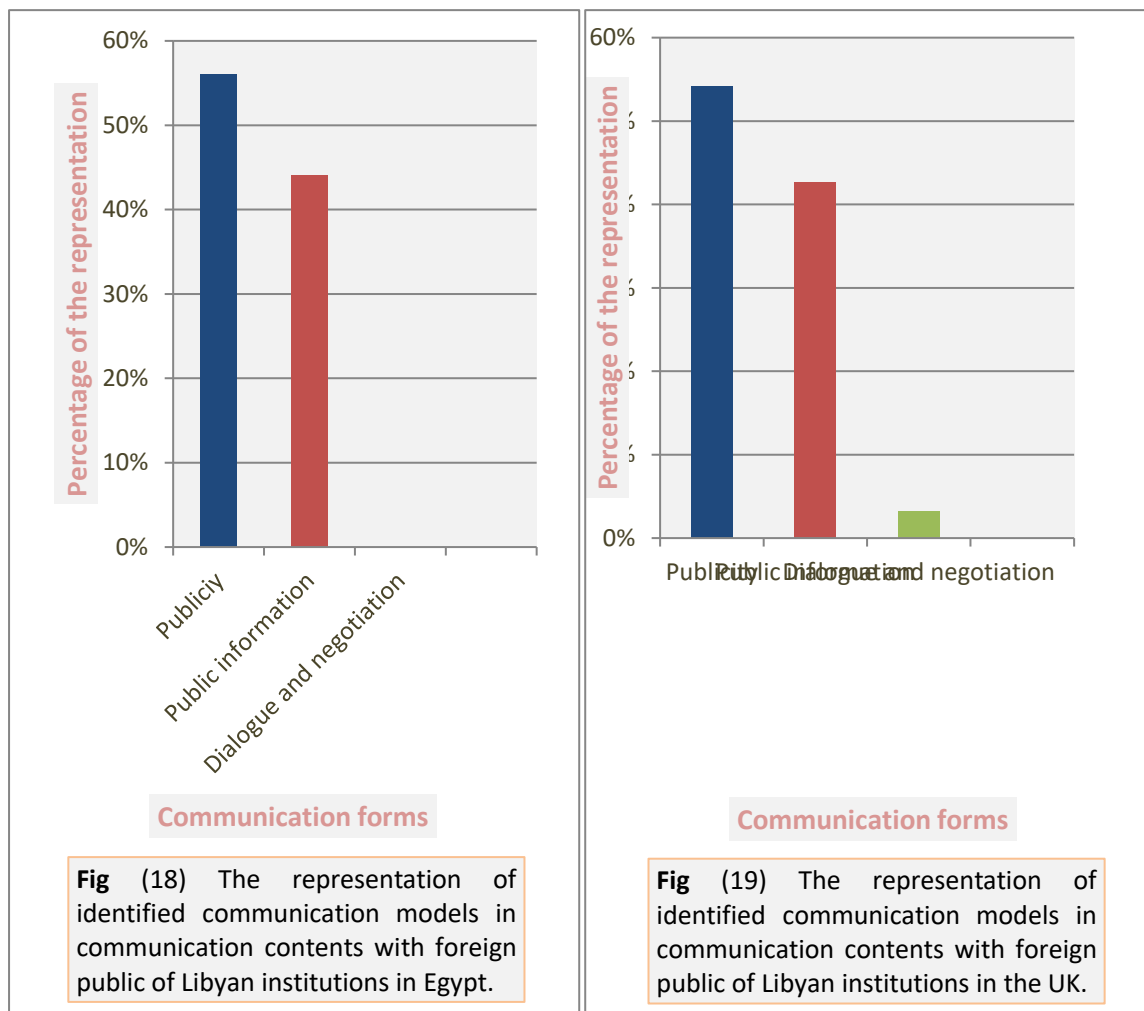**5.2.1.2 The Communication Models in Communication Contents:**

5.2.1.2.1 The representation of identified communication models in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK

Fig (17) The representation of identified communication models in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK.

The pie chart in Fig (**17**) shows the percentage of representation of identified communication models in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK.

It can be clearly seen that the publicity model had the highest representation in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK, with 55%, which more than half of the total percentage of the representation, followed by the public information model, with 43.2%, while the dialogue and negotiation model was the least represented, with only 1.8%.

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5.2.1.2.2 *A comparison between the representation of identified communication models in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and their counterparts in the UK*

Fig (18) The representation of identified communication models in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan institutions in Egypt.

Fig (19) The representation of identified communication models in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan institutions in the UK.

The charts in Fig (**18**) and Fig (**19**) show the differences and similarities between the representation of identified communication models in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and their counterparts in the UK.
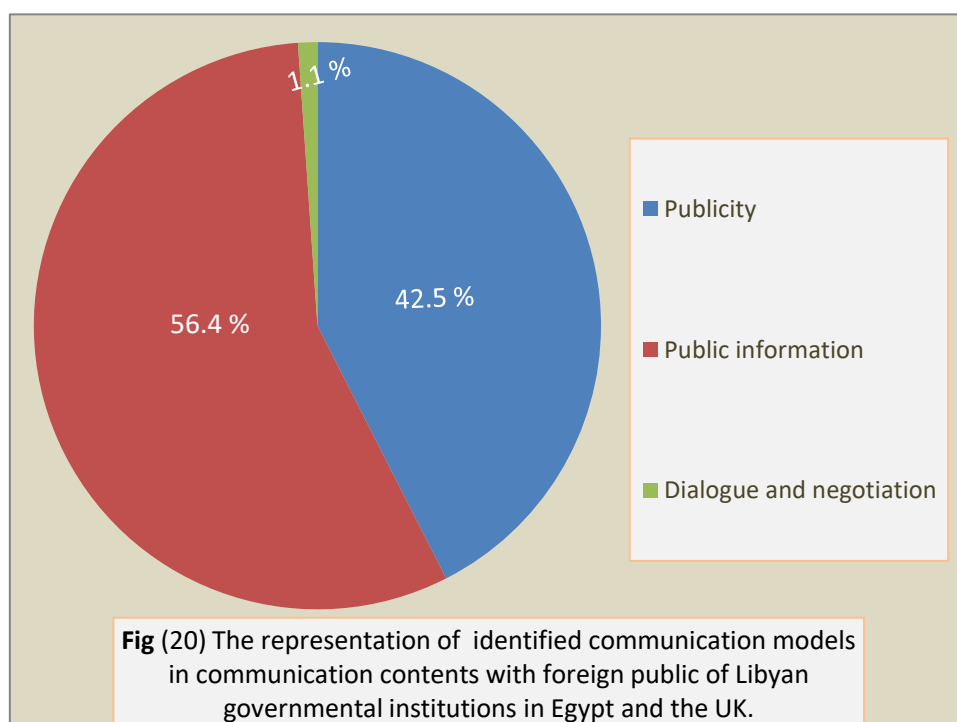
The chart in Fig (**18**) shows that the publicity model had the highest representation in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt, with 56%, while the dialogue and negotiation model was totally absent from the representation, with 0%.

Likewise, from the chart in Fig (**19**) it can be clearly seen that the publicity model also had the highest representation in communication contents provided from public relations at Libyan institutions in the UK, while the dialogue and negotiation model was the least represented form, with only 3.2%.

Thus, it can be said that the publicity model has been widely adopted in communication efforts made by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK in order to promote Libya's nation brand abroad. However, the dialogue and negotiation model has not been adopted in communication efforts made by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt, while it has been infrequently adopted in communication efforts made by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in the UK.
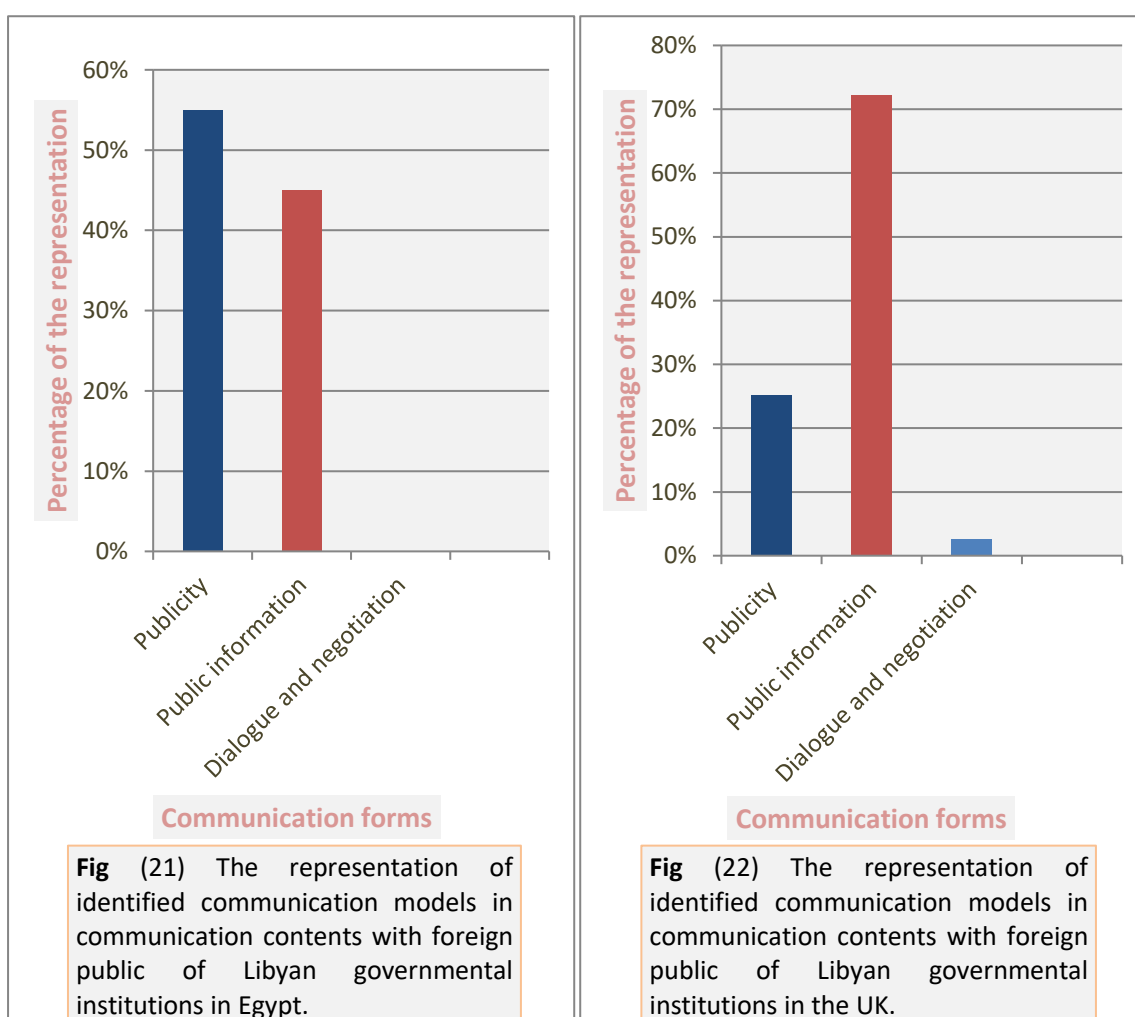
5.2.1.2.3 ***The representation of identified communication models in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK***

Fig (20) The representation of identified communication models in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK.

The pie chart in Fig (**20**) shows the percentage of representation of identified communication models in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK. It is worth noting that the public information model had the

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highest representation in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK by some margin, with 56.4%, more than half the total percentage of representation; the second highest representation was the publicity model, with 42.5%, while the least represented form was the dialogue and negotiation model, with only 1.1%.

5.2.1.2.4 A comparison between the representation of identified communication models in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and their counterparts in the UK

Fig (21) The representation of identified communication models in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt.

Fig (22) The representation of identified communication models in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan governmental institutions in the UK.

The charts in Fig (**21**) and Fig (**22**) show the differences and similarities between the representation of identified communication models in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt and their counterparts in the UK.

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The chart in Fig (**21**) shows that the publicity modelhad the highest representation in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt, with 55%, which is more than half of the total percentage of representation, while the dialogue and negotiation model was totally absent from the representation, with 0%.

However, the chart in Fig (**22**) shows that the public information model had the highest representation in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in the UK, with approximately three quarters of the total percentage of representation, while the dialogue and negotiation model was the least represented, with only 2.6%.

Thus, it can be said that the public information model and the publicity model respectively, have been widely adopted in communication efforts made through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in both Egypt and the UK in order to promote Libya's nation brand abroad, while the dialogue and negotiation model has not been adopted in communication efforts made through public relations at Libyan governmental institutions in Egypt, and it has only rarely been adopted in these communication efforts in the UK.

5.2.1.2.5 The representation of identified communication models in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK
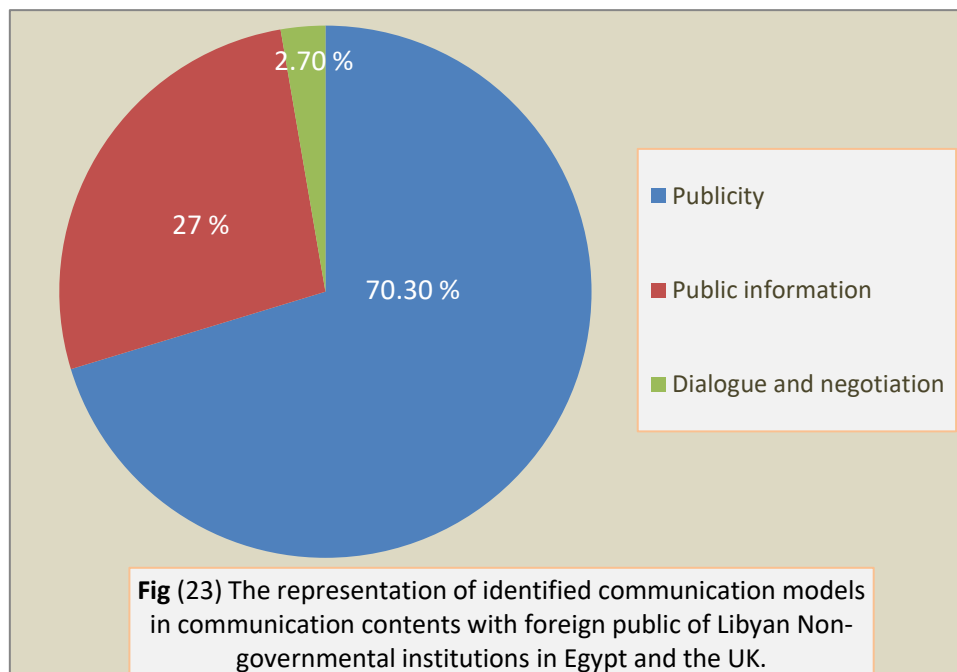

Fig (23) The representation of identified communication models in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan Non-governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK.

Fig (**23**) shows the percentage of representation of identified communication models in communication contents provided from public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK.
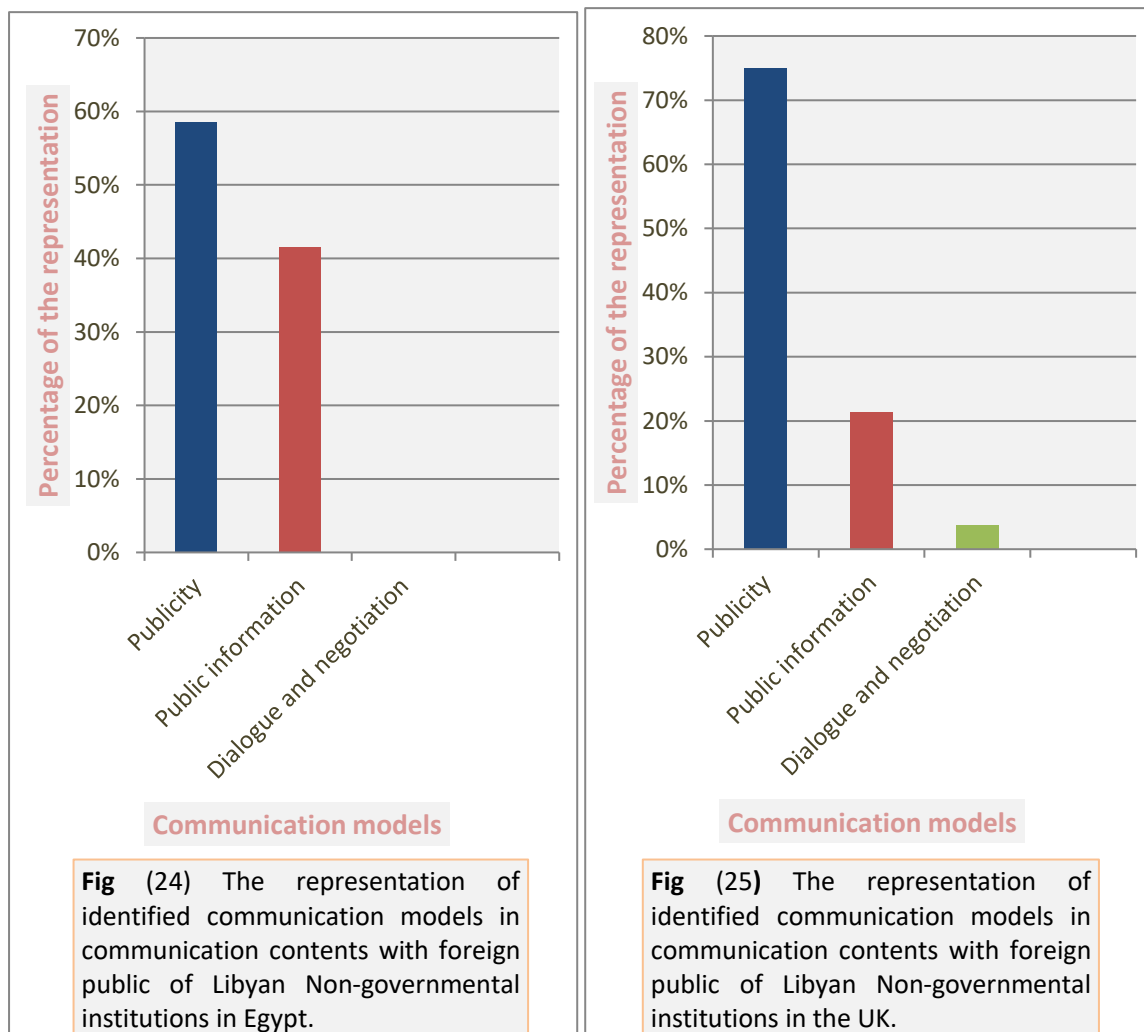
It can be clearly seen that, the publicity model had the highest representation in communication contents provided from public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK, with 70.3%, which is more than two thirds of the total percentage of representation; the second highest representation was the public information model, with 27%, while the least represented was the dialogue and negotiation model, with only 2.7%.

Accordingly, it can be said that the publicity model has been widely adopted in communication efforts made through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt and the UK in order to promote Libya's nation brand abroad. By contrast, the dialogue and negotiation model has been only in frequently adopted in these communication efforts.

5.2.1.2.6 A comparison between the representation of identified communication models in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt and their counterparts in the UK

Fig (24) The representation of identified communication models in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan Non-governmental institutions in Egypt.

Fig (25**)** The representation of identified communication models in communication contents with foreign public of Libyan Non-governmental institutions in the UK.

The charts in Fig (**24**) and Fig (**25**) show the differences and similarities between the representation of identified communication models in communication contents made through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt and their counterparts in the UK.

The chart in Fig (**24**) shows that the publicity model had the highest representation in communication contents provided through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt, with 58.5%, more than half of the total percentage of representation, followed by the public information model, with 41.5%, while the dialogue and negotiation model was totally absent from the representation, with 0%.

Likewise, the chart in Fig (**25**) shows that the publicity model had the highest representation in communication contents made through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in the UK, with 74.9%, while the representation of the public information model was 21.4%. Finally, the dialogue and negotiation model was the least represented, with only 3.7%.

Consequently, it can be said that the publicity model has been widely adopted in communication efforts made through public relations at Libyan non-governmental institutions in both Egypt and the UK in order to promote Libya's national brand abroad, while the dialogue and negotiation model has not been adopted in communication efforts made by public relations practitioners at Libyan non-governmental institutions in Egypt; it has been adopted infrequently in these communication efforts at Libyan non-governmental institutions in UK.

It is worth noting that, the content analysis was conducted as a first step in this research to collect initial data from the field study with the aim of setting up and preparing the interviews questions with media officers at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK.

However, the outcomes of the content analysis themselves need to be interpreted and explained, especially with regard to certain crucial points that need to be precisely addressed, such as the apparent imbalance in the provision of nation brand themes of Libya to foreign publics abroad, as well as the overwhelming adoption of some communication models over others. In order to do so, the officers of public relations at Libyan institutions were questioned, via interviews concerning some of the outcomes of the content analysis, as shown in the next section, which presents the study's interviews findings.

5.2.2 Analysis of the Interviews Findings

Analysis of the interviews findings depended essentially on the thematic analysis method (see section 4.4, p.169) to present data generated from semi-structured interviews with 17 participants: public relations officers at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK. These 17 interviewees have been coded as shown in Table (**13**).

Profession and workplace	Coding
A media officer in the Afriqiyah Airways Company in Egypt	MO (1)
A media officer in the Arab Agricultural Projects Company in Egypt	MO (2)
A media officer in the Huddersfield's Libyan Students Society in UK	MO (3)
A media officer in the Libyan Airlines Company in Egypt	MO (4)
A media officer in the Libyan Community Club in Cairo	MO (5)
A media officer in the Libyan Company for Investment in Egypt	MO (6)
A media officer in the Libyan Embassy in Cairo	MO (7)
A media officer in the Libyan Embassy in London	MO (8)
A media officer in the Libyan Scouts and Guides in UK	MO (9)
A media officer in the Libyan Society in the University of Nottingham in UK	MO (10)
A media officer in the Libyan Society in Universities of Great Manchester	MO (11)
A media officer in the Libyan Students Union in Egypt	MO (12)
A media officer in the Libyan Woman Solidarity Organisation in UK	MO (13)
A media officer in the Libyan Women Association in Britain	MO (14)
A media officer in the Libyan Youth Club in Manchester	MO (15)
A media officer in the Ouia Company for Real Estate Investment in Egypt	MO (16)
A media officer in the Sixth of October Company in Cairo	MO (17)

Table (**13**) Profession, workplace, and coding of the interviewees.

Braun and Clarke (2006, p.79) point out that "some other methods of analysis are closely tied to specific theories, but thematic analysis can be used with any theory the researcher chooses". Therefore, the thematic analysis method is employed here to analyse participants' responses to the interview questions, which reflect answers to the main research questions and can lead eventually to an enriched understanding of communication efforts produced

from public relations participants at Libyan institutions abroad, in Egypt and the UK, to communicate with foreign publics post revolution of 17 February 2011.

The researcher relied on reviewing literature and his knowledge and experience in this field to extract themes and generate codes in this thematic analysis process. While in order to determine themes, the researcher first transcribed all records of the interviews in Arabic; then these transcripts were read by the researcher.

The researcher initially identified the themes; however, it was required to reread these transcripts more carefully to ensure no data was missed, by highlighting identified themes in each transcript in a different colour. After that, the themes were encoded by the researcher in such a way as to give meaning to each set of data and lead to overall understanding of the current research issue, as shown in Table (14). Gartton and Jones (2004, p.18) indicate that "coding is the organisation of raw data into conceptual categories, each code is effectively a category or 'bin' into which a piece of data is placed".

Codes	Identified Themes	Main Research Questions
Models of public relations communication of Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK.	1. Communication means. 2. A nature of communication messages. 3. Communication public.	Question (1) Which models of communication are in evidence in the public relations of Libyan institutions in Egypt and the United Kingdom post revolution of 17 February?
Contribution of public relations communication of Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK to shape foreign publics' perceptions.	1. Development of communication. 2. Themes of communication.	Question (2) In what ways, and how does the public relations communication of Libyan institutions in Egypt and

		the United Kingdom post revolution of 17 February intend to contribute to shaping their publics' perceptions of Libya?
Employment strategies of public relations communication deployment by Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK.	1. Communication strategies. 2. Evaluation strategies of communication. 3. Future of communication.	Question (3) To what extent aremedia officers in the chosen Libyan institutions satisfied with their current public relations communication strategies with foreign public, and how can these strategies be developed in the future?

Table **(14)** Thematic analysis: codes, themes, and the main research questions.

In addition, to summarise this data, the researcher has focused on points of similarity and difference of the interviewees' responses concerning the themes identified, which were eight themes derived from the literature review and the researcher's experience in this field, in alignment with the purpose of answering the main research questions. Notably, the main themes generated 21 sub-themes, as follows:

5.2.2.1 Models of Public Relations Communication of Libyan Institutions in Egypt and the UK

Four models of communication that can be employed by public relations participants to communicate with foreign publics were identified through reviewing the literature in this study, which are Grunig's four models, press agentry, public information, two-way asymmetrical, and two-way symmetrical (see e.g. Grunig, Grunig, Sriramesh, Huang & Lyra, 1995; Kruckeberg & Vujnovic, 2005; Stoker & Tusinski, 2006; Theunissen & Noordin, 2011; Hayes, 2012).

A review of the literature also indicated that, to identify any communication practices and determine to which of Grunig's four models they may belong, we must first identify the

communication channels, content, and target public (Stoker & Tusinski, 2006). Consequently, if these three elements of communication practices were identified, then this communication practice can be simply classified to a proper model, as follows:

5.2.2.1.1 Communication Means

Prior to commencing the interviews, the researcher conducted content analysis of electronic and printed media content produced from public relations at the Libyan institutions abroad in efforts to communicate with foreign publics post revolution of 17 February 2011 (see section 5.2.1, p.173). Through that, the researcher managed to identify communication means utilised by those institutions to communicate with foreign publics, and during the interviews the respondents were questioned concerning these identified communication means. Their responses were as follows:

5.2.2.1.1.1 Social Media

More than two thirds of the interviewees indicated that they depend heavily on Facebook to communicate with foreign publics abroad. MO (10) justified it this way: "We mainly use our Facebook page because today it is the most popular and widely used media platform from people all over the world".

Less than half of the interviewees claimed to use Twitter to communicate with foreign publics in host countries. Most of these interviewees believe that Twitter is an effective means of communication with the elite of any society, as well as being the most suitable channel to provide political news and articles to the public compared to any other social means. The interviewees attribute this to the nature of this media channel itself.

MO (7) is one of those interviewees, and he clearly stated that "Depending on our experience with social media, we believe that communication through Twitter can enable us to reach a certain category of public that we may not be able to reach them through other media channels, in particular, diplomatic and political elites such as ambassadors, heads of diplomatic missions, foreign ministers, and decision-makers". It is worth noting that this means some Libyan institutions abroad utilise specific media channels to reach certain categories of public that may not be available or active on other media platforms.

Furthermore, almost a third of the interviewees referred to using both Facebook and Twitter to communicate with foreign publics and spread communication messages about Libya abroad. In this respect, MO (12) stated the following:

> *"Despite we know that Facebook enjoys great popularity among people in*
> *most countries of the world, nevertheless, remains to other social media*
> *means such as Twitter a special nature and distinctive features. Therefore,*
> *we always try to take advantage of each media channel separately in order*
> *to reach desired goals of communication with foreign public".*

It should be noted here that the interviewees' claims regarding the use of both Facebook and Twitter by Libyan institutions abroad does not necessarily mean that these means are utilised to the same degree or to provide the same content.

This leads to the conclusion that public relations in most Libyan institutions abroad employs social media in its communication efforts with foreign publics. However, as mentioned above, it employs different platforms of social media to varying degrees due to several factors, which are the nature of provided communication contents, and the extent of targeted public preference to receive communication messages through one platform over others.

5.2.2.1.1.2 Websites

Around half of the interviewees revealed that they use their institutions' websites to communicate with foreign publics abroad. These interviewees considered websites an essential media channel to provide factual information to foreign publics in order to provide a general idea of Libya.

MO (11) stated, "We are keen on conducting continuous communication with all foreign public, whether they are English people or students of other nationalities through our website". He continued, "Our website is our mirror".

According to the interviewees' responses, all their institutions' websites are utilised only to provide foreign publics with media content and not to establish mutual dialogue with them or

even open the door for them to express their opinions and comments on provided themes and ideas.

In fact, the interviewees expressed dissatisfaction with the performance of their websites in this manner, but most of them attributed that to difficult political and economic circumstances in Libya post revolution of 17 February 2011, as well as the extreme differences in opinions and views among the public on many outstanding matters and unresolved issues in Libya, which makes it risky to open dialogue with public, or even listen to them under such circumstances.

MO (15) illustrated the following significant point:

> *"Not only in political and economic themes but even in social and national themes we intentionally close the comment on our articles and posts to prevent public from add their opinions and views regarding the provided themes or any other issues are related to Libya, we so try to avoid a negative contribution that may lead to expand controversy among Libyan people or even between foreign public and us".*

Seemingly, there is a desire among the interviewees to develop communication with foreign publics through websites, but their intense fear of intervention in the current Libyan political conflict and economic crisis prevent them from going beyond just giving the foreign public factual information and news related to Libya.

As MO (2) expressed it:

> *"The Libyan revolution of 17 February 2011 was a great opportunity for us to develop communications with foreign public abroad without constraints obstruct our efforts in this aspect as was before, but unfortunately the Libyan revolution also opened the door to social and ideological divisions and political disputes in Libya, it created an environment work enjoys freedom but also it enjoys a lack of compatibility, harmony, and stability and these the most critical issues we concern about when we intend to present communication contents in host countries".*

In fact, key issues such as these may not only create conflict among Libyan people, but may also cause disagreement among foreign publics worldwide regarding certain Libyan issues, in particular, those who may hold different opinions, views, and attitudes towards what is happening in Libya post revolution of 17 February 2011, or even before that date. Consequently, the avoidance of Libyan institutions abroad to open a direct dialogue with foreign publics, or even give them a chance to present their comments through the institutions' websites, can be understood as a preventive action to avoiding the negative impact of that disagreement on their relationships with foreign publics.

5.2.2.1.1.3 Personal Communication

There is a consensus among the interviewees that personal communication with foreign public is continuously conducted in order to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad. The interviewees indicated that all personal communications are commonly conducted either intentionally by contacting foreign publics and engaging in meaningful conversation with them, or unintentionally when providing activities or services from Libyan institutions abroad. MO (6) admitted that "We depend only on personal communication with foreign public in attempt to shape their minds about themes regarding Libya".

This trend of using personal communication with foreign publics was succinctly explained by MO (4) as follows: "Despite we have Facebook page, website, and brochures, nevertheless, we have a tendency to communicate with foreign public through face to face communication, it seems to be more useful and reliable, as well as, less effort and cost compared to other media means".

While MO (3) referred to other advantages of carrying out personal communication with foreign publics: "Through personal communication we manage to read instantly public's reactions towards what we try to deliver to them of contents which enable us to amend, delete, or add some contents in line with public's views and attitudes".

However, MO (8), who mentioned the importance of reliance on personal communication with foreign public, underlined the following point:

> *"The personal communication is an effective and favourable way to communicate with specific categories of public such as ambassadors of other countries, elites, and decision-makers, but it is impossible to apply it to all categories of public, in particular, it cannot work properly with a huge number of target public".*

While most other interviewees emphasised the immense value of personal communication in building excellent relationships with journalists and media professionals in host countries, which can later assist in reaching other categories of foreign public abroad.

MO (5) asserted that:

> *"Most of our focus is on establishing strong relationships with journalists whether Egyptian journalists or international journalists through personal communication with them since they are the ones whom can give us an opportunity to reach the largest possible number of target public by highlighting what we do, or what we would like to say regarding a certain matter, as well as, to ensure a proper media coverage to Libyan events and issues".*

5.2.2.1.1.4 TV and Radio Channels

More than a quarter of the interviewees indicated that they utilise TV and radio channels to communicate with foreign publics with an aim to enhancing Libya's image and reputation abroad. These TV and radio channels usually belong to government or non-government media organisations in the host countries. The interviewees consider these channels as a wonderful opportunity to communicate with the hosting countries' people through their local media, which is usually characterised by reliability, trustworthiness, and a high percentage of followers in the various communities of hosting countries.

This point was explained by MO (17) thus:

> *"We rely sometimes on Egyptian media such as TV and radio channels to transmit our communication messages to foreign public, where what*

distinguishes these channels from others we may have for the same purpose is a nature of the ownership of these channels since they are considered as local channels and for this reason they often enjoy more popularity in the Egyptian society and they are likely more close to Egyptians' hearts and minds".

It is worth noting that all interviewees who referred to the utilisation of TV and radio channels in host countries in order to communicate with foreign public belonged only to Libyan institutions in Egypt. Even MO (15), who was the only one from the Libyan institutions in the UK that mentioned the utilisation of these channels for that purpose, stated that this utilisation took place outside the United Kingdom, specifically, during his visits to Arab countries.

The question that has arisen here and needed to be asked to the interviewees at the Libyan institutions in UK is 'Why does public relations in Libyan institutions in the UK not utilise TV and/or radio channels to communicate with foreign publics in this country as they do in Egypt?'

In fact, none of the interviewees managed to answer this question, except MO (14) who mentioned certain reasons that can be considered major obstacles facing Libyan institutions in the UK when trying to utilise TV and/or radio channels to communicate with foreign public in UK. MO (14) succinctly stated these obstacles as "The high cost of utilise such channels in UK, the difficulty of mastering the language, and a nature of people in the Western countries which are spending more time on the internet than in front of the TV or radio".

5.2.2.1.1.5 *Magazines and Newspapers*

More than half of the interviewees pointed out that magazines and newspapers issued in the host countries are employed by them to communicate with foreign publics in those countries in an attempt to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad. MO (4) explained it thus: "We often take advantage of spaces offered from Egyptian newspapers and magazines to write articles and stories in a way that promotes Libya abroad".

Something that can drive public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK to utilise newspapers and magazines issued in host countries to communicate with foreign publics as mentioned by MO (15) is the fact that "These local and newspapers and magazines usually enjoy credibility and reliability in their societies, the high professionalism of these newspapers and magazines, and the lack of financial resources and skills in most Libyan institutions abroad to produce publications in the same level and quality of these newspapers and magazines".

On the other hand, only around 12% of interviewees revealed that they occasionally issue their own magazines, especially around the time of national events and celebrations specific to Libya. It seems that several Libyan institutions abroad prefer to produce their own publications rather than utilise newspapers and magazines available in their environments. For example, MO (1) expressed the following:

> *"We try usually to publish our communications content, in particular, those related to Libya through Egyptian newspapers but unfortunately we often fail in that due to a number of reasons, perhaps the most important reason is these newspapers constantly look for scoop and hot news more than articles or quiet stories about Libya and that is something we do not commonly have among our contents".*

By the same token, both MO (11) and also MO (10) referred to their very limited opportunities to gain spaces innewspapers and magazines, whether to report ontheir institutions' activities and programmes or to provide the foreign public in UK any other content concerning Libya and its people. They attributed this to limited financial resources and influence of student unions compared with other institutions in the same community.

5.2.2.1.1.6 Brochures

Around one third of the interviewees indicated brochures as one of the mediums used to communicate with foreign publics abroad in order to shape their minds positively regarding Libya. As MO (2) said, "We present our communications content through simple media means such as brochures which include photos and brief explanations".

MO (13) illustrated the following significant point:

> *"We issue small publications (brochures) in both Arabic and English languages to introduce Libya in UK with a new appearance post revolution of 17 February 2011, as well as, we try through it to address some current crucial Libyan issues with attaching illustrative pictures. Indeed, we do that as compensation for our inability to issue a comprehensive newspaper to all what we want to say to foreign public about Libya and its people".*

MO (16) focused more on the advantages of brochures as an appropriate alternative to the inability to issue newspapers and magazines of most Libyan institutions abroad at present, pointing out that, "The aim of issue brochures is to give foreign public a great idea regarding Libya, its people, and its tourist attractions, as well as, available investment opportunities. These brochures are excellent and characterised by small sizes, low cost, and ease of production and distribution which make it easy to issue them periodically and regularly".

This leads to the conclusion that when public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad is unable to issue their own newspapers and magazines to communicate with foreign publics in host countries, they often has two options available to it: First, employing newspapers and magazines available in the host countries to communicate with the foreign public in those countries; second, issuing brochures that include brief content regarding Libya, its people, and related themes and issues.
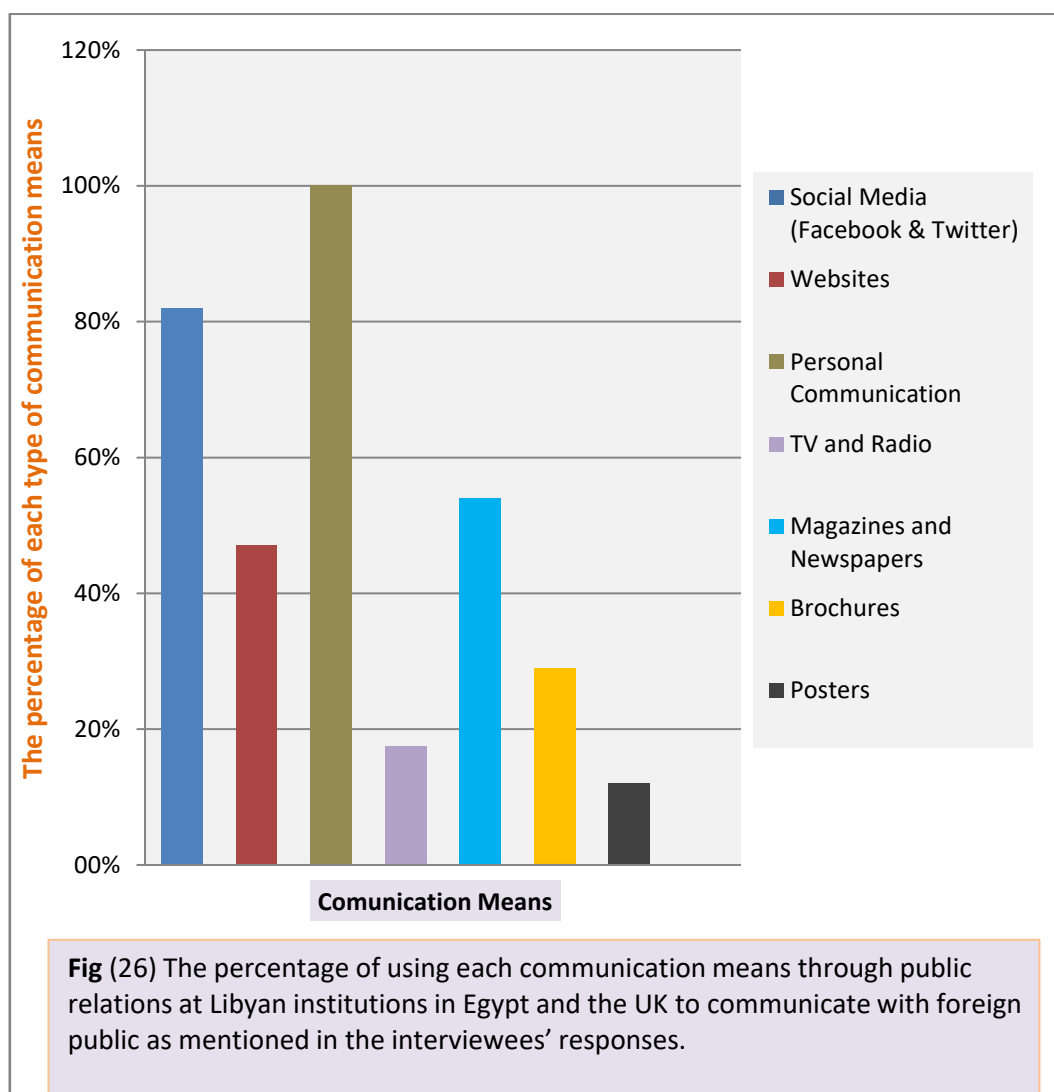
5.2.2.1.1.7 *Posters*

Only slightly more than one tenth of the interviewees mentioned posters as a means of media used by them to communicate with foreign publics to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad.

This because posters can only reach a relatively small number of public, while public relations in Libyan institutions abroad deal with a very large number of individuals and groups in wide and different environments, which makes it difficult to communicate with them through such means.

Therefore, those who mentioned posters as a means to communicate with foreign publics abroad also pointed out that these posters are utilised within the frame of other activities that Libyan institutions establish occasionally in host countries, often in enclosed places such as embassies, universities, and exhibition and celebrations halls.

For example, MO (3) stated the following:

> *"We involved sometimes with other student societies at the University of Huddersfield or even with societies at other universities in UK to cover an aspect of a particular activity launched by these societies in events or celebrations and occasions of their countries. In fact, we are keen to participate in these activities to reflect a positive image of Libya and to introduce customs, traditions, and heritage of its people to international students and other categories of foreign public, here we often depend on personal communication and attractive and expressive posters to reach our goals".*

Fig (26) The percentage of using each communication means through public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK to communicate with foreign public as mentioned in the interviewees' responses.

The chart in Fig (**26**) shows the different percentages of use of each communication means by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK to communicate with foreign publics in order to promote Libya's image and reputation in hosting countries, as mentioned in the interviewees' responses.

From the chart, it can be clearly seen that personal communication was the method most used by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad to communicate with foreign public in order to promote Libya's image and reputation in hosting countries, with 100%, followed by social media, which came second with 82%, while posters were the least used means, with only 12%.

In general, at this point we recognise only that public relations at Libyan institutions abroad is characterised by employing a diverse and set of communication means, to varying degrees, ranging from personal communication as the most used manner, followed by social media, magazines and newspapers, websites, brochures, TV and radio channels, and posters, respectively. Nevertheless, in which way and how these means are employed by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad remains unknown. Therefore, the researcher will now move on to the next two identified themes, **5.2.2.1.2** and **5.2.2.1.3**, to confidently be able to determine models of public relations communication adopted in Libyan institutions abroad.

5.2.2.1.2 The nature of communication messages

To identify the nature of communication messages used for public relations purposes in Libyan institutions abroad in their communication efforts with foreign publics to promote Libya's image and reputation in hosting countries, types of communication message were drawn from the literature review and offered to the respondents during the interviews to select which embody their own communication messages, as follows:

- Propagating only positive news and images of Libya abroad even if they sometimes differ from current Libyan reality.

- Responding only to rumours and false news published about Libya in media abroad, to correct or refute them by providing factual information in context.

- Giving facts and information about Libya to foreign publics and working tobuild positive perceptions in order to influence target audiences by relying on research outcomes.

- Engaging in dialogue, negotiation, and interaction with foreign publics through communication processes that aim to listen to their voices and respond to them as far as possible.

Half of the interviewees selected 'Propagating only positive news and images of Libya abroad even if they sometimes differ from current Libyan reality' as the choice that best embodies their communication messages with foreign publics to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad. The interviewees explained it the best and most appropriate way to

promote a positive image of Libya abroad. MO (4) stated, "We believe that promote Libya abroad through publicity form can significantly contribute to improving an image and reputation of Libya in other countries".

A quarter of the interviewees selected 'Giving facts and information about Libya to foreign publics and working to build positive perceptions in order to influence target audiences by relying on research outcomes' as the choice that best embodies their communication messages with foreign publics to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad. Most interviewees justified their selection by referring to the difficult political and economic circumstances currently experienced by Libya, which can, according to their point of view, hinder the adoption of any publicity actions or the opening dialogue and negotiation with foreign publics.

Almost a fifth of the interviewees selected 'Engaging in dialogue, negotiation, and interaction with foreign publics through communication processes that aim to listen to their voices and respond to them as far as possible' as the choice that best embodies their communication messages with foreign publics to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad.

MO (5) explained it in the followingway:

> *"Dialogue, negotiation, and interaction with foreign public is the best choice for us because dialogue with audiences and share information with them can assist us to deliver our positive communication messages about Libya without confusion or misunderstanding, we think it is much better than just rely on publicity or giving information without an explanation and interaction".*

Only an extremely small group of the interviewees, 5%, referred to 'Responding only to rumours and false news published about Libya in media abroad, to correct or refute them by providing factual information in context' as the choice that best embodies their communication messages with foreign publics to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad.

MO (8) pointed out the following:

> *"Sometimes media publishes false news and malicious rumours about Libya abroad, here our role is to write a report to a source or publisher of those news or lies and ask them to correct the wrong media contents. For example, during 9/11 events, I do remember that a channel published some pictures of a Libyan village celebrations and claimed that the pictures were one of Libyan celebrations as an expression of happiness to what happened in the United States due to the terrorist attacks, while in fact those celebrations were annual celebrations as Libyans celebrate every September the annual commemoration of so-called Al-Fateh Revolution of September".*

However, MO (7) responded differently to this question, emphasising that "Our communication messages with foreign public to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad comprise all given choices". He continued: "Adoption one or more of these choices depends on our goals of communication, and our financial resources and capabilities".

5.2.2.1.3 Communication Public

The concept of public has been extensively discussed in the literature review. As a result, the researcher has managed to define this term within the current study as 'any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the Libyan institutions' communications abroad'. In addition, three categories of public were generally identified for any institution, regardless of the nature of its activities or services, which are: general public, elites such as opinion leaders and decision-makers, and journalists and media professionals (Hoyos, 2013). The importance of a certain category of public to public relations practitioners is one of the factors that drive them to adopt a particular communication model fitting this category (Taylor & Kent, 1999).

The interviewees were therefore asked to list these three categories of public according to their degree of importance to them in the preparation and provision of communication messages to foreign publics, as follows:

5.2.2.1.3.1 General Public

Almost a half of the interviewees indicated that general public comes third in terms of its degree of importance in the provision of communication contents to foreign publics abroad. More than a third of the interviewees stated that general public is considered to be first in terms of its degree of importance. Only a small number of the interviewees, 14%, ranked general public second.

5.2.2.1.3.2 Elites such as Opinion Leaders and Decision-Makers

Twothirds of the interviewees pointed out that elites such as opinion leaders and decision-makers are second in terms of their degree of importance in the provision of communication contents to foreign publics abroad, whereas nearly a quarter of the interviewees rated elites such as opinion leaders and decision-makers first in terms of their degree of importance. Only a very small number of the interviewees, 12%, rated elites such as opinion leaders and decision-makers third.

5.2.2.1.3.3 Journalists and Media Professionals

More than a third of the interviewees stated that journalists and media professionals come first in terms of their degree of importance in the provision of communication contents to foreign publics abroad. A similar number ranked journalists and media professionals third in terms of their degree of importance. Almost quarter of the interviewees rated journalists and media professionals second.

Overall, the journalists and media professionals come first, with 42% in terms of their degree of importance in the provision of communication contents to foreign publics abroad, as shown in Fig (27). As mentioned by the interviewees, journalists and media professionals are considered as an additional media channel to deliver effective communication contents to other different types of public in hosting countries.

Fig (27) The interviewees' ordering of each type of public in terms of their degree of importance in provision of communication contents to foreign public abroad 'Egypt & UK'.
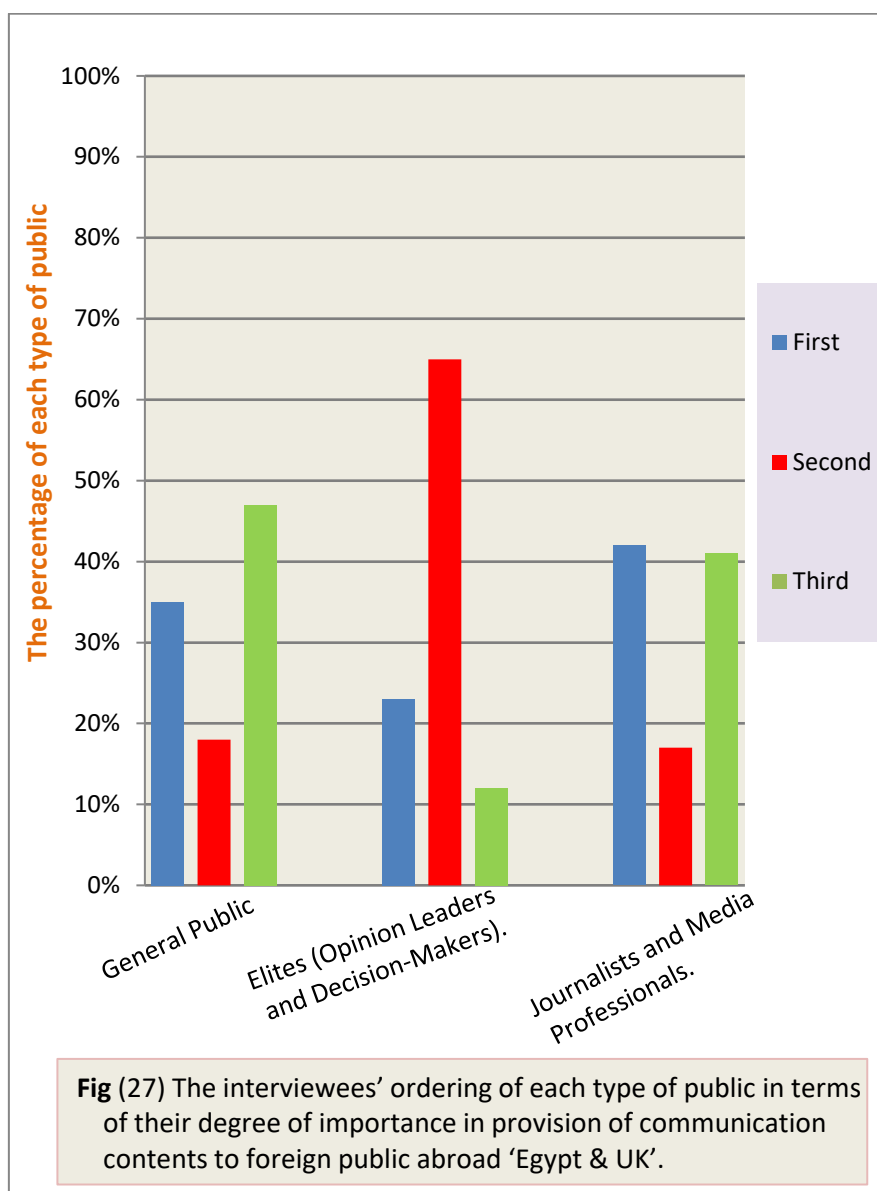
In their responses, the interviewees cited a number of reasons why they concentrate on communication with journalists and media professionals more than any other category of public: First, local journalists and media professionals in the hosting countries often have more skills, capabilities, and experiences to deliver the desired communication messages to foreign publics than media offices' staff in Libyan institutions abroad. Second, local media in general is more acceptedand trusted by people than any other media platform that may attempt to provide them with communication contents in their communities. For that reason, local media has more natural ability and more likelihood of reaching the most categories of its communities than the Libyan institutions' media offices can.

MO (2) pointed out the following:

"Nothing is more important in our work than establishing excellent relationships with journalists and media professionals in Egyptian society which draws most information from local media channels and newspapers, people here in Egypt are widely depended on local media in shaping their opinions and beliefs concern many local and international issues, therefore, we always give a priority to this type of public since it has the ability to reach wide groups of general public".

Elites such as opinion leaders and decision-makers are insecond place, with 65%, in terms of their degree of importance in the provision of communication contents to foreign publics abroad, as shown in Fig (27). Furthermore, these interviewees indicated that they are keen to establish good relationships and continuous communication with elites due to their prestigious positions in the societies of host countries, which can, from their point of view, assist considerably in two aspects: First, through those elites the provided communication contents can reach a wider segment of the foreign public. Second, excellent relationships with elites often provide means and opportunity to operate more freely in work environments.

Finally, the general public comes inthird, with 47%, in terms of its degree of importance in the provision of communication contents to foreign publics abroad, as shown in Fig (27). This can be attributed to the nature of most Libyan institutions' activities abroad, which tend to deal directly with specific clients, journalists, and elites, more than with the general foreign public, as noted by the interviewees.

MO (6) admitted that, "In fact, we do not have strong and direct relationships with general foreign public, we do not often aim to address them directly through our communication messages, this may due to a nature of our institution work which is relatively away from a simple ordinary citizen's interests".

According to the interviewees' responses, another reason maybe added here regarding this point. There is a belief among most media officers in Libyan institutions abroad that exchanging information and news with elites and journalists in a society is sufficient to

disseminate information to the general foreign public in that society without needing to communicate intentionally and directly with them.

As the above discussion attests, the models of public relations communication adopted at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK can be classified as the publicity model and the public information model according to Grunig's categorisation of public relations communication models. It is worth noting that both models were described by Grunig as one-way communication models.

The participants tried to justify this by claiming that publicity content is desirable to the public because such content is often characterised by attractiveness and brevity, and comprise images, which make it easy to understand and remember.

MO (8) added another justification by explaining it as follows:

> *"Things have become more complicated and tangled, we work in a minefield and we only try to perform our national duty without creating hostility with any party in Libya, we depend on publicity model to promote Libya abroad and to be not counted on any political or ideological party, publicity can keep us far away from debates and dialogues that may need from us to express our personal opinions about what is going on in Libya now".*

In the same context, the participants described a number of factors that may drive an institution to adopt a specific model of communication more than others. Furthermore, there is a consensus of opinion among them on four main factors in this regard, which are: the nature of the institution's work and management; the nature of communications content it wishes to deliver to the target public; the nature of the target public, its characteristics and the prevailing culture in its society; and finally, human resources and financial capabilities are available to an institution.

5.2.2.2 Contribution of Public Relations Communication of Libyan Institutions in Egypt and the UK to Shaping Foreign Public's Perceptions

The degree of the contribution of public relations communications to shaping foreign public's perceptions can be seen through interviewees' responses regarding two aspects or 'sub-themes', which are: the development of communication post revolution of 17 February 2011, and themes of communication, as follows:

5.2.2.2.1 Development of Communication Post Revolution of 17 February 2011

To determine the development of communication practice from public relations at Libyan institutions abroad with foreign public in order to promote Libya's image and reputation in host countries post revolution of 17 February 2011, the researcher compared this period of communication practice with what came before. Therefore, the interviewees were first asked to express their opinions concerning any differences in communication practice with foreign publics in the periods prior to and following revolution of 17 February 2011.

The vast majority of the interviewees, 76%, asserted that there is an obvious difference in communication practice with foreign public post revolution of 17 February 2011 compared with what was before.

MO (8) explained it this thus:

> *"In an era of the former Libyan regime, personally, I was avoiding to appear in media or give any statement about Libya to foreign public because Qaddafi regime as it is known is a dictatorial and military regime and I was not convinced to defend it or even represent it in front of media or in conferences held outside Libya, and even when I intend to attend one of them I often present myself as an independent Libyan writer not as a Libyan diplomat, while post revolution of 17 February 2011, a lot of things have changed where we now are able to communicate with foreign public and talk to media to express our opinions freely without fear of consequences as was in the past, as well as, we have a genuine and strong desire to address themes regarding Libya and its people".*

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Likewise, MO (5) elucidated the differences as follows:

> *"Yes, most definitely there are differences in the practice of communication between the two periods, these differences can be clearly seen through the openness that our communication messages are enjoyed post revolution of 17 February 2011, compared with what was before. For example, post revolution of 17 February 2011, we managed to communicate with elites whom have a significant influence in their communities such as ambassadors, ministers, and opinion leaders and arranged several meetings and dialogues with them certainly led to give a good impression and image of Libya and its people in those elites' minds".*

MO (2) considered the differences as more than just changes in targeted public types or media channels; he emphasised the differences in communication contents as follows:

> *"Before the revolution of 17 February 2011, we did not even dare to talk with foreign public about themes related to Libyan political or economic affairs, there was a long list of themes and issues that we are not even allowed to discuss them with other Libyans abroad. Today, we are absolutely free and nothing prevents opening the door to dialogue and negotiation to any topic or issue related to Libyan affairs with foreign public, as well as, expressing our opinions and views freely which of course reflect in turn on communication practice abroad whether in terms of quantity or quality".*

Notably, the interviewees who claimed that there are differences in communication practice with foreign publics between the two periods mentioned, not all viewed those differences in a positive perspective; less than a fifth of the interviewees viewed differences in communication practice with foreign publics between the two periods from a negative perspective.

These interviewees mentioned a number of factors that negatively impacted the effectiveness of communication practice with foreign publics post revolution of 17 February 2011, such as political conflicts and ideological divisions in Libya, which has led to a disagreement about

the identity of Libya that should be provided to foreign public through communication efforts abroad. It has also led to wasting communication efforts in dealing with confused and inappropriate images, which has been instilled by global media in foreign publics' minds, regarding the political and economic crisis in Libya following the revolution.

MO (7) explained it as follows:

> *"After the revolution of 17 February 2011, there is no an agreement on what is an image and identity of Libya which should be provided abroad, political conflicts in Libya were reflected in the Libyan society components and, as a result, today we have different images and features of Libya, yet there is no an idea or vision bring all these components together in one agreed identity, while in the past the visions and goals of communication were clear and reflect a specific identity of Libya whether in its society or abroad".*

Similarly, almost the same idea was expressed by MO (15), who clearly stated the following:

> *"There was a country before revolution of 17 February 2011, even if there were some political mistakes and a dictatorial regime in Libya but there were a country and institutions, there was a stable country that was recognised by the whole world, not as what we have today post revolution of 17 February 2011, weak governments and weak institutions locally and internationally which certainly affected communication efforts with foreign public abroad".*

Furthermore, as the interviewee continued:

> *"Foreign public was almost knows only a few things about Libya before revolution of 17 February 2011, so we had an opportunity to give them more about our country to shape their minds in a positive way towards it, but today they have already a sufficient knowledge of all political, economic, and social aspects of Libya from what has been given to them of news and information from global media, this somehow has led to generate*

of a lot of questions, opinions, and positions among foreign public regarding Libya. In fact, this is exactly what hinders the effectiveness of our communication efforts with foreign public abroad today".

On the other hand, almost a quarter of the interviewees, 23%, expressed the differences in communication practice with foreign public between the two mentioned periods before and post revolution of 17 February 2011 from both positive and negative perspectives. Those interviewees described both positive and negative aspects of the differences in communication practice with foreign publics between the two periods.

For example, MO (3) pointed out:

"Actually, we can say that, today we have a greater space of freedom to discuss many themes and deal with several issues regarding Libya without constraints as what was before. However, Libya at the moment struggles with difficult political and economic crises caused by many factors acting together post revolution of 17 February 2011, one of these factors is replacing many former leaders who have had a wide experience of manage all major Libya's sectors with new young leaders who do not have an enough experience to deal with such sectors and they may need an adequate time to be able to run effectively Libyan institutions whether inside Libya or abroad".

The interviewee added the following:

"Undoubtedly, this has a negative impact on communication with foreign public by Libyan institutions abroad due to: First, the new inexpert leaders and unreliable administrations to most these institutions. Second, the negative reflection of a poor performance of Libyan political, economic, and diplomatic institutions in addressing outstanding political and economic issues in communication contents with foreign public in host countries".

Moreover, MO (11) made this statement:

"We can say that, there are advantages and disadvantages in both two periods before and post revolution of 17 February 2011, in terms of communication practice with foreign public abroad, and therein lies the essence of the difference between them. For example, the advantage in the period before revolution of 17 February 2011, was the unlimited financial support that was provided by the former regime to the student unions abroad in order to communicate with foreign public, even if it was one of main purposes of communication to propagandise and promote that regime in host countries, while the constraints and tight control that were placed by the former regime and its security institutions on communication efforts and activities to be only as a way to publicise and promote the regime and his political orientations were the most prominent disadvantages that affected communication practice with foreign public abroad in this period".

The interviewee continued:

"In contrast, today we have absolute freedom as Libyan institutions abroad to communicate with foreign public according to our vision to the current stage's requirements without any pressures or constraints on our communication practice, but the Libyan authorities post revolution of 17 February 2011, neglected to provide proper financial support to communication efforts which affected the student unions activities in this regard".

Likewise, MO (10) referred to the same negative and positive aspects of the differences in communication practice with foreign publics between the two periods, where he stated the following:

"In the past, there was a financial support and a certain budget given by the former regime on each national occasion to promote Libya and improve its image through all students unions' activities abroad, and of course it was included publicise and promote the regime itself and its

ideas. Currently, we face serious difficulties in providing a proper financial support to continue carrying out our activities and communication efforts with foreign public in host countries, as well as, to take advantage of the great space of freedom that given to us post revolution of 17 February 2011".

In stark contrast, around a quarter of the interviewees, 24%, do not see any difference in communication practice with foreign publics between the two periods. These interviewees justified their position by claiming that, even post revolution of 17 February 2011, they communicate with foreign publics using the same strategies, techniques, insights, ideas, staff, and financial resources. As a result, they do not expect to see any difference in communication practice post revolution of 17 February 2011 compared with what was before.

MO (16) illustrated this point thus:

"To be honest, there is not any difference worth mentioning in communication practice with foreign public post revolution of 17 February 2011, compared with what was before during the former regime period 'Qaddafi regime'. Logically, how it would be expected that there are differences in communication practice or contents when we still work by the same techniques, budgets, thought, and experiences. The successive Libyan governments post revolution of 17 February 2011, keep saying that the change takes time! and we keep asking them that, did you actually start to work on achieving this desired change? This is a usual argument".

By the same token, MO (4) expressed it as follows:

"In fact, for our company there is no any difference, we still follow the same communication strategies that we adopted before and almost by the same previous public relations and communication staff, as a result we can say that there is no noticeable differences in communication practice with foreign public between before and post revolution of 17 February 2011,

and honestly I do not know if it was the case for other Libyan institution abroad or not".

5.2.2.2.2 Themes of Communication

According to Anholt's theory, any attempt to communicate with a foreign public in order to promote an image and reputation, or 'nation brand' of a country abroad should balance six key themes, which are Exports, Governance, Investment and Immigration, Culture and Heritage, People, and Tourism (Clancy, 2011). Anholt's themes of nation brand have been presented and explained in the literature review (see Chapter Three, p.132). These six themes were introduced to the interviewees and the following are their responses regarding the utilisation of these themes in their communications content with foreign publics in Egypt and the UK:

5.2.2.2.2.1 Exports

In fact, none of the interviewees mentioned the Exports as one of the themes that were included in communication contents with foreign publics to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad.

In addition, none of the interviewees managed to provide a clear justification of this outcome.

5.2.2.2.2.2 Governance

More than quarter of the interviewees indicated that Governance is one of the themes that were included in communication contents with foreign publics to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad.

MO (17) explained it as follows:

> *"Addressing political issues within our communication contents is no longer a choice but it has become a necessity due to difficult political circumstances in Libya at the moment and their dominance over any attempt to communicate with foreign public abroad. We always try to present other themes to attract public such as tourism, heritage, and*

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*culture but there is still no escape from the dominance of political issues on
what we are giving to them".*

Similarly, MO (11) referred to almost the same reason that drives Libyan institutions abroad
to address political contents through their communication efforts with foreign publics in host
countries:

> *"As a Libyan students union in UK, we tend mainly to focus on providing
> heritage, culture and tourism of Libya in our communication contents with
> foreign public in a way that serves Libya's image and enhances its
> reputation abroad. However, we often failed as the rest of other Libyan
> institutions in host countries, we are all a victim of the inappropriate
> reality of Libya which forces us to address themes and issues related to
> politics and the current events in Libya".*

MO (2) stated:

> *"We are forced often to deal cautiously with Libya's reality and present it
> in our communications content in a way that reflects an opinion or point of
> view of the original source which quoted from it. It is worth mentioning
> that, most information, facts, and news that reflect the Libyan reality are
> almost confined in governance and politics themes as the most important
> themes that dominate the current Libyan scene".*

There is a consensus among most interviewees that the current Libyan reality has a
significant impact on communication contents provided to foreign publics abroad. In addition
to what is stated above, both MO (10) and MO (4) indicated the current difficult
circumstances in Libya as the factor that drives them to concentrate more on the Governance
theme in their communication contents with foreign publics abroad.

5.2.2.2.2.3 Investment and Immigration

Only 5% of the interviewees pointed out that the Investment and Immigration theme is one of the themes included in communications content with foreign publics to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad.

As MO (7) acknowledged:

> *"Recently, all our focus in communications content with foreign public became on governance and politics themes, as well as, other themes related to Libyan people and their affairs, while we gave a less attention to other valuable and important themes such as investment, tourism, and culture due to a deterioration in economic and security situations in Libya at the moment".*

MO (8) explained it thus: "This is a reflection of the current Libyan reality where we cannot talk about investment, tourism, culture, or any other similar themes, because all these themes are currently suffering from a recession due to poor political and economic situations in Libya today".

5.2.2.2.2.4 Culture and Heritage

More than a seventh of the interviewees revealed that the Culture and Heritage theme is one of themes included in communication contents with foreign publics to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad.

According to the interviewees' responses, it is clear that the culture theme is not one of the themes that is given a great deal of attention by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad in their communication contents with foreign publics; they considered it a sub-theme, less important than other themes in the current stage.

For example, MO (12) stated the following:

> *"We believe that, the governance theme and the people theme are the most important themes that other countries' peoples may want to know about*

> *Libya post revolution of 17 February 2011. Therefore, we are keen to give*
> *sufficient information on these two themes to build an initial knowledge*
> *about Libya in foreign public's minds which through it we can later*
> *address other themes such as culture, heritage, tourism, and investment to*
> *reach the positive image that we want to give about Libya abroad".*

5.2.2.2.2.5 People

More than a third of the interviewees mentioned that the People theme is one of themes included in communication contents with foreign publics to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad.

It is worth noting that the interviewees' responses revealed that the People theme was the most covered theme in their communication contents with foreign publics abroad. The interviewees sought to justify this high level of focus on the People over other nation brand themes in terms of communication contents by associating it with the current stage's requirements in Libya.

In fact, they cited many reasons as to why they prioritise the People theme in their communication efforts with foreign publics, such as the poor current political and economic circumstances in Libya, which mostly prevent addressing other themes extensively; the importance of the People theme in introducing Libyan society and promotinga favourable image of it abroad; and its role in opening the door to present other nation brand themes later.

MO (14) pointed out, "It is very important especially at this stage to reflect an image of the Libyan society abroad through highlight people and their ideas, beliefs, and behaviours in this society".

Similarly, MO (9) describeda similar opinion:

> *"Our view to focus on people theme is based on our belief that highlight*
> *people is an effective and very important way to reflect an image of the*
> *Libyan society abroad and also to create a desire in foreign public to visit*
> *Libya and learn more about its people".*

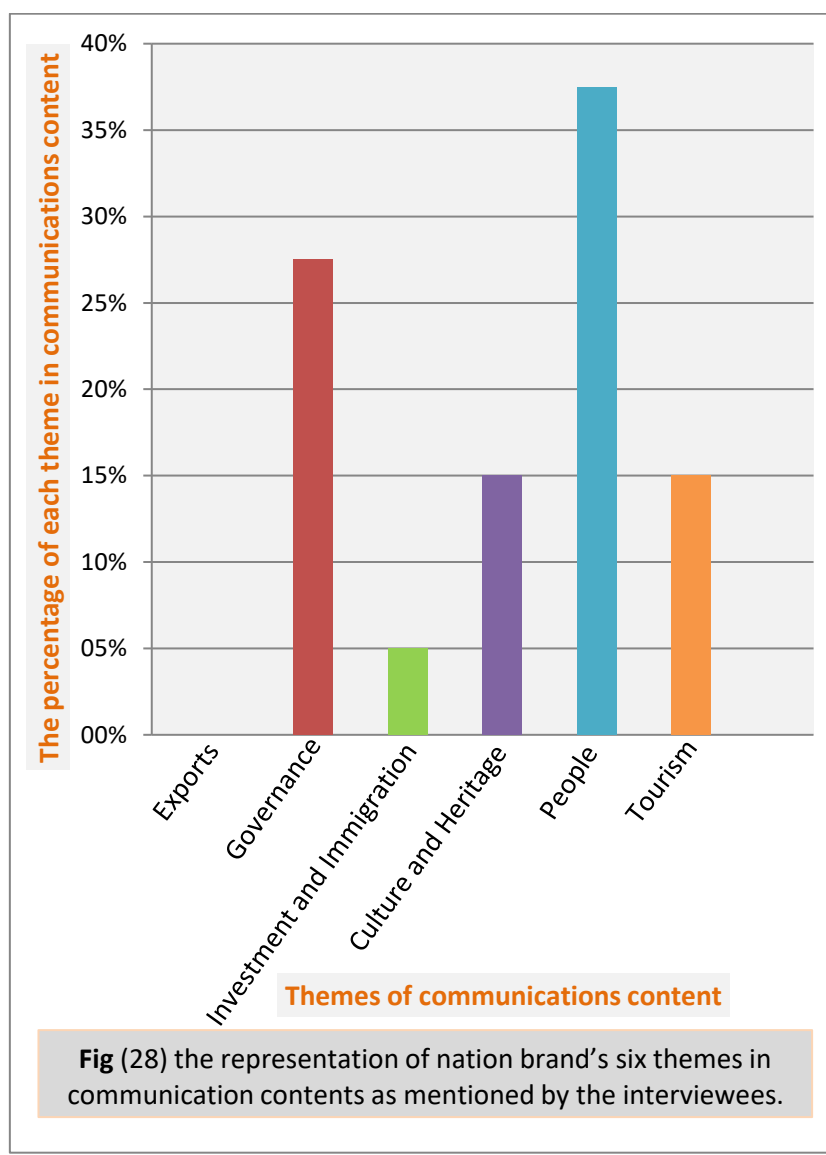By the same token, MO (13) indicated the following:

> *"The people theme has greatly our attention in communications content with foreign public abroad because we attempt post revolution of 17 February 2011, to work on a reunion the Libyan community in the United Kingdom through arranging several meetings and social programmes with the aim to avoid effects of the current political and ideological divisions in Libya, and to contribute to address them as far as possible".*

5.2.2.2.2.6 Tourism

A seventh of the interviewees indicated that the Tourism theme is one of the themes included in communication contents with foreign publics to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad.

As MO (16) expressed:

> *"Due to a nature and field of our institution work which is far from politics and governance and focuses more on investments, capitals, and investors in different aspects such as real estate, natural resources, and antiquities. Therefore, the tourism theme is one of the most important themes that should be provided to foreign public in our communication contents with the aim to achieve two goals at once: First, presenting it as an available investment opportunity in Libya in order to attract capital and investors which can serve the Libyan economy. Second, promote an image and reputation of Libya abroad and enhance its status among other countries".*

Fig (28) the representation of nation brand's six themes in communication contents as mentioned by the interviewees.

The chart in Fig (**28**) shows that the People theme was the most dominant theme in communication contents with foreign publics provided by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad to promote Libya's image and reputation in hosting countries, with 37.5%, followed by the Governance theme, with 27.5%. The Exports theme was non-existent in this communication contents, with 0%.

Notably, the Culture and Heritage theme and the Tourism theme have achieved the same percentage within communication contents with foreign publics, with 15% apiece.

The dominance of the People theme and the Governance theme in communication contents with foreign publics provided by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad to

promote Libya's image and reputation in hosting countries can be understood through what has been added by the interviewees in this regard, where more than three quarters of the interviewees, 76.5%, considered these two themes as essential themes to build a basic knowledge about Libya in foreign publics' minds, which can later help in dealing with other themes such as Tourism, culture, and investment.

For example, MO (1) expressed that "The governance theme and the people theme are seen as initial themes in our communication contents, through them all other themes can be built later. Therefore, we consider them as fundamental themes that we should focus on them more heavily and give them more priority than other themes".

While MO (3) stated it as follows:

> *"The two main themes which can through them reflect an image of any country abroad are the governance theme and the people theme, first because governments are responsible for establishing and regulating relationships of a country with other countries, second because people's nature and their behaviours and habits greatly assist to build relationships with other countries' people".*

In fact, the vast majority of the interviewees, 89%, indicated directly that they are not keen to achievea balance between the nation brand's six themes in their communication contents with foreign publics abroad. The interviewees believe that it is impossible to strike a balance between such themes post revolution of 17 February 2011, due to the inappropriate political and economic circumstances in Libya and their domination over any communication contents given abroad.

As MO (14) said, "Indeed, making a balance between the six mentioned themes in our communication contents depends on a nature of each stage of the actual reality of Libya and its requirements. In other words, we are willing to make that balance when the Libyan reality allows us to do so".

However, another reason was added by MO (10): "Honestly, there is not keen on that there should be a balance between these six themes because the work here is characterised by

improvisation and a candid sense of responsibility more than advance preparation and planning".

Accordingly, it can be said that the Governance theme and the People theme have been given far more attention by the communication efforts of Libyan institutions to promote Libya's nation brand in Egypt and the UK than other themes. In stark contrast, themes such as the Exports theme and the Culture and Heritage theme have been given very little attention by the communication efforts of these institutions.

Additionally, there is a lack of understanding among the interviewees regarding essential terms and concepts concerning communication with foreign publics abroad, which can be seen as another reason for the explicit concentration on only two of the nation brand's six themes while ignoring the others, where they have been asked to give brief definitions of public diplomacy, public relations, and nation brand, and then the given definitions have been compared with the scholars' definitions in the literature.

Consequently, more than three quarters of the interviewees, 82%, failed to give a proper definition of public diplomacy. For example, MO (6) stated that "Public diplomacy is the relationships between two countries or more based on international conventions and treaties".

MO (17) pointed out that "Public diplomacy is all about how to establish good relationships between countries through their governments and embassies abroad". By reviewing most of the interviewees' responses, it is evident that they do not have a clear idea regarding both the term diplomacy and public diplomacy. Moreover, they were not unable to make an obvious distinction between them; instead they considered them as one term, and as a result they often used them interchangeably.

Furthermore, around two thirds of the interviewees also failed to present a proper definition of public relations. For example, MO (3), MO (9), and MO (16) defined public relations by using exactly the same words: "Public relations is institutions' relationships to each other".

This definition is not a comprehensive definition since it ignores two main elements in the communication efforts of public relations, which are the internal and external public of institutions. Furthermore, it limited these efforts to just establishing relationships between

institutions. This reflects the limitations of public relations functions and duties in some of the media officers' minds. Undoubtedly, this can affect the practice of public relations communication by Libyan institutions with other types of foreign public abroad, such as general public, elites, and journalists, as individuals rather than as institutions, as mentioned in the definition presented above.

This thought was confirmed in a definition of public relations provided by MO (10), where he clearly expressed that "I think that public diplomacy and public relations are the same thing, and both are about dealing the institutions with each other or something like that, to be honest I do not have a clear idea about both of them, but what I know is that both have the same meaning".

However, the vast majority of the interviewees, 88%, have a clear and accurate notion of the concept of nation brand, with most agreeing that nation brand refers to the features, attributes, and characteristics that clearly distinguish a country from others. For example, MO (10) defined it as "Nation brand is what characterises a country from the rest of other countries, for example, when a name of Libya is mentioned in front of foreign public then first things that come to their minds are oil and the desert".

Likewise, MO (6) pointed out "It is what comes to people's minds when a name of a country is mentioned in front of them".

5.2.2.3 Strategies of Public Relations Communication Deployment by Libyan Institutions in Egypt and the UK

The literature divided strategies of public relations communication into two types: First, strategies employed to help communications reach their target public and achieve the intended objectives of these communication efforts. Second, strategies being adopted to evaluate communications efforts (see e.g. Entman, 2008; Sevin, 2014). Accordingly, the strategies of public relations communication with foreign public of Libyan institutions abroad can be divided here in the same way, adding another section to clarify the interviewees' views concerning the future of communication as follows:

5.2.2.3.1 Strategies of Communications

Image repair strategies appear to be the most appropriate strategies for a country such as Libya due to the urgent need to repair its dark past of more than 42 years under the authoritarian and undemocratic regime Qaddafi regime, as well as its current unstable situation due to political conflict post revolution of 17 February 2011 (This is explained in detail in Chapter Two, p.37).

Ergo, the image repair strategies that have been derived from reviewing the literature, in particular, the five strategies according to Benoit's theory: denial, evading responsibility, reducing offensiveness, corrective action andmortification (Khakimova, 2013), were provided to the respondents via the interviews in order to determine the extent to which each strategy is employed in the public relations communication with foreign publics of Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK, as well as to determine why the interviewees may prefer one or two of these strategies over others, as follows:

5.2.2.3.1.1 Denial

None of the interviewees indicated the denial strategy as one of the strategies adopted in the public relations communication with foreign publics of Libyan institutions abroad. Furthermore, there is a consensus among the interviewees that the denial strategy is a worthless strategy since the world today is, figuratively speaking, no larger than a village in terms of communication, and cannot hide nor deny an event, whether negative or positive. MO (17) explained it as follows: "Today, there is no hope of denial in the world of satellites, internet, and the live coverage of news and events whenever and wherever they occur".

5.2.2.3.1.2 Evading Responsibility

Likewise, none of the interviewees mentioned the evading responsibility strategy as one of the strategies adopted for public relations communication with foreign publics by Libyan institutions abroad. In addition, the interviewees justified this outcome saying that the evading responsibility strategy is inapplicable in today's world, where everything is uncovered and information is available to publics. For example, MO (11) stated that, "The evading responsibility strategy has become useless in the era of technological development

and the information revolution that have made reaching the truth much easier than it was before".

MO (1) added another reason not to adopt the evading responsibility strategy, clearly saying:

> *"Our national duty towards our country is what drives us to not evade from responsibility, instead of this, we face the suffering of Libya that is resulted from certain political and economic circumstances, we take our responsibility as a Libyan institution operates abroad and can somehow assist Libya to overcome those circumstances".*

5.2.2.3.1.3 Reducing Offensiveness

Almost two thirds of the interviewees, 62.5%, referred to the reducing offensiveness strategy as one of the most adopted strategies in the public relations communication with foreign public of Libyan institutions abroad. Moreover, the interviewees strongly indicated that the reducing offensiveness strategy is the most appropriate strategy according to the facilities and capabilities available to them. It is also a suitable choice to deal with the current reality of Libya.

In this regard, MO (10) expressed that, "The reducing offensiveness strategy is a logical strategy has been imposed by the current situation in Libya, as well as, by a nature of this age in which we live where public has information and knowledge about almost everything".

5.2.2.3.1.4 Corrective Action

More than a quarter of the interviewees pointed out that the corrective action strategy is one of the strategies adopted for public relations communication with foreign publics by Libyan institutions abroad. Most interviewees believe that in this regard, in many cases, to merely prevent harm is insufficient; they may also need to correct the consequences that harm, and the corrective action strategy is the most effective strategy for this.

As MO (12) indicated, "We usually employ the corrective action strategy through setting up communication with foreign public to address outstanding problems and misunderstandings as far as possible".

Likewise, MO (14) stated the following:

> *"The corrective action strategy is the most appropriate strategy for the Libya's current situation, in particular, regarding our attempt to refute rumours about Libya abroad such as associating Libya with terrorism or some extremist groups due to a lack of security on its territory post revolution of 17 February 2011. We think that through adoption of the corrective action strategy in our communication efforts, we might be able to provide the true identity and the real face of Libya to foreign public abroad".*

Furthermore, MO (13) underlined the following point:

> *"We tend more to rely on the corrective action strategy because we live in a foreign community and we are integrated inside it, this provides us a great opportunity to correct many wrong ideas and inappropriate impressions about Libya when we find them in foreign public's minds whether they are English public or even public from other nationalities in this community".*

5.2.2.3.1.5 Mortification

Less than one eleventh of the interviewees, 8.5%, argued that the mortification strategy is one of the strategies adopted by public relations communication with foreign publics of Libyan institutions abroad. They clearly said that this strategy is infrequently employed and only on a case-by-case basis.

MO (15) explained it thus:

> *"In the first place we adopt the mortification strategy with any mistakes or offences that being commit by Libya's official leaders and deputies or other*

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Libyan groups accounted for Libyan people even if they do not really represent them,we are not absolutely with the abuse culture to others".

However, the vast majority of the interviewees considered the mortification strategy as a strategy should only be adopted by the Libyan government or one of its official diplomatic institutions abroad.

MO (2) asserted that, "If the mortification was not issued by the body that was responsible for offences or mistakes such as countries' governments then it would be a senseless and useless action". Similarly, MO (11) pointed out that, "Strategies such the corrective action strategy and the mortification strategy to seem to be more close to governments and official state authorities' tasks".

Fig (29) strategies of public relations communication deployment by Libyan institutions abroad 'Egypt & UK'.
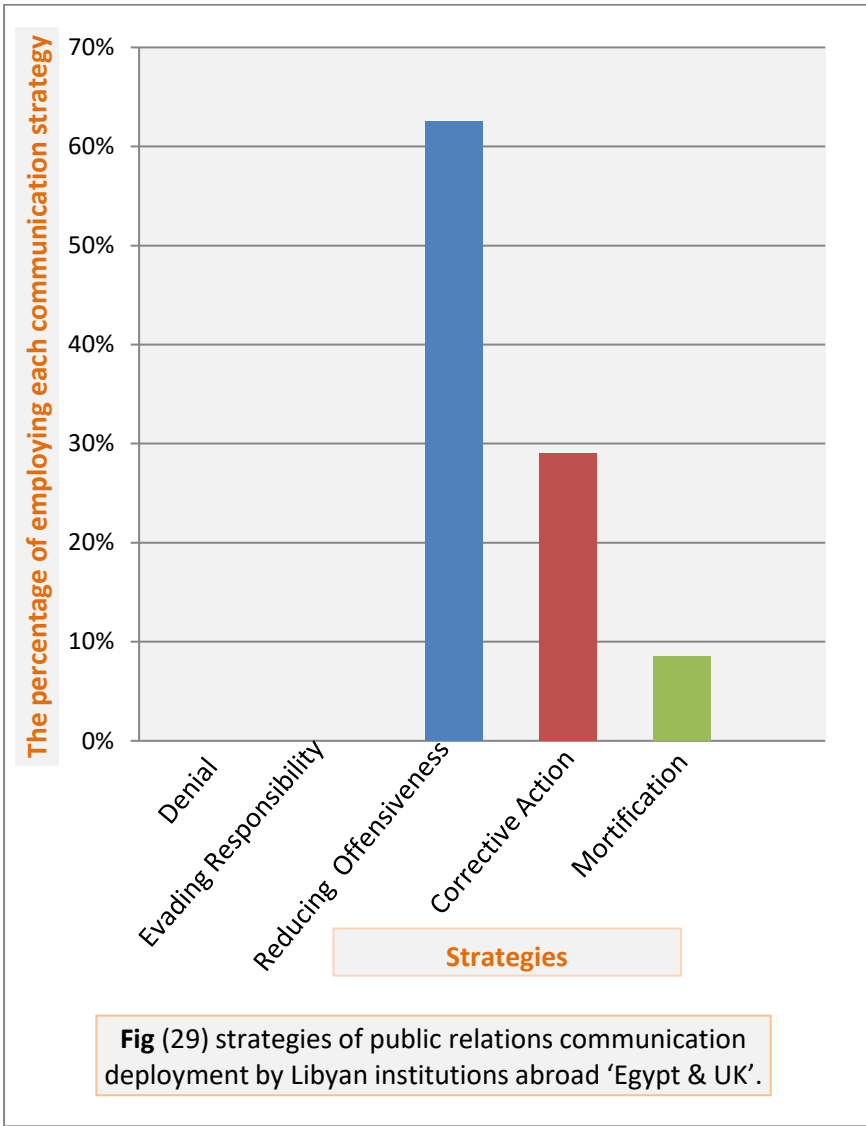
The chart in Fig (29) shows that the reducing offensiveness strategy is the most employed strategy in the public relations communications with foreign publics of Libyan institutions in the hosting countries to promote Libya's image and reputation, followed by the corrective action strategy, with 29%.

On the other hand, neither the denial strategy northe evading responsibility strategy are employed in public relations communications at all. MO (6) emphasised this point: "There is no way to escape or deny facts and events, or even ignore rumours in the age of technology and Internet".

5.2.2.3.2 Evaluation Strategies of Communications

The vast majority of the interviewees (16 of 17 participants) clearly asserted that there is no strategy employed to evaluate outcomes of communication efforts with foreign publics abroad to promote Libya's image and reputation in host countries. While MO (14) is the only interviewee who indicated that, "In fact, we do sometimes evaluate our communication efforts and activities through using questionnaires which often reflect positive results".

MO (16) pointed out the following:

> *"In my personal opinion, measuring the outcomes of communication efforts with foreign public is Libyan embassies' responsibility in the first place, yes we do contribute to provide a good image and reputation of Libya, as well as, to present information and facts which can reflect the identity of Libyan society abroad, but the main role in this regard still remains a Libyan embassies and diplomatic missions' role".*

However, contrary to what has been mentioned above, MO (8) clearly states, "Indeed, there is no any strategies to evaluate communication efforts with foreign public abroad, we do not even consider this work as one of the media office's tasks in the Libyan Embassy in London".

It is worth mentioning that, although there werenot any strategies adopted by Libyan institutions abroad to evaluate communication efforts with foreign publics in host countries, with the exception of one institution, nevertheless, almost two thirds of the interviewees, 65%, believe that their communication efforts with foreign publics abroad play an effective and vital role in promoting Libya's image and reputation within host countries.

As MO (12) illustrated, "We work hard and for a long time to improve an image and reputation of Libya abroad, I think we have accomplished successfully most the set goals in this regard".

According to the interviewees' responses, their beliefs depends only on what they glean from foreign publics' feedback, through establishing personal friendships and social relationships with them.

MO (2) said, "We depend often on our personal relationships with both journalists and elites to extract the Egyptian street's attitudes about what happens in Libya, as well as, to detect Egyptian public's opinions and views regarding Libya and its people".

On the other hand, slightly more than one third of the interviewees, 35%, asserted that although they do their utmost to contribute to the promotion of Libya's image and reputation in host countries through their communication efforts with foreign publics abroad, these communication efforts do not play a significant role in this regard due to many reasons such as lack of human and financial resources, lack of clear and thoughtful communication strategies, and unstable political and economic situations in Libya.

MO (7) explained it thus:

> *"To be honest with you, I do not think we have done is what we should do in this regard since we are still unable to contribute effectively to promote Libya's image and reputation abroad, perhaps this is due to serious obstacles and difficulties that face Libya as a result of current political conflicts which reflected upon the Libyan institutions' performance abroad".*

Fig (30) The percentage of the effective and ineffective role of communication with foreign public of Libyan institutions abroad according to interviewees' responses .
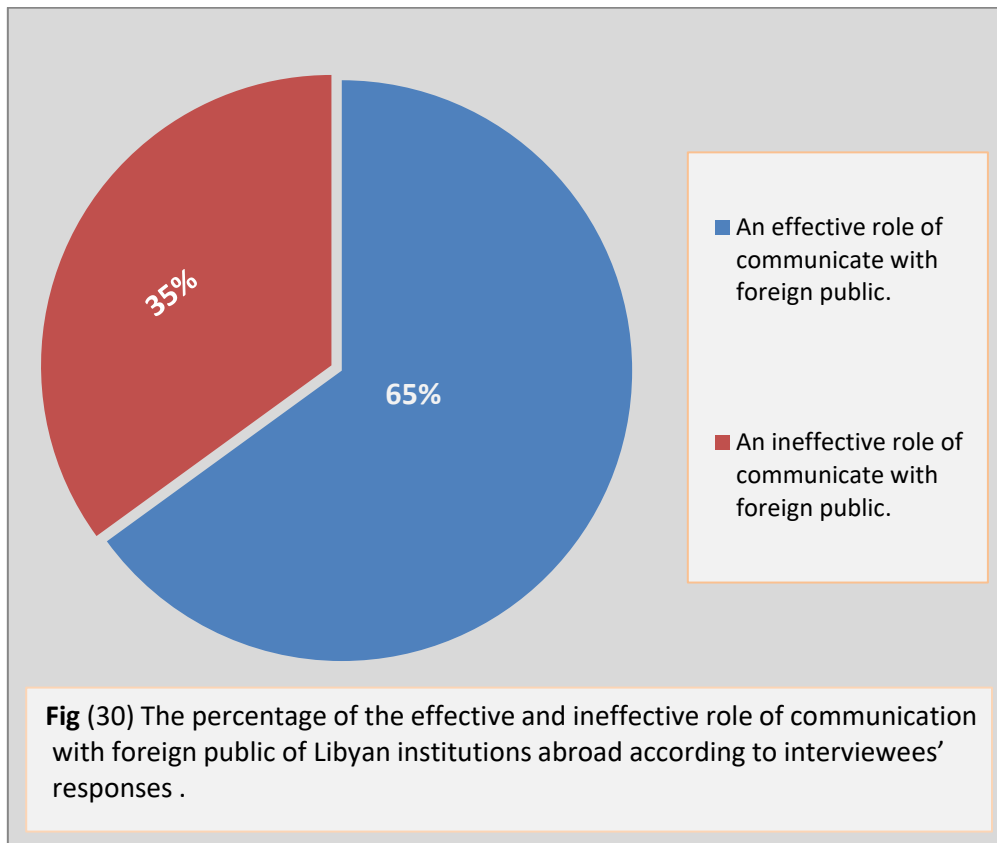
Fig (**30**) shows the percentage of interviewees' that view the role of their communication with foreign publics as effective compared with the percentage of interviewees who do not.

It is worth noting that in their responses, the interviewees gave a high percentage to the potential effective role of their communication with foreign publics abroad, with 65%, while other interviewees that did not see the role of their communication efforts with foreign publics abroad as effective represented only 35%.

In fact, some interviewees emphasised the effectiveness of their communication efforts with foreign publics abroad, such as MO (5), who asserted it thus:

> *"Of course and surely we have an effective and vital role in promoting an image and reputation of Libya abroad through advantageous communication with the Egyptian press and providing various activities in the Egyptian society, as well as, by transferring a message of peace, brotherhood, and co-existence from Libyan people to all other peoples in*

> *the   world   through   constant   communication   with   their   elites,*
> *representatives, and intellectuals".*

In addition, MO (4) stated that, "We believe that our office has an effective and satisfying role compared with the available resources to us and the current Libyan situation".

Likewise, MO (2) pointed out that, "Undoubtedly, our public relations office performs a positive and effective role in improving an image and reputation of Libya abroad through significant communication efforts".

However, some other interviewees indicated the contrary: they do not see their communication efforts with foreign publics abroad as effective. For example, MO (17) said, "Unfortunately, I do not think our communication with foreign public abroad has an effective role because our financial resources and abilities are still very limited and has not yet reached an effective work level".

Similarly, MO (6) said, "Despite we work hard in this regard, nevertheless, it cannot be said that our communication efforts have an effective role as a result of many obstacles that the most important one is the deterioration of security and political situations in Libya and the instability of the country".

5.2.2.3.3 Future of Communication

Almost two thirds of the interviewees, 65%, agreed with the results of the content analysis of electronic and printed media content produced by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad that the practice of public relations communication with foreign publics by Libyan institutions in both Egypt and the UK is quite similar, whether in terms of content or means of communication.

In this regard, MO (10) stated the following:

> *"Yes, I can see this similarity between almost all Libyan institutions abroad*
> *in communication practice with foreign public, it seems to me an*
> *acceptable and logical thing because the Libyan mentalities which run*
> *those institutions are almost have the same ways and ideas, perhaps some*

of them are the same administrations that ran Libyan institutions before revolution of 17 February 2011, since a lot of things have not been changed yet, it is somewhat a complicated matter, but I think that communication practice by Libyan institutions abroad is built on a Libyan administration culture or pattern".

Furthermore, all interviewees believe that there is an urgent need to develop communication practice with foreign publics on the part of public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in host countries to promote Libya's national brand abroad. For example, MO (4) stated the following:

"I think that the communication function of public relations at Libyan institutions abroad needs from these institutions to be agreed on long-term mutual plans and strategies and build them based on modern communication technology in a way that serves Libya's image and reputation in the hosting countries through one vision and in multi methods and contents of media".

MO (1) said:

"Focus must be on two main things associated directly with a success or failure of communication function of public relations at Libyan institutions abroad: First, staff whom are responsible for conducting communication with foreign public of these institutions in terms of education, skills, culture, smartness, and the ability to manage a dialogue. Second, an appropriate financial support to this function to practice communication properly with foreign public abroad and in a way that assists to win their hearts before their minds".

By the same token, MO (8) explained it thus:

"We believe that media offices at the Libyan embassies abroad should have a vital and effective role in communicating with foreign public. However, this effective role depends on abilities and experience of who manage that

communication. Thus, when selecting officers and staff to those offices should take into account specific qualities and skills such as adequate awareness and a well knowledge of a foreign society where communication contents are provided about Libya and its people, along with the ability to deal with newspapers and media channels that operate in that society".

Furthermore, MO (5) pointed out that:

"The communication practice from public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad should concentrate more on providing communication contents that aim to improve Libya's image and reputation in people's minds in other countries through social media which is today the most popular and widely used means and acceptable more than traditional media, it is also important to work professionally by entering into the world of electronic press which is one of this era's characteristic".

Therefore, the development of public relations practice at Libyan institutions abroad for public diplomacy purposes requires fundamental amendments in the pattern of the Libyan administration at these institutions to meet the requirements of each foreign environment. In addition, general plans, programs, and strategies should be agreed among public relations practitioners at these institutions as a general framework to improve Libya's image and reputation abroad. Arguably, this requires the availability of two basic elements for establishing an appropriate communication with foreign public in other countries: First, qualified administrative and media cadres which are able to implement these plans, programs, and strategies; second, sufficient financial support to prepare and provide various communication contents to foreign public in a proper way that guarantees achievement of the desired goals.

5.3 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, as addressed in my analysis of the research findings in this chapter, the findings show that communication efforts of public relations practitioners atall Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK focus on two of nation brand's six themes, which are the People theme and the Governance theme, respectively, while themes such as the Exports, Culture and Heritage, Investment and Immigration, and Tourism themes have gained very little attention in these efforts.

It can be clearly seen from the findings thatpublic relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK, employed a diverse set of communication means,to varying degrees, ranging from personal communication as the most used manner, followed by social media, magazines and newspapers, websites, brochures, TV and radio channels, and posters, respectively.

In addition, journalists and elites are considered by public relations practitioners as an additional media channel to deliver effective communication contents to different categries of publics in Egypt and the UK.

With regard to models of communication applied through the communication efforts of public relations practitioners with foreign public of Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK, the publicity model was the most dominant model adopted in these communication efforts, followed by the public information model, while the dialogue and negotiation model was rarely adopted in this regard.

Public relations in Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK, has adopted solely two strategies from the five image repair strategies, which are the reducing offensiveness strategy and the corrective action strategy. No evaluation strategy has been developed to assess the outcomes of its communication efforts.

It is worth noting that, despite the fact that the Libyan institutions targeted operate in different environments, Egypt and the UK, as well as the fact that they can be classified into

governmental and non-governmental institutions, the findings for all these institutions were very similar, whether in terms of the attention given to each theme of nation brand's six themes, or in terms of the models of communication adopted in order to communicate with the foreign public in both countries post revolution of 17 February 2011.

The next chapter introduces in depth a detailed discussion of the generated findings from both main methods in the current study; content analysis and interviews, in order to reach an accuracy and consistency of judgement, reasonable interpretations of these findings, and explicit connections between them and the literature of both public relations and public diplomacy.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter serves as a discussion of findings generated from the empirical work. It also entails employing the conclusions reached from the literature review in chapter three. The discussion within this chapter addresses directly the research questions and objectives of the study.

The questions asked in this study aimed to identify public relations practice for public diplomacy purposes related to foreign publics by Libyan institutions located in Egypt and the UK, through clarifying public relations' models, methods, themes, and strategies addressed to foreign publics in order to promote Libya's image and reputation in the outside world post revolution of 17 February 2011.

This chapter brings together all of the findings which the study reached from literature, content analysis, observation, and interviews in a detailed discussion to draw ultimate conclusions and an enriched understanding of Libyan institutions' public relations practice abroad with regard to foreign publics post the 2011 revolution.

6.2 DISCUSSION

The results of the study suggest that public relations at Libyan institutions located in Egypt and the UK have adopted different types of media channels to communicate with foreign publics post revolution of 17 February 2011. However, the central focus was on the utilisation of personal communication to reach certain categories of public, which are journalists and media professionals, and elites such as ambassadors, leaders, and decision-makers.

Public relations literature recognises the issue of concentrating on communicatingwith only certain categories of public rather than all categories and groups of public in the communication efforts of Arab diplomatic institutions, where a study by Khakimova (2013) concluded that most communication efforts employed by Arab embassies in the United States focus only on building strong relationships with the US government and Congress.

It is worth noting that the results here also support the assumption of Taylor and Kent (1999, p.134) that "multiple publics may be an important part of public relations communication in the developed world; but in the developing world, specific publics such as journalists and government officials may actually be more important publics".

The results of the current study point to two key reasons for this utilisation of personal communication by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK, which are: First, to open a beneficial dialogue with journalists and elites to understand their opinions and viewpoints concerning Libya, and then to aim to begin to positively influence them by providing them with factual information and attractive themes regarding Libya. Second, these categories of public, in particular, journalists and media professionals, are considered a bridge to reach other groups of general public by gaining appropriate media coverage for all events, news, and themes related to Libya within the host countries.

The two key points above also interpret why the journalists and media professionals category, and the elites category, respectively, have been given the most attention by public relations practitioners in communication efforts with foreign publics as it appears in the results. This is based on those practitioners' idea that communication (face to face) with categories such as

journalists, media professionals, and elites, through providing them with favourable content concerning Libya, can be an appropriate and alternative way to also communicate with the general public, rather than engaging in direct communication with them.

However, Khakimova's study (2013) suggests other reasons behind this pattern of communication related to the nature of Arab communication culture, which tends to prefer conducting communication from the bottom up. Furthermore, Arab institutions do not pay much attention to ordinary public in their communication efforts, bearing in mind that Moss and Desanto (2011, p.469) believe that "culture is communication and communication is culture".

The results appear to show another reason why public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK pay somuch attention to journalists and media professionals category: most Libyan institutions in the two countries mentioned do not publish any newspapers or magazines at all, instead using available publishing spaces in local newspapers and magazines in Egyptian society and British society. Therefore, it is unquestionable that the utilisation of those local newspapers and magazines for public relations by Libyan institutions located in Egypt and the UK requires establishing strong relationships with journalists and media professionals in these countries.

What also emerged from the study results is the considerable use of social media such as Facebook and Twitter based on their interactive functionality and ability to reach certain categories of public. For example, Facebook is widely used because it is the most widespread and popular channel in the world today, while Twitter is used because of its ability to reach particular branches of public such as elites, intellectuals, and decision-makers. It was considered an appropriate channel to address political themes and issues.

Interestingly, whilst the results of the study show significant use of social media by public relations practitioners in communication efforts with foreign publics. The literature review clearly indicates that social media is one of the most appropriate channels to establish two-way communication with the public in today's world (see e.g. Archetti, 2010; Chengyu, 2012; Zhou et al., 2013). Yet despite engagement with social media, the evidence from this research suggests there is no real utilisation of social media platforms on the part of public

relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad to set up this type of two way communication with foreign publics.

These social media platforms appear to have been used solely for dissemination purposes to spread wide publicity and to give public information concerning Libya to foreign publics through one-way communication. Undoubtedly, this has prevented those undertaking public relations efforts from taking advantage of the opportunity offered by social media to set up interactive communication with the public that fosters constructive dialogue to assist in the exchange of different perspectives, opinions, and views between all parties of communication.

The reasons behind this imperfect utilisation of social media by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK outlined briefly here, as indicated by the results:

First, the poor political and economic situation in Libya following revolution of 17 February 2011, which have created conflicting and often hostile attitudes and opinions among the public regarding the reality of Libya today. This is reflected negatively in communication practices with foreign publics as it is impossible to open dialogue and interact with public that has such pre-conceived attitudes and prejudices (MO 2; MO 11; MO 14; MO 15).

The results here support what has been emphasised in the literature: that communication in public relations cannot be effectively practised in any community without the political and economic stability of that community (see e.g. Fareed & Ajoa, 2005; Waymer, 2013).

Second, there exists a lack of necessary skills and experience among public relations practitioners to manage dialogic and interactive communication with foreign publics. As a result, the practitioners found it is easier to simply transmit information, news, and publicity content to foreign publics through social media platforms than to enter into direct dialogue with them (MO 3; MO 7; MO 8).

This is fully in line with what was concluded in a study by Khakimova (2013) that Arab embassies in the United States are completely dependent on one-way communication with the foreign public. These embassies utilise social media only to deliver their communication messages to foreign public without any attempt to open dialogue or conversation with them.

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However, the issue of an imperfect utilisation of modern communication technology tools, in particular social media platforms, is not just associated with communication practices from public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions, or even Arab institutions abroad; it appears to be an international trait.

The literature shows that several cases of international communication have experienced the same issue. For example, a study by Kuzma (2010) concluded that more than two thirds of Asian governments failed to utilise new communication technology, specifically, social media, in order to communicate with people. They mistakenly deal with these linked social networks in the same way as they do with other mediachannels, which were built on theidea of communication from the top down, and only to deliver communication messages to the public without listening to them in turn.

The most fascinating results regarding contents that were found in public relations through the communication efforts with foreign publics of Libyan institutions located in Egypt and the UK, is the dominance of two of the nation brand's six themes on these communications aimed at promoting Libya's image and reputation in host countries. These two dominant themes are the People theme and the Governance theme, respectively.

The reasons for the dominance of two of the six themes can asserted in two key points: First, there is a strong belief among public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK that the People theme and the Governance theme are essential to building an initial knowledge of Libya in the minds of foreign publics. Communication contents should give them a higher priority to open the door to other themes, which can be provided later. Second, the significant dominance of information and news regarding the poor political and economic situation of Libya across global media has driven public relations practitioners to give more attention to addressing issues concerning politics and people through the content of their communications with foreign publics (MO 1; MO 3; MO 12; MO 13; MO 14).

This appears to have led to withholding sufficient attention to other themes such as the exports theme, which has been not given any attention by public relations practitioners in terms of their communication contents.

In addition, the researcher has extrapolated from the literature another reason for the significant neglect of the Exports theme in communication contents provided to foreign publics by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK. Specifically, Libya's state exports focus almost solely on oil and fuels, which represent approximately 95.93% of total export, while other products and materials represent only 4.07% of total Libya's exports, taking into account that the US and European companies are heavily involved in exploration and extraction of Libya's oil and fuel exports and marketing them in other countries.

Thus, it may be surmised that Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK view the presentation and promotion of the Exports theme outside Libya as the remit of US and European companies more than their own responsibility abroad (see e.g. Almisrati, 2012; Khamisi, 2015; the US Energy Information Administration, 2015).

Anholt's argues for the necessity of striking a balance between the nation brand's six themes in any communication contents aimed at promoting a state's image, reputation, and identity abroad (Clancy, 2011).

Many other scholars share Anholt's view concerning the balance required between nation brand's six themes in communication contents (see e.g. Kotler & Gertner, 2002; Dinnie, 2008; Fan, 2010). For example, Mendez (2013, p.471) points out that:

> *"A recommendation arising from this study, which is consistent with the multidimensionality of the nation brand molecule, is that nation branding strategies should not be developed as silos based on one or two specific dimensions exclusively without considering the impact on, or by, other relevant concepts. Therefore, nation brand managers should embrace a more holistic approach when developing an international positioning strategy".*

Meanwhile, Fetscherin (2010, p.468) states that:

> *"A country brand is complex and includes multiple levels, components, and disciplines. It entails the collective involvement of the many stakeholders it*

must appeal to. It concerns a country's whole image, covering political,
economic, social, environmental, historical, and cultural aspects".

The results of the interviews do however show a strong intent on the part of public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK to strike abalance between nation brand's six themes in communications content once the obstacles that prevent them from considering that balance no longer exist (MO 4; MO 7; MO 10; MO 14).

The key obstacle that appears to face public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK to strike abalance between nation brand's six themes in their communication contents with foreign public, is the current unstable situation in Libya due to the political conflict post revolution of 17 February 2011, and its reflection in a selection of appropriate communication themes.

Themes such as exports, investment, culture, and tourism do not seem as suitable themes to concentrate on and introduce them to foreign public in a period of political conflicts and economic crisis of a country. While political issues, economic reforms, people's perspectives and attitudes can be the focus of foreign publics' attention.

The above discussion of results reveals that public relations communication with foreign publics of Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK is conducted mainly by depending on the publicity model, with the aim to promote Libya's image and reputation in the outside world following revolution of 17 February 2011.

It is important to understand, however, that evidence of heavy reliance on the publicity model in communication practices of public relations with foreign publics does not mean that public relations practitioners adopt only this model in their communication efforts. The results indicate that other models of communication were adopted by public relations practitioners for the same purposes, such as the public information model, and the dialogue and negotiation model, taking into account that the dialogue and negotiation model, which is known in Grunig's theory as a two-way symmetrical model, was utilised by public relations practitioners solely to communicate (face to face) and build relationships with highly specific categories of public, namely, journalists and elites (MO 2; MO 6; MO 8).

The above evidence leads this research to present the following model of Libyan institutional public relations in Egypt and the UK.
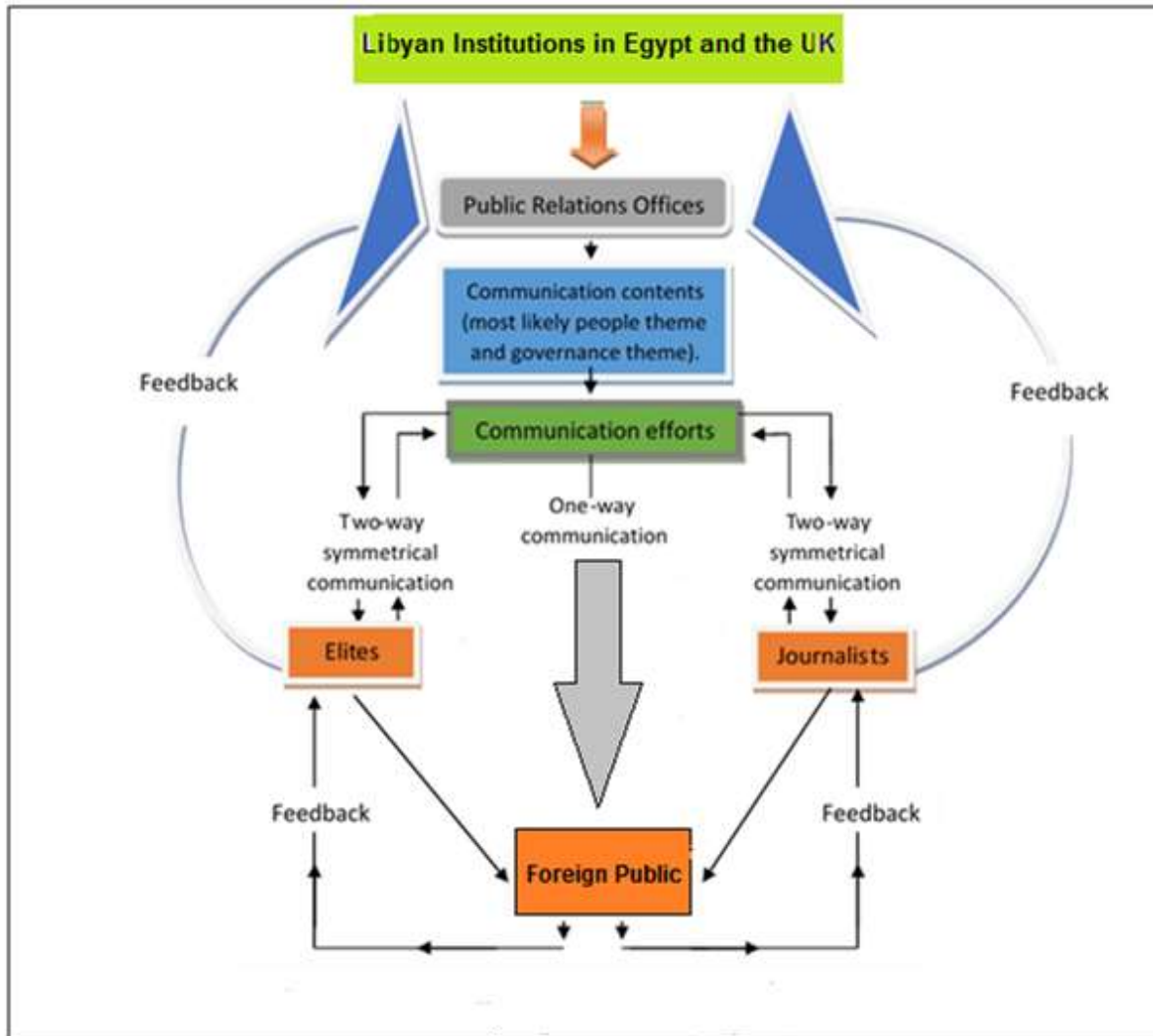

Fig (31) The current model of Libyan Applied Public Relations Practice Abroad 'Egypt and UK' (LAPRPA).

Source: Author's research

Fig (31) shows the model applied in the public relations practices at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK with foreign publics based on the evidence of this research. The applied model, termed the Libya Abroad PR model (LAPRPA) can be explained in the context of both Grunig's theory and Anholt's theory.

According to the (LAPRPA) model, it can be said that Public Relations Offices at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK are responsible for preparing and providing communication

contents concerning Libya to foreign public in these countries. These communication contents mostly focused on two themes of Anholt's six nation brand's themes theory, which are the People theme and the Governance theme in Libya.

While, to transmit those communication contents to targeted publics, Grunig's communication models such as the publicity model, public information model, and two-way symmetrical model 'dialogue and negotiation model' are utilized by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK.

The publicity model and the public information model are utilized to communicate with all types of foreign publics as general, while the dialogue and negotiation model has been adopted to establish two-way communication only with journalists and elites.

It is worth to be mentioned that, the dialogue and negotiation model was adopted by public relations practitioners to obtain feedback on their communication efforts from journalists and elites (MO 2; MO 3; MO 12).

Indeed, this was the only way adopted by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK to measure the effectiveness of their communication with ordinary foreign public post revolution of 17 February 2011. Journalists and elites are considered by public relations practitioners as an additional media channel to communicate with other categories of foreign publics in other countries.

Although the Libyan PR model abroad (LAPRPA) has essential elements of both Grunig's theory and Anholt's theory together, nevertheless, it is not an ideal model that should be adopted from public relations in Libyan institutions abroad to promote a country such Libya that has all possibilities to enjoy a great status in the international community, such as strategic location, civilization, culture, tourist attractions, virgin and fertile environment for investments, great sources of the most demanded natural resources 'oil and gas' (see e.g. Allan, 2006; Almhir, 2013).

Therefore, one of this research's essential contributions is to frame an ideal model for public relations practice atLibyan institutions abroad (IMPRPLIA) aims to promote Libya's image

and reputation abroad, depending on combination of Grunig's theory and Anholt's theory, and ultimate findings of the current research (see p.263).

The Libyan PR abroad model affirms the postulation of Grunig's theory that a mix of PR approaches, articulated in models such as the publicity model, the public information model, and the two-way symmetrical 'dialogue and negotiation model', are of the dominant models of public relations practices in different environments and countries. Besides, evidence from this research supports the assumption that Western theories related to public relations practice are applicable in other regions of the world.

The evidence of this research indicates that although public relations in Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK does not employ any evaluation strategy for its communication efforts, with a total dependence on feedback gained from journalists and elites through two-way face-to-face communication and personal relationships, public relations practitioners nevertheless have a strong belief that they have an effective and positive role in promoting Libya's image and reputation abroad (MO 2; MO 4; MO 8; MO 12).

Three main points have emerged from the results regarding why public relations practitioners have not made any serious effort to evaluate communication efforts with foreign publics abroad since revolution of 17 February 2011, which are; First, practitioners believe that it is too soon to evaluate their communications outcomes. Second, there is a lack of human and financial resources to adopt and carry out any evaluation strategy. Finally, public relations practitioners consider evaluation strategies of communication efforts with foreign publics concerning Libya as the responsibility of Libyan diplomatic institutions abroad, such as Libyan embassies in other countries (MO 7; MO 16; MO 17). However, practitioners at Libyan diplomatic institutions abroad do not consider the evaluation of communications with foreign publics in Egypt and UK to be among their responsibilities or tasks (MO 7; MO 8).

The justifications given by public relations practitioners seem to be illogical and insufficient to not conduct an assessment to their communication efforts. More than four years of work in this regard is a suitable period to be subjected to an assessment, even if only partially, the short term assessment can be applied from time to time on limited samples of the results and then compare them to the set objectives. Moreover, a lack of experts and financial resources

are not reasonable excuses for not conducting a periodic assessment to communication outcomes, where evaluation is an essential part of the process of planning, preparation, and carrying out communication efforts, and it is not an optional action.

The last point undoubtedly refers to public relations practitioners' misunderstanding of their functions and responsibilities towards ensuring the best possible outcome of their communication efforts with foreign publics, with the aim to promote Libya's image and reputation in Egypt and the UKfollowing the revolution of 17 February 2011.

Another key element of the strategies employed by public relations practitioners in their communication efforts with foreign publics from the results is the use of image repair actions, which according to Benoit comprise: denial, evading responsibility, reducing offensiveness, corrective action, and mortification (Khakimova, 2013).

The results show that the central focus was on the reducing offensiveness strategy and the corrective action strategy (MO 7; MO 12; MO 13; MO 14). These two strategies were considered by public relations practitioners as the most appropriate strategies to address the current difficult political and economic situations in Libya through communication efforts with foreign publics abroad.

In fact, there are many outstanding political and economic issues in Libya which urgently need to be settled and solved in order to eliminate their impacts in the next stage of promotion of Libya's image and reputation abroad, whether these issues are old issues have been occured during the Qaddafi regime or those issues that emerged post revolution of 17 February 2011. Consequently, open communication with foreign publics with the aim of correcting mistakes and reducing misunderstanding can significantly contribute to create new beginnings with foreign publics in other countries based on mutual trust, respect, and understanding.

Strategies such as the denial strategy and the evading responsibility strategy were unutilised by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions located in Egypt and the UK. The practitioners described these strategies as useless strategies to promote Libya's image and reputation in the outside world because in the era of satellites, internet, and live media

coverage of almost every event worldwide it has become impossible to deny an event or escape from facts or rumours and incorrect news (MO 6; MO 11; MO 17).

Facing the reality as it is, no matter the poor conditions of Libya are, and dealing with current events and widespread news in a professional media way is much better than solely attempting to hide them or leave the full media coverage of them to the global media where they can be exposed to distortion or intended deception.

Although the mortification strategy was mentioned by some public relations practitioners as one of the strategies utilised in communication efforts with foreign publics, a considerable number of the practitioners believe that the mortification strategy should be applied solely by the Libyan government and its diplomatic institutions abroad such as embassies and diplomatic missions (MO 2; MO 11).

Public relations literature has identified another issue that prevents Arab institutions such as Libyan institutions abroad from applying the mortification strategy extensively in their communications with foreign publics, which is that Arab culture considers an apology an expression of weakness that should not be shown to others.

> *"Arabs may view apology as a weakness that leads to the lack of respect.*
> *This cultural value may lead to the avoidance of the mortification strategy*
> *in governments' efforts to repair their image"* (Khakimova, 2013, p.39).

By reviewing the literature of Arab public relation practice and compare it to the current study findings, it can be argued that the practice of public relations at Libyan institutions abroad is not very different from its peers in Arab countries and institutions; this conclusion is also reinforced in the literature. The most striking evidence of this similarity that has emerged in the course of this study are:

First, in both Libyan institutions abroad and Arab institutions, the one-way communication model has been widely adopted by public relations practitioners in communication efforts.

Second, particular categories of public, such as journalists and elites, receive the most attention from public relations practitioners at both Libyan institutions abroad and Arab institutions.

Third, poor utilisation of social media to carry out solely one-way communication instead of two-way interactive communication with the public at both Libyan institutions abroad and Arab institutions is present.

Fourth, a large concentration of public relations at both Libyan institutions abroad and Arab institutions adopt certain image repair strategies such as the reducing offensiveness strategy and the corrective action strategy.

> *"Although several Arab embassies attempted to use Twitter, Facebook, and blog platforms, the purpose was primarily to communicate rather than listen and engage in a conversation"* (Khakimova, 2013, p.29).

In addition, practice of public relations at both Libyan institutions abroad and Arab institutions faces almost the same obstacles in communication efforts, such as a lack of finance and communication expertise, prior impressions in the public's minds, and the Arab communication culture (see e.g. Al Khaja, 2009; Hassen, 2012; Khakimova, 2013).

The results lead the researcher to argue that public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK have not adopted the new concept of public diplomacy in its communication efforts with foreign publics in the host countries, taking into account that the literature of both public relations and public diplomacy indicates the same results for public relations in other Arab institutions abroad.

The most distinguishing feature of the new concept of public diplomacy is two-way interactive communication with foreign publics to build mutual understanding with them in an attemptto create strong cultural ties with peoples of other countries through constant communications strategies. These should be firmly based on honesty, fairness, and good intentions, all important factors in promoting a favourable image and reputation of a country in the outside world, rather than just seeking to attract people through publicity to win temporary political gains.

> *"Effective new public diplomacy is a two-way communication process in which organisations and governments not only communicate their preferences but also listen to their target audiences"* (Khakimova, 2013, p.23).

In addition, this new concept of public diplomacy, which belongs to a perspective that is built on interaction, engagement, and dialogue with foreign publics, has benefited from modern communication technology to build networks of interactive communication with those foreign publics and to engage them in setting up effective diplomatic strategies and foreign policies (Vandekerckhove, 2004). In other words,

> *"Relational public diplomacy with the aim of generating favourable ties with the foreign public by generating dialog and collaboration"* (Park & Lim, 2014, p.79).

The results indicate the strong intention of public relations practitioners to adopt different models of communication, including the dialogue and negotiation model that is the two-way symmetrical model, once any obstacles, in particular the current difficult political and economic situations in Libya, which force them to utilise only certain models of communication, are settled and terminated (MO 2; MO 8; MO 15). A similar view has been argued by J. Grunig that "symmetrical public relations is based on equality, autonomy, innovation, decentralisation of management, responsibility, conflict resolution, and interest group liberalism" (Taylor & Kent, 1999, p.139).

Nevertheless, giving the largest possible amount of information, facts, and news to foreign publics in Egypt and the UK without engagement in effective dialogue to promote the exchange of opinions, ideas, and visions, represents the practice of public relations at Libyan institutions within the host countries following revolution of 17 February 2011.

Thus, the concept of public diplomacy adopted by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK apparently belongs to the old, narrow concept of public diplomacy that is bound by the notion of giving facts and information to foreign publics, most likely through the publicity model.

This 20th-century brand of public diplomacy belongs to the tough-minded school that is built on two approaches, which are persuasion and propaganda, in order to shape or change the public's attitudes in other countries, in particular, political attitudes, by giving the largest possible amount of information related to a certain political issue or matter through mass media channels rather than through direct, interactive communication (Nye, 2004).

This concept has been widely criticised in the literature, where most scholars emphasise that giving more information and news to the public cannot by itself guarantee successful communication or achieve desired objectives, but can instead increase the potential for misunderstanding (Snow & Taylor, 2009).

Another aspect of the practitioners' responses reveals an additional reason why public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK have not adopted the new concept of public diplomacy in their communication efforts with foreign publics in the host countries. Results show a failure onthe part of most practitioners to present a proper definition of public diplomacy, let alone distinguish the term public diplomacy which focuses more on communicating and building relationships with ordinary foreign people than it does with foreign governments to influence the foreign policies of states and shape positive public opinion towards a certain idea or issue, from the term diplomacy which refers to governmental efforts to build relations between states' governments to achieve common political and economic interests. In fact, there was significant confusion between the two (MO 3; MO 6; MO 9; MO 10; MO 17).

Consequently, it should not be expected that such practitioners are able to make a clear distinction between the old and new concepts of public diplomacy, which presents another reason as to why these practitioners have not adopted the new concept of public diplomacy in their communication efforts with foreign publics in Egypt and the UK.

This has led scholars to call for more attention on the remarkable convergence between public relations and public diplomacy (Signitzer& Coombs, 1992).

> *"It is recognised that public relations and public diplomacy are similar and should work together, both in the practice and the academy"* (Hayes, 2012, p. 214).

Despite the results suggesting that public relations practitioners have a strong belief that they have an effective and positive role in promoting Libya's image and reputation abroad, the results also show that those practitioners have a sense of dissatisfaction because they think that they can contribute more to Libyan public diplomacy activities than they do at present (MO 2; MO 4; MO 5; MO 7; MO 12).

This dissatisfaction feeling is based on a growing realization amongst public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad to the great opportunity that has become available to them post revolution of 17 February 2011, to contribute to promote Libya's image and reputation in other countries, and to enhance its status in the international community.

The results also indicate that there are obvious differences in the practice of public relations with foreign publics post revolution of 17 February 2011, compared with what came before, due to the nature of the period following the revolution (MO 2; MO 3; MO 5; MO 7; MO 8; MO 10; MO 11; MO 15). These differences were summarised by public relations practitioners into two key points.

First, the period after revolution of 17 February 2011 offered many advantages to public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK to appropriately communicate with foreign publics within these countries (MO 2; MO 3; MO 5; MO 8; MO 10; MO 11), such as the freedom to express opinions and views without fear of reprisals, thecreation of a genuine and strong desire to contribute to the promotion of Libya's image abroad, an opportunity to communicate with elites such as ambassadors and opinion leaders, and an ability to open the door to dialogue and negotiation onany topic or issue related to Libyan affairs with a foreign public. This almost certainly reflectspositively onLibyan public relations practice with foreign publics abroad for public diplomacy purposes.

Second, in spite of the above advantages, there were serious disadvantages in the period following the revolution on practice of public relations by Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK (MO 3; MO 7; MO 10; MO 11; MO 15). For example, political conflicts and ideological divisions in Libya led to a disagreement regarding the creation of a unified identity for Libya to be provided via communication efforts to foreign publics abroad. The instability of Libya has produced weak governments incapable of organising communication

efforts abroad, wasting communication efforts addressing confused and inappropriate images of Libya given to foreign publics abroad by global media as a result of the difficult political and economic situation in Libya. Following revolution of 17 February 2011, there is a lack of experience among new young political and business leaders, and a lack of financial resources forcommunication efforts with foreign publics due to political and economic crises in Libya.

This agreement among public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions, in both Egypt and the UK, on the advantages and current difficulties facing the practice of public relations in order to communicate with foreign publics with the aim to promote Libya's image and reputation, can also explain what is concluded from the findings concerning the striking similarity between the practice of public relations in two different types of institutions: government and non-government.

This similarity of practice was evidenced based on what the results show concerning the similarity of communication models, contents, means, strategies, and available opportunities, and current obstructions to Libyan institutions in both countries.

The literature of public relations can be used to interpret this similarity in terms of the ethnocentrism, whose advocates claim that as long as some of characteristics of social behaviour are common in all cultures, the same principles and concepts of public relations can be applied to those cultures. Furthermore, advocates of this theory view the world through their own lens because they consider their own culture to be global (Algmal, 2009). Therefore, they rely on their own cultural values to judge all patterns of human behaviour, even if the environments are different.

The literature of public diplomacy also recognises a similar thought, which assumes that certain patterns of communication can always serve public diplomacy purposes, whether to reinforce the current status of a country or to repair its image and reputation in the minds of foreign publics abroad, without the need to pay any attention to differences between environments, cultures, characteristics, and values (Pamment, 2014).

It appears that public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK have unintentionally adopted ethnocentrism in their efforts to communicate with foreign publics by

utilising the same models, means, contents, and strategies of communication in two different countries.

These theories and assumptions were ironically widely criticised in the literature of both public relations and public diplomacy. Scholars of both disciplines strongly believe that communication cannot be isolated from surrounding environmental factors. An idea of only delivering communication messages that reflect a country's cultural values and identity to peoples of other countries without giving attention to differences of ideas, visions, and behaviours is a useless and worthless idea from this perspective (Pamment, 2014).

This coincides with what has been reinforced in cultural relativism theory, which argues that it is necessary to apply the concepts and principles of public relations in line with each culture's characteristics (Algmal, 2009).

The research results show a consensus among public relations practitioners that the key factor in adopting this assumption of ethnocentrism for almost all Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK, is that Libyan institutions abroad are run by the same Libyan mentalities, which have the same ideas, plans, patterns, ways, and most likely the same knowledge, all of which emanate from Libyan administrative culture (MO 4; MO 10; MO 16).

In this regard, a media consultant in the Libyan Embassy in London, Ghazy Gheblawi, asserted that "We try our best to instil a new concept of communication practice with foreign public, but unfortunately we often come up against an inappropriate reality due to the old administrative culture that is still existing in our Embassy, as well as in the Libyan Foreign Ministry which often refuse positive changes" (G. Gheblawi, personal communication, 30 April 2014).

The results of the study support what is emphasised in the literature, namely that Arab public relations problems are administrative problems, such as neglect by senior management at Arab institutions to set up long-term plans, objectives, and evaluation methods. There is also a lack of awareness among them of the importance of public relations at the local, national, and international levels; these maybe considered the key issues impeding the effective

practice of Arab public relations (see e.g. Abdalla, 2008; Al Khaja, 2009; Al-Kandari, 2011; Hessen, 2012).

Grunig posited the generic principle and specific applications theory to address the question of whether public relations theory and practice should be unique to each country or culture, or whether it should be practised in the same way everywhere. The theory asserts that global public relations should fall somewhere between standardisation and individualisation (Grunig, 2009).

Grunig (2009, p.1) explains the theory thus:

> *"At an abstract level, there is a set of generic principles that could be applied universally but that at a local level these principles should be applied differently in different locations..., our global theory is a normative theory that argues that public relations will be most effective throughout most parts of the world when it follows the generic principles and applies them with appropriate variations for local culture, political, social and economic conditions".*

Based on a consistently evidenced set of opportunities and, by contrast current difficulties that face the practice of public relations at Libyan institutions in their communication with foreign publics, the research results point up four key ways in which public relations practice can be developed and improved across all Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK:

- Create and maintain a constant connection with key decision-makers in Libya and with all major Libyan sectors (MO 7; MO 8; MO 10; MO 14). Besides, coordination between Libyan institutions abroad to set up general strategies and plans for what information to provide to foreign publics in host countries to intensify communication efforts, would increase their effectiveness and avoid contradictory provided contents of communication.
- Present Libya as a beautiful and attractive country with agreat civilisation, identity, and culture away from political and ideological differences (MO 7; MO 15; MO 16). Take into account that honesty, transparency, and clarity are necessary to build

relationships of trust and mutual understanding with foreign publics in the host countries. This may lead to gain these publices' hearts and attitudes towards Libya and their support for its political and economic issues internationally.

- Provide financial support to Libyan institutions to develop their communications practice with foreign publics abroad, as well as specialised professional staff capable of practising effective communication with foreign publics, supervision it and evaluating its outcomes (MO 1; MO 8).

- Increase the use of modern communication technology (MO 4; MO 5). In particular social media could be utilised more extensively, by providing effective communication contents and interaction with foreign publics via two-way communication that can help achieve the goals of all communicating parties.

6.3 CONCLUSION

In this research, review of the literature of both the public relations and public diplomacy fields, content analysis of electronic and printed media contents produced by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK in an effort to communicate with foreign publics post revolution of 17 February 2011, and interviews with public relations practitioners in these institutions, resulted in a mass of data analysed by utilising an explanatory model that was created based on two complementary theories: Anholt's Nation Brand theory and Grunig's Excellence theory.

The study findings suggest that the practice of public relations with foreign publics at Libyan institutions located in Egypt and the UK aiming to promote an image and reputation of Libya abroad post revolution of 17 February 2011, depends mainly on the publicity, or one-way communication model to deliver certain communication contents to this public, mostly via social media platforms.

The central focus of this communication contents was on two themes of Libya, which are People and Governance, while themes such as Exports, Investment and Immigration, Culture and Heritage, and Tourism did not gain sufficient attention to be provided to foreign publics by Libyan institutions located in Egypt and the UK post revolution of 17 February 2011.

The findings also showed that the practice of public relations with foreign publics at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK post revolution of 17 February 2011, is not subject to any evaluation strategy; it relies merely on practitioners' extrapolations of opinions, viewpoints, and attitudes through personal communication and relationships with journalists and elites in the countries mentioned.

With regard to communication strategies adopted in public relations practice with foreign publics at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK post revolution of 17 February 2011, public relations communication adopts the two key strategies of image repair, which are the reducing offensiveness strategy and the corrective action strategy due to the difficult political and economic situations in Libya post revolution of 2011.

This research has found that practice of public relations in UK and Egyptian environments for Libyan public diplomacy purposes post revolution of 17 February 2011, largely faces the same difficulties:

- Alack of financial capacity and expert knowledge of public relations activities.
- A lack of awareness on the part of senior management at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK of the important role of public relations practice in promoting an image and reputation of Libya abroad,
- The misunderstanding among public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK of certain key concepts such as public relations and public diplomacy and their inability to distinguish between old and new concepts of them.
- The repercussions of poor political and economic situations in Libya post revolution of 17 February 2011, on Libya's international interests and activities.

Evidence suggests that the practice of public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK pursues the old, narrow concept of public diplomacy in its communication efforts with foreign publics post revolution of 17 February 2011 in the mentioned countries. This concept focuses on giving the largest possible amount of information to target audiences without the slightest engagement with them.

This approach of Libyan public relations practice abroad for public diplomacy purposes is to a large extent in consonance with other Arab countries' approach, according to the literature of both public relations and public diplomacy fields.

The next chapter of this thesis details the significance of the key contributions of the research to academic understandings of PR and PD, provides recommendations for the future practice of Libyan public relations as public diplomacy abroad, and points to further research that should be undertaken on the basis of the findings of this research project.

CHAPTER SEVEN
CONTRIBUTION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The current literature of public relations identifies the need to explore the various issues that exist in the international environment (Valentini, Kruckeberg, & Starck, 2012). As a result, this study focused on public relations practice in Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK, following revolution of 17 February 2011, to evaluate its contribution topublic diplomacy behaviour due to a failure ofprevious research to deliver adequate studies on public diplomacy, modelled around public relations theories (Hayes, 2012). It has been contended that:

> *"The field of public diplomacy consists essentially in the application of PR to strategic relationships of organisations with international publics"*(Rasmussen & Merkelsen, 2012, p.811).

This study also explored how the communication role assumed by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad in order to present a favourable image and reputation of Libya can, in theory at least, serve to provide it with a powerful nation brand, as well as explaining how these activities can impact public diplomacy efforts. Identifying public relations models applied by Libyan institutions abroad is also crucial to determine the nature of the relationship between Libyan public diplomacy actors and foreign publics abroad. This is in line with the suggestions presented by Valentini, Kruckeberg, and Starck (2012), who argue that there is a need to explore and test new ideas in the field of public relations worldwide.

The first section of this chapter sheds light on key contributions of the current study to enriching the knowledge of both public relations and public diplomacy fields, as well as its contribution to efforts to boost the actual practice of public relations for public diplomacy purposes at Libyan institutions abroad.

The second section provides a set of recommendations based on the study findings with the aim of guiding the efforts of the Libyan government, Libyan institutions abroad, and public

relations offices in those institutions to enhance and promote Libya's image, reputation, and national brand in other countries.

The chapter concludes by examining opportunities for further study with regard to public relations and public diplomacy, and other related fields such as nation branding, mental imaging, and international relations.

7.2 CONTRIBUTION

The theoretical and practical contributions to knowledge of this research can be summarised into seven key points as follows:

First, the study is pioneering in that it is the first study to combine two complementary theories, public relations theory, 'Grunig's theory', and public diplomacy theory, 'Anholt's theory' as an unique explanatory tool to explore the practice of public relations in institutions abroad which aims to serve public diplomacy purposes. In our case, the model has been deployed to understand better the practice of public relations at Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK aimed at enhancing Libya's image and reputation in these two countries.

The combination of these two theories, 'Grunig's theory' and 'Anholt's theory', into one model has contributed to an enriched theoretical understanding of the practice of public relations with foreign publics by Libyan institutions abroad. It has allowed the creation of a precise explanatory model of the current state on Libyan public relations with a public diplomacy goal (LAPRPA). It is argued here that this model can serve as the future starting point for other similarly motivated research in the future (see p.245).

The study also contributes to providing a suggested ideal model for public relations practice at Libyan institutions abroad (IMPRPLIA) aims to promote Libya's image and reputation in other countries.

The (IMPRPLIA) model was built on the same key data of the current model of public relations practice with foreign public of Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK (LAPRPA) in terms of target public, communication themes, communication models, and feedbacks. However, several amendments and additions have been introduced in the IMPRLIA model in order aimed at making more effectivepublic relations practice to effectively achieve public diplomacy purposes as shown in Fig (32).

Libyan Institutions Abroad

Feedback

Public Relations Offices

Feedback

Communication Contents

| Exports | Governance | Investment and Immigration |
| Culture and Heritage | People | Tourism |

Communication efforts

Publicity

Public Information

Dialogue and Negotiation

Feedback

Feedback

Two way Symmetrical communication

Foreign Publics

Foreign People

Journalists

Elites

Foreign Institutions

Fig (32) Ideal Model for Public Relations Practice at Libyan Institutions Abroad (IMPRPLIA).

Source: Author's research

The Fig (32) showsthe ideal model for public relations practice atLibyan institutions abroad (IMPRPLIA). It suggests that public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad should prepare communication contents with foreign which should include in a balanced way all Anholt's nation brand's six themes which are: Exports, Governance, Culture and Heritage, People, Tourism, and Investment and Immigration. Then, communication with those publics should take place in three ways: publicity, public information, and dialogue and negotiation through two-way communication that can provide an opportunity to give foreign publics the desired contents and also to gain feedback from those publics.

This model, based on the literature review and the current research findings, is put forward as the most suitable model that can be adopted by Libyan institutions abroad for public relations practice that aims to promote a postivive image and reputation of Libya in other countries. This is the case for two reasons:

- The model gives an opportunity to present all elements of Libyan identity abroad in a variety ways, such as the publicity to provide Libya as a different state from what was before the revolution of 17 February 2011, the public information to present widely knowledge of Libyawhere the literature review indicates that there is insufficient knowledge of Libya among foreign publics in other countries,and the dialogue and negotiation to discuss and resolve differences of opinions and views regarding political and economic situation in Libya post revolution of 17 February 2011.

- This model deals with different categories of foreign publics such as foreign citizens, journalists, elites, and foreign institutions which can achieve two important things: a widespread media coverage to affairs and news concerning Libya, and strong support for Libyan issues in the international context. In addition, this model can allow those who run public relations programmes know feedback from different sources and types of publics on what has been provided to them.

Second, the selection of Libya, in particular, Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK as the field of study, provides a significant contribution to furthering knowledge of Libya as a new and different state post revolution of 17 February 2011, as well as to enrich knowledge of Libyan public relations and Libyan public diplomacy. The literature of both disciplines is devoid of previous research concerning Libya or its institutions abroad.

Third, this research contributes substantially to the ongoing debate about the potential convergence between the public relations and public diplomacy fields. It demonstrates several aspects that emphasise the necessity of this convergence for the success of efforts to promote an image and reputation of a state in an international context.

Fourth, the study also contributed to assert and clarify the previous studies' claim (Fareed & Ajoa, 2005; Waymer, 2013) that the existence of a democratic environment and political and economic stability in a country is a critical factor to advance practice of public relations for public diplomacy purposes.

Fifth, the study provides a substantial body of evidence in support of the argument that government and non-government institutions of a state abroad play a crucial and pivotal role in the promotion of an image and reputation of that state in other countries.

Six, the study draws attention to the potential impact of Arab communication culture on the practice of Arab public relations abroad. This impact has two aspects. The first, which is positive, is embodied in its dependence on habits, values, art, morals, customs, traditions that renounce violence and terrorism, and favour peace and co-existence. The second, which is negative, concerns some components of this culture that drive towards total reliance on propaganda in order to win target audiences' hearts and attitudes, beside building personal relationships with these audiences which could be easily lost when media officers left their posts, instead of utilization other proper methods such as dialogue, negotiation, establishing well-designed long-term institutional relationships, all these points which must be addressed in Arab public diplomacy efforts.

Seventh, the practical recommendations of this research are of value for the Libyan government and Libyan institutions abroad aiming to develop the practice of communication with peoples of other countries. This development could contribute in turn to the improvement of Libya's political and economic relationships with those countries, taking into account that Libya, in particular post revolution of 17 February 2011, needs to communicate and establish close relationships with the international community; specifically, with developed countries, which can contribute to rebuilding the Libyan state.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

7.3.1 Public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad should do their utmost to take advantage of the freedom available to them following revolution of 17 February 2011, to express opinions, views, cultural values, and identity components of Libya and share them with foreign publics through all available channels, in particular, social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

7.3.2 It is understandable that the focus on building interpersonal relationships with journalists and elites in host countries as indicated by the study findings seems advantageous and even necessary in the short term. However, beyond that, these interpersonal relationships maybe easily lost when public relations practitioners leave their positions in Libyan institutions abroad.

7.3.3 Expanding the use of the dialogue and negotiation model in public relations offices at Libyan institutions abroad should occur in communication efforts with the general public. The study findings show that this model is used solely with journalists and elites currently.

This can boost efforts to adopt a new concept of public diplomacyis based on engagement with all categories of public in a two-way interactive communication that ensures the exchange of ideas, vision, opinions and achievement of desired goals.

7.3.4 Establishing intensive courses for practitioners in public relations offices at Libyan institutions abroad should occur with the goal of instilling the new concept and approach of public diplomacy in their practice of public relations, as well as highlighting all aspects of the convergence between public relations and public diplomacy. The study findings show that public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad lack a proper understanding of these concepts.

7.3.5 Ensuring awareness among the senior management of Libyan institutions abroad of the nature of each overseas environment and the necessary methods to communicate and establish relationships with its people is very important, where the findings of the current research indicate that the senior management of Libyan institutions in two different environments 'Egypt and the UK' deal with foreign publics by almost the same ways, strategies, and methods of communication. Therefore, management should grant public

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relations offices the power to apply communication strategies in line with each environment separately, as well as provide necessary financial support and expertise in this regard.

7.3.6 The Libyan government should give more attention to the diplomatic role of Libyan government institutions abroad, such as embassies and government companies. In addition, the Libyan government should offer financial support and training to Libyan non-governmental institutions such as student unions and civil associations abroad as the study findings clearly show that they suffer dramatically from the Libyan state's negligence of their critical role in enhancing communications and activities of public diplomacy following revolution of 17 February 2011.

7.3.7 Coverage of Libya offered to foreign publics by public relations practitioners at Libyan institutions abroad through communication efforts should be diverse and balanced to reflect a comprehensive image of Libya and its people in other countries, with a greater focus on themes that promote peaceful co-existence and rapprochement between peoples such as culture, customs, traditions, heritage, and tourism, where such themes do not create controversy, incompatible attitudes, and significant differences in views among the public.

7.3.8 There must be a clear and reliable evaluation strategy for public relations communication efforts with foreign publics at Libyan institutions abroad, instead of depending only on individual extrapolations, estimates, and expected outcomes, as concluded from the study findings.

7.3.9 There must be a separation of the professional practice of management and public relations at Libyan institutions abroad from certain negative aspects of Arab culture (see p.265). In other words, the key point that must be considered by senior management and public relations offices at Libyan institutions abroad is how to take advantage of Arab culture to support the practice of public relations and enhance communication efforts with foreign publics as a beneficial, rather than opposing, factor of that practice.

To do so, the Libyan institutions abroad need to employ a set of Arab culture components such as customs, traditions, art, morals, and values that assist to bridge the gap with other cultures and focus on common points of convergence.

7.3.10 Ongoing support for research that seeks to examine the evolving practice of public relations at Libyan institutions abroad and its suitability for achieving public diplomacy purposes should be undertaken. The findings of this research should be utilised alongside existing knowledge of both public relations and public diplomacy fields, to develop and improve that practice.

7.4 FURTHER RESEARCH

The study investigates how public relations at Libyan institutions abroad, in particular, in Egypt and the UK, presents Libya to foreign publics via communication efforts in a way that serves public diplomacy purposes. Further research should attempt to investigate how and in what ways Libyan people abroad, whether as individuals or groups such as students, business people, and tourists, communicate with foreign publics in host countries to reflect Libya's image and reputation, as well as their ability to shape perceptions of Libya in the mind of a foreign public.

In addition, part of the evidence of this study highlighted the impact of Arab culture on the practice of public relations communication with foreign publics of Libyan institutions abroad. Other studies maybe undertaken to explore in depth the nature of this factor's impact on the practice of public relations in the public diplomacy field or in any other field, as well as to identify to what extent it can hinder Arab countries' (not least including Libya's) practice of public relations, whether domestically or internationally.

It is recognised that the present is a product of the past, so other studies based on historical methods are required to reveal the past of the practice of public relations at Libyan institutions in their communication with foreign publics for public diplomacy purposes, in particular, the period before revolution of 17 February 2011. Whilst some work on this topic exists (see Chapter Two, p.37-56), new research could significantly assist in drawing out comprehensive interpretations of the current practice of public relations to reach a deeper understanding of all environmental, administrative and cultural dimensions that surround it.

7.5 CONCLUSION

As clarified in this chapter, the key contribution of the current study is that the study is to present a comprehensive understanding of the practice of public relations at Libyan institutions abroad by combining two complementary theories, public relations theory, 'Grunig's theory', and public diplomacy theory, 'Anholt's theory'. This theoretical framework may be utilised for future academic studies concerning the converging relationship between public relations and public diplomacy.

In addition, the combination of these two theories together contributed to frame a posited ideal model for public relations practice at Libyan institutions abroad (IMPRPLIA) which aims to promote Libya's image and reputation in other countries. The application of this ideal model of public relations practice at Libyan institutions abroad is dependent on improvement of the political and economic situations in Libya, which is what all Libyan political parties are currently working on.

The study also offers a set of recommendations to improve public relations practices at Libyan institutions abroad. However, the most important recommendation that must be emphasized here is the necessity to realize the benefits to the practice of public relations from the new available environment to operate freely post revolution of 17 February 2011.

Future research could investigate the practice of public relations for public diplomacy purposes through investigating communication efforts with foreign public which are being carried out by Libyan people as individuals to promote Libya's image and reputation in other countries such as Libyan students, businessmen, intellectuals, and tourists, instead of focusing only on Libyan institutions' efforts abroad in this regard.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: A letter from Libyan Embassy - Cairo

EMBASSY OF LIBYA
CAIRO

Office of The Ambassador

To whom it may concern,

The Institutions In The Following List Are All Libyan Institutions In Egypt :

1- Libyan Embassy – Cairo.

2- Libyan Community Club .

3- Libyan Student union – Egypt .

4- Libyan Company For Investment .

5- Libyan Airlines Company.

6- Afriqiyah Airways Company.

7- Sixth Of October Company .

8- Ouia Company For Real Estate Investment .

9- Arab Agricultural Projects Company .

10- International company for investment services.

11- Libyan Bright Star Schools.

EMBASSY OF LIBYA CAIRO

ADMINISTRATIVE AFFAIRS

7 EL Saleh Ayoub - Zamalek - Cairo, Egypt
Telephone : +20 2 27351864 - +20 2 27351269

Fax : +20 2 2735319

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Appendix II: Libyan institutions' Websites, Facebook, and Twitter

First / Libyan institutions in Egypt

Libyan Embassy- Cairo

Website / http://egypt.embassy.ly/Home/Index/

Facebook/ https://www.facebook.com/140971516259190/

Twitter / https://twitter.com/LibyaEmbCairo

Libyan Community Club

Website / http://thelibyanclub.weebly.com/index.html

Fcebook / https://www.facebook.com-240813295965054

Libyan Students Union

Facebook/ https://www.facebook.com/lsueg

Twitter / https://twitter.com/ulseg

Libyan Airlines Company

Fcebook / https://www.facebook.com/libyanairlinesairmallbranch/timeline

Afriqiyah Airways Company

Fcebook / https://www.facebook.com/Afriqiyah.Aero/timeline

Ouia Company for Real Estate Investment

Website / http://www.ouiarealestate.com/arabic/video.html

Arab Agricultural Projects Company

Website / http://www.ziraia.com/about.html

Libyan Bright Star Schools

Website / https://www.facebook.com/LibyanBrightSchool/timeline

Second / Libyan institutions in the UK

Libyan Embassy- London

Website / http://ntclibya.org.uk/

Libyan Youth Club - Manchester

Fcebook / https://www.facebook.com/A-219687051524209/

Twitter / https://twitter.com/ALSHABAB_CLUB

Huddersfield's Libyan Students Society

Fcebook / https://www.facebook.com/libhudsoc/

Libyan Society - University of Manchester

Fcebook / https://www.facebook.com/libyansocietymanuni/

Libyan Society - University of Nottingham.

Fcebook/ https://www.facebook.com/Libyan-society-The-University-of-Nottingham-2013-518754804833852/

Libyan Scouts and Guides in UK

Fcebook /https://www.facebook.com/Libyan-scouts-and-guides-in-United-Kingdom-176952545838838/?fref=ts

Libyan Women Association in Britain

Fcebook /https://www.facebook.com/Libyan-Women-Association-in-Britain--862691813743514

Libyan Woman Solidarity Organization

Fcebook /https://www.facebook.com/LibyanWomanSolidarity/?fref=ts

Appendix III: Examples of Electronic and Printed Communication Contents which were
analysed in the Current Study.

خاتمة

… المجلس الوطني الانتقالي …

… محمد صادق محمد

Appendix IV: An Ethical Approval Letter

University of
Salford
MANCHESTER

Research, Innovation and Academic
Engagement Ethical Approval Panel

Research Centres Support Team
G0.3 Joule House
University of Salford
M5 4WT

T +44(0)161 295 7012

www.salford.ac.uk/

8 December 2015

Dear Khalid,

RE: ETHICS APPLICATION A&M 15/07 – Public Relations' Communications I Public
Diplomacy. A field study to be conducted on Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK.

Based on the information you provided, I am pleased to inform you that your application
A&M 15/07 has been approved.

If there are any changes to the project and/ or its methodology, please inform the Panel as
soon as possible by contacting A&M-ResearchEthics@salford.ac.uk

Yours sincerely,

Dr Samantha Newbery
Chair of the Arts & Media Research Ethics Panel
Lecturer in Contemporary Intelligence Studies
School of Arts and Media
M825, Maxwell Building, University of Salford, Salford M5 4WT
t: +44 (0) 161 295 3860
s.l.newbery@salford.ac.uk

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Appendix V: Introductory Email

To the kind attention of ( )

I am a PhD Student in the School of Arts & Media, at the University of Salford. My research is Public Relations Communications in Public Diplomacy. The project aims to provide a better understanding of how the Libyan government and non-government institutions abroad can contribute to shape foreign audiences' perceptions of Libya post-the revolution of 17 February 2011; I am therefore sending you this email since I feel your contribution to the study would be of significant value, given your involvement with the topic.

Your contribution would involve a short interview lasting no more than one hour, which will be arranged and held at the most suitable time and date for you.

It is important to be noted that, all date will be generated through the interview will be used only to scientific research purposes, as well as, these data also will be kept to be potentially used for further publications post-PhD. In addition, you will be asked through the interview if you wish your data to be anonymised in the thesis. If so, the researcher will anonymise your data through the use of pseudonyms or symbols to keep you anonymous. In addition, you have the right to withdraw from participation in the project at any point by contacting the researcher.

Please let me know if this is of interest to you, if so, I attach an information sheet on the project, as well as, a participant consent form.

Should you wish to accept this invitation to be interviewed as part of my research please read through and sign the Consent Form and send it back to me in writing. After this, an interview will be arranged at your convenience.

I look forward to hearing from you, and thank you for your consideration.

Kind regards,

(.....signed....)

Project contact details:

Appendix VI: Participant Information Sheet

Title of the Research Study:

Public Relations Communications in Public Diplomacy

Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK.

Additional Information:

PhD thesis at the University of Salford

By:

....

Supervisor:

....

Invitation Paragraph:

You are being invited to take part in a research study as part of a doctoral research project. The present information sheet is for you to have additional information on the project and is aimed to help you decide whether or not you would like to take part in the research.

Aim of the study:

The aim of this research is to provide a better understanding of how the Libyan government and non-government institutions abroad can through public relation practice contribute to shape foreign audiences' perceptions of Libya post-the revolution of 17 February 2011.

Why have I been chosen?

Given your professional background in public relations, diplomacy and communication, I strongly believe that you would be able to provide fundamental value to the present research. Please note that, should you decide not to participate, you do not have to necessarily reply to this request.

Should I decide to take part, what happens next?

If you decide to take part, I will explain in more detail, what the research is about by providing you with a draft interview guide, and I will also be available to answer any questions you might have. After this, we can arrange a meeting at a suitable time and location or contact you in a way suitable for you which will be both safe and confidential.

What am I supposed to do if I become involved in the project?

Your involvement in the study would be to take part in an interview where your role in the field and concerning perspectives on the subject will be discussed. The interview will take approximately 1 hour and I will audio-record it with your permission. Should you wish, your participation in the project can be anonymised. If you are happy to participate in this research, please read this information sheet, sign the consent form and return it to me.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information provided by you will be kept secure at all times, and your responses made anonymous, if you specify your wish for this to occur. Only the researcher will have access to the information you provide. In addition, all interview recordings will be kept at least until the final PhD has been awarded.

What are the potential benefits of participating?

You have been chosen because of your relevant role in the field; hence the information you provide would be able to assist in the provision of a better understanding of how the Libyan

government and non-government institutions abroad can through public relation practice contribute to shape foreign audiences' perceptions of Libya.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The evidence generated in this study will be used in my PhD thesis and may be presented at seminars, academic conferences and published in the academic literature.

I hope you will decide to contribute to the project; however, in all cases, I thank you in advance for your time and consideration.

Kind regards,

(......signed......)

Project contact details:

Appendix VII: Participant Consent Form

Title of the Research Study:

Public Relations Communications in Public Diplomacy

Libyan institutions in Egypt and the UK.

Additional Information:

PhD research at the University of Salford

By:

....

Supervisor:

....

  Please tick the appropriate boxes   **Y**   **N**

1 - Taking Part

I have read and understood the Project Information Sheet dated DD/MM/YYYY.   ☐   ☐

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.   □   □

I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project will include being   □   □
interviewed and recorded (audio or video).

I understand that I take part as a volunteer: hence, I can withdraw from the study at any   □   □
time and I do not have to give any reasons why I no longer want to be involved.

2 - Use of data I provide for this project

I understand my personal details such as phone number and address will not be revealed   □   □
to people outside the project.

I understand that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and   □   □
other research outputs.

Please choose one of the following two options: □

I would like my real name used in the above.   □

I would not like my real name to be used in the above.   □

3- Use of the information I provide beyond this project

I agree for the data I provide to be archived at the UK Data Archive. ☐ ☐

I understand that other genuine researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form. ☐ ☐

I understand that other genuine researchers may use my words in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form. ☐ ☐

4- So we can use the information you provide legally

I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials related to this project to [name of researcher]. ☐ ☐

....

Name of participant   [printed]   Signature   Date

....

Researcher   [printed]   Signature   Date

Project contact details:

Appendix VIII: Interviews Questions Form

Institution's name..................................   Work field..

<p align="center">Country.............................</p>

Ownership: ☐ Government institution.   ☐ Private institution.

☐ Civil community institution.

Interviewee's name..............................   Position...

Age..Gender..

Educational qualification.....................   Experience..

Nationality...   Email..

Q1: What are media channels that being employed by your institution to communicate with (Egyptian / English) foreign public in order to create Libya's image and reputation in (Egypt / UK)? How important you think are media in terms of rebranding Libya abroad?

Q2: Which of following choices represent your communications' message in order to contribute to address Libya's image and reputation abroad, (and explain why):

- Propagating only positive news and images of Libya abroad even if they sometimes tend to be away from a current Libyan reality.

- Responding only to rumours and false news are published on Libya in media abroad to correct or refute them through providing true information in this context.

- Giving facts and information about Libya to foreign public and working on build positive perceptions and change minds of target audiences by relying on research outcomes.

- Dialoguing, negotiating and interacting with foreign public through communication processes which aim to listen to their voices and response to them as far as possible.

Q3: Do you see a difference between the practices of communication with (Egyptian / English) foreign public post-the revolution of 17 February 2011, compared with the past? If so, how and why?

Q4: Which of the following audiences types has a degree of focus from public relations more than others, can you rank them by relying on their important to you (and explain why):

 - General public.

 - Elites such an opinion leaders, and decision-makers in (Egypt / UK).

 - Journalists and media professionals in (Egypt / UK).

Q5: The findings of content analysis to your institution and other institutions' media contents showed that the publicity model is the most dominant element in communication efforts with foreign public abroad, followed by the public information model, while the dialogue and negotiation model is rarely employed in these efforts. Do you agree with these findings? If NO, explain why?

Q6: What are the factors that drive public relations to follow a certain model of communication with foreign public of Libyan institutions abroad?

Q7: The findings of content analysis to your institution and other institutions' media contents showed that the communication efforts to promote Libya's image and reputation in Egypt and UK concentrated on two themes of nation brand which are the governance theme and the people theme, while the exports theme and the culture and heritage theme are existent in a moderate degree, finally, themes such as the tourism theme and the investment and immigration theme have a very little attention in these efforts. Do you agree with these findings?

If **YES**, why do you think the findings came like that?

If **NO**, explain why? Is there an appreciation for the balance between these nation brand's themes? (Explain your answer) .

Q8: How do you define?

Public diplomacy.   Public relations.   Nation branding.

Q9: Do you think that your bureau has an effective role within a clear strategy to promote Libya's image and reputation and represent them abroad to foreign public post-the revolution of 17 February 2011? (Explain how).

Q10: Is there any evaluating strategy to outcomes of communication efforts with foreign public abroad which aim to promote Libya's image and reputation in the hosting countries?

If **YES**, explain how do you carry out this strategy?

 If **NO**, explain why?

Q11: Which of the following public relations communication strategies are employed from

your institution in order to contribute to address Libya's image and reputation abroad, (and explain why):

- Denial.

- Evading responsibility.

- Reducing offensiveness.

- Corrective action.

- Mortification.

- Others (Explain them).

Q12: The findings of content analysis to the chosen Libyan institutions' media contents indicated that the practice of public relations in these institutions in two different environments (Egypt / UK) is quite similar, furthermore, there are no clear differences in the practice of public relations between government and non-government institutions. Do you agree with these findings?

If **YES**, why do you think the findings came like that?

If **NO**, explain why?

Q13: How do you think the communicative function of public relations should be at the Libyan institutions abroad? And why?

Thank you for your assistance,

Appendix IX: Training courses and Conferences Undertaken During the Research Journey

First: Training Courses:

Date	Title of training course	Venue
8-April-2014	Intro to Endnote.	The University of Salford.
11-Sept-2014	Doing a Literature Review.	The University of Salford.
11-Nov-2014	The Interview: its place in social scientific research strategies.	The University of Salford.
12-Nov-2014	Doing a Literature Review.	The University of Salford.
20-Nov-2014	Critical Thinking and Critical Writing at Doctoral Level.	The University of Salford.
2-Dec-2014	Research Ethics	The University of Salford.
17-Feb-2015	How to get published with the IEEE.	The University of Salford.
23-Feb-2015	Abstract Writing for Conferences.	The University of Salford.
17-Mar-2015	Writing the thesis: thinking about structure.	The University of Salford.
27-May-2015	PowerPoint - Academic Posters.	The University of Salford.
12-Oct-2015	Arts Databases for Research.	The University of Salford.

3-Nov-2015	Critical Thinking and Critical Writing at Doctoral Level.	The University of Salford.
9-Nov-2015	The Interview: its place in social scientific research strategies.	The University of Salford.
27-Nov-2015	ASK Open Lecture: Erick Felinto "Vilém Flusser's "Philosophical Fiction" Science, Creativity and the Encounter with Radical Otherness".	The University of Manchester.
8-Dec-2015	Planning and Writing a Thesis.	The University of Salford.
14-Jan-2016	Completing a Learning Agreement & the PhD Progression Points	The University of Salford.
19-Jan-2016	Arts Databases for Research.	The University of Salford.
17-Mar-2016	Planning and Writing a Thesis.	The University of Salford.
25-Apr-2016	Presenting at Academic Conferences.	The University of Salford.
28-Apr-2016	The Interview: its place in social scientific research strategies.	The University of Salford.

Second: Conferences

Date	Title of Conference	Key learning aim
16, 17, 18, 19-Nov-2015	The 2015 Nations and Regions Media Conference.	The University of Salford.

14-June-2016	SPARC Conference.	The University of Salford.
19th and 20th October 2016	Arts and Humanities Postgraduate Conference 'Creative Humanities: Thinking, Making and Meaning'.	The University of Manchester.
14th-15th November 2016	The 2016 Challenging Media Landscapes conference.	The University of Salford.
27 - 29 June 2017	SPARC (Salford Postgraduate Annual Research Conference).	The University of Salford.

SPARC 2017

This Certificate is awarded to:

Khalid Abdalla

For providing a poster presentation at SPARC

Salford Postgraduate Annual Conference