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**History, Development, and the Future Impact of Egypt's Soft
Power in Africa:**

Broadcasting Media Approach

A thesis submitted to

Department of Public Policy and Administration

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for

The degree of Master of Public Policy

By

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Under supervision of

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Communication

(Summer 2020)

Abstract

The term "Soft Power" has been given a particular concern in the world of international relations. International broadcasting has been perceived by so many countries as one of the most effective tools that can produce and enhance a country's soft power. Today, Egypt seeks to enhance its leading role over the African continent through boosting its soft power resources and tools. Since the African Service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel are the main Egyptian radio and TV services dedicated to enhance Egypt's soft power in Africa, this study aims to examine the experts' perception toward the soft power role of those two services. The study seeks also to explore the challenges and obstacles that may hinder the two services from working as effective soft power instruments for Egypt in Africa. This study advances a theoretical framework designed to help find a connection between soft power's resources, tools, and main goals from one side, and agenda setting and cultivation theories of mass communication on the other. The study used both quantitative and qualitative approaches in the data collection and analysis processes. The data analysis reflected glorifying the past effect, undermining the present influence, and doubting the future impact of the two services. The analysis also reflected confusion over implementing the strategic goals of the two services due to certain factors. The study found that the main challenges are represented in financial, technical, administrative difficulties as well as harsh competition with other international broadcasters. A set of recommendations were introduced to enhance Egypt's soft power in Africa through making better use of the African Service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network and Nile TV International channel.

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Hany Mehany

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Chapter One

Introduction

Soft power is a term that received a particular attention among academics and politicians since 1990 onwards. Joseph Nye, professor of international relations at Harvard University, coined the term soft power and defined it as being *"The ability to affect others through the co – optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes"* (Nye,2011).

Since then, countries accepted this type of power and competed to use its main resources and tools to achieve certain goals. The global soft power 30 index is an attempt to specify the world's top 30 soft powers annually based on three basic soft power's resources.

As stated by Nye (2004), a country's soft power rests on three basic pillars: (1) its culture, (2) its foreign policy, and (3) its political values. While public diplomacy (PD) was named by Mellisen (2005) & Nye (2004, 2008, 2011) the most effective tool of soft power, international broadcasting (IB) was classified by Cull (2008) among five main components of public diplomacy. In fact, the significance of international broadcasting and its role in enhancing the soft power of its sponsoring states have been highlighted and confirmed by so many scholars (Nye, 2004, 2011; Taylor, 2002; Cull 2008; Millisen, 2005; Price, 2003). Egypt has been known for using its broadcasting media, among other means, to boost its soft power regionally, continentally, and globally (Abu Zaid, 2013; Abdulla, 2014; Abd El Rehim, 2017). However, some scholars, writers, and experts (Hamzawy 2010; Abu Zaid, 2013; Abd El Rehim, 2017) confirmed the decline of Egypt's soft power over the past years, and this led to harming the country's interests, especially

on the African level. Indeed, on the top of Egypt's crises in Africa is its struggle against the Ethiopian authorities to preserve its historical rights over the water of the River Nile after the latter's decision to continue constructing the Grand Renaissance Dam, which will negatively affect Egypt's Nile water share.

On the other side, the State Information Service (SIS, 2019) affirmed that the Egyptian state, under the leadership of President Al – Sisi, is now exerting a huge effort to reinforce its soft power over the African continent in an attempt to regain its African leading position.

Due to the severe lack in the literature dealing with the role that has been played by both the African Service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel in enhancing the Egyptian soft power in Africa, this study comes at this critical time to focus on such an issue and to, specifically, answer the following questions:

1- To what extent are the African Service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel enhancing Egypt's soft power in Africa?

2- What are challenges facing both the African Service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel and may hinder them from acting as an effective soft power instrument for Egypt in Africa?

Both in - depth interviewing and content analysis are the two main techniques that will be used to answer the two main research questions of this study.

I. Significance of the Study

First, the study makes a significant contribution to the research of the Egyptian soft power by filling the gap in the literature that mostly consists of some simple journal articles written by some Egyptian journalists and columnists. Abu Zaid's work (2013) highlighted this point indicating that those articles have not gone deeply into the discussion of the Egyptian soft power due to:

- Misunderstanding the concept of soft power as a notion that belongs to international relations and foreign policy studies not to cultural or social studies.
- Misunderstanding the difference between the notion of soft power and some other notions like for instance, cultural diplomacy.
- The historical stories, impressions, and personal narratives that have dominated the content of those articles.
- Concentrating merely on one source of soft power, which is culture, and ignoring the two other resources, which are political values and foreign policy.

Second, this study comes at a critical time when most experts, writers, and political analysts have been admitting the collapse of Egypt's soft power over the past years (Hamzawy, 2010; Abu Zaid, 2013; Abd El Rehim, 2017 & AbdelWahed, 2019), while others have been pointing out that Egypt now is taking serious steps to regain its soft power and leverage, especially over the African continent(SIS, 2019).The remarkable fall of the Egyptian soft power and thus, its weight, particularly in Africa over the past years resulted from so many key factors, but one of them was undermining the

importance of Egypt's attractiveness to others, so the country's leverage and weight hesitated as a price of ignoring its soft power capabilities. Nowadays and since the country is trying to restore its leading role in Africa, the findings and recommendations of this study may help the Egyptian authorities to achieve this goal by improving the performance and thus, increasing the impact of the Egyptian broadcasting media directed to Africa.

Third, the importance of this study comes also from the significance of the African continent for the Egyptian state. In fact, Africa is so important to Egypt not only because of the African identity of the Egyptian state, but also because of the massive benefits that Egypt can gain, if its soft power resources work properly among the African peoples. Above all of that, Egypt is still in a dire need to reach a peaceful agreement with Ethiopia over the period of filling up the reservoir of the new Ethiopian Grand Renaissance Dam, which is being constructed by the Ethiopian authorities without consulting the downstream countries. Indeed, Egypt wants to save its historical share of the Nile water and urges the countries of the Nile Basin to support its situation in this issue. Thus, there are so many strategic goals Egypt seeks to achieve in cooperation with its African partners. In this regard, Nye (2004) stated that a country's attractiveness can influence other nations' degree of cooperation. Accordingly, Egypt has to pay special attention to its attractiveness as a source of power and deal with its directed broadcasting media as a source of this attractiveness.

Chapter Two

Background

Since this study seeks to explore the degree to which both the African Service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel enhance Egypt's soft power in Africa, it is important to understand how international broadcasters work around the clock targeting the publics in foreign countries to serve the interests and boost the soft power of their sponsoring states. Moreover, it is relevant to well comprehend the extent to which so many countries around the globe have been keen on allocating huge amounts of money to support their international broadcasting systems in purpose of achieving certain goals outside their borders.

I. International Models:

USA

The USA runs two systems of international broadcasting serving its national interests around the globe. The first system is the external programming services that target different parts of the world. The second system is the surrogate services that provide domestic media content to those who are living in countries where free speech is not available.

The US Agency for Global Media (USAGM) is a federal agency responsible for supervising the production of television, radio, and digital media content and distributing it to several parts of the world. The USAGM is composed of five media organizations:

two federal organizations, which are the Voice of America and the Office of Cuba Broadcasting and three nonprofit organizations, which are Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty, Radio FREE Asia, and the Middle East Broadcasting Networks.

According to the USAGM website (www.usagm.gov), the five networks reach and communicate with around 345 million people around the world each week and they complement one another in serving the US national interests by informing, engaging, and connecting people around the world in support of freedom and democracy.

- **The Voice of America (VOA)**

The VOA is originally a radio broadcaster, but it is also producing and providing some television services and programming. With an annual budget of \$234.7 million, the VOA provides its services in 46 languages to an estimated weekly audience of more than 275.2 million people across the world. The mission of the VOA, as determined within its Charter, is to represent all the American society, not only a single segment of it, and to present the policies of the United States clearly and effectively. The VOA depends heavily on digital web, and mobile media to reach a wide range of audience. In addition, the VOA services broadcast to around 3000 affiliates and the satellite transmissions reach countries where freedom of speech is banned and civil society organizations are under threat.

- **Radio Free Europe & Radio Liberty (RFE & RL):**

The RFE&RL is a private, non-profit, and multimedia corporate that acts as a surrogate media provider in 23 countries using 26 languages. The REF&RL offers services to an estimated weekly audience of 33.9 million people. With an annual

budget of \$117.4 million, the primary mission of the RFE&RL is to promote democratic values in countries where freedom of speech is prohibited and civil society organizations are persecuted. The mission of the RFE&RL is carried out by providing radio, television, and digital news, information, stories, and debates that people, living in those countries, cannot get locally.

- **Radio Free Asia (RFA) :**

The RFA is a nonprofit and multimedia news corporation that provides its services to six Asian countries where freedom of expression and objective press are unavailable. With an annual budget of \$ 43.1 million, the RFA provides its services in 9 languages and reaches an estimated weekly audience of 50.7 million people in China, North Korea, Cambodia, Tibet, Laos, and Burma.

- **The Office of Cuba Broadcasting (OCB):**

The (OCB) is an office which supervises Radio and Television Marti. With an annual budget of \$28.1 million, the Radio and Television Marti provides the Cubans with programs seven days a week in Spanish through satellite television, shortwaves and FM radio, flash drives, emails, DVDs, and SMS text.

- **Middle East Broadcasting Networks (MBN) :**

The MBN is an Arabic – language media organization that reaches a measured weekly audience of 24.7 million people in 22 countries in the Middle East and North Africa. The MBN comprises two television networks (Alhurra & Alhurra – Iraq) as well as Radio Sawa. With an annual budget of \$ 112.6 million, the MBN provides its

services from its headquarters in Northern Virginia and its offices in Cairo, Dubai, Beirut, Jerusalem, Erbil, Rabat, Baghdad and Washington DC. Alhurra provides its 24/7 Arabic programming services depending on its large network of correspondents across the Middle East and North Africa. Radio Sawa is targeting young audiences through broadcasting contemporary Western and Arabic music along with news, information programs. The MBN networks offer digital interactive content on social media networks to reach a large number of people in the Middle East and North Africa (USAGM website).

UK

Historically, Britain is one of the oldest countries that established its own broadcasting empire very early and gave it a governmental support. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) has been one of the most important international broadcasters since the era of the Cold War onwards. According to the Royal Charter of the Continuance of the (BBC), one of the public purposes of the BBC is to reflect the United Kingdom, its culture, and its values to the world. To achieve this goal, the BBC entered the world of international broadcasting through both the state-funded and commercial systems. The BBC World Service is an international media provider, delivering its radio, television, and online content in multiple languages to an estimated weekly audience of 297 million people around the world. The BBC World Service operates three international televisions:

- **The BBC World News Channel**

The BBC World News is the BBC's commercially funded international television news channel that broadcasts in English 24 hours a day. The Channel is available in around 200 countries and territories worldwide.

- **The BBC Arabic Channel**

The channel is considered the BBC's first publicly funded international news and information television. The channel provides its services to the Middle East since 2008 and it is distributed through the key satellite system for the Middle East and it can also be reached and viewed via its Arabic – language website, which contains a live stream of the channel.

- **The BBC Persian Channel**

The channel is being funded by the UK government and its mission is to provide news and information to the 100 million Persian speakers in Iran, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. The channel is supported by a well – established website.

Moreover, the BBC World Service operates a tremendous number of international radio stations using medium and short waves, satellite, and the internet. The BBC commercial news website (www.bbc.com) provides news and information to a large number of international audiences including the USA, which is considered the world's largest media market.

Over the past few years, the BBC World Service has expanded its services to be presented in more than 40 languages, and launched new offices to reach its audiences in Serbia & West Africa (The BBC Annual Report and Accounts 2017/ 2018). As for

Africa, the BBC Annual Plan 2019 / 2020 revealed that BBC would start podcasts tailored for the African emerging markets and it would continue building up the team of its new ground – breaking investigative journalism strand "Africa Eye" (www.bbc.com).

FRANCE

The main objective of the French state- funded broadcasters is to carry the French perspective on key issues to the world and to make sure that the French voice is being heard (Rotheray, 2010). The France Medias Monde is the group responsible for operating the French international broadcasting. The France Medias Monde is composed of France 24 news channel, the Radio France Internationale (RFI), and the Arabic – language radio station Monte Carlo Doualiya. From Paris, the France Medias Monde provides its services to the whole world in 15 languages attracting a measured weekly audience of around 100 million listeners and viewers. According to the France Medias Monde Website (www.francemediasmonde.com), the digital platforms of the group attract 35 million visitors each month (2017 average) and have 60 million followers on Facebook and Twitter (July, 2017).

- **France 24 Channels**

The France 24 TV comprises four TV channels providing their services 24/7, except the Spanish service that broadcasts 6 hours a day, to around 335 million households around the globe. France 24 channels broadcast in French, English, Arabic, and Spanish and have a total weekly viewership of around 61.2 million viewers, but this number is expressing the viewership in only 67 countries out of the 183 countries where the channels are broadcast. The channels are available via satellite, cable,

ADSL, mobile phones, tablets, and YouTube in four languages. The channels' digital platforms attract 16.5 million visitors, 45.6 million video viewers (2018 average), and 38.2 million followers on Facebook and Twitter (October, 2018) each month (France 24 website).

- **Radio France Internationale (RFI)**

The RFI is French news and current affairs radio station that provides its services to the whole world in 13 languages as well as French. The RFI is presenting its services via medium and short waves, satellite signals, and the internet. According to the France Medias Monde Website, RFI's weekly listeners are estimated at 41.3 million and this number is expressing the RFI's listeners in only 37 countries out of the 150 countries where RFI is accessible. The digital platforms of the RFI attract around 15.2 million visitors each month (2017 average) and around 19 million followers on Facebook and Twitter (July, 2017).

- **Monte Carlo Doualiya Radio (MCD):**

MCD is an Arabic-language radio station that broadcasts to Middle East, Mauritania, Djibouti, and South Sudan via medium wave, FM, satellite, and partner radio stations. By focusing on cultural content, live transmission, and interaction, MCD radio's weekly listeners are estimated at 7.3 million (measured in 18 countries). MCD radio's website and digital platforms attract 2 million visitors each month (2017 average) and 3.8 million followers on Facebook and Twitter (July, 2017) (www.francemediasmonde.com).

GERMANY

Through its state – owned international broadcasting service, Deutsche – Welle (DW), Germany is now considered a major player in the world of international broadcasting. One of the main goals of (DW) is to deliver a comprehensive image of Germany as well as help people around the world to learn the German language. DW provides its services in 30 languages, with TV channels in English, German, Spanish, and Arabic. The distribution of DW depends primarily on satellite network, the internet, and short waves. DW's radio, television, and online services reach an estimated weekly audience of around 157 million users worldwide and according to its strategic plan 2018 – 2021, DW is aiming at increasing its weekly audience to reach 210 million contacts. DW receives high appreciation from the German parliament and government due to its important role in establishing and initiating dialogues with target groups that German embassies, consulates, and foreign chambers cannot reach on a regular basis. As for Africa, DW provides its services in English, French, and Portuguese. In addition, DW's services in Africa are also presented in major regional languages like Hausa, Swahili, and Amharic. Since Africa is extremely important for Germany's economy and politics, DW is actually seeking to increase the cooperation with African media institutions by establishing partnerships, similar to its cooperation with the Nigerian partner Channels TV (DW Strategic Plan 2018 – 2021& www.dw.com).

RUSSIA

Russia entered the world of international broadcasting to provide alternative perspectives on current affairs and Russian viewpoint on global events.

- **Russia Today (RT)**

RT is a Russian international news network that comprises eight television channels, broadcasting news, current affairs, and documentaries, with digital platforms in six languages and video news agency. RT channels provide services in English, Arabic, Spanish, Russian, and French, with a documentary channel (RT Doc) in English and Russian (from Moscow). In addition, RT America is aired from Washington; RT UK is transmitted from London, and RT France is broadcast from Paris. According to a 2017 survey on TV news consumption that conducted by Ipsos, the total weekly audience of RT channels reached 100 million viewers in 47 countries of the 100 countries where RT news services are available. In terms of its online services, RT websites had more than 190 million visits in December 2018 (www.rt.com).

- **Rossiia Segodnya (Sputnik)**

In 2014, the Russian media group (Rossiia Segodnya) launched its modern news agency (Sputnik) that includes newsfeeds, websites, radio broadcasts, social networks, mobile apps, and multimedia press centers. Sputnik replaced the state – run news agency (RIA Novosti) and the Voice of Russia radio service. Sputnik offers its services in more than 30 languages targeting international audience around the world and its radio services are provided through FM, DAB, DAB+ frequencies, and websites (www.sputniknews.com).

CHINA

Nowadays, the People's Republic of China can be considered a powerful global broadcaster using all kinds of media to affect the world's public opinion. China Global

Television Network (CGTN) is China's international news network, which was launched in 2016 by the national broadcaster China Central Television (CCTV). CGTN is a multi – language news network that operates six television channels, multiple digital platforms as well as media production centers in Washington DC (USA), Nairobi (Kenya), and London (UK).

- **CGTN English:** can be watched and followed around the world from Europe to Africa, Asia, and North America.
- **CGTN Arabic:** provides its services to all 22 countries of the Arab World.
- **CGTN Spanish:** provides its services to 28 countries, including Spain, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, and Peru.
- **CGTN French:** can be viewed in 87 countries and regions, including France, Morocco, Ghana, and Rwanda.
- **CGTN Russian:** provides its services to 46 countries and regions, including Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, and Bulgaria.
- **CGTN Documentary:** provides its services in English and considered the China's first documentary channel to broadcast internationally.

CGTN network is presenting its content digitally via its website (www.CGTN.com), CGTN mobile applications, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, WeChat, and Weibo. In addition, CCTV Plus (CCTV+), China's video news agency, presents its news services via its own online system to 1800 TV channels, and 1000 digital media platforms in more than 130 countries and regions (www.CGTN.com).

As for radio, China Radio International (CRI) aims at introducing China to the world and introducing the world to China. CRI offers its services in 44 languages and has 70 affiliate radio stations as well as 18 international internet radio services. In addition, CRI has 38 overseas bureaus reporting from around the world (www.cri.cn).

II. Regional Models:

TURKEY

As a result of becoming a key regional and international player since 2002, Turkey has decided to be more visible and powerful through entering the international broadcasting arena. Turkey Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) is a state – run broadcaster that provides its services locally, regionally, and internationally. TRT has 14 television channels, 14 radio stations, and multilingual online services. According to its website (www.trtworld.com), TRT's mission is to expand understanding, and encourage debate as well as to be a catalyst of positive change. Internationally and regionally, TRT's channels offer TV services in English (TRT World), Arabic (TRT Arabic), Kurdish (TRT Kurdi), Azeri, Bosnian, Turkmen, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Uzbek (TRT AVAZ).

- **TRT World:**

TRT World provides its news services in English to the whole world through its headquarters in Istanbul and its three broadcasting centers in Washington, London, and Singapore (TRT World website, 2016).

- **TRT Arabic:**

TRT Arabic offers its diverse programming to Arab – speaking audience. According to TRT's website (www.trt.net.tr), the main aim of the channel is to enhance ties between Turkey and the Arab World's countries.

- **TRT Kurdi:**

TRT Kurdi is a family channel providing its services in Kurdish in the purpose of building positive relationships with Kurdish – speaking people in the region.

- **TRT AVAZ:**

TRT AVAZ offers its broadcasting services in multiple languages targeting certain countries and regions, including Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Bosnia, and Herzegovina.

In terms of TRT's international and regional radio services, TRT has 5 regional, and 5 international radio stations. Digitally, TRT's website (www.trt.net.tr) and TRT World's website (www.trtworld.com) provide news services in various languages and live streaming for TRT's radio and television stations (TRT website & TRT World website).

SAUDI ARABIA

As one of the leading countries in the Arab World and the Middle East, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has been keen on delivering its messages to the world through broadcasting media. The Saudi Broadcasting Authority (SBA) is responsible for operating and regulating the Saudi broadcasting media outlets. According to BBC News website (www.bbc.com), private TV channels cannot be operated from inside the Saudi lands, but it can be launched and operated from outside the kingdom's soil. As a result, Al – Arabia

channel, which is owned by members of Saudi royal family, was launched in 2003 from Dubai as an independent private pan- Arab news channel. Al – Ikhbariya channel was also launched in 2004 from Riyadh as a state – run news channel.

- **Al – Arabia News Channel**

Al – Arabia TV channel is a free to air Arabic – language channel that provides news, information, interviews, and documentaries about the Middle East and the world on a round the clock basis. With around 30 bureaus across the world, Al – Arabia has been able to provide its audience with the latest news and live coverage on major events around the globe. Al – Arabia's sister, Al- Hadath channel, which was launched in 2012 and considered an extension of Al – Arabia, provides extensive live coverage, analysis, and reports on key events regionally and internationally. Al- Arabia's website, Al – Arabia.Net, is regarded one of the most popular news websites in the Middle East, as it offers its services in Arabic, English, Persian, and Urdu (MBC website).

- **Al – Ikhbariya News Channel:**

Al- Ikhbariya Arabic news channel is the first and only state – run news channel broadcasting from inside The Saudi kingdom. In addition, the channel is the first TV channel to have female news presenters in Saudi Arabia. The director of the channel told Reuter's news agency that the main objective behind launching this channel is to inform the world about Saudi Arabia and give a new image about the country (BBC news website, 2014).

QATAR

Al Jazeera

The former Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani, frequently confirmed that Qatar should be known and noticed in the world. As a result, Al Jazeera Media Network was founded in 1996 and it has probably been one of the most important factors that transformed tiny Qatar into a powerful regional state. Al Jazeera was seen by the Arab viewers as a truth – teller and thus, they, the Arab audience, felt that there was no longer need to watch and / or follow the Western news networks (Pulliam, 2013). Accordingly, the Arab media scene has changed and these changes have been known as "Al Jazeera Effect" (Anzawa, 2011).

Although the founding team of Al Jazeera was granted \$ 137 million by the former Qatari monarch to launch the channel, the Qatari government kept claiming the channel's independence from the government. In addition, the Qatari government has invested more than \$ 1 billion in Al Jazeera English and covered more than \$100 million losses of Al Jazeera Arabic each year since 2009 (Azran, 2013).

Al Jazeera Media Network is composed of Al Jazeera Arabic, targets an estimated audience of 300 – 500 million in 22 Arab countries, Al Jazeera Sports, currently known as Bein Sports and owns the exclusive rights of the world's major sport events and competitions in the Middle East & North Africa, Al Jazeera Mobile, Al Jazeera Mubashar, Al Jazeera Children, Al Jazeera Documentary, Al Jazeera English, and Al Jazeera Balkans, based in Sarajevo and provides its services in local languages to around 4 million households in the region, and reaches viewers in more than 30 countries. In

addition, Al Jazeera's online news services are available on all forms of digital platforms (Anzawa, 2011 & Al Jazeera Balkans website).

IRAN

As a result of developing its nuclear capabilities, the Islamic Republic of Iran has itself become a target of most international broadcasters, including the Voice of America, and the BBC. The Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB) is the governmental organization, which runs and controls all Iranian broadcasting media (Rotheray, 2010). IRIB operates Sahar TV, Al'Alam (The World) TV, Press TV, and the Voice of Islamic Republic of Iran (VIRI) radio services.

- **Sahar TV**

Sahar TV was launched in 1997 as an international news and general programming television providing its services on two channels in multiple languages. The main purpose of launching Sahar TV is to deliver the Iranian revolution to the outside world. In 2006, Sahar TV1 changed its name to Al-Kawthar broadcasting 18 hours a day in Arabic. Sahar TV2 has remained with the same name providing its services in Azeri, English, French, Kurdish, Bosnian, and Urdu. The transmission of Sahar TV reaches Europe, North Africa, Indian subcontinent, and Central and Eastern Asian countries (Rotheray, 2010).

- **Al'Alam (The World) TV**

Al' ALAM was launched in 2003 to become Iran's 24/7 Arabic – language international news channel. The channel can be watched in Europe, the Middle East, Asia – Pacific, and North America (Rotheray, 2010). According to its

official website (www.alalamtv.net), Al'Alam has around 50 field reporters in The Arab World, Europe, and some Asian countries. In addition, the channel is providing its services on different social media networks and its website offers services in Arabic, Persian, and English.

- **Press TV**

Press TV was launched in 2007 to become Iran's English – language international news channel that broadcasts on a round- the clock basis. The channel expresses the Iranian government's view on key global issues and events with bureaus located in the world's most strategic cities (Press TV website).

- **The Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran (VIRI)**

VIRI World Service provides its services in 30 languages, including Arabic, English, French, Hausa, Swahili, Urdu, and German. VIRI delivers its services via satellite, the internet, short and medium wave frequencies (Rotheray, 2010).

III. The Egyptian Model:

Under the supervision of the Supreme Council for Media Regulations, the National Media Authority is operating and overseeing all Egyptian public television and radio stations. On the regional and international level, the Egyptian National Media Authority comprises a number of radio and television stations targeting foreign audience.

- **Sawt Al – Arab (The Voice of Arabs) Network:**

The network contains three radio stations.

- 1) The Voice of Arabs Radio: went to air in 1953 targeting all citizens of the Arab countries.

- 2) Palestine Radio: was launched in 1960 in order to support the Palestine struggle against the Israeli occupation.
- 3) Wadi Al – Neel (Nile Valley) Radio: was established in 1984 to strengthen the relationships between Egypt and Sudan (Shaheen, 2002).

- **Directed Transnational Radio Network**

The network contains 35 radio stations providing their services in 23 languages, including English, French, Hebrew, Arabic, Hausa, Swahili, Fulani, Amharic, and Somali to the Middle East, Africa, Europe, the Americas, South and Southeast Asia (Allam, 2018)

- **Nile TV International Channel:**

The channel was launched in 1993, as the first and only Egyptian satellite channel to broadcast its services in English and French. Nile TV International targets foreign viewers in Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America in the purpose of promoting the Egyptian culture to the foreign viewers, highlighting the Egyptian values and emphasizing the principles of Egypt's foreign policy (Shaheen, 2002).

Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework

In fact, this study advances a theoretical framework designed to help find a connection between soft power's resources, tools, and main goals from one side and mass communication theories on the other. Agenda setting and cultivation theories of mass communication were found most appropriate to be used and applied to achieve the soft power's major goals.

In the following section, literature on agenda setting and cultivation theories of mass communication and their linkage to soft power's major resources, tools, and goals will be reviewed.

I. Agenda Setting Theory

The hypothesis of the agenda setting theory has always been one of the most important concepts in the communication theory since the early 1970s. The agenda setting hypothesis introduces a way through which the messages of the mass media can impact the publics. In fact, there is evidence that the mass media can shape people's opinion and perception toward certain issues, even though these issues are not the ones that are dominant in reality. The agenda setting function in mass communication refers to the media's ability, through its repeated messages and coverage, to raise the significance of certain issues in people's minds (Severin & Tankard, 2010).

According to Severin and Tankard (2010), the agenda setting hypothesis was first introduced by McCombs and Shaw in 1972 through their study of the 1968 presidential

elections. The study proved the strong correlation between the media's concentration on certain issues and the voters' perception of these issues as being important. Work by Gladys Engel Lang and Kurt Lang (1983) found that the notion of agenda setting needed to be expanded, so they proposed the concept of agenda building. According to their research (1983), Lang and Lang defined agenda building as a process in which media, government, and the public affect one another in specifying the significance of issues (Severin & Tankard, 2010). In addition, Lang and Lang broke the process down into six steps such as, concentrating by the press on certain issues, intensifying the coverage for some events or issues, framing specific issues, the language used in the media coverage, connecting the events to a common base in society, and finally, employing public figures to talk about some issues. According to Engel Lang and Kurt Lang (1983), the agenda building concept is more complicated than the original agenda setting hypothesis, as the concept of agenda building suggested that the process of placing an issue in the public's agenda takes time and has several stages.

In fact, one of the most critical questions regarding the agenda setting theory is: who sets the agenda in the mass media? Westley (1976) has answered part of the question by stating that pressure groups or special interest groups, sometimes, can raise specific issues on the media's agenda. Moreover, some recent studies suggested that the content of the elite media outlets, like the New York Times, can set the agenda for other media outlets. This process was referred to by Danielian and Reese (1989) as intermedia agenda setting.

In addition to the pressure groups suggested by Westley (1976) and the intermedia agenda setting suggested by Danielian and Reese (1989), Shoemaker and Reese (1991) proposed five key categories of influences on the media content:

- Influences from individual media workers: these influences refer to communication workers' characteristics, personal and professional backgrounds, personal attitudes, and professional roles.
- Influences of media routines: these influences refer to the daily practice of communicators, including time constraints, news values, the level of objectivity they have, and the extent to which communicators rely on official resources.
- Organizational influences: refer to the goals of the media organizations, including making money and becoming one of the most important news and information sources with widely shared content.
- Influences from the outside of media organizations: refer to the influences from the pressure groups, the interest groups, people who create pseudo-events to get media coverage, and government.
- The influences of ideology: refer to the prevailing ideologies in a certain society like for example, the value of capitalism and the market economy system in the American society.

A new level of agenda setting emerged in the agenda setting research area and this level has been called by McCombs and his colleagues as the second level of agenda setting. The first level of agenda setting deals with issues and lists them from top to bottom according to their importance. However, the second level of agenda setting deals with the attributes of issues or sub issues that could be listed and highlighted by the media.

For instance, an issue such as, economic conditions for a country could be divided into sub issues like for example, controlling the budget deficit, increasing or decreasing the interest rate, and attracting foreign investments.

Agenda setting can work at this sub issues level, when those sub issues receive intensive coverage from the media and thus, enjoy a degree of importance in the public's agenda and minds (Severin & Tankard, 2010).

. Agenda Setting Theory and Soft Power

In fact, there is a big correlation between soft power and agenda setting theory.

First, soft power is the ability to get what you want through attraction, so it suggests winning people's hearts and minds to get desired outcomes. Therefore, setting or designing an agenda that can attract people and win their hearts and minds is very important for achieving soft power's main goal.

Second, according to Shoemaker and Reese (1991), one of the influences, from outside the media organizations, that can set the agenda in mass media is government. Hence, each and every government can enhance its soft power through designing a suitable agenda for its mass media to influence the foreign publics in certain countries.

II. Cultivation Theory

The Cultivation theory is one of the most significant theories in mass communication that tackled the effects of the mass media on people. The theory was introduced and conceptualized in 1960s and 1970s by George Gerbner and his colleagues. Gerbner and

his colleagues proved that there is a strong correlation between repeating messages for a long time on TV and changing viewers' attitudes and values. In other words, the mass media, in general, and TV, in particular, can effectively contribute to changing people's attitudes and values through repeating certain messages for a long period. The theory rests on a number of concepts:

- Symbolic Environment refers to the environment which is created by the mass media, particularly TV, and realized by the recipients of the mass media content.
- Storytelling: according to Gerbner, there are three types of stories:
 - 1) Stories about how things work: these are stories that reflect the invisible dynamics of people's life.
 - 2) Stories about how things are: these are stories that are reflected on the news content.
 - 3) Stories about what to do: these are stories that reflect values and choices.
- The Symbolic function of television: television has always been an important source of providing people with information about the world in which they live.

According to Gerbner, cultivation is a kind of a desultory learning that derives from the repeated exposure to TV and its cultural effect is embedded in all types of content it presents. In addition, the cultivation theory confirms that TV is not only reflecting what is going on in the outside world, but it is also creating an artificial world focusing on certain issues determined by those who are controlling the media.

- Television traits: The symbolic function of TV is based on three main traits or features of TV:

- 1) TV is pervasive, as it conquers people's lives and people spend a long time watching it.
 - 2) TV is accessible, as anyone can watch it without having particular skills or exerting effort.
 - 3) TV is coherent, as all its messages that presented within its different programs are homogenous.
- Cultural model: this model proposes that TV is able to shape viewers' perception at cultural level and heavy viewers are more likely to have a high degree of consensus on cultural content that presented on TV.
 - Cultivation of value system: Cultivation theory proposes that TV portrays values and rules of a society, so the frequent messages that are presented on TV and received by its viewers from an early age could be later the basis of their broad worldview.
 - Multidirectional process: TV does not create or reflect the social, personal, and cultural elements that are presented on its screen. It does not create because those elements stem from a dynamic process in which the public, society, media institutions, and interest groups impact the creation and distribution of mass – produced messages. TV does not also reflect because of the interference of the interest groups and the media institutions in the messages and content that presented onscreen.
 - Cultural indicators: according to this concept, TV content and messages could be an indicator for the degree or the direction of the social change in a society (Mosharafa, 2015).

. Cultivation Theory and Soft Power

First, soft power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment (Nye, 2008). Cultivation theory focuses on changing people's values and attitudes through repeating certain messages on TV for a long time. Therefore, the theory can contribute to producing and / or enhancing a country's soft power by using the media's attraction power.

Second, a country's soft power stands on three main resources which are culture, foreign policy, and political values. Cultivation theory stands on a number of concepts that confirm the role of TV in spreading culture, shaping viewers' perception at cultural level, and portraying values and rules of a society. Thus, the theory could be used as a basis on which a country's soft power resources get flourished.

Chapter Four

Literature Review

I. Understanding the concept of soft power

What is power?

In fact, no definition of power has been repeatedly cited and widely used than the definition that introduced by the prominent German sociologist Max Weber. According to Weber, power is: *"The probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests"* (Uphoff, 1989).

Power was also defined by Dahl (1957) in a straightforward symbolic notation: *"A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do"* (Dahl, 1957). Dahl's definition of power simply means that if one (A) has power over another (B), he (A) can make him (B) do something against his preferences. Nevertheless, Bachrach and Baratz (1962) argued that Dahl's definition expressed only one face of power, while power has two faces. According to Bachrach and Baratz (1962), the first face of power is related to practicing power in the decision – making processes, while the second face of power, which they called it the "restrictive face", includes the dynamics of non - decision – making.

In other words, the second face of power (the restrictive face), rests on controlling and framing the agendas in a way that enables A to exclude B's preferences or / and deprive him of discussing his issues on the table. That basically means that (A) has the power to

make (B)'s issues seem irrelevant to the previously prepared agenda that should be discussed on the table (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). Lukes (1974) went beyond Bachrach & Baratz's definition and argued that power has not only two faces, but three. Lukes called Dahl's definition "the first dimensional view of power", while called the second face of power or the restrictive power "the second dimensional view of power". Lukes's third face of power rests on shaping others' perceptions, beliefs, preferences, and wishes. In addition, he confirmed that shaping others' ideas, beliefs, perceptions, and preferences in certain ways could make them do or want what I want (Lukes, 2005). Within his work (2004), Joseph Nye distinguished between two types of power definitions:

1) Behavioral or relational definitions

This type of definitions focuses on power as the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants. Nye's work (2004) stated that one can force people with threats or motivate them with payment or attract them to do and want what he wants. We experience our power over others when making them do something they would not otherwise do, but in order to accurately measure our power over them, we should first recognize their preferences (Nye, 2004).

2) Resources definitions

This type of definitions focuses on power as the possession of capabilities and resources that can produce outcomes. Nye's work (2004) admitted the importance of power resources, but argued that having a great deal of power resources does not guarantee getting desired outcomes all the time.

Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power

Hard power:

"The ability to get desired outcomes through coercion or payment" (Nye, 2011)

According to Nye, hard power is equal to a country's military and economic capabilities. Therefore, when a country focuses on its hard power resources to achieve its purposes, this simply means it uses its military forces or / and economic capacities to force others doing what it wants (Nye, 1990). Ernest Wilson III (2008) illustrated the strategies of hard power by stating that hard power strategies concentrate on military interference, forced diplomacy, and economic sanctions to implement national interests. In international relations, Nye (1990) argued that the world's most powerful nations have become less able to use their traditional hard power resources than before due to the changing in the nature of power and the high cost of using such a type of power. Due to these factors, new and intangible resources of power have emerged and led to the advent of what Nye called "the soft power".

Soft Power:

Within his work (2004), Professor Nye defined soft power as being: *"The ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment"* (Nye, 2004). Nye (2011) developed his first definition of soft power to be: *"The ability to affect others through the co – optive means of framing the agenda, persuading, and eliciting positive attraction in order to obtain preferred outcomes"*

(Nye, 2011)

According to Nye, hard and soft powers are linked to each other, as they both are considered aspects of impacting others' behavior to get certain goals. However, the difference between them rests on the way through which one can affect others' behavior and the tangibility of the resources (Nye, 2004).

Table 1: Hard Power VS Soft power

Type	Hard Power Military	Hard Power Economic	Soft Power
Behaviors	Coercion deterrence protection	Inducement coercion	Attraction agenda setting
Primary Currencies	Threats Force	Payments sanctions	Values culture, policies institutions
Government Policies	Coercive diplomacy war alliance	Aid bribes sanctions	Public diplomacy bilateral and multilateral diplomacy

(Source: Nye, 2004)

According to Nye (2004, 2008, and 2011), a country's soft power comes primarily from three basic resources:

- 1) culture**
- 2) Foreign policy**
- 3) Political values**

Nye (2004) distinguished between high culture such as, literature, art, education and popular culture that involves and presents mass entertainment like Hollywood for instance, which is considered a source of this type of culture. A nation's policy either at home or abroad is another source of soft power. The American racial policy that applied internally in 1950s negatively affected the American soft power in Africa. However, the

American human rights policy in 1970s produced significant soft power for the United States in Argentina two decades later. Therefore, domestic and foreign policies can negatively or positively impact a country's soft power and these policies can have long – term and short – term impacts (Nye, 2004). The values, which are being supported and enhanced at home or abroad by a government, can effectively influence others' preferences. Enhancing democracy at home or promoting peace in co – operation with others abroad can produce considerable soft power for any state (Nye, 2004).

Table 2: Soft Power Sources, Referees, and Receivers

<i>Sources of Soft Power</i>	<i>Referees for credibility</i>	<i>Receivers of Soft Power</i>
<i>Foreign policies</i>	<i>Governments, media, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)</i>	<i>Foreign governments and publics</i>
<i>Domestic Values and Policies</i>	<i>Media, NGOs, IGOs</i>	<i>Foreign governments and publics</i>
<i>High culture</i>	<i>Governments, NGOs, IGOs</i>	<i>Foreign governments and publics</i>
<i>Popular culture</i>	<i>Media, markets</i>	<i>Foreign publics</i>

(Source: Nye, 2008)

According to Nye (2004, 2011) soft power can also be produced by economic and military resources. Economic resources can be used to produce both hard and soft powers, as it can attract as well as coerce. European leaders, for instance, consider the desire of other countries to join the European Union as a sign of European's soft power. Hence, in case of employing the economic resources to attract others, soft power originates and works. Military resources can also produce both hard and soft powers. When the American Military invaded Iraq in 2003, the scenes of mistreatment of

prisoners negatively affected the American soft power. However, the soft power of the United States, China, Brazil, and other states increased, when they used their military forces for earthquake relief in Haiti in 2010 (Nye, 2011). In fact, soft power can work and affect its targets either directly or indirectly. In a direct model, leaders may be affected, attracted, or persuaded by the benignity, competence, or charisma of other countries' leaders. Thus, soft power works in a direct way when leaders get attracted or affected by the characteristics or features of their counterparts. On the other side, soft power works indirectly, when the publics and third parties get affected or persuaded and they, in turn, influence their leaders. Therefore, soft power of a country works indirectly through affecting or conquering the publics in foreign societies to the extent that makes them influence their leaders or governments (Nye, 2011).

Smart Power:

According to Professor Ernest Wilson III, smart power is *"The capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the actor's purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently"* (Wilson, 2008).

Joseph Nye introduced more concise definition of smart power than Wilson's stating that smart power is *"The ability to combine hard and soft power resources into effective strategies"* (Nye, 2011).

In order to increase the effectiveness of both hard and soft powers and transform their tools into successful strategies, which is smart power, Wilson (2008) suggested providing more accurate and sophisticated definitions, analyzing precisely the institutions of both hard and soft powers, and being aware of the political dynamics that is desired to enhance the combination of hard and soft powers (Wilson, 2008). Joseph Nye also paid great

attention to increase the effectiveness of both hard and soft powers through smart power, so his work (2011) affirmed that smart strategies must answer five key questions: What objectives are desired? What resources are obtained? What are the preferences of the targeted audience? What kinds of power behavior are most likely to succeed? What about the probability of success?

II. The Media Power

Broadcasting Media and Soft Power Resources

Nye (2011) affirmed that a country's culture, political values, and foreign policy are not the only resources to wield soft power. That is because both military and economic powers of a state can be used to attract as well as coerce. Thus, they can produce attraction (soft power) and coercion (hard power). In short, Nye named culture, political values and foreign policy as the three basic, not the only, resources of soft power. Accordingly, Yuan (2017) argued that international news can be considered the fourth source of soft power. A country's international news media can be used to shape its image and carry first- hand information about its culture, political values, and foreign policy to those who are living outside its borders (Yuan, 2017). In this regard, Nye (2004) referred to the way by which issues are framed in international news media as a key factor that can positively or negatively affect a country's soft power in specific area or region. For instance, during the Iraqi War in 2003, the same footage of moving forces was described by CNN as "coalition forces advance" and by Aljazeera as "invading forces advance". According to Nye, Aljazeera's description harmed the American soft power in the region (Nye, 2004).

Despite confirming the significance of the American high culture in producing soft power for the United States, Nye (2004) also affirmed the importance of popular culture in producing a country's soft power due to its massive political effects. In this regard, the mass media has extreme importance in spreading popular culture through transmitting popular sports games and lyrics of popular music that definitely have political effects. For instance, the American Basketball games have been broadcast to 750 million households in 212 countries and 42 languages. In addition, the B-92 radio station in Belgrade played frequently the American rap group Public Enemy's lyric "Our freedom of speech is freedom or death ---- we got to fight the powers that be" (Nye, 2004).

On the other side, Flew (2016) argued that the cultural dimension of soft power lacks clarity due to the confusion between cultural diplomacy and cultural relations. According to Flew (2016), cultural diplomacy is an intentional practice funded and overseen by the government to get cultural influence over other countries, but cultural relations tend to be practiced extensively by non-state actors. The BBC international effect, for instance, comes from its combination of being government – funded, but independent from the British government. Therefore, the various relationships between states and non – state actors are one of the significant areas of distinction in comparative studies of soft power and cultural diplomacy (Flew, 2016). In fact, Nye's work (2004) touched Flew's point when tackled the limits of soft power. Nye stated that in democratic societies, governments are not and should not be able to control culture, but this absence of the governmental control over the attraction and culture means can itself be a source of attraction and thus, soft power (Nye, 2004).

In an attempt to examine the importance of broadcasting media within the context of soft power studies, Hayashi & Lee (2007) focused on the cultural effect of the Korean drama "Winter Sonata" on the Japanese society. The Japanese Public broadcaster (NHK) aired the Korean drama "Winter Sonata" in 2003 and had to repeat it four times within two years in response to the massive demand from viewers. As a result, 90% of the Japanese citizens became more or less familiar with the drama according to a survey conducted by (NHK). In 2004, Japan became the main importer of the Korean TV programs and more than half of the Korean production in this field exported to Japan (Hayashi & Lee, 2007). A questionnaire conducted by Hayashi & Lee (2007) showed that the drama had improved the image of South Korea for 59.8% of the Japanese fans and it was the main reason behind showing respect to South Korea by a considerable number of viewers. On the other side, the massive success of the Korean wave made South Koreans aware of their power over the Asian continent and made them feel proud of their country as an Asian cultural leader (Hayashi& Lee, 2007).

In the Middle East, work by Berg (2017) showed that the popularity of the Turkish dramas that are broadcast on the Arab screens resulted not only in creating a positive image about Turkey among Arab citizens, but also instilling in them a wish to travel to Turkey to experience the Turkish lifestyle. Berg's work (2017) found that the official figures that released by the Turkish Tourism Authority reflected the popularity of the Turkish dramas among Arabs, as the number of Arab tourists visiting Istanbul has doubled over the past six years (Berg, 2017).

Since soft power relies basically on attraction rather than coercion or payment, the attractiveness of a country is extremely important to produce its soft power. This

attractiveness derives from political values that are shown and expressed through foreign policies (Nye, 2004). In this context, many studies have proved that there is a strong correlation between mass media and both foreign policy and political values as essential resources of soft power. Coban (2016) proposed that in order to examine the influence of media on international relations and foreign policy, we should first realize that mass media has five political functions:

- **Information provision**
- **Agenda building**
- **Public watchdog**
- **Political mobilization**
- **Regime legitimating.**

By providing and disseminating information, ideologies, and values, the media establishes important relationships with societies in which it exists. The media selects, organizes, and confirms certain news in order to determine what important topics for public discussions are. The media affects what we think about and how to think about it through its agenda building function. When the media acts as a public watchdog, it can make officials held accountable and empower the publics. The media can also be used in political mobilization by political parties, and lobbyists in the purpose of recruiting members, calling for public meetings, or protesting. The final political function of the media is legitimating regimes through making citizens accept the prevailing social norms of their societies as well as the institutions that represent them (Coban, 2016).

In the same context and regarding the influence of the media on foreign policy, Livingston (1997) argued that the media can affect foreign policy by acting as:

- **An agenda setting agent**

Foreign policies can be a reflection of the news media content. This does not mean that issues are created by the media, but the media coverage contributes effectively to rearranging policy makers' priorities.

- **An accelerant**

The media shortens the time of decision making process. This simply means, the media asks for responses and results even before policy makers have had sufficient time to decide what to do or how to deal with the issue.

- **An impediment:**

The media can hinder the developments of a policy that was set to resolve an issue by spreading information, pictures, and videos that can negatively affect the public support of policy makers' decisions toward political conflicts (Livingston, 1997).

The relation between the mass media and foreign policy was also tackled by Robinson (2000) who examined the influence of the news media coverage on decisions of intervention during humanitarian crises. Robinson (2000) argued that during humanitarian crises, the impact of the media on policy is most likely to occur, if the policy itself is uncertain and the media coverage is framed to empathize with suffering groups. However, the influence of the media on policy is less likely to occur, if the policy is certain. According to Robinson (2000), the decision – making process is a result of bargaining process among a set of policy subsystems in the executive branch. Accordingly, if an issue arises and there is no specific policy among the executive subsystems to deal with it, this case can be described as being policy uncertainty.

However, policy certainty stems from a general consensus among the executive subsystems on applying specific policy toward a certain issue (Robinson, 2000).

Wolfsfeld (1997, 2004) examined the influence of mass media on foreign policy by focusing on the constructive and destructive role of the media in the policies of promoting peace processes between conflicting countries. The news should act as a peace forum, where both proponents and opponents are able to express their views publicly and freely. However, the media is most likely to play a destructive role in peace processes because of focusing on events instead of peace process, highlighting the dramatic side of the process, and finally making it difficult to have fruitful negotiations (Wolfsfeld, 1997).

According to Nye (2004), the role of broadcasting media was evident in implementing fundamental American foreign policy goals. From Nye's perspective, the Berlin Wall had been breached by television and movies before its complete decline in 1989. Moreover, the American private TV stations had an important role in sparking the protests in Teheran after a decade of issuing a fatwa in Iran against satellite television dishes in 1994. The American TV stations first began to broadcast in the Farsi language to Iranians living in America, but they later started to cover the Iran's affairs 24 hours a day and broadcast information to inside the Iranian state (Nye, 2004).

. Broadcasting Media and Public Diplomacy

According to Mellisen (2005), the term "soft power" has become extremely important in the age of global information to the extent that made political commentators and ministries of foreign affairs ask about how to produce it most efficiently. In fact, some scholars (Nye 2004, 2008, 2011; Mellisen, 2005) named public diplomacy as the soft power's major tool.

Historically, the term public diplomacy (PD) was coined in 1965 by professor Edmond Gullion when he founded the Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy. The Murrow Center published a summary of Gullion's notion stating that:

"Public diplomacy deals with the impact of public attitudes on the formation and implementation of foreign policies. It includes dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation of public opinion in other countries by governments; the interplay between private groups and interests in one country and in other countries; the reporting of foreign affairs and its effect on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, like diplomats and foreign reporters; and the process of intercultural communications." (Cull, 2009).

Indeed, the term "public diplomacy" has been defined by so many scholars and practitioners such as Hans Tuch (1990), Signitzer and Coombs (1992) and Paul Sharp (2005).

The difference between traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy was clearly illustrated by Mellisen (2005), who stated that traditional diplomacy is all about relationships between representatives of states or other international institutions, but public diplomacy aims at influencing the publics in foreign societies. Gilboa (2008) went beyond Mellisen's distinction between public and traditional diplomacies and introduced three models of public diplomacy:

1) The Basic Cold War Model

During the Cold War era, the United States and the Soviet Union decided to rely on new weapons such as, information and persuasion campaigns in managing their conflict instead of using their nuclear weapons with its massive destructive power. As a result,

both the United States and the Soviet Union used international broadcasting to attract the publics toward their ideologies.

2) The Non-State Transnational Model

It's a theoretical concept that has been designed to examine the public diplomacy activities of groups, NGOs, and individuals. Those actors often take advantage of mass media to get international support for their issues.

3) The Domestic Public Relation Model:

It occurs when a government decides to rely on public relations (PR) firms or / and lobbyists in a target country to achieve its purposes.

Another important point was raised by Gilboa (2008) when referred to the weaknesses in the existing research of public diplomacy and the confusion among scholars regarding the relationship between the term "public diplomacy" and other terms such as, propaganda, public relations (PR), international public relations (IPR), and even soft power.

Indeed, Nye's Work (2008) clearly explained the relationship between soft power and public diplomacy stressing the importance of realizing the difference between measuring powers as behavioral outcomes and measuring it in terms of resources. According to Nye (2008), the resources that generate soft power for a country come from its values, culture, and policies; however, public diplomacy is a tool that is being used by a government to mobilize these resources for attracting and communicating with the publics of other states instead of dealing only with their governments.

In fact, the direct relationship between the mass media and public diplomacy was extensively highlighted within Cull's work (2008), when he determined five elements of the public diplomacy practices:

- 1) **Listening:** collecting data about foreign publics and their opinions to use it in setting policies and establish public diplomacy
- 2) **Advocacy:** undertaking the international communication activities to enhance certain policies, ideas, and interests in the minds of foreign publics.
- 3) **Cultural Diplomacy:** promoting cultural resources abroad and facilitating culture exchange.
- 4) **Exchange Diplomacy:** means sending citizens abroad and receiving foreign citizens for a period of study and acculturation.
- 5) **International News Broadcasting:** means using mass media and the internet to engage with foreign publics.

In terms of international broadcasting, work by Price (2003) showed that the term "International Broadcasting" expresses a combination of state – sponsored news, information, and entertainment targeting a variety of foreign audiences living outside the borders of the sponsoring state. Price's work (2003) also highlighted what Michael Nelson, former chairman of the Reuters Foundation, wrote about the importance of mass media, specifically radio, during the Cold War. Nelson mentioned that the West won the cold war not by the use of weapons or arms, but by the invasion of radio, which was mightier than the sword (Price, 2003).

Taylor (2002) explained, in detail, how the media contributed effectively to the decline of the Communist Camp in the period between 1989 and 1990 and how the emergence of the Direct Broadcasting by Satellite (DBS) enabled people living in Eastern Europe to watch, live on T.V, the decline of the Berlin Wall, the advent of democracy in the Eastern Camp states, and the internal decline of the Soviet Union itself. According to Taylor (2002), the key word in this era was "Live", because live pictures could not be edited or controlled by anyone.

Within the same point, Nye's work (2004) affirmed that the emergence of radio in 1920s led some governments, including Communists in the Soviet Union, Fascists in Germany and Italy, to wield soft power through entering the foreign – language broadcasting arena in 1930s. by the end of the Second World War, the BBC was providing its services in all major European languages as well as Arabic, Germany was directing twelve hours a week programming to the United States and seven hours a week to Latin America, and the Voice of America radio station was delivering its news services in 27 languages.

III. Egypt's Soft Power

Unlike hard power, soft power cannot easily be measured, but the methodology that is being used within the Global Soft Power 30 Index Report to measure nations' soft power can be deemed one of the greatest achievements in this regard (Nawar, 2018). The methodology of the Soft Power 30 Index to evaluate the soft power resources of a country depends basically on collecting both objective and subjective data. The objective data of this index has been drawn from different sources and divided into six categories (Mcclory, 2019):

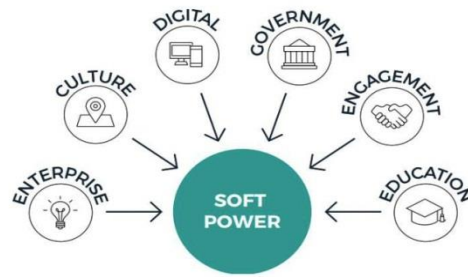


Figure 1: components of objective data within soft power 30 index

Source: (Mcclory, 2019)

- **Government Sub – Index:** By involving measures like personal freedom, human development, violence in society, and government effectiveness, this sub – index evaluates a country's political values, public institutions, and public policy outcomes.
- **Culture Sub - Index:** By including measures like the annual number of tourists, the global success of a country's national music and its national sports teams, this sub- index assesses both the quality and the international reach of a country's cultural production.
- **Global Engagement Sub - Index:** By encompassing metrics like the number of a country's embassies, membership in multilateral organizations and the ability to engage with foreign audience through its public diplomacy means, including international broadcasting, this sub- index can assess a country's diplomatic resources and its overall contributions on the international level.
- **Education Sub – Index:** By having metrics like the number of international students in a country, the quality of education services within its universities, and

the academic outputs of its educational institutions, this sub – index can capture a country's reputational gains in this regard as well as its contributions to the field of international scholarships and its pedagogical excellence. .

- **Digital Sub – Index:** This sub – index adds a new element to measure soft power. The digital sub-index was designed to assess the extent to which a country is interacting with today's technology, how well it is attached with the digital world, and its use of digital diplomacy through digital and social media platforms.
- **Enterprise Sub - Index:** By having metrics like the simplicity of establishing business in a country, the levels of corruption, the costs incurred for startups and new businesses, this sub index can evaluate the competitiveness of a country's economic model and its ability to enhance enterprise and trade.

The subjective data of the Soft Power 30 Index is collected through using specially commissioned polling across 25 countries representing the world's major regions with sample size of 11000 individual.

Table 3: The 2019 soft power 30 index result

France	1
United Kingdom	2
Germany	3
Sweden	4
United States	5
Switzerland	6
Canada	7
Japan	8
Australia	9
Netherlands	10
Italy	11
Norway	12

Spain	13
Denmark	14
Finland	15
Austria	16
New Zealand	17
Belgium	18
South Korea	19
Ireland	20
Singapore	21
Portugal	22
Poland	23
Czech Republic	24
Greece	25
Brazil	26
China	27
Hungary	28
Turkey	29
Russian Federation	30

(Source: Mcclory, 2019)

In fact, Egypt has never been among the world's top 30 soft powers, however, so many writers, researchers, and experts have illustrated that Egypt has had numerous resources of soft power. The Egyptian history, culture, dialect, civilizational heritage, spiritual status, political values, and foreign policy can be regarded as the most significant resources of Egypt's soft power (Abu Zaid, 2013; Abd El Rehim, 2017; Abdel Wahed, 2019). The Egyptian writers, intellectuals, experts, academics and artists have effectively contributed to shaping the collective awareness of the Arab people throughout the second half of the twentieth century (Abu Zaid, 2013). Since the 1930s and the 1940s and arguably until now with a lower degree, Cairo has always been known as "Hollywood of the East" (Abd El Rehim, 2017). The Egyptian cinema, media, music, literature, and arts have all portrayed Egypt as a pioneering country in the Arab region (Abdel Wahed, 2019). The Egyptian novelist Naguib Mahfouz has been the only Arab writer to win the Nobel Prize in literature (Pinfari, 2014). Possessing a geographical location at the heart of

the world as well as religious institutions like Al- Azhar and the Orthodox Church has given Egypt high religious and spiritual status (Nawar, 2018). Egypt's values and policies have also been highlighted by so many writers, scholars, and experts as sources of the Egypt's attractiveness. According to Pinfari (2014), Egypt's location at the heart of the Arab region and across the African – Asian boundaries naturally affected its foreign policy and increased its importance as a leading power within both the Arab and the African systems. During Nasser's era (1954 – 1970), Egypt adopted the concepts of "Arab Nationalism and Arab Unity" and the country paid a great attention toward the African circle by supporting the African national liberation movements to get independence from the colonial powers (SIS, 2019). President Nasser's keenness to export values, such as getting free of Western colonialism, maintaining national dignity, enhancing the principle of self- reliance, and seeking to achieve independent scientific, economic, and cognitive progress, contributed to enhancing Egypt's status as a pioneering and central country (Abu Zaid, 2013).The Egyptian political values were highlighted by SIS (2020) through focusing on the Egyptian participation in the UN peacekeeping operations. Since 1960, Egypt has participated with around 30000 security and military personnel in 37 UN peacekeeping missions across the world (SIS, 2020).

On the other hand, most writers, researchers, and experts admitted the decline of the Egyptian soft power over the past years. Abu Zaid (2013) argued that the fall of Egypt's soft power, under the presidency of Anwar el Sadat (1970 – 1981) and Hosni Mubarak (1981 – 2011), has been a result of a decline in its hard power. The lack of political, administrative, and lawful transparency, the lack of potential and qualifications required to hold public positions, the prevalence of corruption within the state's institutions, the

irrational pattern in managing conflicts and political crises, the unclear strategic vision about the future, and the decreased attention to disseminate culture and values are all main reasons behind the fall of the Egyptian hard and soft powers (Abu Zaid, 2013). Abdel Rehim (2017) argued that Egypt's soft power started to decline since the 9/11/2001 terrorist attacks and reached its lowest point since the outbreak of the Arab Spring demonstrations in 2011. Abdel Wahed's work (2019) found that globalization and information technology have had a negative impact on the Egyptian culture, religious and historical identity. Nevertheless, Abd El Rehim (2017) argued that although Egypt has witnessed a decline on all levels, the country still has potential for restoring its leading role due to its massive soft power resources.

. Egypt's soft power in Africa:

Article 1 of the 2014 Egyptian constitution affirmed the African identity of the Egyptian state by stating that *"The Egyptian people are part of the Arab nation enhancing its integration and unity. Egypt is part of the Muslim world, belongs to the African continent, is proud of its Asian dimension and contributes to building human civilization"*

According to a book issued by the State Information Service (SIS) in 2019, Egypt, throughout the history, has always been keen on emphasizing its African identity and belonging to the African continent.

Back to history, Egypt has been interested to send expeditions to Africa in order to explore the main sources of the River Nile, which has been considered a major contributor to the ancient Egyptian civilization. Moreover, both the Egyptian and Ethiopian churches have had long history of relationships that date back to the first half of the fourth century. During the Islamic age, the African - Egyptian relation has

developed remarkably, as so many African students came to Egypt to study at Al Azhar University.

Since the revolution of July 1952, Egypt has given special attention to the issues of the African continent. At that time, the Egyptian foreign policy focused on areas such as, supporting African national liberation movements, enhancing the African collective work by participating effectively in founding many African organizations in all fields (SIS, 2019).

Under the presidency of Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt had a great influence on all African levels. In 1970s, Egypt played a key role in establishing and pushing forward the Arab-African relationships through paving the way for communications between the league of Arab states and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), which was replaced by the African Union in 2002. As a result, the first Afro – Arab summit was held in Cairo in 1977 (SIS, 2019).

In 1980s, the Egyptian foreign policy towards Africa focused on the development issues. The Egyptian efforts in such areas yielded the establishment of the Egyptian Fund for Technical Cooperation with Africa (EFTCA). The EFTCA, which was replaced in 2013 by the Egyptian Agency for Partnership for Development, has worked to assist the African countries in achieving sustainable development in the areas of education, agriculture, media, health, diplomacy, judiciary, and security (SIS, 2019).

In 1990s and during the Egyptian presidency over the Organization of African Unity (July 1989 – July 1990), Namibia got its independence (March 1990) and Egypt was one of the first countries that recognized the South West African People's Organization

(SWAPO) as the only representative of the Namibian people as well as allowing it to open its office in Cairo (SIS, 2019).

In fact, so many political analysts, writers, and researchers have affirmed that Egypt started to ignore Africa after the failed assassination attempt on the former Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak that directly followed his arrival in Addis Ababa on 26th of June, 1995 to participate in an African presidential summit. In this context, Hassan Abu Taleb, a strategic analyst, claimed that former President Hosni Mubarak decided to ignore Africa after escaping an assassination attempt in Addis Ababa and the damage of his policy towards Africa has become clear to all after ousting him from office in 2011 (Essam El- Din, 2018). Hiba Al- Bishbishy, an expert in African affairs, argued that Mubarak's period has been the worst throughout the history of the Egyptian – African relations. Al – Bishbishy claimed that the Egyptians distanced themselves from Africa in Mubarak's era, the positive Egyptian – African relations that were established under Nasser's presidency transformed into hostile relations under Mubarak's rule. As a result, eight out of the eleven River Nile basin countries signed on Entebbe agreement, the Ethiopian Renaissance Dam has been built without consulting Egypt, and the Egyptian membership in the African Union was suspended after the 30 June revolution (El – leithy, 2019). In the same context, Amr Hamzawy (2010) stated that the Egyptian diplomacy showed the weakest performance in its history during the crisis of the Agreement on the River Nile Basin Cooperative Framework. Hamzawy (2010) specified three reasons behind the weakness of the Egyptian diplomacy that led to harming the Egyptian interests and security in Africa: (1) the lack of economic, commercial, and cultural ties between Egypt and the countries of the Nile basin. (2) Adopting procrastinating policy when

dealing with the issue of Nile water shares. (3) The decline of Egypt's soft power in Africa.

Nevertheless, some writers, political analysts, and experts have confirmed that Egypt under the leadership of President Abdel- Fattah Al – Sisi (2014 – to present) has taken serious steps to restore its leading role in Africa. President Al- Sisi attended most African summits as well as all international and regional partnerships and forums with Africa since he came to office in 2014. Moreover, a quantitative analysis for President Al – Sisi's foreign visits since taking office until the end of 2018 revealed that 30% of his total foreign visits were to African countries. Al – Sisi's move towards Africa resulted in electing Egypt to assume the presidency of the African Union (AU) for one year from February 2019 to January 2020 (SIS, 2019).

The Egyptian Broadcasting Media directed to Africa:

Overall, Egypt has been known as a leader in the production of media content, which is the main reason behind the prevalence and popularity of the Egyptian dialect across the Arab World (Abdulla, 2014). Since the country got its independence from Britain in 1950s, Egyptian rulers have been aware of the importance of the media in portraying the country's status as a political and cultural leader in the Middle East and Africa (Abdulla, 2014).

On the African level, the African Service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network (EDTRN) played a vital role in supporting the political struggles of the African nations against colonialism and this led to promoting Egypt's soft power and portraying the country as an African leader (Boyd, 1975; SIS, 2019).

Today, ten radio stations are directed from Egypt to Africans providing their services in Hausa, Fulani, Swahili, Amharic, Somali, African, English, French, and Arabic (SIS, 2019).

Hasan (2013) claimed that the historical role of the African Service in the (EDTRN) has dramatically collapsed and he argued that if vital role of those broadcasts had continued as effective as it used to be, the problems between Egypt and Nile Basin countries would not have occurred.

In fact, there is a severe lack in literature measuring the current impact of both the African Service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel on African peoples and thus on Egypt's soft power within Africa.

Chapter Five

Methodology

This research is a case study focusing on the African Service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network and Nile TV International channel as tools of the Egyptian soft power in Africa. The study used both quantitative and qualitative approaches in the data collection and analysis processes. In-depth interviewing was used for the qualitative part, and content analysis was used to examine the content of Nile TV International channel programs. Content analysis was not conducted for the Directed transnational radio stations due to language barrier. Because of the descriptive analytical nature of the study and its purpose to draw a complete picture on how the African Service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel have been enhancing Egypt's soft power over Africa, intensive interviews and content analysis for Nile TV International channel programs were most appropriate to answer the research questions.

The case study design completely fits the purpose and goal of this study. According to Neuman (2014), case study design enables a researcher to deeply examine many features of a case or more over a period of time with a variety of detailed information. In case study design, a researcher should choose a case or more to illustrate an issue (s) and study it or (them) in detail (Neuman, 2014). Gillham's work (2000) illustrated that the word "Case" can be single like studying an individual, certain group, institution, or community, and it can also be multiple cases like studying several institutions or professions etc. As for this study, the researcher carefully selected the African Service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network and Nile TV International channel to examine

their role in reinforcing the Egyptian soft power over the African continent. Gillham (2000) affirmed that a case study is a main method, so a researcher can use sub – methods, like interviews, observations, record analysis and others within it. This is what this study exactly needed to achieve its goal, which is painting a detailed picture on how the selected sample contributes to upholding the Egyptian soft power across Africa.

I. In –Depth Interviews

In – depth interviewing or intensive interviewing is a qualitative research technique to collect data through conducting individual interviews with a small number of respondents in order to explore their views about particular ideas, programs, or situations (Boyce & Neale, 2006). According to Merriam (1998), conducting in – depth interviews is the most common way for collecting data in case study research (Brown, 2008). In addition, conducting in – depth interviews is more useful and helpful than any other data collection method, when a researcher seeks detailed information about the issue under investigation (Boyce & Neale, 2006). Therefore, conducting in – depth interviews was found among the most suitable data collection methods to serve the main purpose of this study.

II. Content Analysis

Content analysis is a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases, assumptions and meanings (Lune & Berg, 2016). According to Neuman (2014), using content analysis helps a researcher to explore unnoticed features in the content of large amounts of material, as he or she measures the content information as numbers and presents it as tables or graphs. In addition, content analysis can be used in multiple disciplines, but it is

mainly a coding operation and data interpretation process regardless of the discipline in which it is being used (Lune & Berg 2016). In fact, different sampling options have been introduced to conduct content analysis for traditional media. Constructed or composite week is one type of sampling procedures that is being used to conduct media's content analysis. This technique samples the content of mass media according to the day of the week. Thus, a researcher can, for instance, choose a Saturday media content from a pool of Saturdays' contents. By applying this technique, a researcher can construct a week or several weeks representing all weekdays and the possibility of overestimating and / or underestimating certain days can be reduced (Kim, Jang, & Wan, 2018). Accordingly, constructing a week to analyze the content of Nile TV International was found among the most appropriate techniques that can be applied to achieve one goal of this study, which is exploring the degree to which this channel enhances Egypt's soft power in Africa.

III. Research Design and Sampling

According to Merriam (1998), there are two levels of sampling inherent in the case study design which are the selection of cases and the sampling of people within the study (Brown, 2008, P3). Based on that, this study focused on the Egyptian radio and TV services dedicated to enhance Egypt's soft power within Africa, which are the African service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International Channel, in order to identify the extent to which those two services help Egypt in boosting its soft power in Africa. Twelve in – depth interviews were conducted with Egyptian media policy makers, practitioners, academics, and experts. All participants were recruited purposefully and met the criteria of the study such as, having more than 15 years of experience in their fields, and having

strong relevance with the African service in the (EDTRN) or / and Nile TV International channel. Four participants were interviewed because of their positions, such as the head of the Egyptian Transnational Radio Network, the manager of the African Service in the (EDTRN), the head of Nile TV International channel, and the Secretary General of the Supreme Council for Media Regulations. Two academics and two experts were also interviewed because of their contributions in the field of international broadcasting. Two African broadcasters, one from Tanzania and the other from Cameroon, working for the African service in the (EDTRN) were recruited because of their nationalities and their years of experience within their workplace. Two TV presenters working for Nile TV International Channel were also selected because of their years of experience and seniority within the channel. All twelve interviews were face – to – face and each one lasted between 40 to 70 minutes. All participants were classified between being policy makers, practitioners, academics and experts. The questions varied according to the category to which a participant belongs. Policy makers were asked questions such as, what kind of messages and content does the Egyptian directed transnational broadcasting media focus on when targeting the African peoples. Professionals, working for the African Service and Nile TV channel, were asked questions such as, have you ever been sent to cover an African issue or an Egyptian – African mutual issue or to hear directly from Africans. Academics and experts were asked questions such as, how do you assess the current performance and impact of the Egyptian transnational broadcasting media directed to African nations. The lists of questions for each category are provided at the end of this chapter (**Appendix 1**). Participants working for the Egyptian Transnational Radio Network & Nile TV International channel were interviewed after getting

permission from the head of the Egyptian National Media Authority (the regulatory body of the Egyptian National Media). The list of the twelve participants along with their titles and positions is provided at the end of this chapter (**Appendix2**). In addition to the approval of the Institutional Review Board, all participants signed the informed consent to participate in this study. Data collected from in – depth interviews was recorded and transcribed then analyzed using coding strategy through which themes were identified.

The quantitative part is conducted to examine the content of Nile TV International channel that is dedicated to enhancing Egypt's soft power in Africa. A sample of a composite week, starting from Friday 26th of July, until Thursday 12th of September, 2019, was selected to better understand and categorize the coverage of the African issues on Nile TV International channel.

First, the material was recorded on hard disk. Next, this material was used to answer eleven questions and then those answers were coded as data and converted into numbers and percentages to be finally presented within this study as tables and charts. The list of questions used to analyze the content of Nile TV International channel is provided at the end of this chapter (**Appendix3**).

The quantitative data was statistically analyzed following the SPSS statistical program. The following statistical parameter was calculated as shown below (Wimmer & Dominick, 2003).

The Chi-Square (χ^2) Test:

χ^2 is used to test the homogeneity of distribution of any two variables. We assume the null hypothesis that the 2 distributions are similar. χ^2 will measure if the null hypothesis is true or false.

χ^2 is calculated as the summation of the squares of the differences between expected and observed values as a ratio of the expected value, Wimmer and Dominick (2003).

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(\text{Observed} - \text{expected})^2}{\text{Expected}}$$

The resulted value of χ^2 is tested against the theoretical χ^2 values and the probability level is obtained. If the probability level is less than 0.05 or 0.01, the χ^2 is significant at the probability level and the distributions of the two variables A & B are not the same. If the probability level is more than 0.05, the calculated value of χ^2 is not significant and the distribution of A & B is the same in each variable.

Chapter Six

Findings and Analysis

The first research question sought to explore the extent to which the African service within the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network and Nile TV International channel enhance Egypt's soft power over Africa.

The study sought to answer this question through conducting in – depth interviews with policy makers, professionals, experts, and academics and through analyzing the content of Nile TV International channel for a selected composite week.

First, two themes emerged from the in – depth interviews that conducted to find an answer to the first question of this study:

- Glorifying the past effect, undermining the present influence, and doubting the future impact.
- Confusion over implementing the strategic goals.

I. Glorifying the past effect, undermining the present influence, and doubting the future impact:

Data collected from in- depth interviews revealed that most participants praised and glorified the past effect of both the African service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio network and Nile TV International channel in upholding the Egyptian soft power in Africa. However, they underestimated the current influence of the two services describing it as being very weak and even unnoticeable.

One of the Egyptian media policy makers (interviewee 1) stated that the political position of the Egyptian state towards Africa is the basis that may be reflected, positively or negatively, on the role and performance of the broadcasts directed to Africa:

"In Nasser's era, Egypt paid a great attention to Africa and focused on supporting the liberation movements across the continent. Consequently, all broadcasts directed from Egypt to Africa were playing a very important role in that direction as being part of the state's foreign policy towards Africa, but this trend was retracted and therefore, this was reflected negatively on the performance of the broadcasts directed to Africa to the extent of not feeling their role later on. This, for sure, has had a negative impact on Egypt's relations with African countries and this is also very clear in many crises we are currently suffering from with African states" (Interviewee1, October2019)

Interviewee (1) confirmed the vital role that played by the African service in the (EDTRN) in serving Egypt's foreign policy and thus, increasing its soft power in Africa under the leadership of the late president Gamal Abdel Nasser. The participant affirmed that after Nasser, Egypt has distanced itself from Africa and thus, the broadcasts directed to Africa were neglected and became ineffective and this resulted in many crises between Egypt and other African states. The interviewee referred indirectly to the Egyptian – Ethiopian crisis over the Nile water shares due to constructing the Ethiopian Renaissance Dam.

One of the Egyptian media experts (interviewee 2) affirmed that the Egyptian state in the 1960s and early 1970s was aware of using its broadcasting media to reinforce its soft power outside its borders:

"Egypt was very strong in using its broadcasting media to increase its soft power not only in Africa, but also in so many places around the world. When Egypt launched its directed transnational radio network, it was the second largest directed radio network in the world after the BBC in terms of the number of languages used. In the past, the impact of the Egyptian directed transnational radio network was huge and evident, but nowadays, I can't even evaluate its impact, as I feel like it doesn't exist at all"

(Interviewee2, January2020)

This interviewee reaffirmed the fundamental role that was played by the African service as being part of the (EDTRN) to serve the Egyptian interests and its value as one of the very strong Egyptian soft power tools in the past. However, his answer also reaffirmed the weakness and the ineffectiveness of the current performance to the extent that describing all the Egyptian directed radio stations, not only the African service, as being nonexistent.

As for the Nile TV International channel, an Egyptian media professor (interviewee 3) said that the influence of the channel has been very strong since its inception and for so many years later, but now it has almost no effect:

"When it was launched in 1993, Nile TV International channel was really contributing to enhancing Egypt's soft power, as it was known as a cultural channel with a news background, so it was able to compete with its counterparts, but now, the channel has almost no impact, as it holds two identities, one in English and another in French. Consequently, the channel now is considered a strange and internationally unrecognized

model. Therefore, this model can never be influential either on the African level or on any other level" (Interviewee3, February2020)

Interviewee (3) highlighted the value of Nile TV International channel as a cultural TV station contributed to increasing Egypt's soft power in 1990s through carrying the Egyptian culture, civilization, and heritage to the foreign audiences, including Africans. However, the participant referred to the two languages used within the channel's programs as being the main reason behind losing the channel's identity and its ability to attract foreign audience. In this context, content analysis for Nile TV International channel, which was conducted within this study, revealed that 75% of the channel's content is broadcast in English and 25% of the channel's content is provided in French (Figure 2).

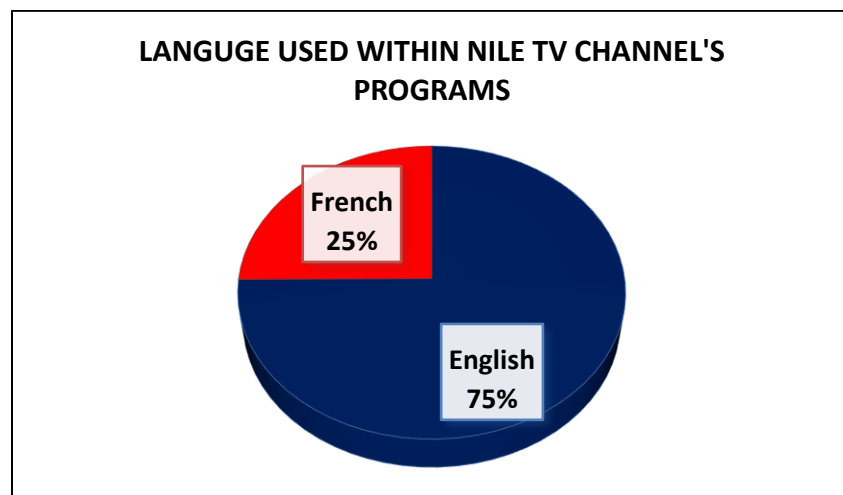


Figure 2: component of language used within Nile TV International channel

As for the expected future impact of the two services, some interviewees confirmed that the African service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International will continue as

ineffective as they are today and they will not be able to boost Egypt's soft power in Africa, if they do not stop and reassess their policies, content, and ways of attracting the African peoples. Interviewee (3) said that the current performance of both the African Service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel cannot absolutely contribute to enhancing Egypt's soft power in Africa:

"If the Egyptian radio stations directed to Africa and Nile TV International channel cannot prove that their current model is successful, they will have to change their policies, study other models in other countries, and rewrite their vision, mission, strategic goals, and how to implement them within no more than 7 years"

(Interviewee3,February2020)

Another media expert (interviewee 4) had the same opinion when asked about his expectations for the future impact of the African Service in the Directed Transnational Radio Network and Nile TV International channel:

"I expect reconsidering the resources and efforts exerted through these platforms, searching for new ways that should be more consistent with the resources and with the new state of convergence with the target audience and suggesting new and more appropriate ways to attract Africans" (Interviewee4,January2020)

The two interviewees (3& 4) reflected skepticism about the future impact of the African service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel and thus, their ability to enhance the Egyptian soft power over the African continent in the future, unless they reassess their policies, and find new ways to reach and attract their target audience in

Africa.

II. Confusion over implementing the strategic goals:

Data collected from interviews showed that the main strategic goals for the African service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel are:

- Supporting Egypt's foreign policy.
- Enhancing ties between Egypt and African nations.
- Clarifying Egypt's vision towards certain regional, continental, and global issues.

One of the senior officials (interviewee 5), heading the African Service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network (EDTRN) stated that:

"We look first at Egypt's foreign policy, especially towards African countries. Next, we look at the goals of this policy and then, transform these goals into radio programs that can serve Egypt's foreign policy goals. Consequently, our strategic goal is to support Egypt's foreign policy" (Interviewee5, October2019)

Interviewee (5) clearly illustrated that one of the strategic goals for the African Service in the (EDTRN) is supporting Egypt's foreign policy within Africa. Since a country's foreign policy is considered one of its soft power resources (Nye 2004, 2008, and 2011), hence, one of the strategic goals for the African Service in the (EDTRN) is enhancing Egypt's soft power in Africa through supporting its foreign policy.

Another senior official (interviewee 6), chairing the whole Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network (EDTRN) said:

"The current strategy of the African service in the directed radio network is to achieve our main goal, which is enhancing the ties between Egypt and all African nations"

(Interviewee6, October2019)

Interviewee (6) shed light on another strategic goal for the African Service in the (EDTRN), which is boosting ties between Egypt and other African countries by getting Egypt much closer to African nations. For the African Service to achieve this strategic goal, it has to act as a Public diplomacy tool for the Egyptian state in Africa, as public diplomacy, by definition, means to communicate with the foreign publics in other countries in an attempt to attract and impact them and thus, achieve certain goals. Since public diplomacy is considered one of the soft power major tools (Nye 2004, 2008, 2011; Melissen, 2005) thus, one of the strategic goals for the African Service is to increase Egypt's soft power in Africa through acting as an instrument of Egypt's public diplomacy.

Another senior official (interviewee 7), heading Nile TV International channel revealed that:

"Our strategic goal is clarifying the vision of the Egyptian state. Egypt is now working on development, peace, developing Africa, and combating terrorism"

(Interviewee7, October2019)

The answer of interviewee (7) also reflected the importance of Nile TV International as one of Egypt's public diplomacy tools that can and should explain and clarify the vision of the state towards so many issues.

Two African broadcasters working for the African Service in the (EDTRN) (Interviewee 8&9) also confirmed that the main target of the African service is to boost Egypt's soft power through getting Egypt much closer to the African nations.

Interviewee (8), a Tanzanian radio broadcaster working for the African Service in the (EDTRN), said:

"I do believe that the main target of the African Service in the Egyptian radio is to enhance and increase ties and relationships between Egypt and African nations"

(Interviewee8, October2019)

Interviewee (9), a Cameroonian radio broadcaster working for the African Service in the (EDTRN), expressed the importance of communication between Egypt and other African nations. In the words of this participant:

"In my opinion, communication between Egyptians and other African peoples is extremely important, so our target here in the African Service is to increase communication between Egypt and other African countries, and convey Egypt's message and vision to all African peoples and leaders" (Interviewee9,October2019)

Answers mentioned above clearly explained the strategic goals of the African service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel. However, interviews' analysis showed some sort of confusion over implementing these strategic goals due to:

- Underestimating the value of audience research
- Rarely producing content from outside Egypt
- Not giving Africa sufficient concern on Nile TV International channel.

Underestimating the value of audience research:

Data collected from interviews showed that the African Service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel never rely on audience research to first, well understand the nature and needs of their audience in Africa, second, be able to attract and impact them and thus, achieve their strategic goals.

One of the senior TV presenters working for Nile TV International (interviewee 10) denied his reliance on audience research when delivering his messages to his target audience whether in Africa or elsewhere. In the words of this participant:

"I am not personally aware, from my position as a practitioner, that we have scientific results regarding how the message was received or the specific needs of the audience, it is really away from my field, I cannot say yes and cannot say no, I really do not know"

(Interviewee10,December2019)

Another senior TV presenter working for Nile TV International channel (interviewee 11) added:

"Unfortunately, we do not have audience research. We rely on ourselves, meaning that we determine the needs of our audience based on our personal diligence, whether through our previous experiences, such as talking to officials of the African embassies here in Cairo or from African guests when we meet them"

(Interviewee11,December2019)

In addition to above answers that proved that audience research are not given any concern within the framework of Nile TV International channel, interviewee (7) confirmed this fact stressing that social media is more beneficial than audience research. Therefore, conducting reliable audience research, either to get the feedback or to create a content that can perfectly impact the target audience in Africa is not given any priority within Nile TV International channel.

Similar answers were received by interviewee (5, 8, 9) when they were asked about the role that is played by audience research in understanding audiences' desires, needs, and nature.

In the words of Interviewee (5):

"Each radio station in the African Service has a page on social media. On these pages, we put posts through which we try to identify the requirements of the audience of the target area of this station"(Interviewee5, October2019)

All answers mentioned above confirmed the fact that audience research is not receiving considerable interest within the framework of both the African Service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel, while feedback on social media can be considered the basis on which the two services understand their audiences' nature ,needs, and desires.

Rarely producing content from outside Egypt:

Data analysis suggested that the African service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel rarely produce any type of media content from outside Egypt. This simply means that they rarely move to any of the African states to create stories or to

conduct investigations or even to hear directly from Africans. When some interviewees (8, 9, 10, 11) were asked if they have ever been sent to any of the African countries to cover an African event or to investigate an issue in a certain African country, most of them said never:

"It has never happened over the years of my work here; I am just sent to cover the African conferences that are held here in Egypt" (Interviewee9, October2019)

Interviewee (8) confirmed the same information adding that he usually travels to Africa just for spending a vacation.

Interviewee (11) confirmed that Nile TV international has never sent her to Africa to cover an issue or to create a story from inside Africa. However, interviewee (10) told a different experience:

"Yes, I have been sent to Africa number of times, one of them was in Nigeria in 2010 and that was the D8 Summit (it's a group of the biggest 8 Islamic countries but of course developing nations). Another time was during the African Summit in Libya in 2004, and 2010"(Interviewee10, December2019)

On the other side, senior officials in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel confirmed that they do not have field correspondents in Africa and therefore, most of content is produced domestically or comes from any of the international news agencies.

Regarding this point, interviewee (6) said:

"Unfortunately, the African Service in the Egyptian Transnational Radio Network does not have field reporters in Africa, so we know the African news from the international

news agencies, but we sometimes know from any of the African broadcasters who are working here with us"(Interviewee6,October2019)

In the same point, interviewee (7) stressed that Nile TV International channel is in a dire need for a network of correspondents to be truly an international channel.

In addition to all above answers, the content analysis of Nile TV International channel showed that all channel's content, during the analysis period, was produced domestically and the channel's camera has never moved to any of the African states to create a story or to cover an issue (**Table 4**).

Table 4: Type of Program by where the content produced

Type of Program	Where the content produced			
	Egypt	Other African country	Others	Total
Talk Show	308	0	0	308
	100%			100%
News Bulletin	975	0	0	975
	100%			100%
Live Transmission	9	0	0	9
	100%			100%
Documentary	55	0	0	55
	100%			100%
Others	9	0	0	9
	100%			100%
Total	1356	0	0	1356
	100%			100%

As a result of not moving to Africa, content analysis of Nile TV International channel showed that 91.8% of guests interviewed within the channel's talk shows during the analysis period were Egyptians, while only 2.7% of guests were other African

nationalities holders and only 1% of talk shows' guests were Egyptians sharing the same interviews with other African nationalities (Table 5 & Fig. 3)

Table 5: Type of Program by Nationalities of Guests interviewed

Type of Program	Nationality of Guests*				Total
	Egyptian	Other African	Egyptian & Other African	Others	
Talk Show	101 91.8%	3 2.7%	1 1.0%	5 4.5%	110 100%
News Bulletin	0	0	0	0	0
Live Transmission	0	0	0	0	0
Documentary	0	0	0	0	0
Others	1	0	0	9 100%	10 100%
Total	102 85.0%	3 2.5%	1 0.8%	14 11.6%	120 100%

$\chi^2 = 112.96$ ($p=0.00$) indicating highly significant differences of distribution of type of program for nationality of guests. Chi square is biased upward due to the existence of too many zeroes.

*Number of "No Guests" = 1236

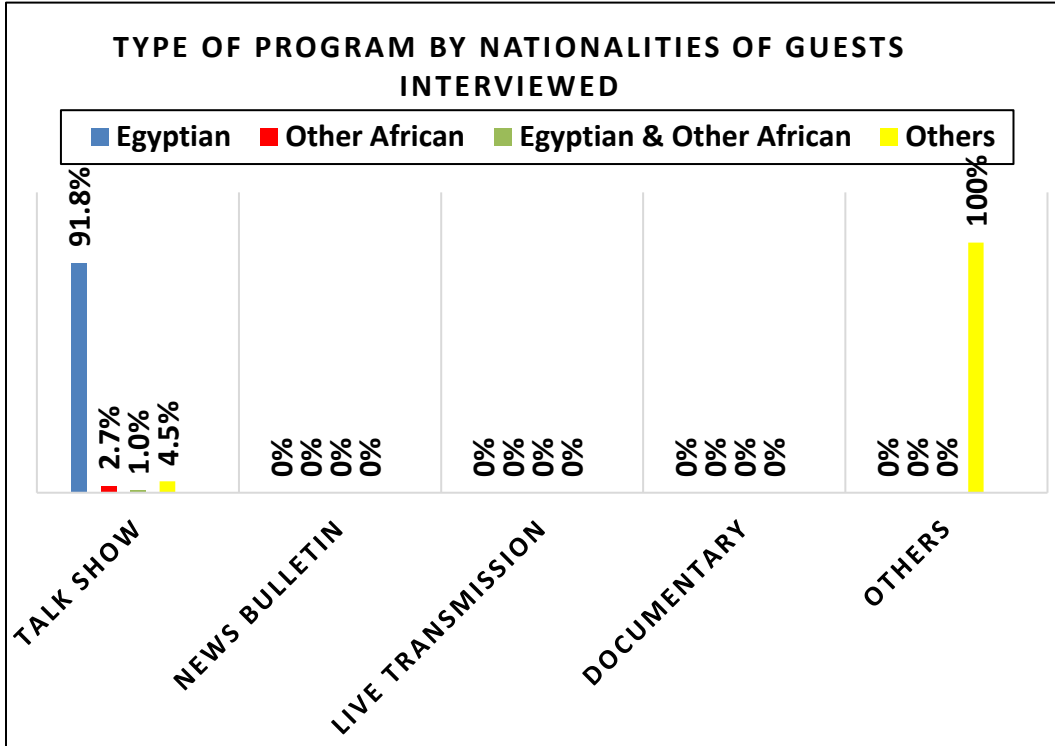


Figure 3: Type of Program by Nationalities of Guests interviewed

Content analysis for Nile TV International also showed that even when discussing other African countries' issues within the channel's programs, 100% of guests invited to discuss such issues were Egyptians. In addition, Egyptians who set alone to discuss Egyptian – African mutual issues represented 71.4% of total guests interviewed to discuss such issues, while other African nationalities holders who set alone and tackled Egyptian – African related affairs represented 14.3 % of total guests invited to discuss joint issues between Egypt and other African countries. Egyptians and other African nationalities holders who shared the same discussion represented 14.3% of total guests invited to talk about the Egyptian – African commonalities (Table 6 & Fig. 4).

Table 6: Focus of Content by Nationalities of Guests Interviewed

Focus of Content	Nationalities of Guests Interviewed				Total
	Egyptians	Other Africans	Egyptian & Other Africans	Others	
Egyptian Issues	78 84.8%	0	0	14 15.2%	92 100%
Other African Countries Issues	5 100%	0	0	0	5 100%
Egyptian – African Relations	5 71.4%	1 14.3%	1 14.3%	0	7 100%
Others	14 87.5%	2 12.5%	0	0	16 100%
Total	102 85.0%	3 2.5%	1 0.8%	14 11.7%	120 100%

$\chi^2 = 33.41$ ($p=0.00$) Low value indicating almost similar distributions of focus of content for nationalities of guests. Chi square is biased upward due to the existence of many zeroes

Number of "No Guests" = 1236

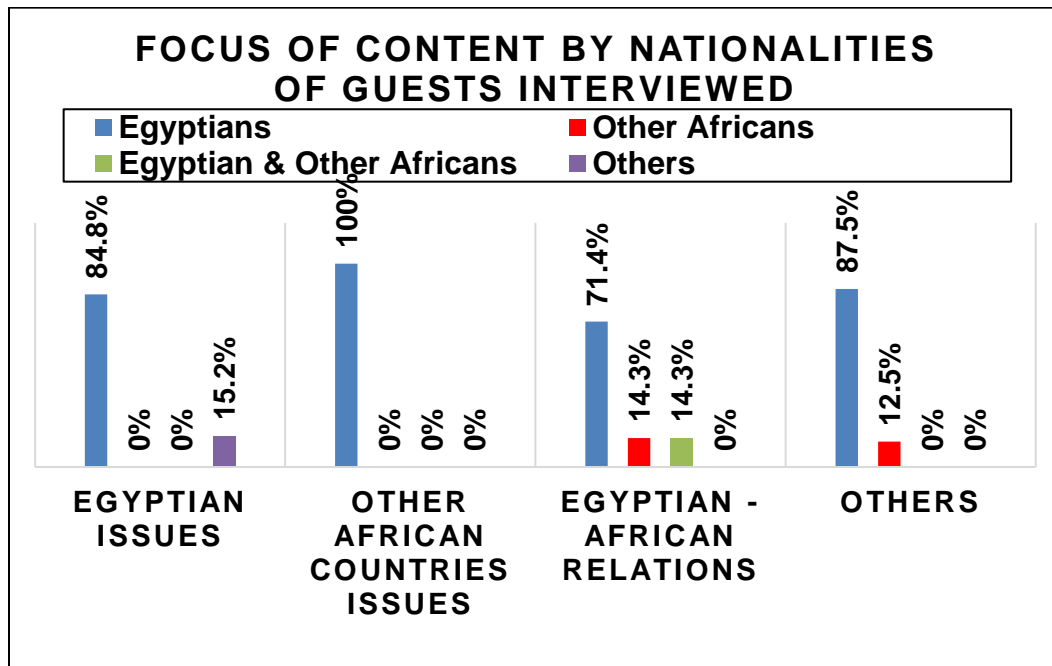


Figure 4: Focus of Content by Nationalities of Guests Interviewed

Not giving Africa sufficient concern on Nile TV International:

Content analysis of Nile TV International channel revealed that the channel is focusing on the Egyptian domestic affairs more than focusing on other African countries' affairs or even the commonalities between Egypt and African nations. Content analysis showed that the Egyptian domestic affairs represent 40% of the channel's focus of content, while other African countries' affairs represent 9% of the channel's focus of content, and the commonalities between Egypt and African states represent only 8% of the channel's focus of content (**Figure 5**).

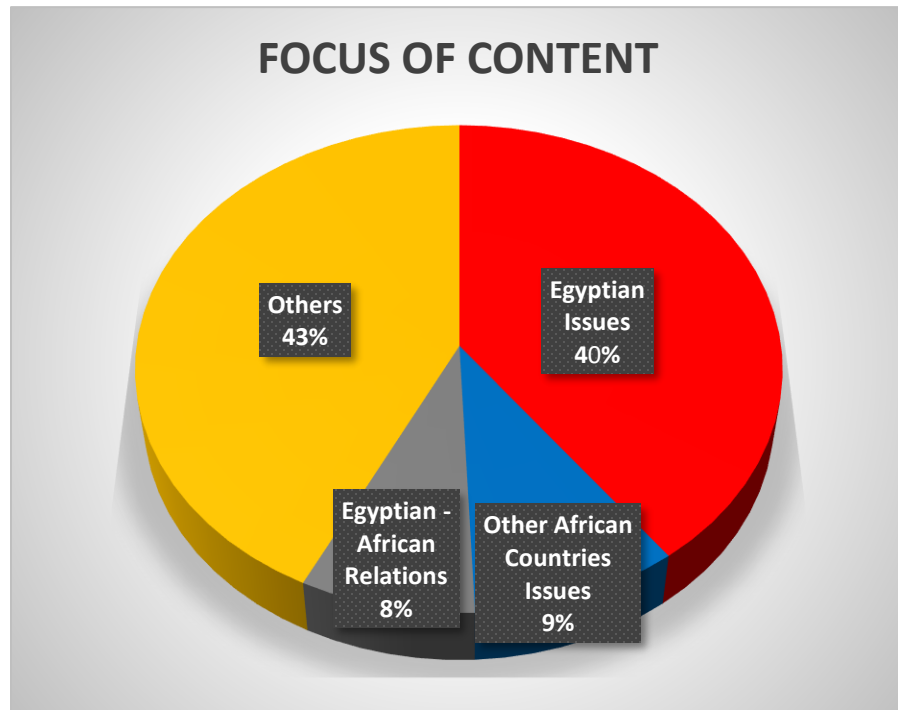


Figure 5: Component focus of Content

In addition, while the Egyptian domestic affairs represent 68.8% of the talk shows' content, other African countries' affairs represent 9.4%, and the Egyptian – African mutual affairs represent 7.8%. As for the news bulletins of the channel, the Egyptian

domestic affairs represent 26.5% of its content, while other African countries' affairs and the Egyptian – African mutual affairs represent 10.2% and 8.5% consecutively. The Egyptian domestic issues occupied 77.8% of the channel's live transmission during the analysis period, while both the other African countries' affairs and the Egyptian – African mutual affairs occupied 11.1% for each. The documentaries' content related to Egyptian issues, culture, history, civilization, and development occupied 98.2% of the content of the channel's documentaries, while documentaries linked to other African countries and the Egyptian – African mutual affairs occupied 0% in the same period (**Table 7 & Fig. 6**).

Table 7: Type of Program by Focus of the Content

Type of Program	focus of the Content				Total
	Egyptian issues	Other African	Egyptian-African	Others	
Talk Show	212 68.8%	29 9.4%	24 7.8%	43 14.0%	308 100%
News Bulletin	258 26.5%	99 10.2%	83 8.5%	535 54.9%	975 100.0%
Live Transmission	7 77.8%	1 11.1%	1 11.1%	0	9 100%
Documentary	54 98.2%	0	0	1 1.8%	55 100%
Others	9 100%	0	0	0	9 100%
Total	540 39.8%	129 9.5%	108 8.0%	579 42.7%	1356 100%

$\chi^2 = 302.01$ ($p=0.00$) indicating highly significant differences of distribution of type of program for focus of content. Chi square is biased upward due to the existence of many zeroes and values <5 .

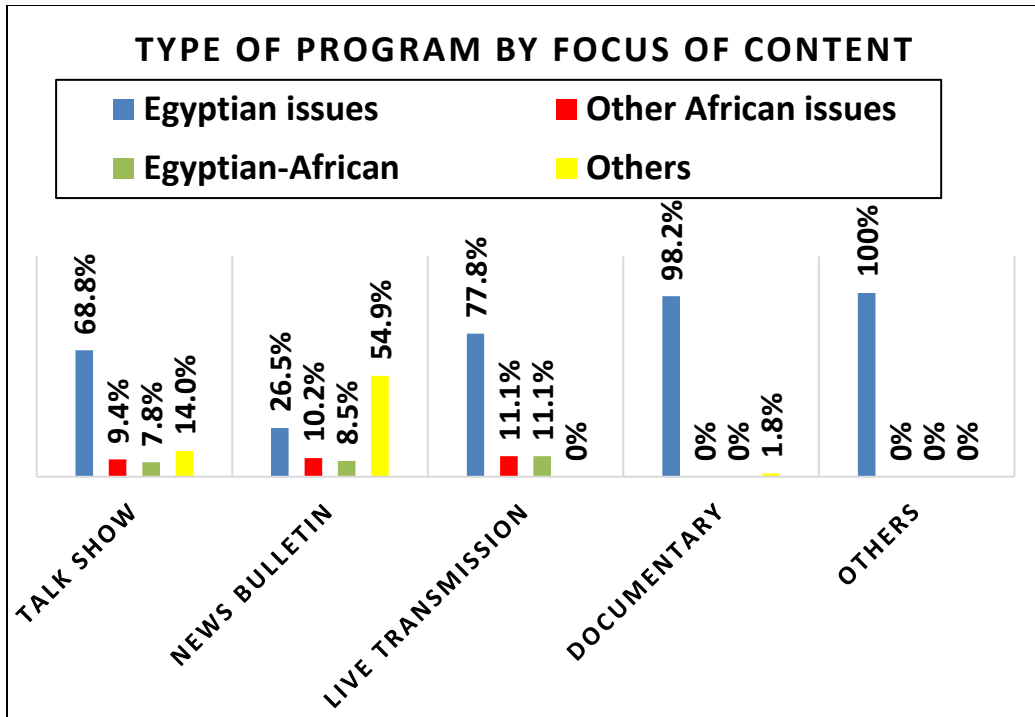


Figure 6: Type of Program by Focus of the Content

Second, results of content analysis for Nile TV International channel that can help in exploring the degree to which the channel enhances Egypt's soft power in Africa can be shown as following (Fig. 7):

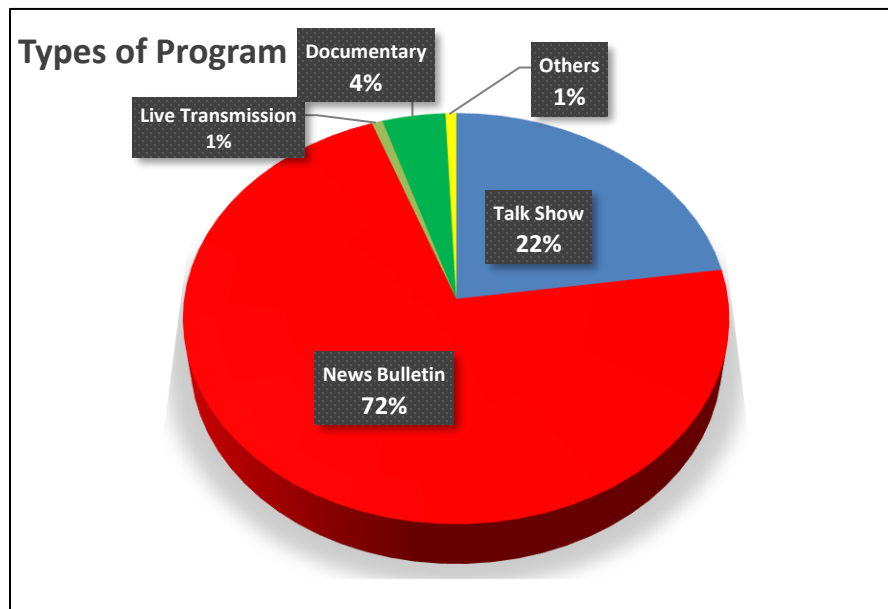


Figure 7: Component Types of Program

Table 8: Type of Program by Type of the Content

Types of Program	Types of the Content				Total
	Politics	Economy	Sports	Other	
Talk Show	147 47.7%	26 8.4%	21 6.8%	114 37.0%	308 100%
News Bulletin	606 62.2%	134 13.7%	148 15.2%	87 8.9%	975 100%
Live Transmission	7 77.8%	0	0	2 22.2%	9 100%
Documentary	0	0	0	55 100%	55 100%
Others	0	0	0	9 100%	9 100%
Total	760 56.0%	160 11.8%	169 12.5%	267 19.7%	1356 100%

Chi square $\chi^2 = 401.18$ ($p=0.00$) indicating highly significant differences of distribution of type of program for types of content. Chi square is biased upward due to the existence of many zeroes.

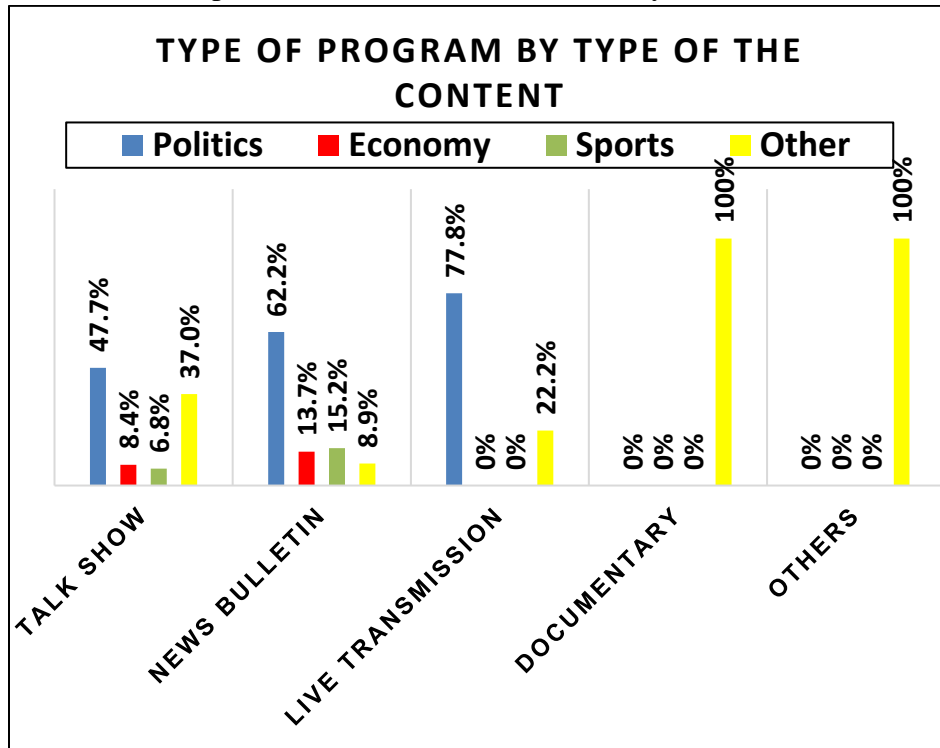


Figure 8: Type of Program by Type of the Content

Table 9: Relationship of Type of the Program by Image of Egypt portrayed

	Image of Egypt portrayed									
Type of the program	Leader	Partner	Not mentioned	Committed to diplomatic protocol	Making progress	Democratic	Cultural	Civilizational & History	Others	Total
Talk show	11 3.6%	43 14.0%	62 20.1%	15 4.8%	78 25.3%	37 12.0%	5 1.6%	27 8.8%	30 9.7%	308 100.0%
News bulletin	7 0.7%	123 12.6%	620 63.6%	24 2.5%	102 10.5%	41 4.2%	0 0%	0 0%	58 5.9%	975 100.0%
Live transmission	1 11.1%	1 11.1%	0 0%	1 11.1%	2 22.2%	4 44.4%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	9 100.0%
Documentary	0 0%	0 0%	1 1.8%	0 0%	2 3.6%	0 0%	0 0%	49 89.1%	3 5.5%	55 100.0%
Others	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	9 100.0%	0 0%	0 0%	9 100.0%
Total	19 1.4%	167 12.3%	683 50.4%	40 2.9%	184 13.6%	82 6.0%	14 1.0%	76 5.6%	91 6.7%	1356 100.0%

Chi square = 1872.83 (p=0.00) highly significant indicating different distributions of Type of the program for Image of Egypt. Chi square is biased upward due to the existence of too many zeroes.

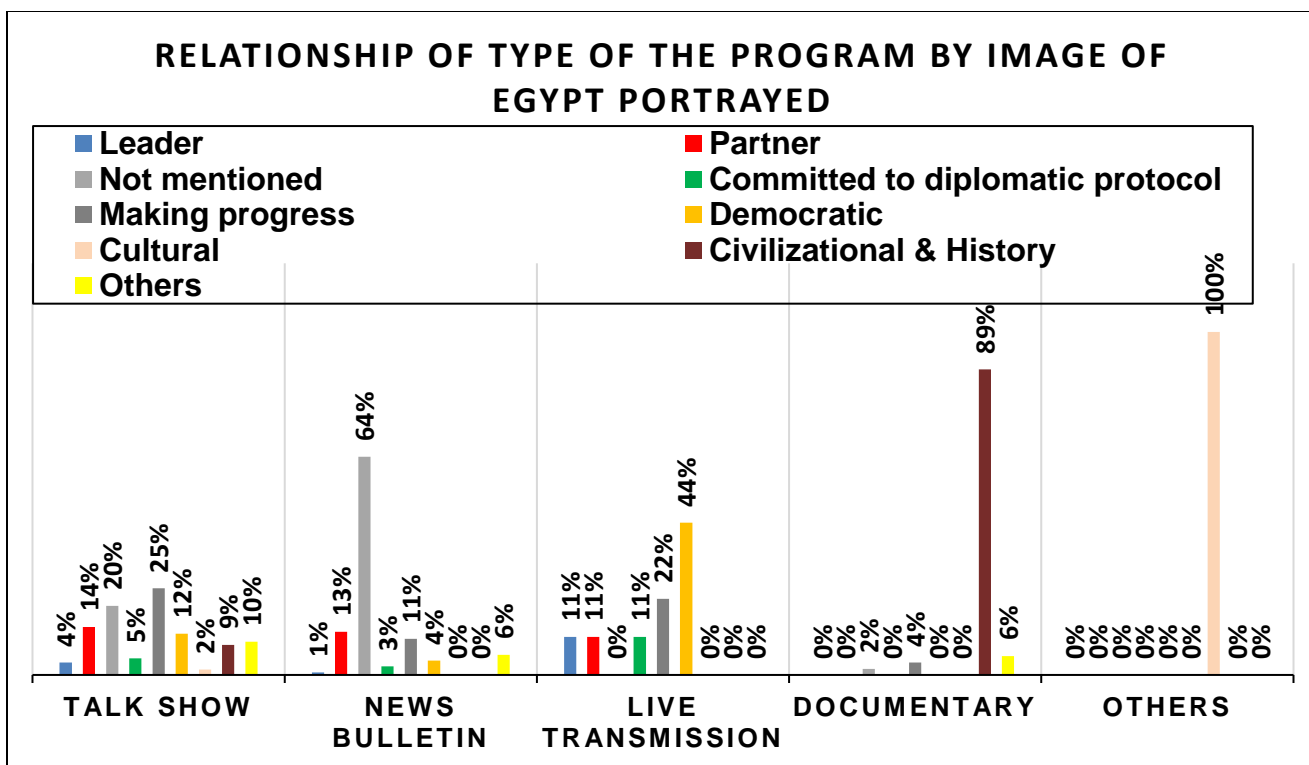


Figure 9: Relationship of Type of the Program by Image of Egypt portrayed

Table 10: Relationship of Type of Content by Focus of Content

Type of Content	Focus of Content				Total
	Egyptian Issues	Other African Issues	Egyptian-African Issues	Others	
Politics	230 30.3%	116 15.3%	85 11.2%	329 43.3%	760 100%
Economy	71 44.4%	4 2.5%	2 1.3%	83 51.9%	160 100%

Sports	60 35.5%	1 0.6%	2 1.2%	106 62.7%	169 100%
Others	179 66.9%	8 3.0%	19 7.1%	61 22.9%	266 100%
Total	540 39.8%	129 9.5%	108 8.0%	579 42.7%	1356 100%

$\chi^2 = 202.63$ ($p=0.00$) indicating highly significant differences of distributions of type of content for focus of content.

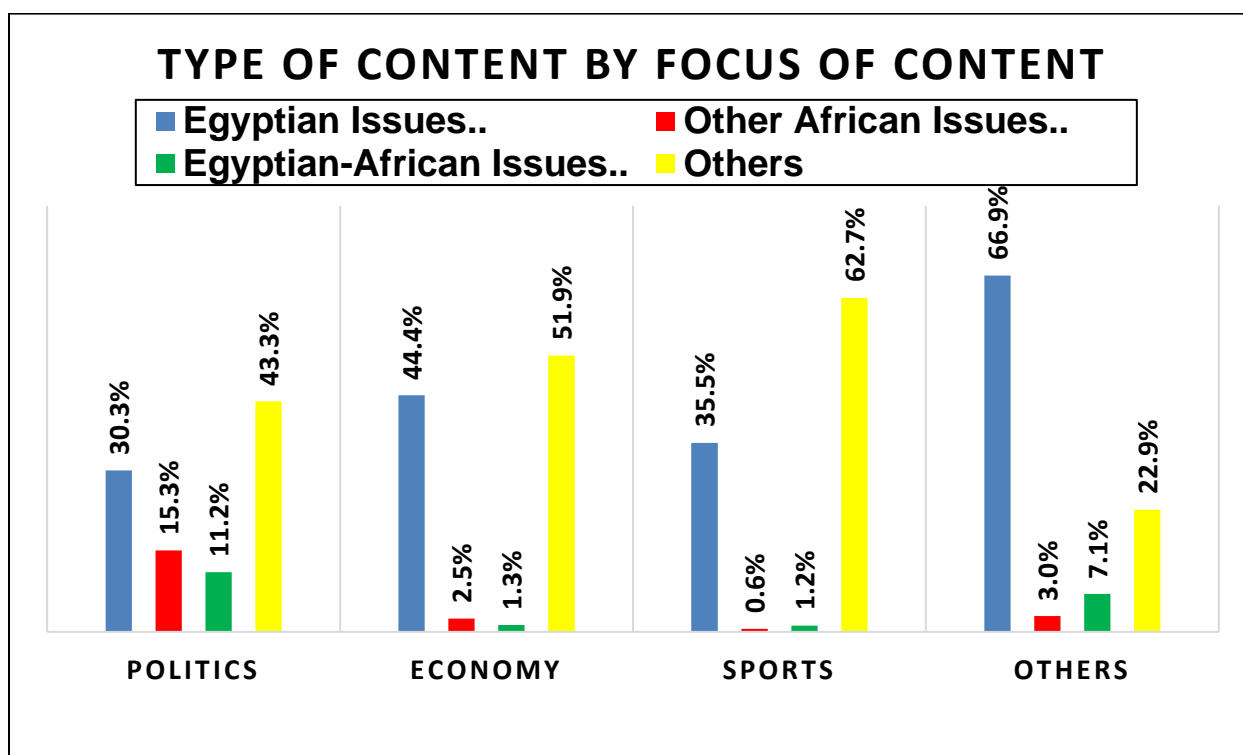


Figure 10: Relationship of Type of Content by Focus of Content

Table 11: Relationship of Focus of the content by image of Egypt portrayed

Focus of the content	Image of Egypt portrayed									Total
	Leader	Partner	Not mentioned	Committed to diplomatic protocol	Making progress	Democratic	Cultural	Civilizational & History	Others	
Egyptian issues/..	1 0.2%	106 20%	2 0.4%	0 0.0%	182 33.7%	82 15.2%	14 2.6%	76 14.1%	77 14.3%	540 100%
Other	0	0	109	20	0	0	0	0	0	129

African countries issues/..	0%	0%	84.5%	16%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Egyptian-African relations/issues/..	17	61	0	20	1	0	0	0	9	108
	15.7%	56.5%	0.0%	19%	0.9%	0%	0%	0%	8.3%	100%
Others	1	0	572	0	1	0	0	0	5	579
	0.2%	0%	98.8%	0%	0.2%	0%	0%	0%	0.8%	100%
Total	19	167	683	40	184	82	14	76	91	1356
	1.4%	12.3%	50.4%	2.9%	13.6%	6.0%	1.0%	5.6%	6.7%	100.0%

Chi square = 1878.85 (p=0.00) highly significant indicating different distributions of Focus of the content for Image of Egypt portrayed. Chi square is biased upward due to the existence of too many zeroes.

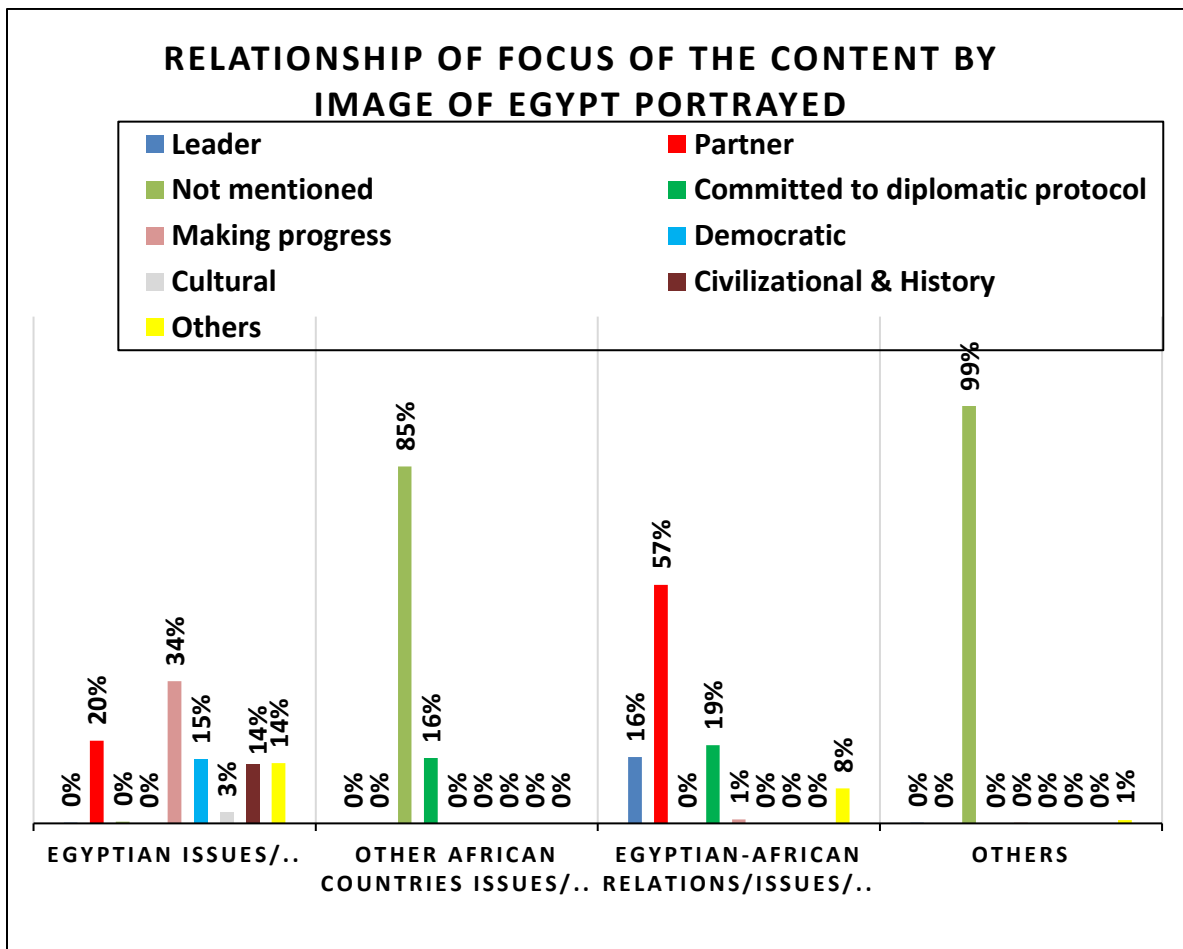


Figure 11: Relationship of Focus of the content by image of Egypt portrayed

The second research question sought to address the challenges and obstacles facing both the African Service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel and might hinder them from acting as a soft power instrument for Egypt in Africa. Data analysis suggested that the challenges facing both the African Service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel and may hinder them from being an effective tool of Egypt's soft power in Africa could be categorized in two basic themes:

- Financial, technical, and administrative hardships
- Harsh competition with other international broadcasters

III. Financial, technical, and administrative hardships

The findings proposed that the financial, technical, and administrative difficulties negatively affect the performance and impact of both the African Service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel.

Most interviewees confirmed that the lack of sufficient fund led to technical hardships, while the administrative burdens led to bureaucratic performance.

According to interviewee (5), there is an urgent need to resolve the financing problem in order to avoid its bad technical consequences that significantly contribute to not reaching the target audience in Africa. In the words of that participant:

"In fact, we have radio stations that were established in the fifties of the last century and were modernized in the sixties. Since then, there has been no update. There is no funding to modernize the networks, so we need a realistic view to deal with this crisis"(**Interviewee5, October2019**)

Similar answer was received from interviewee (7) who confirmed the negative effect of the channel's low budget:

"As a result of our low budget, Nile TV International is not on all satellites. There are places that Nile TV does not reach, even though those places have a target audience for the channel"(**Interviewee7, October2019**)

Some participants working as professionals within the African Service and Nile TV International channel had the same opinion, which is the lack of funding has caused technical problems and thus, weakened the performance and impact of the two services. Interviewee (10) argued that the channel could make better results, if it received better funding and the technical problems of the channel could be resolved, if the budget of the channel was better. In the words of that participant:

"It is mainly financial challenges because I think if we get more financing from the government, we will get better results for sure. We have also some technical challenges because some of the cameras we have are not the latest in technology, but, funding will solve technical problems as well"(**Interviewee10, December2019**)

Interviewee (8) also addressed the technical problem of the African service and its adverse repercussions on reaching the target audience:

"We have technical challenges like depending on short wave. Nowadays, people don't listen much to short waves"(Interviewee8, October2019)

Answers mentioned above highlighted the financial and technical challenges that are facing the African Service and Nile TV International, however, interviewee (11) claimed that there is another significant challenge hinders the channel from leaving an impact on its audience, which is the administrative burden. According to this participant, the administrative restrictions have made the performance of the channel more bureaucratic, and thus ineffective:

"We need to get rid of all administrative restrictions. There is a difference between a bureaucratic work and a creative work that, for example, needs to broadcast news very rapidly. We have to get rid of bureaucracy and separate between routine and media work that needs speed and creativity" (Interviewee11, December2019)

Such an answer revealed the large volume of bureaucracy that has been dominating the work environment within Nile TV International channel and might hinder it from being active and creative when dealing with foreign audiences.

IV. Harsh competition with other international broadcasters

Interviews analysis proposed that one of the main challenges facing the African service in the (EDTRN) is the competition with other international broadcasters. Two participants considered the competition with other international broadcasters over the African continent a big challenge. According to interviewee (6), there are major countries broadcast from inside the African states using FM waves and thus, they can reach a wide range of their target audience in Africa due to the high quality of their transmission.

In the words of this participant:

"One of the main challenges facing us is the severe competition with other international broadcasters over Africa. For example, the Chinese radio broadcasts its programs in Swahili language from inside Africa or broadcasts its Amharic programs from inside Ethiopia. They buy hours on local radio stations using FM wave and of course, FM wave is very clear within the country or region. As for our radio stations, they are old, but we are seeking to implement this policy through the ministry of foreign affairs"(Interviewee6, October2019)

Interviewee (9) had the same opinion adding that the African Service within the Egyptian Directed Network has not only international competition, but also regional and local ones. He added:

"Radio France and BBC are competing with us in Africa. France, for instance, established a radio station in Senegal and broadcasts its programs via the FM waves, so most broadcasts are seeking alternatives according to changes that occur. As for the area covered by the Fulani program, France International Radio and the BBC are the most prominent competitors. In addition, Iran has a radio station broadcasting in Fulani language. Therefore, we have international and regional competition as well as local competition from inside the continent" (Interviewee9, October2019)

Answers that were received from interviewees (6&9) reflected the harsh competition facing the African Service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network in Africa and also reflected the huge interest given to Africa by major states to the extent

that made them target the continent's peoples extensively through their international broadcasting tools.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion, Discussion, and Recommendations

Overall, data collected within this study showed that the African Service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel do not contribute effectively to enhancing Egypt's soft power within Africa. In addition, the two services face financial, technical, and administrative challenges as well as severe competition with other regional and international broadcasters.

Two main conclusive remarks have been reached through the results of this study:

- **The Egyptian state does not rely extensively on directed broadcasting media to boost its soft power in Africa.**
- **A clear misperception to the notion of soft power distorts the performance and impact of the two services.**

First, with this lack of governmental financing that led to technical problems and with these administrative burdens that led to bureaucratic performance of the Egyptian broadcasting media directed to Africa, it is evident that Egypt nowadays is not relying heavily on its broadcasting media to enhance its soft power in Africa, but the country seems to prefer using other soft power means to achieve this goal.

According to John Spacey (2017), economics, education, leadership, diplomacy, institutions, culture, foreign assistance, and reputation are the eight examples of soft power through which a country can examine its influence in the international arena.

In fact, if we want to make sure that Egypt is not relying much on its broadcasting media to enhance its soft power in Africa, we need to examine those eight examples of soft power determined by John Spacy (2017) to explore the actual value of each in supporting the Egyptian soft power within Africa.

Economics means a country's economic relationships with other nations. Official figures issued by SIS (2019) demonstrated that Egypt's current exports to all African states represent merely 5% of total African imports. Moreover, the Egyptian total investments within Africa are estimated at \$10.2 billion, while the African total investments in Egypt amounted to \$2.8 billion.

Culture means the volume of a country's cultural influence over other nations through its cultural institutions and media. In this context, Al – Azhar, as a university and an institution, and the Coptic Church remain the Egyptian most influential cultural institutions in Africa (SIS, 2019). However and as proven by this study, the Egyptian broadcasting media directed to Africa does not have the same cultural influence.

Education means the total number of foreign students who attend a country's schools. The number of African students in Egypt reached 1100 students annually in addition to 5500 African students currently studying at Al – Azhar University (SIS, 2019).

Diplomacy means the ability and efficiency of a country's diplomats to establish distinctive diplomatic relations with their counterparts in other countries.

Indeed, 25% of the Egyptian diplomatic missions are located in African countries and most African states have diplomatic missions in the Egyptian territory (SIS, 2019).

Institutions mean a country's influence over institutions that manage and coordinate the international cooperation. In fact, several African institutions are being hosted by Egypt

such as, the African Union Permanent Delegation to the League of Arab States, the Union of African Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Agriculture, and Professions, the COMESA Regional Investment Agency, the African Export - Import Bank, and the Confederation of African Football (CAF). In addition, Egypt is among the top five contributors to the budget of the African Union (AU) by 12% annually and some Egyptians are holding leading positions within African institutions (SIS, 2019).

Leadership means how credible a country's leadership in the eyes of other nations.

In addition to chairing the African Union (AU) from February 2019 till February 2020, Egypt assumed the presidency of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) three times in 1964, 1989, and 1993.

Indeed, over the past few years, Egypt has been elected by African nations to be:

- 1) A non – permanent member in the United Nations Security Council (2016- 2018).
- 2) The chair of the African Union Climate Change Commission (2015 – 2016).
- 3) A member in the African Peace and Security Council (2016 – 2019).

Foreign Assistance means the degree to which a country is helping other nations to build their infrastructure. In this regard, Egypt established the Egyptian Agency for Partnership and Development (EAPD) and allocated a yearly budget for its activities. The responsibilities of (EAPD), as determined by the Egyptian government are to provide technical support to African and Islamic states, offer courses and workshops, and finance African development projects. Egypt has actually given some of the Nile Basin countries grants to construct and develop so many projects (SIS, 2019).

Reputation means the international reputation of a country and its institutions. Egypt has acquired its good reputation among African nations through its leading and historical role

as a big supporter to all African liberation movements against colonialism, and through its effective participation in most peacekeeping missions within Africa (SIS, 2019).

In fact, what could be inferred from all information mentioned above is that the Egyptian state is actually caring about and depending on traditional diplomacy, education, leadership, assistance, reputation, and certain institutions such as, Al – Azhar, and the Coptic Church, to enhance its soft power in Africa. However, the country, with its weak finance to the African Radio Service and Nile TV International channel, is not relying heavily on broadcasting media to reinforce its soft power within Africa.

Second, the performance and impact of the two services reflect a clear misperception to the notion of soft power and its major tool public diplomacy.

The results of this study tell us that the strategic goal of the two services is to activate the Egyptian public diplomacy and thus, boost the country's soft power over Africa. However, the results of this study also show that there is confusion over implementing this goal due to underestimating the value of audience research, rarely producing content from outside Egypt, and giving Africa insufficient concern, especially on Nile TV International channel.

Understanding target audience is extremely important to produce soft power, which by definition; means to get others want the same outcomes you want (Nye, 2008). Thus, disregarding reliable audience research and just relying on some responses to some uploaded programs or posts on social media, according to interviewees (5, 6, 7, 8, 9), reflect deep misperception to the notion of soft power, as these practices do not allow wide understanding to the target audience's needs, desires, and nature. In addition, undermining the value of audience research proves that agenda setting function is not

working that perfect, as raising the importance of certain issues in peoples' minds requires deep understanding to those people's characteristics , needs, desires , and their ways of thinking.

Rarely producing content from outside Egypt simply means that the two services scarcely create stories from inside Africa and consequently, the African voices are not well heard. This also reflects misperception to the notion of soft power and public diplomacy, as Nye (2008) stated that effective public diplomacy encompasses listening to the target audiences as well as talking to them. Therefore, not moving to Africa by both the African Service in (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel and not interviewing African guests as much as it is supposed to be on Nile TV International makes the listening function of Egypt's public diplomacy, through these two services, out of order.

According to Cull (2008), international broadcasting (IB), as a one practice of a country's public diplomacy, can overlap with other public diplomacy functions such as, listening, advocacy, and culture diplomacy. This basically means that the Egyptian IB, represented by the African Service in (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel, can and should involve other public diplomacy functions (listening, advocacy, and culture diplomacy), and by ignoring this, the two services will not be able to serve as an effective tool of Egypt's public diplomacy and thus, Egypt's soft power.

Giving Africa insufficient concern and focusing on domestic issues more than focusing on African and / or mutual ones, especially on Nile TV International reflect no distinction between public diplomacy (PD) and public affairs (PA). Heller and Persson (2009) clearly clarified the difference between (PD) and (PA) by comparing commitment, purpose, and primary audience of each. PA's commitment is to provide accurate and

timely information and its purpose is to keep the publics, their political representatives, and military members informed about how the resources are used. The target audience of PA's agencies and operations is the domestic population. However, the core commitment of PD's agencies and operations is to shape opinions, behaviors, and perceptions of other nations' peoples in order to serve the national interests. Hence, the core purpose of PD is to influence others in foreign countries and the target audiences of its activities are peoples of other nations (Heller & Persson, 2009).

In fact, by focusing on Egyptian domestic issues more than African and / or commonalities between Egypt and African nations, Nile TV International channel is serving the purpose and the audience of Egypt's PA much more than serving the purpose and the audience of Egypt's PD.

Moreover, giving Africa insufficient concern on Nile TV International channel proves that the main concept of cultivation theory is not applied. The main concept of cultivation theory proposes that repeating certain messages on TV for a long time can effectively contribute to changing people's attitudes and values. Consequently, how can Nile TV International channel repeat certain messages that can enhance Egypt's soft power in Africa, while Africans are not given sufficient concern on the channel's screen?

In the following section, a set of recommendations will be introduced in the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of both the African Service in the (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel as tools of Egypt's soft power in Africa. The recommendations have stemmed from the literature and findings presented within this study.

Recommendations:

- The Egyptian government should pay great attention to broadcasting media as an effective tool, alongside with other means, of the country's public diplomacy and soft power. That basically means, the government should be aware of the role that can be played by broadcasting media in enhancing Egypt's soft power regionally, continentally, and globally. Consequently, the government should allocate appropriate budget for its directed broadcasting media to be able to reach all targeted areas and produce attractive content that can influence intended audiences and thus, serve Egypt's national interests on all levels. In addition, the government should alleviate all administrative burdens that lead to this bureaucratic ineffective performance and unnoticeable impact of its directed transnational broadcasting media.

- The Egyptian National Media Authority should have insightful vision, clear strategies, and thoughtful policies through which the soft power dimension of the Egyptian broadcasting media appears and flourishes. Definitely, the Egyptian National Media Authority should be restructured in order to be able to produce and present attractive and valuable content to both domestic and foreign audiences. Like all countries that consider and rely on broadcasting media as an effective instrument for producing and boosting soft power, it is preferable to divide all radio and TV stations affiliated to the Egyptian National Media Authority into two big networks. One network, includes a number of radio and TV stations, tackles domestic issues and targets domestic population. Another Network, contains a number of radio and TV stations, targets the foreign publics and leaders in other countries, tackles regional, continental, and global issues, supports Egypt's foreign

policy, highlights the Egyptian culture, civilization, heritage, and values, and finally, makes Egypt more visible and powerful on all levels.

- The Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network, including the African service, should establish partnerships and sign protocols with other local radio networks in targeted countries. By establishing such partnerships and sign such protocols, it will be much easier for the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network to provide its services from inside the targeted countries via FM waves and thus, reaching wider audience with high quality transmission.
- All radio stations directed from Egypt to Africa are being transmitted on the unified website of the National Media Authority, however, this should be followed by an ambitious marketing plan in an attempt to increase the popularity of these stations and make them widely known.
- As for Nile TV International channel, it is better to be part of a TV network directed to the foreign publics and leaders in different countries using their national languages instead of being just one TV channel with two languages to all nations. In addition, Nile TV International channel should be broadcast using just one language, and targeting specific audience in certain countries.
- The online live stream of Nile TV International channel is not that perfect and so the online presence of the channel's whole content. This negatively impacts the popularity and the image of the channel as being the only Egyptian TV station targeting foreign population of other nations. Consequently, the channel should have a distinguished online presence, whether through its online live stream or

through uploading videos, posts, and promos to attract and interact with the online audience of the channel.

- Both the African Service in (EDTRN) and Nile TV International channel need a wide network of field correspondents spreading across Africa to enrich the two services with various stories, special coverage, and exclusive content in the purpose of increasing the attraction, which is the core of soft power.
- The two services need to establish audience research units that can help policy makers, and professionals to understand their intended audience and thus, target them with well designed, effective, and attractive media messages accordingly.

Limitations and suggestions for future Research:

As for the limitations of this study, it has been extremely difficult to conduct content analysis for the programs of the African Service in the (EDTRN) due to language barriers.

Moving from Egypt to some of the African countries in order to collect detailed information on how Africans receive the Egyptian directed broadcasting media and the degree to which Africans get impacted by the Egyptian broadcasting media has been so difficult due to time and financial constraints.

Future research can extend investigations on the linkage between Egyptian media and Egypt's soft power through conducting reliable research on how the Egyptian government perceives the importance of traditional and online media in reinforcing the country's soft power not only in Africa, but also in different places across the world. This can be achieved through examining the degree of coordination between governmental

institutions and different media entities in the purpose of boosting the Egyptian soft power regionally, continentally, and globally.

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Appendix 1

Interview Questions:

. Questions for policy makers:

- In your opinion, has the Egyptian state ever been aware of using broadcasting media to achieve certain goals outside borders? Give example please.
- Definitely, Africa is important to Egypt, so does the institution / entity / channel / network / authority you are heading have a certain strategy or apply specific policy through which it can enhance Egypt's soft power in Africa? Please explain this strategy.
- What kind of messages and content does the Egyptian transnational broadcasting media focus on and highlight when targeting the African peoples?
- Is there any kind of co-ordination between your authority / entity / institution and the government regarding what should be tackled and highlighted and how should it be tackled?
.
- From your perspective, Which is better for the Egyptian directed transnational broadcasting media in order to be able to effectively serve the Egyptian interest across Africa:
 - 1 – To focus more on and highlight the issues, culture, heritage, and values of the Egyptian society
 - 2 – To focus more on and highlight the African causes regardless of being related directly to Egypt or not
 - 3- To focus more on the Egyptian – African issues
- Do you rely on audience research to determine the needs of the African audience and issues that appeal to them?
- How do you recognize the needs and the nature of the African audiences?
- What are the main challenges that may hinder your authority / channel / radio network / institution from doing its role in increasing the Egyptian soft power in Africa as desired?

. Questions for professionals working for the Egyptian transnational Radio & TV stations directed to Africa:

- Could you please tell me the main target of the station that you are working for?
- Could you please tell me the difference between working for a directed transnational radio or TV station and working for any other radio or TV station?

- What are strategies or policies that you adhere to during your work?
- In terms of your target audience in Africa, How do you recognize their needs?
- Have you ever been sent to Africa in order to tackle an African or an Egyptian – African related issue and hear directly from the Africans?
- .What are the main challenges facing you and your station or may hinder you and your station from getting the desired effect?

. Questions for academics and experts:

- Has the Egyptian government ever used its broadcasting media to achieve certain goals outside its borders or not? Please give examples
- How do you assess the current performance and impact of the Egyptian transnational Broadcasting media directed to the African nations?
- What are strategies that followed by the Egyptian transnational broadcasting media to serve the Egyptian interests in Africa?
- Do these strategies, if any, need to be amended or corrected in order to become more effective?
- What are challenges facing the Egyptian transnational broadcasting media, especially those directed to Africa?
- What does the Egyptian directed transnational broadcasting media lack to compete with other regional and global directed transnational stations?

Appendix 2

List of participants

Interviewee (1): Secretary General of the Egyptian Supreme Council for Media Regulations.

Interviewee (2): Media expert

Interviewee (3): Director of the Adham Center for TV and Digital Journalism (AUC)

Interviewee (4): Media expert

Interviewee (5): Manager of the African Service in the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network (EDTRN)

Interviewee (6): Chair of the Egyptian Directed Transnational Radio Network (EDTRN)

Interviewee (7): Head of Nile TV International Channel

Interviewee (8): Tanzanian radio broadcaster working for the African Service in the (EDTRN)

Interviewee (9): Cameroonian radio broadcaster working for the African Service in the (EDTRN)

Interviewee (10): Senior TV presenter at Nile TV channel

Interviewee (11): Senior TV presenter at Nile TV channel

Interviewee (12): Professor of broadcasting media at Cairo University.

Appendix 3

Questions used for content analysis

1 – What is the type of the Program?

- A- Talk Show**
- B- News Bulletin / News**
- C- Live Transmission**
- D- Documentary**
- E- Others**

2 - What is the type of the segment analyzed?

- A – News Item**
- B – Studio Interview**
- C – Narration**
- D – Phone**
- F- Others**

3 – What is the type of the content?

- A- Politics**
- B- Economy**
- C- Sports**
- D- Others**

4 – What is the nature of the content?

- A – Local**
- B – Regional / Continental**
- C – International**

5 – What is the focus of the content?

- A – Egyptian issues / events / values / history etc.**
- B – Other African countries' issues / events / values / history etc.**

C – Egyptian – African relations / issues / events / history etc.

D – Others

6 - How is the image of Egypt portrayed?

A – Leader

B – Mediator

C - Partner

D – Not mentioned

E – Others

7 – What is the language used?

A – English

B – French

C – Others

8 – What are the nationalities of guests interviewed?

A – Egyptians

B – Other African countries' nationalities

C – Egyptians & other African nationalities

D – Others

E – No guests

9 - Where is the content produced?

A – Egypt

B – Other African country

C – Others

10 – What is the state of transmission?

A – Live

B – Recorded

