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**The Digitalization of
Diplomacy:
Toward Clarification of a Fractured
Terminology**

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#DigDiploROx



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1. Introduction

2017 marks a decade since the advent of “digital diplomacy”. What began as an experiment by a select number of foreign ministries and diplomatic pioneers, has now become standard practice for diplomatic institutions the world over. Early examples of “digital diplomacy” include Sweden’s virtual embassy to Second Life, launched in 2007, and the formation of a US digital outreach team in 2006ⁱ.

Over the past decade, the utilization of digital technologies in diplomacy has become increasingly diverse. Within the realm of public diplomacy, Norwegian Ambassadors are using Skype to converse with university students, while Palestine is embracing Facebook as a medium for engaging with Israeli citizensⁱⁱ. The Indian MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) is developing computer games for children of Indian Diasporas, while the Georgian Diaspora Ministry offers online courses in the Georgian language. UN Ambassadors are employing WhatsApp to coordinate their votes on various resolutions while the Kenyan foreign ministry is increasingly using Twitter to deliver emergency consular aidⁱⁱⁱ. More recently, MFAs have begun to employ software programmers so as to analyse big data sets and manipulate social media algorithms using Bots^{iv}.

The utilization of digital technologies in diplomacy is now also a global phenomenon. The MFAs of Egypt, Jordan and Qatar all operate social

media profiles while the MFAs of Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda have all crafted policies for digital diaspora outreach. Studies even suggest that African MFAs are as active online as their Western peers^v.

The past decade has also witnessed increased academic interest in “digital diplomacy” with scholars evaluating the digital practices of embassies, diplomats, MFAs and world leaders.

To date, scholars and practitioners have offered different terms to conceptualize the growing influence of digital technologies on diplomacy. These have included net diplomacy, cyber diplomacy, diplomacy 2.0, networked diplomacy, real-time diplomacy and 21st century statecraft (See Hocking & Meissen’s 2015 report for their taxonomy)^{vi}. Similarly, while the Israeli MFA uses the term ‘digital diplomacy’, the Finnish ministry proposes the term ‘diplomacy in the digital age’. The difference between the two is not merely semantic. The latter implies that the conduct of diplomacy has remained similar but it is now practiced in new digital environments. Digital diplomacy, by contrast, is a term that could allude to an entirely new form of diplomacy.

The plurality of terms relating to technology’s impact on diplomacy stems from the fact that new platforms, tools and practices continue to immerse. In 2016, MFAs were increasingly concerned with the use of Twitter to manage their national image. Nowadays, MFAs are developing algorithms to fracture

echo chambers of hate and radicalization. Similarly, MFAs are migrating to new digital arenas such as Wikipedia and Google Earth.

Numerous scholars and diplomats have adopted the term “digital diplomacy” when referring to the intersection between digital technologies and diplomacy. However, scholars have yet to offer a clear definition of this term. The search for such a definition is an important one. For practitioners, definitions help conceptualize how diplomacy should be practiced, what working routines need to be altered and which skills must be acquired. If diplomats conceptualize the world as networked they may increasingly strive to become nodes in trans-national advocacy networks. But if diplomats conceptualize the world as hierarchical they may place an emphasis on engaging with elites.

Definitions are also important to scholars who rely on them to formulate hypotheses, select case studies and identify research avenues. Indeed the terms ‘public diplomacy 2.0’ and ‘networked diplomacy’ have both stimulated considerable academic research^{vii}.

In this working paper I argue that none of the terms employed thus far in the context of digital technologies and diplomacy are sufficient. In addition, I propose that practitioners and scholars adopt the term “the digitalization of diplomacy” in reference to the impact of digital technologies on diplomacy. It is my contention that this term more fully encapsulates the influence of digital

technologies on the conceptualization, practice and institutions of diplomacy. Additionally, I demonstrate the manner in which this term can help scholars map the existing research corpus and identify new avenues of research.

This paper therefore aims to clarify a fractured terminology through the introduction of a new and more inclusive term “the digitalization of diplomacy”^{viii}.

2. The Digitalization of Diplomacy- the Need for a New Term

Recent years have seen an abundance of terms referencing the influence of digital technologies on diplomacy. Some terms focus more on the conceptualization of diplomacy in a digital world. Such is the case with ‘networked diplomacy’ and ‘21st century statecraft’. Other terms centre on the characteristics of digital technologies. Examples include: ‘public diplomacy 2.0’, which draws its name from the concept of web 2.0; ‘net diplomacy’, which relates more broadly to the internet and ‘Twiplomacy’, which references Twitter^{ix}. Some terms even focus on the attributes of the digital society. These include ‘selfie diplomacy’ and ‘real time diplomacy’^x. Finally, terms such as “cyber diplomacy” relate to new diplomatic arenas^{xi}.

Other scholars employ the term “digital diplomacy”. Yet, this term has traditionally been defined within the context of specific studies. For instance, in 2015 Segev and Manor

defined digital diplomacy as the use of social media by a state to achieve its foreign policy goals and manage its national image^{xii}. The same year Bjola and Holmes defined digital diplomacy as a tool for change management while in 2012 Potter stated that digital diplomacy is the conduct of diplomacy through networked technologies^{xiii}. Finally, in 2016, Manor re-defined digital diplomacy as the overall impact ICTs (Information and Communication Technologies) have had on the conduct of diplomacy- ranging from the email to smartphone applications^{xiv}.

What emerges from the aforementioned definitions is a state of fractured terminology in which some terms are too broad, such as “digital diplomacy, while others are too narrow, such as “Public Diplomacy 2.0”.

Additionally, it is the contention of this working paper that none of the aforementioned terms, including digital diplomacy, are sufficient as they fail to capture three distinct features of the intersection between diplomacy and digital technologies.

The first feature is that digitalization is a process rather than a binary state. In other words, one cannot separate diplomats into those that are digital and those that are not. Rather, diplomats, MFAs and embassies are all undergoing a process of digitalization. This process is influencing the manner in which diplomats envision their world, the habits of their intended audiences, the actors with whom they seek to

engage and the technologies they employ to achieve their goals. Even more importantly, digitalization is a process that, over time, redistributes power within diplomatic institutions.

Second, the aforementioned terms fail to clearly identify the domains of diplomacy that are influenced by digital technologies. While some terms focus on digital platforms, others relate to the audiences of diplomacy, while still others deal mostly with the conduct of diplomacy. As such, none of these terms offer a systematic classification through which the influence of digitalization can be investigated. In addition, none of these terms encapsulate the overarching influence digital technologies have had on diplomacy.

Lastly, digital technologies do not merely offer new functionalities. Rather, they promote new norms and facilitate new behaviours. These, in turn, influence the practice of diplomacy. For instance, digital technologies enable individuals to create and disseminate content on a global scale. This has given rise to a new form of journalism known as “citizen journalism”. From a normative perspective, citizen journalists are seen as adding to the diversity of voices heard in the digital town square. From a behavioural perspective, internet users increasingly seek the analysis of citizen journalists. The rise of citizen journalists, and their ability to influence how publics perceive issues and events, prompted MFAs to migrate online in the first place^{xv}.

In summary, the terms employed thus far in the context of digital technologies and diplomacy are lacking as they fail to offer a robust conceptual prism or a system of classification. It is the contention of this working paper that term “the digitalization of diplomacy” more fully captures the temporal and normative influences of digital technologies. The following section elaborates on this term.

3. The Digitalization of Diplomacy - A Definition

“The digitalization of diplomacy” is a term that centres on the normative and temporal influences of digital technologies. Imbued within this term is the view that digitalization is a long term process whose influence far transcends the utilization of innovative technologies.

I employ the term “the digitalization of diplomacy” in reference to the impact digital technologies have had on four dimensions of diplomacy: The

audiences of diplomacy, the institutions of diplomacy, the practitioners of diplomacy and the practice of diplomacy.

Moreover, the term is used in reference to four fields. The first field is a normative one which centres on norms, values and beliefs. The second field is behavioural as the adoption of norms and beliefs gives way to behaviour change. The third field is procedural and relates to patterns of use and standard operating procedures. The fourth field is conceptual and relates to the metaphors and mental schemata individuals employ to imagine their world.

What emerges from “the digitalization of diplomacy” is the 4*4 matrix shown in table 1.

Table 1: The Digitalization of Diplomacy- Dimensions and Fields

Dimensions of Diplomacy	Normative (norms, values, beliefs)	Behavioural	Procedural	Conceptual
Audiences of Diplomacy				
Institutions of Diplomacy				
Practitioners of Diplomacy				
Practice of Diplomacy				

In table 2 (see page 7) I provide an example of how “the digitalization of diplomacy” offers insight into the audiences of diplomacy. As others have argued, the digital society is a sharing society which celebrates transparency and the continuous revealing of personal information^{xvi}. Only last year a university Professor became an online idol for publishing a CV of his failures which listed all the grants and positions he was unable to secure^{xvii}. This example suggests that digitalization has impacted societal norms and values and, by extension, facilitated the behaviour of self-exposure.

However, individuals not only share their failures online, they also share their opinions, feelings, political affiliations and understanding of local and global events. Digitalization has thus given rise to an opinionated online public that is “clamouring to be heard”^{xviii}. From a conceptual perspective, online audiences increasingly envision the networked society as a sharing society in which “sharing is caring”.

Markedly, it is interesting to begin the analysis of digitalization from the audiences of diplomacy given that diplomacy is a social institution and that diplomats are social beings^{xix}. Thus, societal norms, beliefs and metaphors impact diplomats and, in turn, the practice diplomacy. Once an Ambassador has used WhatsApp to communicate with his family he may soon use it to communicate with his peers. Similarly, once a diplomat has embraced a sharing mentality on Facebook, he may also become more

transparent in relation to his work. In other words, personal self-exposure may soon give way to increased professional transparency.

When examining the institutions of diplomacy (see Table 2, line 2) digital technologies have also facilitated the adoption of new norms and beliefs. One example is valuing online dialogue given connected publics’ willingness to interact with diplomats. This norm has led to the adoption of new behaviour - “listening” to the feedback of online publics^{xx}. In addition, new working procedures have been put in place such as incorporating followers’ feedback into policy formulation. Finally, the growing importance of online publics has led to a conceptual shift as the network metaphor is used to envision the environment in which diplomacy is practiced. Importantly, before diplomacy can be practiced, it must be imagined by diplomats.

Next, one may examine the practitioners of diplomacy (see Table 2, line 3). Here, digital technologies have also led to a normative change as digitalization forces diplomats to adopt a new kind of openness given the increased agency of non-state actors (i.e., online publics, civil society organizations, NGOs). This has led to a subsequent change in diplomats’ behaviour as they now aim to form temporary alliances, or networks, to advance specific goals (e.g., network of NGOs, UN missions and online publics to advance a human rights resolution). From a procedural perspective, digital technologies have led diplomats to engage with a plethora of new actors,

both online and offline. Finally, as Heine has argued, diplomats have begun to abandon the metaphor of the exclusive club for that of the inclusive network.

After taking into account the audiences, institutions and practitioners of diplomacy, one can also investigate digital technologies' impact on the practice of diplomacy (see Table 2 line 4) which is now collaborative in nature as it requires the formation of goal-oriented networks in which multiple stakeholders come together to achieve foreign policy goals.

Table 2: The Digitalization of Diplomacy- Examples

Dimensions of Diplomacy	Normative (norms, values, beliefs)	Behavioural	Procedural	Conceptual
Audiences of Diplomacy	Increased transparency	Self-exposure	Sharing one's opinions/feelings/achievements online	Networked society is a sharing society
Institutions of Diplomacy	Valuing dialogue	Listening to global audiences who offer online feedback	Incorporating followers' feedback into policy formulation	Networks as a metaphor of diplomacy
Practitioners of Diplomacy	Openness	Temporary alliances with various stakeholders	Opening up of diplomacy-diplomats engaging with individuals, groups, organizations	From club mentality to network mentality
Practice of Diplomacy	Collaboration	Multi-stakeholder diplomacy	Goal oriented networks with connected publics, civil society orgs	Networking

The term “the digitalization of diplomacy”, as employed in the examples above, suggests that scholars and practitioners can focus on four dimensions of diplomacy (e.g., audiences, institutions) and four fields of influence (e.g., conceptual or behavioural). While some scholars may investigate new working procedures in MFAs, others can focus on the various metaphors Ambassadors employ when practicing diplomacy.

As such, this matrix can bring order to the somewhat chaotic study of contemporary diplomacy. Moreover, this matrix can be used by practitioners to evaluate their institutional capacity to adopt new technologies or reflect on the changing nature of diplomacy in the digital age. Both of these exercises can lead to normative, procedural and behavioural changes among diplomatic institutions thus paving the way to more effective diplomacy.

Notably, one can also use this matrix to chart how the four dimensions of diplomacy influence one another. This is demonstrated in the following section.

4. The Digitalization of Diplomacy - Mutual Influence

The global proliferation of social media sites has seen the mass migration of individuals of all ages online (note: there are still gaps when examining world regions). Notably, individuals now use different social media sites for different purposes. While Facebook is used to maintain

social ties, Twitter is utilized for information gathering and LinkedIn is used for seeking employment opportunities. The rise of social media sites has caused individuals to embrace the norm of connectivity as s/he who is not connected is left outside the sphere of social and professional life. The behaviour that follows this norm is maintaining several social media accounts and, procedurally, using social media sites to seek information, news and analysis. Conceptually, people now view the online environment as an extension of the offline one. This was not the case in the late 1990s when individuals marvelled at the anonymity afforded by the internet and one’s ability to distinguish between his/her offline and online persona (see page 10, Table 3).

The norm of connectivity, and the procedure of seeking news online, has impacted the institutions of diplomacy who use online platforms to deliver services and information to their citizens (see page 10, Table 3). This has been made apparent during consular crises in which embassies and diplomats employ social media and messaging apps to communicate with citizens affected by natural disasters or terror attacks^{xxi}. The growing use of digital platforms to deliver consular aid has led diplomatic institutions to adopt new beliefs as they now regard themselves as “service providers”^{xxii}. This, in turn, has led to new working procedures such as issuing guidelines for embassies’ use of social media during consular crises and conducting digital simulations of emergency situations^{xxiii}. From a

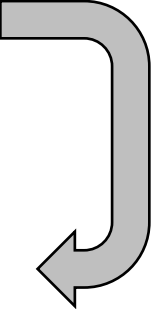
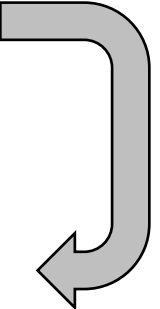
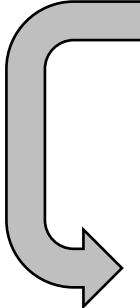
conceptual perspective, MFAs increasingly envision diplomacy as a domestic task thus giving rise to the concept of domestic diplomacy^{xxiv}.

The practice of domestic diplomacy has also influenced practitioners of diplomacy who are more willing to relinquish control over the communication process and engage with their citizens online^{xxv}. From a behavioural perspective, embassies and diplomats now curate information for their followers thus ensuring the accuracy of information delivered online. This has also brought about a conceptual shift in which power is seen to be migrating from the MFA to the embassy as it is the embassy that is tasked with aiding citizens or conversing with online publics.

Lastly, the practice of diplomacy has also changed given that diplomacy must react to events as they unfold. This has given rise to what Philip Seib has dubbed 'real-time diplomacy'. Indeed, during the 2017 London terror attacks, embassies found themselves curating online information and providing citizens with advice as events unfolded on their television screens^{xxvi}.

Table 3: The Digitalization of Diplomacy- Tracing Influence

Dimensions of Diplomacy	Normative (norms, values, beliefs)	Behavioural	Procedural	Conceptual
Audiences of Diplomacy	Connectivity	Maintaining several social media accounts	Seeking information/news/analysis	Online environment as extension of offline environment
Institutions of Diplomacy	MFAs as service providers	Using social media to deliver consular aid	Guidelines for embassies using social media during consular crises	Domestic Diplomacy
Practitioners of Diplomacy	Relinquishing control over the communication process	Curating information for followers; real time engagement	Crowd-sourcing consular aid	Migration of power from MFA to the embassy
Practice of Diplomacy	Favouring speed and timing over accuracy	Information sharing as opposed to information keeping	Identifying reliable sources of information	Real Time Diplomacy (Seib)



As the next section argues, “the digitalization of diplomacy” can also help scholars map the existing research corpus.

5. The Digital Research Corpus

Using the matrix of dimensions and fields proposed in this working paper, one can begin to map the existing research corpus. A partial mapping is shown in Table 8 (pages 13-14).

As can be seen, some scholars have focused on the audiences of diplomacy. Haynal’s assertion that connected publics are volatile and unpredictable refers to the norms held by online users who view digital interactions as a two-way communicative process^{xxvii}. Moreover, online publics can be extremely sceptical as they feel that Twiplomacy is actually Twipoganda. Therefore, such publics may be eager to counter or reject diplomatic messaging. An interesting case study is the global rejection of Michel Obama’s famous selfie with the hashtag “Bring Back Our Girls”^{xxviii}.

Conversely, Hayden argues that online publics are not assembled in one place, or on one site, and thus constitute networks of selective exposure^{xxix}. This has led MFAs to strategically tailor their messaging by identifying which audiences can be found on each digital platform.

Much of the research corpus focuses on the institutions of diplomacy. Slaughter argues that in a networked world a nation’s networked-ness is as important as its traditional power^{xxx}. Thus, MFAs must become integral

nodes in a myriad of intersecting global networks. From a behavioural perspective, Bjola and Pamment explore how diplomatic institutions can pursue tactics of digital containment to combat dis-information^{xxxi}. When examining the procedures of diplomatic institutions, Segev and Manor analyse the use of social media to narrate a national Selfie while Hallams focuses on the competition between online narratives^{xxxii}.

More recently, Bean and Comor investigated how the conceptualization of public diplomacy as “data driven” has led the US State Department to favour influence and audience manipulation over dialogue and mutual understanding^{xxxiii}. This “data-driven” conceptualization is a result of entrenched norms and values adopted during the Cold War, pre-existing behaviours of US diplomats and mandated procedures such as employing quantitative assessment tools in the search for “cost effective” public diplomacy. Notably, Bean and Comor’s paper seems to follow the matrix of influence introduced in this working paper.

Other studies have investigated the practitioners of diplomacy, including Archetti’s view of diplomacy as an evolutionary model of change that diplomats must adapt to and Pamment’s analysis of British online diplomacy as transmedia engagement^{xxxiv}.

Studies have also examined the practice of diplomacy in digital environments. Seib’s conceptual

contribution focuses on the metaphor of real-time diplomacy while Rana explores a new procedure- engaging online with national Diasporas and leveraging digital relationships with Diasporas^{xxxv}. From a behavioural perspective, Jenifer Cassidy and I examine digital crisis management^{xxxvi}.

Table 4: Mapping the Existing Research Corpus

Dimensions of Diplomacy	Normative (norms, values, beliefs)	Behavioural	Procedural	Conceptual
Audiences of Diplomacy	Digital publics as volatile and unpredictable (Haynal, 2011)	Digital publics constitute networks of selective exposure (Hayden, 2012)	Peer-to-peer diplomacy (Attias, 2012)	Diplomacy as engaging with connected publics (Melissen, 2005)
Institutions of Diplomacy	<p>Digital diplomacy as a clash between traditional and transparent diplomacy (Hocking & Melissen, 2015; Wichowski, 2015)</p> <p>Digital diplomacy as managing organizational culture of MFAs (Bjola, 2017)</p>	<p>Networked diplomacy (Anne Marie Slaughter, 2009)</p> <p>Digital diplomacy and digital containment (Bjola & Pamment, 2016)</p> <p>Public Diplomacy 2.0 (Metzgar, 2012)</p>	<p>Selfie diplomacy (Manor & Segev, 2015; Manor, 2017)</p> <p>Digital agenda setting (Bjola & Jiang, 2017)</p> <p>E- diplomacy (Hocking & Melissen, 2015)</p> <p>Digital Diplomacy as a battle over narratives (Hallams, 2010)</p> <p>Diplomacy 2.0 (Harris, 2012)</p>	<p>Netpolitik (Firestone & Dong, 2015)</p> <p>21st century statecraft (Hayden, 2012)</p> <p>MFAs as service providers (Manor, 2017)</p> <p>The connective mindshift (Zaharna, Aresnault & Fisher, 2013)</p> <p>Digital engagement (Comor, 2013)</p> <p>Data-Driven Public Diplomacy (Bean & Comor, 2017)</p>

Dimensions of Diplomacy	Normative (norms, values, beliefs)	Behavioural	Procedural	Conceptual
Practitioners of Diplomacy	<p>Diplomats must conceptualize and imagine digital diplomacy before it can be practiced (Manor, 2016)</p> <p>Digital diplomacy as an evolutionary model of change (Archetti, 2012)</p>	<p>Public Diplomacy 2.0 (Khatib, Dutton & Thelwall, 2017)</p> <p>Twiplomacy study 2017</p>	<p>Digital diplomacy as transmedia engagement (Pamment, 2015)</p>	<p>From club mentality to network mentality (Heine, 2013)</p> <p>Where is the headquarters (Golberg & Kaduck, 2011)</p>
Practice of Diplomacy	<p>Lack of online engagement with social media users (Kampf, Manor & Segev, 2015)</p> <p>New public diplomacy in the 21st century (Pamment, 2013)</p>	<p>Digital diplomacy as crisis communication (Cassidy & Manor, 2016)</p>	<p>Digital diaspora diplomacy (Rana, 2013)</p>	<p>Real-Time Diplomacy (2012)</p> <p>Digital diplomacy as change management (Bjola & Holmes, 2015)</p> <p>Diplomacy in the digital age (Hocking & Melissen, 2015)</p>

5. Conclusions

The emergence of digital technologies has had a profound impact on the conduct and study of diplomacy. MFAs, embassies and diplomats are continuously embracing new tools and platforms while also reimagining the environment in which diplomacy is practiced.

Recent years have also seen increased academic interest in the intersection between diplomacy and digital technologies. Scholars have evaluated diplomats' use of digital tools to engage with new audiences, overcome the limitation of traditional diplomacy, collaborate with new actors and promote cross-cultural dialogue.

However, both scholars and diplomats continue to search for a term that best describes the impact of digital technologies on diplomacy. This search is an important one for it is through terms and definitions that academics and practitioners make sense of the world around them.

To date, the search for such a term has led to a fractured terminology which is either too narrow in its scope, such as Twiplomacy, or too inclusive, such as the catch all phrase digital diplomacy.

This working paper aimed to address this substantial gap by proposing a new term- "the digitalization of diplomacy". I have argued that this term offers three advantages. First, it

includes a temporal dimension and views digitalization as a long term process. Thus, it negates the dichotomous view of diplomats as being either digital or not digital. Second, it clearly identifies four domains of diplomacy that have been influenced by digital technologies. Lastly, it incorporates a normative element that places greater emphasis on norms, values and beliefs and the behaviour that follow.

It is the inclusion of a normative element in "the digitalization of diplomacy" that recognizes the manner in which culture can influence the practice of diplomacy. Moreover, the term proposed in this paper recognizes that diplomats are social beings and that before diplomacy can be practiced it must be imagined.

In summary, this paper sought to clarify a fractured terminology and offer a more systematic approach to the study of digital technologies' impact on diplomacy.

Importantly, this paper argues that the term "the digitalization of diplomacy", and its matrix of influence, can aid scholars in mapping the existing research corpus and identifying new avenues of investigation. Thus, this term brings order to a somewhat chaotic field. It is therefore appropriate to end this working paper by identifying the research agendas currently being explored by diplomacy, international relations and communication scholars.

Bjola and Pamment are investigating the use of digital platforms in CVE activities (countering violent extremism). Recent years have seen a growing number of MFAs and diplomats practicing CVE, both on social media and elsewhere. Bjola and Pamment's work will shed light on the new behaviours and procedures of diplomatic institutions as well as new beliefs held by diplomats regarding the dangers of digitalization.

Trail-blazers such as Jenifer Cassidy and Rhys Crilley will continue to focus on the practice of diplomacy. Cassidy's work on digital signalling will reveal the procedures that govern digital crisis diplomacy. Crilley's original work on the use of images by MFAs will examine both the normative and behavioural aspects of practicing diplomacy in a visual age^{xxxvii}.

The works of Ben O'Loughlin, Alister Miskimmon and Laura Roselle on digital narratives focuses on both the audiences of diplomacy, who are exposed to contradicting narratives, and the practitioners of diplomacy, who formulate and disseminate narratives online. Their work, which is situated at the intersection between diplomacy, societal norms, and digital culture, will further investigate the normative and procedural fields of the practice of diplomacy^{xxxviii}.

Phillip Howard and Robert Gorwa of the Oxford Internet Institute will examine the role of Bots and computational propaganda in modern diplomacy^{xxxix}. Their series of working papers, which focus on the

procedures of diplomatic institutions, already suggest that digital spaces are increasingly militarized by MFAs and diplomats. Similarly, Taylor Owen's research will continue to investigate the impact of digital disruption of diplomatic institutions^{xl}.

Jan Melissen's work will offer insight into how South-East Asian MFAs are adapting to the norms and values celebrated by the digital society. By so doing, Melissen's work will delve deeper into the normative field of diplomacy and the contradiction between the values held by the digital society and the values held by diplomats. His colleague, Sean Riordan will ask a more basic question- who is a diplomat in the digital age? Located within the domain of practitioners of diplomacy, Riordan's work will focus on the digital empowerment of non-state actors ^{xli}.

Marcus Holmes' project on the digitalization of Palestinian public diplomacy will analyse MFAs' use of digital tools to overcome the limitation of traditional diplomacy. Similarly, Comor and Bean are likely to expand their work on the norms and beliefs that govern US digitalized public diplomacy, both from an individual and institutional perspective.

Sean Powers, who now heads the US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, will ask- can public diplomacy survive the internet? The Commission's recent report, which I hope is the first of many, explores the internet's influence on the normative

and behavioural fields of diplomats and diplomatic institutions^{xliii}.

Lastly, Segev and Manor will research the influence of the network structure on interactions between MFAs while Kampf and Manor will evaluate if digital nativity influences the practice of digital diplomacy

Future avenues of research will arise from new technologies including virtual reality as a tool for cultural

ⁱ Manor, I (2015, June). On Virtual Embassies in the Age of Digital Diplomacy. *Exploring Digital Diplomacy*. <https://digdipblog.com/2014/06/25/on-virtual-embassies-in-the-age-of-digital-diplomacy/>; Khatib, L., Dutton, W., & Thelwall, M. (2012). Public diplomacy 2.0: A case study of the US digital outreach team. *The Middle East Journal*, 66(3), 453-472.

ⁱⁱ Manor, I. (2015, March). Norway's New Engagement Model A Much Warranted Change. *Exploring Digital Diplomacy*. <https://digdipblog.com/2015/03/08/norways-new-engagement-model-a-much-warranted-change/>; Manor, I., & Holmes, M. (2017, July 31). Online Palestine is Advocating Peace. *The Jerusalem Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Online-Palestine-is-advocating-peace-501268>

ⁱⁱⁱ Manor, I. (2015, January). How Kenya's MFA Leads by Example. *Exploring Digital Diplomacy*. <https://digdipblog.com/2015/01/04/kenya/>

^{iv} Bradshaw, S. & Howard, P. (2017). Troops, Trolls and Troublemakers: A Global Inventory of Organized Social Media Manipulation. Working Paper no 2017.12, Oxford Internet Institute's Computational Propaganda Research Project. <http://comprop.oii.ox.ac.uk/wp->

diplomacy; drone use for consular aid; 3D printing for foreign aid projects (e.g., printing and building cheap homes for refugees) and cyber agreements regarding free movement of autonomous cars across borders.

So as the digital age continues to evolve so will this research corpus continue to expand and diversify.

<content/uploads/sites/89/2017/07/Troops-Trolls-and-Troublemakers.pdf>

^v Kampf, R., Manor, I., & Segev, E. (2015). [Digital diplomacy 2.0? A cross-national comparison of public engagement in Facebook and Twitter](#). *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 10(4), 331-362.

^{vi} Hocking, B., & Melissen, J. (2015). *Diplomacy in the digital age*. Clingendael, Netherlands Institute of International Relations. [https://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/Digital Diplomacy in the Digital%20Age Clingendael July2015.pdf](https://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/Digital%20Diplomacy%20in%20the%20Digital%20Age%20Clingendael%20July2015.pdf).

^{vii} Manor, I. (2016). [Are We There Yet: Have MFAs Realized the Potential of Digital Diplomacy?](#). *Brill Research Perspectives in Diplomacy and Foreign Policy*, 1(2), 1-110.

^{viii} This title borrows from Robert Entman's seminal article "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm", Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of communication*, 43(4), 51-58.

^{ix} Cull, N. J. (2013). The long road to public diplomacy 2.0: The Internet in US public diplomacy. *International Studies Review*, 15(1), 123-139.

^x Manor, I. [America's selfie—Three years later](#). *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 1-17.; Seib, P. (2012). *Real-time diplomacy: politics and power in the social media era*. Springer.

^{xi} Riordan, S. (2016, May). Cyber Diplomacy vs. Digital Diplomacy: A Terminological Distinction. *USC Center on Public Diplomacy Blog*. Retrieved from <https://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/cyber-diplomacy-vs-digital-diplomacy-terminological-distinction>

^{xii} Manor, I., & Segev, E. (2015). [America's selfie: How the US portrays itself on its social media accounts](#). *Digital diplomacy: Theory and practice*, 89-108.

^{xiii} Bjola, C., & Holmes, M. (2015). *Digital Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*. Routledge; Adesina, O. S. (2017). Foreign policy in an era of digital diplomacy. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 3(1), 1297175. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/23311886.2017.1297175>

^{xiv} See Manor, I. 2016, Are We There Yet?

^{xv} See Manor, I. 2016. Are We There Yet?; Seib, P. (2012). *Real-time diplomacy: politics and power in the social media era*;

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