

Solving the Public Diplomacy Puzzle— Developing a 360-degree Listening and Evaluation Approach to Assess Country Images

By Diana Ingenhoff & Jérôme Chariatte



**Solving the Public Diplomacy Puzzle—
Developing a 360-Degree Integrated
Public Diplomacy Listening and Evaluation
Approach to Analyzing what Constitutes a
Country Image from Different Perspectives**

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Abstract

In order to build good international relationships, Public Diplomacy (PD) requires a precise and complete understanding of who and what makes up a country's image. However, previous research lacks a theoretical and methodological framework that allows for the systematic collection and analysis of the opinions of foreign publics to analyze the whole picture of a country. This study discusses the concept of public opinion and country image formation and takes into consideration different measurement models. On this basis, a new, innovative, integrative country image listening and measurement instrument for public diplomacy is introduced. The new model integrates different components of country image and highlights the importance of formative and summative evaluation, while considering contextual factors influencing country image formation. This instrument allows the strategic analysis of how public diplomacy communication and various publics contribute to the formation of country images.

We demonstrate the value of the integrated country image measurement instrument by analyzing the Swiss country image via a multimethod approach, principally through analyzing and integrating data from public opinion survey studies, international news coverage and Google Trends as a way to assess the international perception of a country. First, on the output level, we analyze high reach media outlets in five countries (Germany, France, Italy, UK, and US) with a codebook that allows for analysis of the news agenda about Switzerland in the countries abroad with respect to the five country image dimensions. Second, on the outcome level, we use a survey study in the five countries, combining a standardized instrument for measuring country image with open survey questions about general associations, strengths, weaknesses and

recalled news media surrounding Switzerland. In addition, we use structural equation modeling to calculate the value drivers of the Swiss country image, to find out what the key components that shape the country image dimensions are. In order to look at conative outcomes, we further analyze google searches in the respective countries, as trace data can give empirical proofs for the statements of respondents and bring valuable insights on digital media as a new information source. Finally, we analyze the overall country reputation in each of the countries and align the results with the content analysis and survey studies. The study gives public diplomacy actors valuable insights into the use of mixed method approaches when measuring country images and exploring the importance of “listening” and so giving special attention to different types of publics, units and research methods.

Keywords: public diplomacy, country image, listening, evaluation, structural equation modeling, country stereotypes, multimethod design, international media, evaluation, public opinion.

In a time of digitization and globalization, Public Diplomacy (PD), which goes hand in hand with how a country is perceived by (inter)national publics, has become an important instrument of promoting (soft) power for any country (Hayden, 2012; Aronczyk, 2013). Therefore, "cultivating and managing a favorable international/world opinion towards a nation state," (Wang, 2006, p. 92) or enhancing a positive country image, is considered the mandate of public diplomacy (Zhang & Golan, 2019; Wu & Wang, 2019) and a fundamental base for international relationship-building (Zaharna, 2020). However, analyzing the perception of a country is a complex undertaking. Diplomacy is no longer limited to governmental actors, but has shifted from one-way information flows towards dialogue, relationship-building, and engagement (Melissen 2005), with various actors interacting in a communication space "in which diverse voices can be heard in spite of their various origins, distinct values, and often contradictory interests" (Castells, 2008, p. 91). International cooperation is established between cities and their mayors, international companies like Google govern the spread of international news about nations, and even ordinary citizens can influence a country's image, be it through demonstrating and raising their voices, or through their consumer behavior.

In order to avoid conflicts, international negotiations and communication campaigns have to take into account the peculiarities of different cultures, which have different values and worldviews (Zaharna, 2020; Anagondahalli & Zhu, 2016). But even if we understand public diplomacy today as shifting "from the powerful state as the main actor that has the control over this communication process toward other actors and society that also contribute to and influence this process" (Dolea, 2018, p. 333), it still seems essential for public diplomacy officials to know the different actors interacting with their nation as well as their attitudes

and opinions. Who are these actors, and what do they think and communicate about the country? There is “a need for efficient strategic planning and constant professionalization in public diplomacy” that is based on an increased reflection on the role of public diplomacy and the public diplomat in society (Dolea, 2018, p. 333). This will be our starting point.

To put it concisely, as Cull (2019) argues, public diplomacy begins with listening rather than speaking. This means that efficient diplomatic work does not depend primarily on the communication strategies that are used, but rather on our correct understanding of our target audience and their interests. This is an important mindshift for communication practice and research, which until now was very focused on the production activities (Macnamara, 2016).

Of course, there are diplomats who have already built monitoring systems into their communication strategies. However, it is important to notice that listening is not limited to knowing the current issues a country has to handle. Di Martino (2019, 2020) calls this process *tactical listening*, which is particularly suitable for achieving short-term goals and related to specific stakeholders. However, in order to establish a long-term relationship of trust, *active listening* must be carried out. *Active listening* means that we not only “hear” and perceive the interests or opinions of people, but also show them that we understand and reflect on them. While “hearing” merely means a superficial reception of information, “listening” implies a conscious and attentive examination and attribution of meaning. True listening is about paying real attention to people’s voices and not just using them as a background noise in order to fulfill our own goals.

Cortés and Jamieson (2020) highlight that listening activities like country image measurement by polls can

serve to detect current issues, but it is even more important to find out where the opinions come from. However, the various pieces of the opinion and country image-forming puzzle have not yet been brought together. Even in practice, the spectrum of professionalization in public diplomacy evaluation approaches also seems to drift far apart. While an exploratory study based on qualitative interviews with public diplomacy officers working for the US Department of State reveals that “many within the State Department (including public diplomacy officers themselves) do not understand the ‘real goals’ of U.S. public diplomacy efforts” (Buhmann & Sommerfeld 2020, p. 15 f.) and that monitoring and evaluation are regarded as not a particularly well-developed area of practice (Sommerfeld & Buhmann, 2019), our approach takes Switzerland and its leading role in public diplomacy as an example of effective public diplomacy evaluation. In Switzerland, the legislative mandate on the country’s communication abroad provides for observation and analysis of how Switzerland is perceived and early detection to ensure a timely response to potential crises¹. The Federal Act of March 24, 2001 on the promotion of the Swiss image abroad clearly defines the goals of public diplomacy and how to achieve them. The Federal Act states that the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA) supports the maintenance of Switzerland’s network of relationships with decisionmakers and opinion leaders abroad and monitors the perception of Switzerland’s image abroad. Presence Switzerland is the administrative unit within the FDFA and is responsible for the image of Switzerland abroad and implements the strategy of the Federal Council on Switzerland’s communication abroad. The crucial processes here are the active listening to the different voices in different channels, in the sense of how international publics perceive the image of a country abroad. For this, Presence Switzerland, among others, continuously monitors and evaluates the most important foreign media, social networks

and representative survey studies on the public image and current issues.

Inspired by our cooperation with Presence Switzerland (FDFA) and given the lack of academic literature on public diplomacy evaluation, we investigate how we can learn to listen to different voices and channels and compare the different views on the country image in order to develop a comprehensive public diplomacy measurement and strategy. Of course, this is a major undertaking, and difficult to squeeze into one research article. However, we believe that we need to clarify our starting point first, then elaborate on public opinion and country image, followed by reviewing the state of art in measuring and evaluating, before we operationalize our approach and demonstrate it through an empirical example with data from five countries. Summing up, we study the following research questions: How do people in different countries assess a country image (in our case, the country image of Switzerland)? What makes up the public opinion about a country? What topics interest people about that country?

Public Opinion, Country Image and International Media

Prior to answering these questions, we need to define these “voices,” and the key concepts, namely the country image and public opinion. Determining the voices, that is, the key publics, is not an easy task. In a global and digitalized world, not only do vast numbers of actors participate in the communication process, but the understanding of who relevant publics are and what constitutes international communication also differs according to different cultures. Zaharna (2020) emphasizes that in Western individualistic societies, the target audience for international communication is primarily external publics, whereas in collectivist societies, the cultivation of relationships, including with the domestic

public, is emphasized. In order to have a more open and global definition, we adapt the proposition of Hallahan (2000, 2001), defining publics as a group of people (internal or external) having a common set of symbols, experiences (such as national identity) and opinions about a country and who influence and are influenced by a nation state. We can now directly link this definition with the concept of public opinion.

In his seminal work, "The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society," Boulding (1956) stated that behavior arises on the basis of attitudes and opinions. He thereby introduces the notion of "image," which is a result of past experiences and information we have about a certain topic. So, image is defined as an attitudinal construct, which is strongly related to the idea of opinions. Indeed, in many studies, the concepts of country image and public opinion are used implicitly as equivalents. Therefore, it is important to take a closer look at the concept of public opinion.

Although the topic is of great research interest, and many different disciplines have dealt with it, there is no uniform understanding of public opinion to date. In general, we can distinguish between four understandings of public opinion. The first is the majority principle, which assumes that the prevailing opinion is decisive. However, recent phenomena like Brexit show that the dominating opinion in a country might not be representative of every citizen. Looking at the voting results in different regions of the United Kingdom, we can observe that Scottish or Northern Irish people voted against leaving the European Union. These differences of opinion are remarkable and can have a strong impact, as Scotland is now considering another independence referendum.

Further, there is the idea of consensus, which, in the tradition of Habermas (1994, 2006), implies that public opinion is made through discourse. How difficult it is to reach a consensus through discourse can be seen from current issues such as climate change: while some states are willing to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions significantly, others ignore the issue or give it only low priority.

Especially in the information age, it is common to follow the maxim “data is power” and to understand public opinion as the aggregated information collected by polls and surveys. But the mere reliance on survey data must be viewed critically, since the response behavior is influenced by different factors such as the limited representation of all kinds of voices or social desirability (Stier et al., 2019).

Luhmann (2000) considers public opinion as a fiction that is constructed mainly by the mass media. The discussion regarding the interplay of mass media and public opinion formation is long and changing over time. Fundamental to this is Walter Lippmann’s work entitled “Public Opinion,” which in 1922 stated that our realities and opinions are built through the media: “We are told about the world before we see it. We imagine most things before we experience them” (Lippmann, 1922, p. a33). In this constructivist view, Lippmann also introduces the danger of stereotyping. Media’s influence on attitudes and nurturing of national stereotypes was very visible during the two world wars when the press was used for propaganda purposes. Indeed, many studies show that the country image is strongly based on stereotypes and influenced by cultural factors (Chen et al. 2016; Herz & Diamantopoulos, 2013; Bender et al., 2013). Later, based on the findings of McCombs & Shaw (1972) regarding the agenda-setting effect of the media, many studies have shown how international news can build up the image we have of a country (Brewer et al., 2003; Wanta et

al., 2004). This can be explained by the fact that the media represent a major (or even unique) information source for opinion building (Zhang & Meadows, 2012).

The media are therefore disseminators of opinions, which are adopted by many. Considering Noelle-Neumann's spiral of silence theory (1974), this means that big players are overshadowing the opinions of minorities. Edward L. Bernays—often cited as the founding father of public relations—stated that public opinion is just the result of power and influence: “Public opinion is the power of the group to sway the larger public in its attitude towards ideas” (Bernays, 1928, p. 959).

Not only is the public agenda determined by some big players, but also the media agenda itself. Studies have shown that media products are oriented towards each other, also on an international level. For example, Du (2013) shows in her study that in times of globalization, reports by major media players such as the BBC or *The New York Times*, are being taken up by a large number of international media players. Still, it is important to consider that the international media coverage is dependent on local media policy structures, and that the agenda-setting phenomena has mainly been investigated in the American context. Regarding the prominence of American news, Guo and Vargo (2017) showed in an analysis of big data that the United States still has the biggest share of international news, but this share is decreasing, as emergent media are giving less attention to the United States.

In recent years of digitization, there has been a shift in power regarding the media. Information platforms such as Google and social media are now the big players that not only pose an economic challenge to traditional media, they also reduce the influence of traditional media on opinion formation. Digital media and platformization can represent

new sources of information about countries (Golan & Himelboim, 2016) and, by the rise of alternative facts and fake news, social media brings a sense of distrust to old information channels. The Spiral of Silence theory and its claims about unequal representation of opinions, however, is still relevant because in the digital world, dissenting opinions are repressed through algorithms and filter bubbles (Pariser, 2011). In line with Festinger's (1957) cognitive dissonance theory, people's online searches are looking for attitude-consistent messages, known as *confirmation bias*, which may encourage polarization and stereotyping. In the complexity of the world wide web, many are tempted to devote themselves again to more simplified world conceptions. However, Sude and colleagues (2019) point out that incidental encounters with attitude-discrepant information may happen in the digital sphere, e.g., on social media, and so may modify our opinions. Still, the role of digital media in the formation of public views of countries has been rather little researched so far. This overlooks a great potential, as the combination of survey data, mass and social media content data and so-called trace data can give valuable insights; by means of trace data, the statements of the respondents can be supported or empirically proven (Stier et al., 2019).

To sum up, the formation of public opinion and thus the country image is a complex phenomenon that can be understood in various ways. As seen above, public opinion is often subdivided into four different conceptions. In our understanding, these definitions are not exclusive, but complement each other. We regard public opinion as the result of a discourse shaped by the struggle for power of different actors. In line with Habermas (2006), we assume that public opinion, and with it the image of the country, is subject to changes. Although the country's image is generally regarded as a stable construct, phenomena such

as digitalization and globalization, but also big issues such as global warming, migration and social movements, might change the way we form our opinion about a country. Current issues such as the *Black Lives Matter* movement, starting from one individual sharing a video clip on social media, are of concern to the people who give them relevance or power, which is why they are taken up by the traditional mass media. As the name implies, the mass media publish an opinion that becomes a widely accepted opinion.

It is important to realize that the information conveyed is only a part of public opinion and can only describe a fraction of the truth. We find Luhmann's idea of fiction again. Whether the public gives the media the power to influence an opinion depends heavily on the preferences and alternative sources of information, such as social media or personal experiences. In order to obtain a more objective picture, surveys are used for the recording of public opinion. But since international representative surveys are very costly and difficult to implement, larger data sets and so-called big data can be used today to better reflect the behavior and opinions of individuals, which brings us back to the starting point.

Therefore, public opinion is a circular process that highlights again the importance of listening as being active. Listening should be a recurrent communication process in which the different steps and facets of public opinion formation need to be evaluated, from the start until the end. But how can we measure public opinions or country images in a comprehensive way?

Measurement and Evaluation in Public Diplomacy

As mentioned above, the measurement and evaluation of public diplomacy activities has proved difficult to date. One reason for this is that there is no universal definition of what public diplomacy is and what activities and objectives it comprises (Banks, 2020). For a long time, public diplomacy's main goal was to promote the nations' interests. However, in today's networked society, public diplomacy needs to be understood as "a country's efforts to create and maintain relationships with publics in other societies to advance policies and actions" (Melissen & Wang, 2019). The achievement and dissemination of national interests is still an important goal, but in recent years, in the wake of failing trust and increasing digitalization creating ever more actors that have to collaborate in a global world, the aspect of relationship management has been increasingly emphasized. For this, it is important to know who our publics are, our interlocutors and their perception of a country.

The key factor in engaging in public diplomacy and enhancing the country image is a concise knowledge of what constitutes that image with respect to different dimensions, sources, and from different but complementary perspectives. We need to develop an integrated measurement framework that allows us to listen to the different voices, which could be connected to public diplomacy, and serve as a foundation for creating and maintaining relationships and thereby achieving foreign policy goals. To do so, we will proceed in three steps. First, we will discuss the components of the country image. In the second step, we will discuss how these components are formed and present previous measurement models. Third, we will develop a new framework of measurement and listening to analyze country images and public diplomacy activities in a comprehensive way.

Country Image Measurement

Based upon the five-dimensional model of country image (Ingenhoff, 2017, see Figure 1), we argue that the country image can be considered as an attitudinal construct formed by five different dimensions, which, in line with the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980), are comprised of cognitions and affections. The *functional* dimension describes the competence and competitiveness, the political and economic traits of a country; the *normative* dimension comprises the norms and values for which a country stands; characteristics of the landscape and its beauty are categorized in the *nature* dimension; the *cultural* dimension refers to cultural assets of humankind like art, literature, cuisine, traditions, or architecture, and the *emotional* dimension includes general feelings about the country.

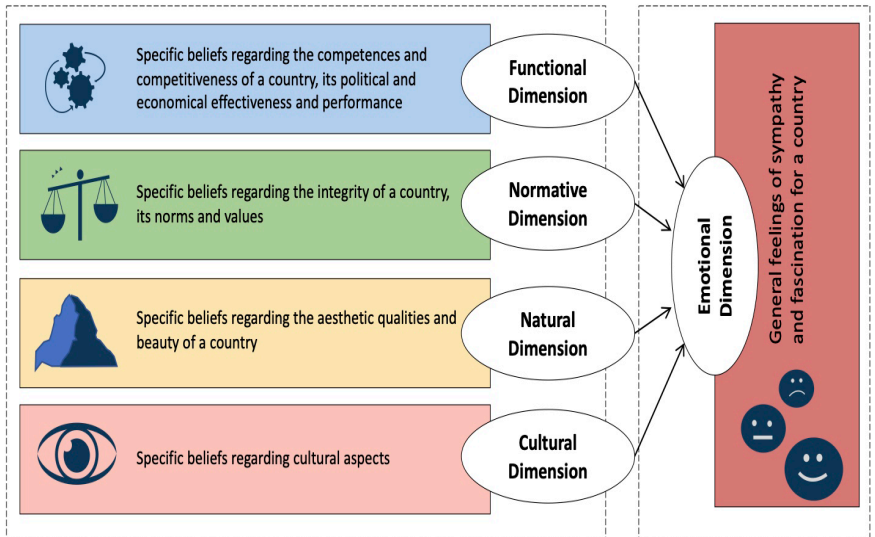


Figure 1. Five Dimension Model of the Country Image

State of the Art

Congruent with the listening approach, it is not sufficient to know the components of a country image, but also to understand their relevance. Every country has a different country image, with its dimensions being weighted differently. Here, the notion of *context* becomes relevant. By this, we not only mean cultural differences but, as argued in the previous chapter, also the influence of media, publics, technology, and different research foci that can vary over time. Public diplomacy programs do not take place in a vacuum, but are accompanied by a variety of influencing factors. This could result in attribution problems if, for example, individual measures are to be related to downstream effects in various analyses.

Interestingly, it is the long-term nature of public diplomacy programs as a rule and the complexity of influencing factors that explain the relative restraint with which the evaluation of country images and public diplomacy activities has been dealt in practice and in research to date (Cull, 2010).

In evaluation practice, the focus is often more on individual or single public diplomacy programs and projects that are clearly defined in terms of time and content. In fact, it is only recently in the age of information that the value of measuring data has been recognized and that several state departments/foreign offices/PD officials started to monitor their country's image through analyzing media outlets or conducting public opinion surveys on a regular basis. However, often these practitioners lack knowledge and skills in evaluation models and methods. Many measurements and surveys today are only carried out for "measurement purposes" without theoretically reflecting on them (Carballo et al., 2018). In particular, the measurement of intangible assets such as country perception is not given enough

attention, which is why even today, few resources are used for measurement and evaluation purposes (Banks, 2020).

So, practitioners often fail to profit from the profound knowledge that an integrated analysis could provide in order to develop strategic communication tailored to specific stakeholder groups in various countries. Indeed, measurement is made at most to evaluate the efficiency of communication campaigns and to check the results of their PD efforts against allocated budgets (e.g., Fitzpatrick, 2010; Pamment, 2014a, 2014b). The main goal of these measurements is the assessment of concrete outputs like reach or profit and not to better understand or communicate with specific foreign publics.

Also, the academic field is still confronted with several issues with respect to public diplomacy evaluation (Cull, 2010; Johnson, 2006; Matwiczak, 2010; Pahlavi, 2007). Even if the first measurement and evaluation models for certain aspects of public diplomacy have been developed in diverse research disciplines (e.g., ACPD, 2014; Banks, 2011; Sevin, 2015), they fail to take into consideration the whole picture. Some focus on measuring attitudes in survey studies, and others analyze the contents of mass and social media. Whereas political studies emphasize "soft power," "global rage" or "world opinion" (e.g., Rusciano, 2019), scholars from psychology focus mostly on national stereotypes on the micro level (e.g., Bouchat & Rimé, 2019), while previous communication research focuses on the influence of mass media on country perception (Wanta, 2019), but fails to link its findings to other attributes of country image.

To date, no instrument exists that integrates and aligns survey studies, digital trace data and media content analyses in order to obtain a comprehensive picture of people's perceptions of a country, listen to their views, and

consider the information accessible that might cause these perceptions. In general, key theoretical and methodological concepts in country image research have been sparsely investigated together (Vanc & Fitzpatrick, 2016; Pamment, 2014a; Wang, 2006). Therefore, we strive to develop an integrated measurement instrument.

An integrative framework of country image measurement

Based on our understanding of public opinion, we will analyze the country image as an interaction between different communication levels and actors, such as mass media and digital trace data and public perceptions.

Until recently, so-called program logic models were used to assess the efficiency of strategic communication campaigns for value creating and image building. These models, such as Watson & Noble's (2014) framework for communication controlling, describe a linear communication process, which starts with the planning of organizational goals and finishes with the evaluation of concrete outcomes. These frameworks normally have different measurement levels, namely an input, output, outcome, and sometimes an outflow level. However, these models often focus on organizational interests and fail to incorporate a listening step to take public interests into consideration.

Macnamara and Gregory (2018) propose a new measurement model that mirrors our theoretical assumptions. Their model considers that strategic communication actors manage between organizational interests and public interests as well. They propose an initial listening step, in which communication goals are defined. Further, they emphasize the importance of considering contextual factors and elaborate the different communication measurement levels by defining communication activities such as the

impact of communication activities (e.g., on exhibitions or world soccer games) as an extra communication steps.

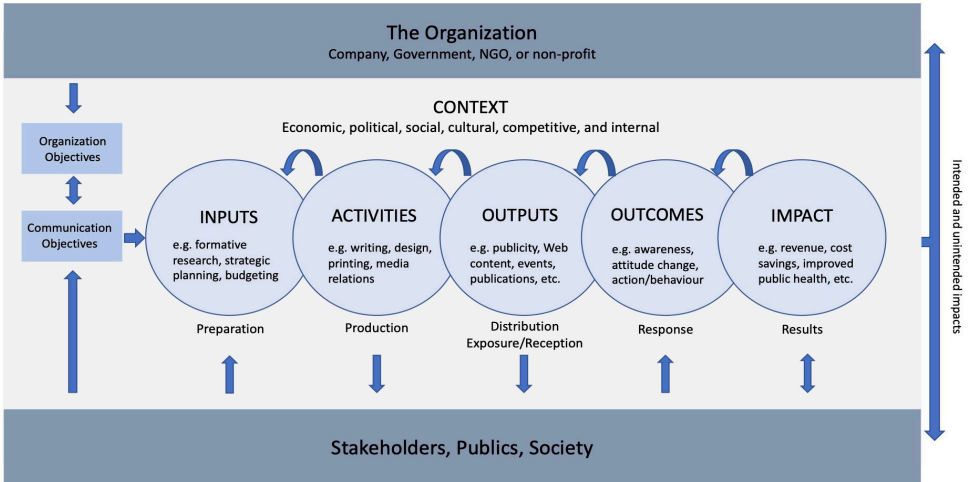


Figure 2. *The Evaluation Process according to Macnamara and Gregory (2018)*

However, the model remains quite vague. For instance, it is not clear how listening to the public is implemented. Furthermore, Ruler (2019) criticizes that despite the initial listening, the model remains quite rigid. Listening takes place only to develop objectives and then at the end of a communication campaign to control the impact. Ruler pleads for an agile communication measurement that includes summative but, above all, formative evaluation. Formative evaluation means that the communication strategy has to be adapted at any time and that the different facets and actors have to be evaluated regularly.

Therefore, we propose the following measurement model.

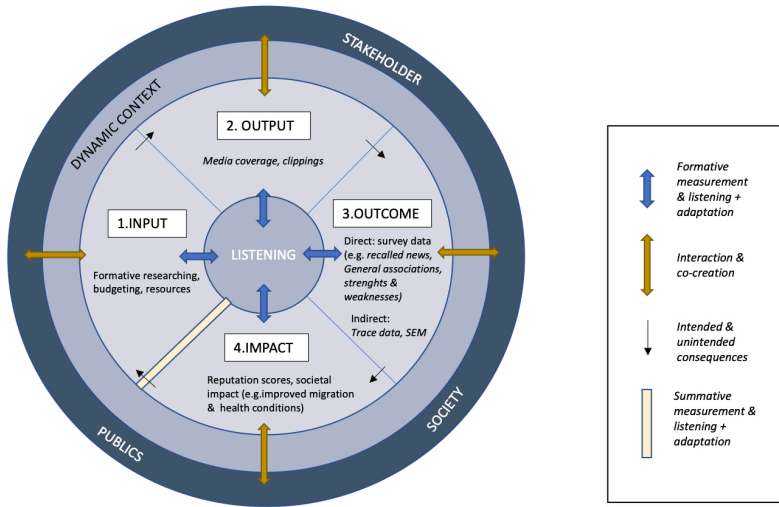


Figure 3. Listening and Evaluation Compass (own illustration)

In our framework, the Listening and Evaluation (Public Diplomacy) Compass (LEC), we argue that the central aspect of public diplomacy and country image measurement is listening. Listening should serve as a compass, an orientation on how to plan, co-create and adapt our communication strategies. We need to know who are the voices and actors interacting on the different levels, compare their interests with our own and understand how public diplomacy communication contributes to the formation of country images. Here, we rely on the established levels of *input*, *output*, *outcome*, and *impact*, which involve different actors and voices. These different levels can be analyzed thanks to the five-dimensional country image model.

The *input* level represents the expenditure on communication (HR, budget, embassy events, press conferences, social media communication, etc.) deployed by the public diplomacy entity (e.g., the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) to achieve strategic communication goals. This first

step has to be the result of a listening process. Indeed, PD actors must examine the perceptions people have about a country, identify the issues that bother people and align them with their own interests. For this, it is important to examine their previous communication campaigns or monitoring activities and look at what country image dimension is prevailing in the different target countries. Additionally, PD actors need to evaluate the amount of resources they can use for a new communication strategy. By listening to those two aspects, a strategy can be planned, co-created with the respective stakeholder groups, adapted, and implemented.

Outputs refer to the dissemination of communication offers. They can be direct results of communication expenditure. They can be measured in terms of the availability and/or reach of communication activities, e.g., in the form of media presence (articles in newspapers and online media abroad about Switzerland). Further, it is important to take into consideration that unintended and unexpected results and events can happen and affect the reach of communication activities. Thus, it can also happen that communication strategies of PD officials are not dealt with in the media in the planned manner, but that new discourses arise in the public media. Dolea, Ingenhoff and Beju (2020) used a critical discourse analysis around the mass immigration initiative in Switzerland to show the extent to which non-governmental “voices,” such as media actors, instrumentalize country characteristics in the populism debate. Therefore, in order to explore the media coverage not only quantitatively, it is desirable to combine content analysis with qualitative approaches such as discourse analysis. However, for this level, we limit ourselves to content analysis of media outlets and their resonance with respect to the examined country image, as mass media can construct a dominating public opinion.

The *outcome* level measures the direct results of the strategic communication efforts at the stakeholder level. They can be subdivided into *direct outcomes*, which form the basis for achieving *indirect outcomes*. Direct outcomes refer to the effect of communicative offers, i.e., knowledge about a country, awareness of its news and its characteristics. These have to be also analyzed in the interplay with preexisting attitudes (e.g., stereotypes, see Lippmann, 1922) towards a country. In our study, we use survey data with open questions to analyze the recall and recognition of news about the country and general associations, strengths and weaknesses to measure their attitudes. Hereby, we examine the information according to the different country image dimensions. It is important to assess public opinions also through open-ended questions to ensure that people can speak freely and bring up new topics that communication practitioners did not think about.

Indirect outcomes refer to changes of attitude, opinion and behavioral disposition towards a country and can be measured by surveying the country's image dimensions and analyzing the "value drivers" in each image dimension. With "value driver," we refer to indicator variables representing key components that shape the country image dimension and are most influential and contribute significantly to explain the respective country image dimension (Ingenhoff et al., 2019). For the analysis of value drivers, a variance-based partial least squares (PLS-SEM) approach is recommended. With this method, the explained variance of the endogenous variable is maximized, based on the regression principle using ordinary least squares (OLS) to explain variance (Fornell & Bookstein, 1982). Based on the newly validated 5D model of country images, we apply PLS-SEM to analyze the specific value drivers of the country image in each country image dimension of the respective countries examined (=indirect outcome level).

To further analyze the indirect conative outcomes, we look at the digital trace data. As argued before, people are searching more and more for information on the internet, and big data can give us valuable insights. Previous knowledge influences and guides people's search behavior online. However, as people might be confronted with new information while surfing the world wide web or using social media platforms, PD practitioners should also consider that digital media can challenge country image formation and their communication activities. The simple and inexpensive use of social media offered allows individuals to share their opinions about a country, build international relationships and thus co-create the country's image (Dinnie & Sevin, 2020; Park, Chung, & Park, 2019). In order to analyze public diplomacy projects on the social web and the creation of country images through user-generated content, the use of network analyses is recommended. For example, Sevin and Ingenhoff (2018) studied the link between digital diplomacy campaigns and the perception of nations by audiences in four countries, using textual and relational analyses of Twitter. Indeed, network analysis does not only allow for the analysis of country images with respect to contents of tweets and hashtags. It also allows for the detection of who are the relevant voices, and, via the analysis of degree and betweenness centralities, modularity measures, and tweet volumes, who has power and to whom are they connected in the diplomatic discourse. Here, we could observe the role of influencers in digital public diplomacy projects. Going further, we could also include a sentiment analysis to look at the specific attitudes and tones of tweets.

Finally, the *impact level* refers to the immaterial value contribution, and can be expressed in an overall country image index rating. Here, we can calculate a mean value for means out of the overall estimation of the country image dimension, which can serve as a reference value to

compare countries to one another. But not only image and reputation scores can be used as indicators of impact. Higher investments, travels, and migration into a country can be the result of efficient communication and an improvement of the understanding between the nation and its publics as well. To sum up, the impact indicators can be considered as a summative measure of the communication's efficiency.

However, the model does not limit itself to a monitoring tool at the beginning and the end of a campaign. We consider that every communication campaign is subject to a dialogue between the organization and the public. Public diplomacy actors need to act as managers, who have to balance between the objectives of the organization and the public and need to re-adjust their goals on a regular basis. Therefore, we need to have formative listening at every level of the communication process. Further, we would like to highlight that this ongoing discourse is never predictable and may be influenced by *context* factors. Based upon structuration theory (Giddens, 1984; Pedeliento & Kavaratzis, 2019) nation-branding and public diplomacy campaigns may be subject to unexpected changes by the environment, and need to be readapted continuously. Therefore, public diplomacy actors need to be ready to handle predicted and unpredicted events and consider different types of publics, which makes a continuous measurement even more important.

The reference framework is not to be understood as a rigid model to be used to "make calculations through." It may show that public diplomacy measurement is a multilayered, complex process. For cost reasons alone, it is often not possible for many actors to do this. Here, starting with a focus on a specific public diplomacy project, the level of outcome and a manageable subset may help to analyze different voices and channels. We understand our framework

as a flexible analytical instrument intended to make the multitude of voices comparable as evaluation methods and indicators that are connectable in practice. In this way, we are able to overcome methodological boundaries and explore which dimensions are decisive in country image formation and which factors underlie and influence the attitudinal construct.

Method

To answer our research questions, we apply a mixed method approach, combining public opinion survey study, media content analysis, and the analysis of trace data (Google searches), taking Switzerland as an example. Aside from the fact that Switzerland has a clearly defined Federal Act on the Promotion of Switzerland's image abroad, it is an interesting country to study, especially in regard to the underlying factors of country image formation. First, Switzerland is linked with typical stereotypes like "chocolate," "cheese," or "mountains," but is also often present in international news through its direct democracy and political votes. Indeed, Switzerland plays an important role in international diplomatic relations. Furthermore, Switzerland is a small but multicultural country with four different languages, which is of interest for cultural investigations. For this study, the Swiss country image is analyzed in five different countries (Germany, France, Italy, UK, and US).

On the *output level*, we analyze the media coverage of Switzerland in these five countries and content-analyze two high-reach print media outlets for each country in the four months preceding the survey, namely from May 1st to August 30th, 2016. The data comprise articles from *Bild Zeitung* and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (Germany, N=301 articles), *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde* (France, N=140 articles), *Corriere della Sera* and *la Repubblica* (Italy, N=164 articles), *The Guardian* and

Daily Mail (UK, N=552 articles), and *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal* (US, N=101 articles). For the content analysis, we developed a codebook based on the five-dimensional model of country image, analyzing each of the five country image dimensions in detail.

To measure the *direct* and *indirect outcomes* and thus the knowledge of the citizens of these countries about Switzerland, we were given the opportunity to analyze the data of a representative international public opinion survey study including open questions in the five countries, developed in collaboration with the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs in Switzerland (Presence Switzerland) between September 13th and October 6th, 2016. The survey study was carried out by an international market research institute, drawing representative samples with respect to gender, age and region in each country (Germany: N=503; N women=249, N men=254; age: M=44; SD=13.5; France: N=501; N women=261, N men=240; age: M=43; SD=13; Italy: N=526; N women=263, N men=236; age: M=43; SD=13.7; UK: N=500; N women= 252, N men=248; age: M=40; SD=14.3; US: N=522; N women=307, N men=215; age: M=44; SD=14.2). To measure at the *direct outcome level*, the survey included open questions regarding strengths, weaknesses and general associations with Switzerland. To allow for a comparison between the media agenda and the public agenda, the respondents were also asked about what news items they recalled regarding Switzerland.

For measurement at the *indirect outcome level*, respondents were asked standardized questions about the country image dimensions in order to analyze the value drivers of the country image (for items, see Table 10 in the appendix). In order to do this, we used the software Smart PLS for variance-based structural equation modeling.

Further, to measure the behavioral dimension and take into consideration the online sphere, we analyzed online searches about Switzerland using Google Trends data between 2014 and 2017. In times of digitization, the internet and Google, in particular, represent a key information source and show what information people are interested in, such as tourism, products, and immigration (Segev, 2018; Matsumoto, Matsumura, & Shiraki, 2013). The total number of analyzed survey answers, news articles and Google searches is shown in Table 1.

	News Articles	Recalled media news	General Associations	Strengths	Weaknesses	Google Searches
Germany	N=301	N=545	N=1784	N=1149	N=714	N=603
France	N=140	N=348	N=1634	N=1260	N=602	N=576
Italy	N=164	N=356	N=1869	N=1681	N=1220	N=602
UK	N=552	N=454	N=1727	N=1295	N=685	N=620
US	N=106	N=155	N=1229	N=1220	N=585	N=631

Table 1

Number of retrieved articles, Google searches and open answers in the open question survey data

The answers to the open questions, to media outlets and the trace data from Google searches were content-analyzed by the authors based on the same codebook used for the content analysis of the media articles, referring to the five-dimensional model of country image. The reliability of the coding was pre-tested and showed a high intercoder reliability ($\kappa = .93$, $p < .001$) for the categories.

Results

The following analysis was carried out to illustrate how to measure the different facets and levels of a public diplomacy communication strategy and its implications on the country image. As we do not intend to develop a specific communication for Switzerland and do not have the resources to implement it, we will not go into detail regarding the input level. However, PD practitioners could consider the following analysis as a model of how to analyze current or previous communication campaigns in order to improve their listening to various publics and voices.

The percentages in Tables 2 to 6 refer to the number of articles, total mentions or searches for each of the five analyzed countries. First, we will examine the output level and focus on the analysis of the media coverage, as they have a strong influence on the perception of countries.

News Content Analysis	Recalled news survey	General Associations survey	Strengths survey	Weaknesses survey	Google Searches	Structural equation modelling
Functional (74.4%)	Functional (59.4%)	Functional (36.6%)	Functional (36.6%)	Functional (59.8%)	Functional (45.3%)	Culture (0.417)*
Politics (32.2%)	Politics (32.8%)	Politics (12.1%)	Politics (30.6%)	Politics (22.5%)	Economy (17.7%)	Traditions (0.440)*
Infrastructure (16.6%)	Economy (13%)	Economy (10.9%)	Economy (24.4%)	Workplace (20%)	Politics (13.4%)	Food and drinks (0.348)*
Economy (10.6%)	Infrastructure (8.1%)	Workplace (7.2%)	Workplace (4.6%)	Economy (9.5%)	Workplace (6.8%)	Personalities (0.279)*
Culture (50.9%)	Normative (34.6%)	Culture (34.9%)	Culture (17.9%)	Normative (28.9%)	Culture (39.5%)	Nature (0.248)*
Sport (17.9%)	Ethical issues (23.3%)	Food and drinks (18.5%)	Characteristics of citizens (8.4%)	Tolerance (17.5%)	Sports (13.4%)	Landscape (0.378)*
Cultural offer (14%)	Tolerance (4.9%)	Characteristics of citizens (4%)	Food and drinks (4%)	Ethical issues (5.7%)	Cultural offer (11.6%)	Wild nature (0.729)*
Personalities (5%)	Solidarity (4.6%)	Cultural offer (3.8%)	Country diversity (2%)	Solidarity (2.8%)	Other cultural aspects (6.6%)	-
Normative (26.3%)	Culture (14.2%)	Nature (26.4%)	Nature (14.4%)	Culture (15.8%)	Nature (9%)	Normative (0.134)*
Ethical issues (17.9%)	Sport (8.8%)	Landscape (21.5%)	Landscape (9.1%)	Characteristics of citizens (9.9%)	Landscape (9%)	Solidarity (0.287)*
Solidarity (2.7%)	Personalities (3.3%)	Wild nature (2.7%)	Wild nature (4.2%)	Country diversity (2.7%)	-	Civil rights (0.222)*
Tolerance (2.3%)	Cultural offer (0.9%)	Activities (2.2%)	Activities (1.1%)	Tourism (2.1%)	-	Human rights (0.222)*
Nature (5.3%)	Nature (0.6%)	Normative (10.7%)	Normative (10.7%)	Nature (4.9%)	Normative (1%)	Functional (0.122)*
Landscape (5%)	Landscape (1.1%)	Attitude conflicts (3.3%)	Attitude conflicts (9.3%)	Landscape (4.9%)	Ethical issues (0.8%)	Politics (0.634)*
-	-	Ethical issues (2.6%)	Civil rights (4.9%)	-	Solidarity (0.2%)	Innovation (0.246)*
-	-	Civil rights (2.6%)	Human rights (1.1%)	-	-	Economy (0.152)*
Emotional (0%)	Emotional (0%)	Emotional (3.9%)	Emotional (4.5%)	Emotional (0.6%)	Emotional (0%)	
N=301	N=545	N=1784	N=1149	N=714	N=603	* significant (0.05)

Table 2

Summary of German results for each research unit

News Content Analysis	Recalled news survey	General Associations survey	Strengths survey	Weaknesses survey	Google Searches	Structural equation modelling
Functional (54.3) Politics (21.4%) Economy (11.4%) Innovation (9.3%)	Functional (39.1%) Politics (19.3%) Economy (11.8%) Security (3.4%)	Functional (39.6%) Economy (20.1%) Politics (7%) Products (6.9%)	Functional (62.1%) Economy (27.6%) Politics (18.5%) Workplace (8.7%)	Functional (66.2%) Workplace (16.4%) Economy (10.1%) Security (1.7%)	Functional (44.4%) Economy (20.5%) Politics (10.4%) Workplace (6.3%)	Culture (0.406)* Traditions (0.406)* History (0.351)* Food and drinks (0.208)*
Culture (40.6%) Sports (14.3%) Cultural offer (17.1%) Personalities (7.1%)	Culture (35.3%) Sports (22.7%) Personalities (10.3%) Cultural offer (1.7%)	Culture (31.9%) Food and drinks (17.9%) Characteristics of citizens (4.4%) Cultural offer (3.9%)	Nature (22.1%) Landscape (13.4%) Wild nature (8.3%) Activites (0.7%)	Nature (16.1%) Landscape (15.6%) Wild nature (0.3%) Activities (0.2%)	Culture (33.7%) Sports (15.1%) Cultural offer (7.6%) Tourism (4%)	Normative (0.278)* Civil rights (0.310)* Solidarity (0.226)* Tolerance (0.211)*
Normative (30%) Ethical issues (22.9%) Solidarity (4.3%) Tolerance (2.1%)	Normative (30%) Ethical issues (32.2%) Tolerance (3.4%) Solidarity (1.4%)	Normative (37%) Attitude conflicts (4.4%) Ethical issues (1.6%) Tolerance (3.1%)	Culture (18.1%) Food and drinks (5.6%) Tourism (2.3%) Cultural offer (1.8%)	Culture (14.9%) Characteristics of citizens (7%) Tourism (3.2%) Sports (0.7%)	Nature (14.2%) Landscape (14.2%) - -	Nature (0.142)* Wild nature (0.785)* Landscape (0.340)* -
Nature (0%) - - -	Nature (0%) - - -	Nature (25.2%) Landscape (15.5%) Wild nature (8.8%) Activities (0.9%)	Normative (10.6%) Attitude conflicts (7.9%) Tolerance (1.4%) Ethical issues (1.3%)	Normative (11.9%) Tolerance (13.1%) Ethical issues (8.8%) Attitude conflicts (2.7%)	Normative (0.3%) Ethical issues (0.3%) - -	Functional (0.077) Politics (0.387)* Innovation (0.260)* Workplace (0.187)*
Emotional (0%)	Emotional (0%)	Emotional (3.3%)	Emotional (3.6%)	Emotional (1.2%)	Emotional (0%)	
N=140	N=348	N=1634	N=1260	N=602	N=576	*significance (0.05)

Table 3
Summary of French results for each research unit

News Content Analysis	Recalled news survey	General Associations survey	Strengths survey	Weaknesses survey	Google Searches	Structural equation modelling
Functional (62.1%) Politics (28%) Economy (12%) Infrastructure (11.6%)	Functional (66.2%) Politics (40.2%) Economy (7.3%) Workplace (4.8%)	Functional (36.3%) Politics (10.3%) Economy (10.3%) Workplace (3.5%)	Functional (54.3%) Politics (21.4%) Economy (21.2%) Workplace (5.8%)	Functional (41.3%) Politics (18.6%) Workplace (9.6%) Economy (8.9%)	Functional (50.2%) Economy (23.3%) Workplace (12.3%) Politics (9%)	Culture (0.543)* Tradition (0.547)* Food and drinks (0.281)* Cultural offer (0.155)*
Normative (32.2%) Ethical issues (15.2%) Solidarity (15.2%) Protection of env. (0.2%)	Normative (29.8%) Ethical issues (18.8%) Tolerance (4.8%) Solidarity (3.7%)	Culture (35.7%) Food and drinks (18.6%) Traits of citizens (5.6%) Cultural offer (4.8%)	Culture (19.9%) Traits of citizens (9%) Food and drinks (4%) Tourism (2.9%)	Normative (29.5%) Tolerance (18.6%) Ethical issues (4.6%) Attitude in conflicts (2.5%)	Culture (29.9%) Cultural offer (7.8%) Sports (7.3%) Tourism (6.1%)	Normative (0.212)* Protection of env (0.311)* Ethical issues (0.210)* Human rights (0.209)*
Culture (31%) Cultural offer (19.5%) Sports (4.3%) Personalities (1.8%)	Culture (14.9%) Sports (8.1%) Personalities (4.2%) Tourism (0.3%)	Nature (24.3%) Landscape (14.3%) Wild nature (9.3%) Activities (0.7%)	Nature (12.3%) Wild nature (6.1%) Landscape (6%) Activites (0.2%)	Culture (24.3%) Traits of citizens (13%) Country diversity (3.3%) Tourism (2.9%)	Nature (14.3%) Landscape (14.3%) - -	Nature (0.150)* Wild nature (0.767)* Landscape (.375)* -
Nature (7.9%) Landscape (7.9%) - -	Nature (0.3%) Landscape (0.3%) - -	Normative (6.1%) Attitude in conflicts (2%) Ethical issues (1.6%) Tolerance (0.9%)	Normative (8.6%) Attitude in conflicts (5%) Ethical issues (1.2%) Civil rights (0.9%)	Nature (11.4%) Landscape (10.6%) Wild nature (0.4%) Activities (0.4%)	Normative (2.2%) Ethical issues (2%) Human rights (0.2%) -	Functional (0.040) Innovation (0.576) Politics (0.346) Products (0.207)
Emotional (0%)	Emotional (0%)	Emotional (2.5%)	Emotional (1.9%)	Emotional (1.2%)	Emotional (0%)	
N=164	N=526	N=1869	N=1681	N=1220	N=602	Significance: 0.05*

Table 4
Summary of Italian results for each research unit

News Content Analysis	Recalled news survey	General Associations survey	Strengths survey	Weaknesses survey	Google Searches	Structural equation modelling
Functional (86.6%) Economy (33.9%) Politics (25.4%) Innovation (14.9%)	Functional (51.7%) Economy (16.5%) Politics (16.5%) Innovation (5.5%)	Nature (38.1%) Landscape (26.3%) Activities in nature (6.1%) Wild Nature (5.7%)	Functional (41.8%) Economy (18.2%) Politics (13.1%) Products (3%)	Functional (40.8%) Workplace (17.5) Politics (10.4%) Economy (6.7%)	Culture (51.5%) Cultural offer (16.3%) Sports (16.1%) Tourism (14.4%)	Culture (0.482)* Traditions (0.362)* Personalities (0.309)* History (0.241)*
Culture (36.7%) Sports (13.9%) Cultural offer (11.8%) Personalities (5.6%)	Culture (41.2%) Sports (23.1%) Tourism (7.5%) Personalities (6.4%)	Culture (37.3%) Food and drinks (20.4%) Sports (4.7%) Characteristics (3.8)	Culture (28.6%) Food and drinks (7.3%) Traits of citizens (4.8%) Tourism (4.1%)	Culture (24.9%) Tourism (9.3%) Traits of citizens (5.3%) Country diversity (3.5%)	Functional (31.9%) Economy (15.5%) Politics (6.5%) Products (5.3%)	Nature (0.186)* Wild Nature (0.689)* Landscape (0.477)* -
Normative (29.7%) Ethical issues (18.8%) Solidarity (5.3%) Protection of env. (2.7%)	Normative (17.2%) Ethical issues (9.5%) Solidarity (3.7%) Human rights (2.4%)	Functional (25.6%) Products (8.4%) Economy (6.8%) Politics (5.3%)	Nature (22.6%) Landscape (13.8%) Wild Nature (6.3%) Activities in nature (2.5%)	Nature (19.7%) Landscape (18.1%) Wild Nature (1.2%) Activities (0.4%)	Nature (12.1%) Landscape (12.1%) - -	Normative (0.148)* Tolerance (0.255)* Civil rights (0.233)* Solidarity (0.225)*
Nature (9.3%) Landscape (7.8%) Activities (1.3%) Wild nature (0.2%)	Nature (9.2%) Activities (5.3%) Landscape (3.9%) Wild Nature (0.3%)	Normative (7.1%) Attitude in conflict (3.4%) Ethical issues (1.2%) Human rights (0.7%)	Normative (11.4%) Attitude in conflict (7%) Tolerance (1.1%) Human rights (0.9%)	Normative (11.6%) Attitude in conflict (7%) Tolerance (0.9%) Ethical issues (0.7%)	Normative (0.05%) Tolerance (0.3%) Human rights (0.2%) -	Functional (0.077) Workplace (0.249) Politics (0.235) Innovation (0.232)
Emotional (0.4%)	Emotional (0%)	Emotional (6.5%)	Emotional (1.0%)	Emotional (2.2%)	Emotional (0%)	*significant (0.05)
N=552	N=454	N=1272	N=1295	N=585	N=620	

Table 5
Summary of British results for each research unit

News Content Analysis	Recalled news survey	General Associations survey	Strengths survey	Weaknesses survey	Google Searches	Structural equation modelling
Functional (81.3%) Economy (41.6%) Politics (10.9%) Products (10.5%)	Culture (41.2%) Sports (31%) Personalities (7.1%) Cultural offer (1.9%)	Culture (35.5%) Food and drinks (16.6%) Sports (6%) Cultural offer (4.3%)	Functional (39.7%) Economy (14.5%) Politics (14.1%) Workplace (2.2%)	Functional (46.7%) Politics (14.4%) Economy (13.2%) Workplace (7.4%)	Culture (37.7%) Cultural offer (15.5%) Sports (11.4%) Tourism (5.2%)	Culture (0.385)* Traditions (0.452) Food and drinks (0.240) Personalities (0.213)
Culture (43%) Cultural offer (15.8%) Sports (14.9%) Personalities (8.9%)	Functional (39.2%) Politics (12.9%) Economy (12.3%) Security (8.4%)	Nature (33.6%) Landscape (25.3%) Activities in nature (5%) Wild nature (3.2%)	Culture (27.9%) Food and drinks (6.7%) Traits of citizens (6%) Other cultural (3.5%)	Nature (21.1%) Landscape (19.8%) Wild nature (0.9%) Activities in nature (0.5%)	Functional (33.9%) Economy (10.3%) Products (10.1%) Politics (7.3%)	Normative (0.252)* Protection of env. (0.278)* Ethical issues (0.227)* Human rights (0.210)*
Normative (32.7%) Ethical issues (25.7%) Solidarity (4%) Tolerance (2%)	Normative (32.7%) Ethical issues (25.2%) Solidarity (3.2%)	Functional (23.3%) Politics (7.1%) Products (6.6%) Economy (5.3%)	Nature (21%) Landscape (15.7%) Wild Nature (2.8%) Activities in nature (2.5%)	Culture (17.2%) Landscape (15.7%) Traits of citizens (4.8%) Tourism (4.1%) Country diversity (2.1%)	Nature (18.2%) Landscape (18.2%) - -	Nature (0.118)* Wild nature (0.699)* Landscape (0.432)* -
Nature (4%) Landscape (4%) - -	Nature (3.2%) Landscape (1.9%) Activities in Nature (1.3%) -	Normative (9.3%) Attitude in conflicts (6%) Ethical issues (1.7%) Solidarity (0.5%)	Normative (13.8%) Attitude in conflicts (9.6%) Human rights (1.1%) Ethical issues (0.9%)	Normative (17.1%) Attitude in conflicts (5.1%) Tolerance (4.3%) Ethical issues (4.1%)	Normative (1.1%) Tolerance (0.6%) Protection of environment (0.2%) Ethical issues (0.3%)	Functional (0.120) Politics (0.323) Innovation (0.304) Product (0.269)
Emotional (0%)	Emotional (0%)	Emotional (7.6%)	Emotional (11.6%)	Emotional (0.9%)	Emotional (0%)	*significance (0.05)
N=106	N=155	N=1229	N=1220	N=585	N=631	

Table 6
Summary of results of the United States for each research unit

Output level: News coverage of Switzerland

For public diplomacy actors, it is essential to look at the media coverage about a country, as we suppose that it has a strong influence on the formation of public opinion. The discourses about Switzerland in the mass media are mostly driven by hard news. Indeed, *functional* topics like Swiss politics (32.2% of all German articles; 21.4% of French articles; 28% of Italian articles; 25.4% of British articles; 10.9% of American articles) and the economy (Germany: 10.6%; France: 11.4%; Italy: 12%; UK: 33.9%; US: 41.6%) are predominant. Political topics include Swiss initiatives (Germany: 16.9%; France: 7.9%; Italy: 5.5%; UK: 7.1%; US: 5.9%), such as the minimum wage or mass immigration initiatives, but also Switzerland's role in the EU (Germany: 6.6%; France: 7.1%; Italy: 5.5%; UK: 8.2%). Regarding economics, news reports focus mostly on the activities of the Swiss National Bank and private Swiss banks (Germany: 2.7%; Italy: 5.3%; UK: 10.6%; US: 20.8%), although French news deals more with different actors like Nestlé (4.3%) or with Switzerland's economic stability (2.9%). In addition, German and Italian news deal a lot with Swiss infrastructure, referring to the opening of the new Gotthard tunnel (Germany: 14.6%; Italy: 11.6%) linking both countries, whereas French and British news highlight Switzerland's innovation through projects like Solar Impulse or its hosting of research organizations like ETH or CERN (France: 9.3%; UK: 13.9%). Only the American coverage frequently addresses typical Swiss products like Swiss watches or Swiss Army knives (10.5%).

Furthermore, the content analysis reveals that many articles deal with *cultural* aspects of Switzerland (Germany: 50.6%; France: 40.6%; Italy: 31%; UK: 36.7%; US: 15.8%). Sports news regarding Swiss participation in the Olympic Games or the FIFA corruption scandal (Germany: 17.6%; France: 14.3%; Italy: 4.3%; UK: 13.9%; US: 14.9%), or Swiss personalities like

Roger Federer (Germany: 12%; France: 7.1%; Italy: 1.8%; UK: 5.6%; US: 8.9%) have a significant presence, but the cultural offerings of Switzerland like the Locarno Film Festival are also addressed (Germany: 14%; France: 17.1%; Italy: 19.5%; UK: 11.8%; US: 15.8%).

Articles containing *normative* aspects (Germany: 26.3%; France: 30%; Italy: 32.2%; UK: 29.7%; US: 25.7%) deal with ethical issues regarding banking scandals (Germany: 17.9%; France: 22.9%; Italy: 15.2%; UK: 18.8%; US: 13.9%), Swiss lack of tolerance (Germany: 2.3%; France: 2.1%; US: 2%), and Swiss solidarity (Germany: 2.7%; France: 3.4%; Italy: 15.2%; UK: 5.3%; US: 4%), referring to Switzerland's attitude towards strangers and their handling of the refugee crisis.

The *nature* aspect is, however, rarely mentioned in the news coverage (Germany: 5%; France: 0%; Italy: 7.9%; UK: 9.3%; US: 4%). The same holds true for the *emotional* dimension, as there was (almost) no information related to this dimension in either data set. In general, we can conclude that country information in the news is strongly related to typical news factors and information.

Direct outcome level I: Recalled news

After having analyzed the media coverage, we next need to analyze how the news portrayal is linked to the public perceptions of a country. First, we measure the direct outcomes related to people's knowledge of news events. In general, it appears that the news media content and the recalled news are highly correlated. Indeed, the news media clearly shape people's knowledge about a country and are, therefore, an important subject of analysis.

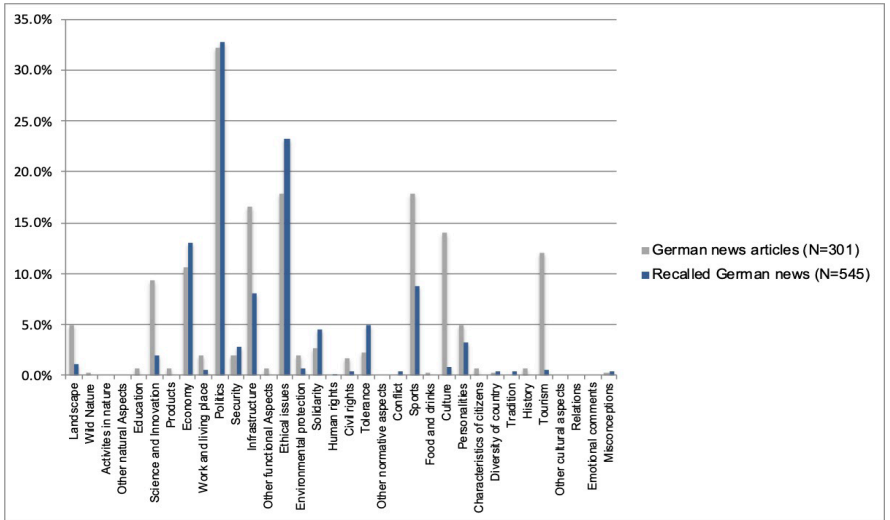


Figure 4. German news coverage about Switzerland and recalled news about Switzerland

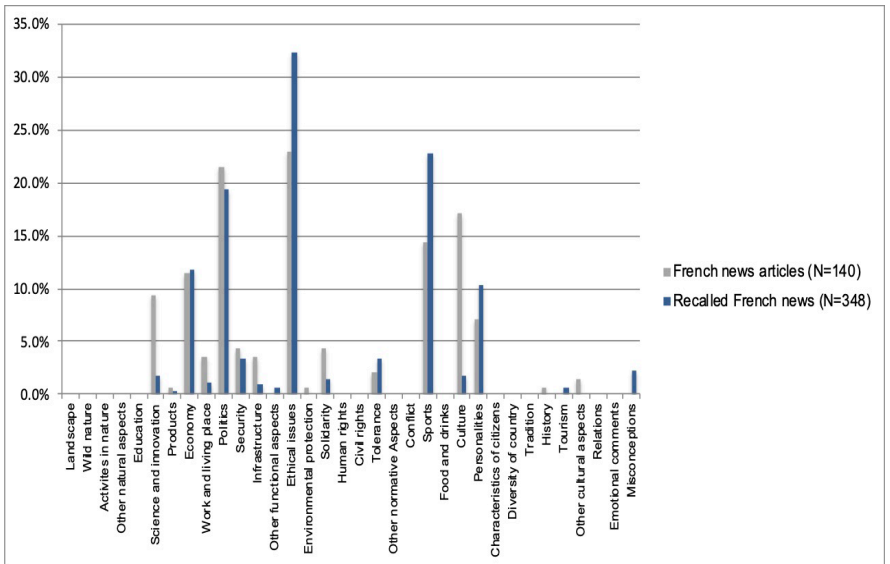


Figure 5. French news coverage about Switzerland and recalled news about Switzerland

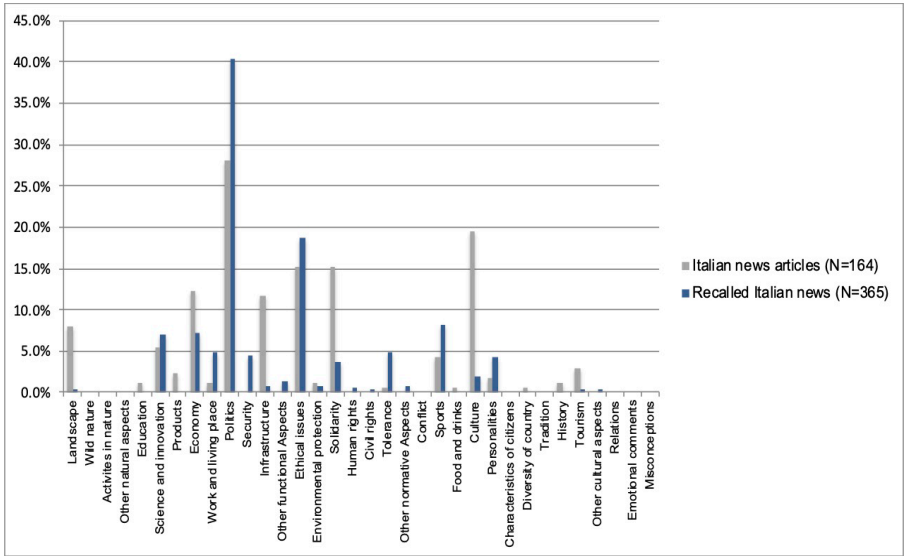


Figure 6. Italian news coverage about Switzerland and recalled news about Switzerland

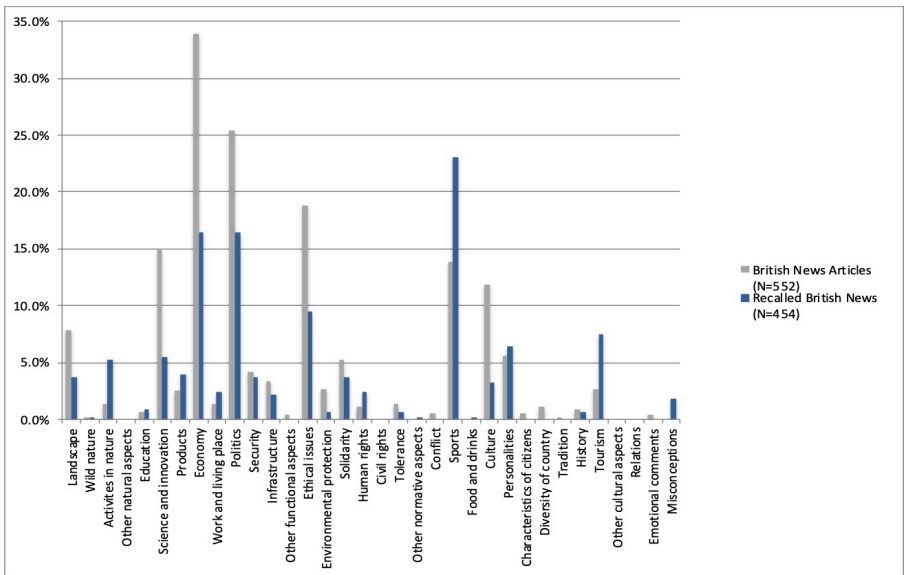


Figure 7. British news coverage about Switzerland and recalled news about Switzerland

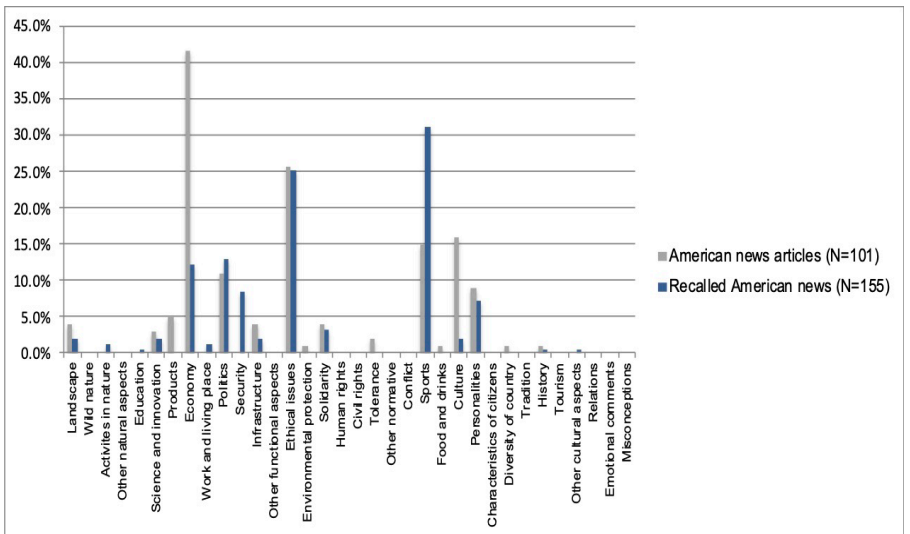


Figure 8. American news coverage about Switzerland and recalled news about Switzerland

Table 7
Correlation coefficients (Spearman's Rho) between news media and recalled news

	<i>German recalled news</i>	<i>French recalled news</i>	<i>Italian recalled news</i>	<i>British recalled news</i>	<i>American recalled news</i>
<i>German media</i>	.829*				
<i>French media</i>		.869*			
<i>Italian media</i>			.582*		
<i>British media</i>				.820*	
<i>American media</i>					.649*

*Remarks: Correlations that reached significance are displayed in bold. *level of significance is $p < .001$*

Table 8
Regression Analysis with media predicting the recalled media news

Variables	Recalled media news**		
	B	(SE B)	β
German media content	.811	.089	.851*
French media content	.824	.043	.959*
Italian media content	1.011	.083	.906*
British media content	.562	.068	.820*
American media content	.555	.108	.860*

*Remarks: Correlations that reached significance are displayed in bold.
*Level of significance is $p < .01$
** the variable "recalled media news" refers to different data sets according to the examined country.*

As in the media analysis, we find in the open question regarding recalled news that *functional* information is very present in people's minds (59.4% of 545 German mentions; 39.1% of 348 French mentions; 66.2% of 526 Italian mentions; 51.7% of 454 British mentions; 39.2% of 155 American mentions). Indeed, in four of the five analyzed countries, functional news information is most remembered by the respondents. The German respondents recall news about Swiss politics (32.8%), especially the various referenda (22%), financial information (13%) mainly related to the Swiss National Bank (5%), or infrastructural achievements like the opening of the Gotthard tunnel (6.2%). French respondents mostly recall media news about politics (19.3%) or the economy (11.8%), and to a lesser extent, Swiss security (3.4%), but fail to mention news about innovations. Italians also predominantly remember political issues (40.2%), followed by some mentions of the economy (7.3%) and workplace (4.8%). Italians recall mostly political news related to votes (22.8%) that affect them directly, such as the "Prima i nostri [Ours First]" vote regarding foreign (mostly Italian) workers in Switzerland. British people mostly recall financial news about Swiss banks (16.5%), while political news recalled by UK respondents related to migration policies and the independence of Switzerland in relation to the EU (16.5%), especially as a possible example for the Brexit. Americans also recall news about politics (12.9%), the economy (12.3%), and some news about security issues (8.4%).

News relating to *cultural* information recalled in the survey is similar to that present in the news articles (Germany: 14.2%; France: 35.3%; Italy: 14.9%; UK: 41.2%; US: 41.2%) with respondents referring to sports (Germany: 8.8%; France: 22.7%; Italy: 8.1%; UK: 23.1%; US: 31%), Swiss personalities like Roger Federer (Germany: 3.3%; France: 7.1%; Italy: 4.2%; UK: 6.4%; US: 7.1%), and the Swiss cultural offer (Germany: 0.9%; France: 1.7%; US: 1.9%). Both Italy and the UK make

some reference to tourism-related articles (UK: 6.4%; Italy: 0.3%).

Likewise, the same *normative* aspects are recalled by the respondents as are present in the news. They refer to ethical issues like banking scandals (Germany: 23.3%; France: 32.2%; Italy: 18.8%; UK: 9.5%; US: 25.2%), mainly related to internationally operating large banks like UBS or Credit Suisse, or tolerance towards strangers (Germany: 4.9%; France: 3.4%; Italy: 4.8%). British people further highlight news about human rights (2.4%). In total, whereas normative aspects are the second most recalled after functional news in Germany (34.6%) and Italy (29.8%), they only take third place in France (37%), the UK (17.2%) and the US (32.7%), where respondents highlight functional and cultural news information more.

In line with the media content analysis, which shows that *nature* and *emotional* aspects are hardly present in the news, neighboring countries barely remember any nature-related information (Germany: 1.1%; France: 0%; Italy: 0.3%), whereas British (9.2%) and American citizens (3.2%) remember a few articles relating to Switzerland's nature (for example, Theresa May taking a holiday in the Swiss Alps was a recalled event by British people). However, no respondent mentioned emotional news information (all countries: 0%). Overall, we can see that respondents probably build up their knowledge of the country on the basis of media coverage and remember international news well, especially news that may affect or concern them personally.

Direct outcome II: General associations with Switzerland

In a next step, we analyze how the news information interferes with preexisting and general attitudes towards the country. In terms of what people associate with Switzerland,

we can see that the topics are different, and stereotypes are predominant. In the *functional* dimension (Germany: 36.6% of 1,784 mentions; France: 39.6% of 1634 mentions; Italy: 36.3% of 1869 mentions; UK: 25.6% of 1727 mentions; US: 23.3% of 1229 mentions), people mostly mention politics (Germany: 12.1%; France: 7%; Italy: 10.3%; UK: 5.3%) and the economy (Germany: 10.9%; France: 20.1%; Italy: 10.3%; UK: 6.8%), relating primarily to clichés such as Switzerland’s neutrality and the wealth of its banks. In other functional categories, we also find stereotypes: German people mention the work and living conditions (7.2%) in Switzerland, highlighting the high living cost (5.3%), whereas French, British and Americans respondents name typical products (France: 6.9%; UK: 8.4%; US: 6.6%) like watches.

The *cultural* dimension (Germany: 34.9%; France: 31.9%; Italy: 35.7%; UK: 37.3%; US: 35.5%) is mainly defined by typical Swiss food such as cheese or chocolate (on average 18% of the answers of in all countries) or mentions of typical character traits like punctuality or being slow (around 4% of the mentions in all European countries). The *nature* dimension, almost absent in the news media and survey data on recalled news, is very present regarding general country associations (Germany: 26.4%; France: 25.2%; Italy: 24.3%; UK: 38.1%; US: 33.1%), with Switzerland described as mountainous and characterized by beautiful landscapes (Germany: 21.5%, France: 15.5%, Italy: 14.3%, UK: 26.3%, US: 25.3%). Whereas *normative* aspects are important in many of the news recalled by the respondents, the normative dimension is the least present cognitive image dimension regarding general associations with the country (Germany: 10.7%; France: 10.6%; Italy: 6.1%; UK: 7.1%; US: 9.3%). The few normative mentions are of Switzerland’s neutrality in conflicts (Germany: 3.3%; France: 3.8%; Italy: 2%; UK: 3.4%; US: 6%) and of some ethical issues, for instance in the banking sector (Germany: 2.6%; France: 1.6%; Italy: 1.6%; UK: 1.2%; US: 1.7%).

Direct outcome III: Strengths and weaknesses

Analyzing general associations with Switzerland and news-related information gives us an interesting picture of the Swiss country image. However, these data sets do not provide insights into evaluations of the country's features. Therefore, in the survey, we asked further open questions regarding the strengths and weaknesses of Switzerland.

Interestingly, the strengths and weaknesses are generally situated in the same domains of the Swiss country image. For instance, most strengths (Germany: 36.6% mentioned strengths; France: 62.1%; Italy: 54.3%; UK: 41.8%; US: 39.7%) and weaknesses (Germany: 59.8% mentioned weaknesses; France: 66.2%; Italy: 41.3%; UK: 40.8%; US: 46.7%) are situated in the *functional* dimension, often relating to politics or the economy. Switzerland's neutrality is named by respondents from all countries as a major political strength (Germany: 8.5%; France: 7.3%; Italy: 4.6%; UK: 5.8%; US: 8.2%), while Switzerland's relation to the EU is judged ambiguously: German, British and American respondents tend to view it more as a strength, whereas French and Italians see it as a weakness. Switzerland's policies related to immigration are considered a major weakness (Germany: 7.3%; France: 5%; Italy: 7%; UK: 2.3%; US: 4.8%). Another important aspect is the economy, which is mainly considered as a strength (Germany: 24.4%; France: 27.6%; Italy: 21.2%; UK: 18.2%; US: 14.5%). Highlighted positively here are the economic autonomy (Germany: 7.6%; UK: 3.1%), banks (France: 6%; UK: 2.3%; Italy: 6.8%) and wealth (Germany: 6.3%; France: 8.3%; UK: 5.6%; Italy: 2.9%) of Switzerland. However, some aspects are considered negatively, for instance, the Swiss currency (Germany: 3.8%; France: 2.8%).

The living and working conditions in Switzerland are sometimes viewed as a strength (Germany: 4.6%; France:

8.7%; Italy: 5.8%; US: 2.2%) but more often as a weakness (Germany: 20.5%; France: 16.4%; Italy: 9.6%; UK: 17.5%; US: 7.4%). While high incomes (Germany: 2%; France: 2.4%), living standards (UK: 1.2%), and the job market (Italy: 3.1%) are little mentioned but evaluated positively, many people point out the high living costs as a negative (Germany: 19.5%; France: 15%; Italy: 8.1%; UK: 16.8%).

Normative information is more often mentioned as a weakness (Germany: 28.9%; France: 11.9%; Italy: 29.5%; UK: 16.6%; US: 17.1%) than as a strength (Germany: 10.7%; France: 10.6%; Italy: 8.6%; UK: 11.4%; US: 13.8%). People consider Switzerland's neutrality regarding conflicts (Germany: 9.3%; France: 7.9%; Italy: 5%; UK: 7%; US: 9.6%) as a strength, while some also highlight civil (Germany: 4.9%; Italy: 0.9%) and human rights in Switzerland (Germany: 1.1%; UK: 0.9%; US: 1.1%). Normative weaknesses include ethical issues like banking scandals involving banking secrecy (Germany: 5.7%; France: 8.8%; Italy: 3.5%; UK: 0.7%; US: 4.1%). In addition, perceptions of Swiss lack of tolerance, with mentions of Switzerland as being closed and xenophobic, can be found in many countries (Germany: 17.5%; France: 13.1%; Italy: 17.9%; US: 4.3%). Switzerland's lack of solidarity and collaboration in international matters (Germany: 2.8%) are also judged negatively. Tolerance is named by a very few British people (strength: 1.1%, weakness: 0.9%):

We also find many different strengths (Germany: 17.9%; France: 14.9%; Italy: 19.9%; UK: 28.6%; US: 27.9%) and weaknesses (Germany: 15.8%; France: 14.9%; Italy: 24.3%; UK: 24.9%; US: 17.2%) on the *cultural* level. People name stereotypical Swiss characteristics (Germany: 8.4%; France: 4.8%; Italy: 9%; UK: 4.8%; US: 6%) such as "being punctual and precise" and "hardworking" as strengths. Other traits (Germany: 9.9%; France: 7%; Italy: 9%; UK: 5.3%; US: 4.8%), such as "being arrogant" and "being introverted and

distant," are considered as weaknesses. Typical Swiss foods (Germany: 4%; France: 5.6%; Italy: 18.6%; UK: 7.3%; US: 6.7%) such as cheese and chocolate are valued, whereas the expensive tourism offer is judged negatively (Germany: 2.1%; France: 0.7%; Italy: 2.9%; UK: 9.3%; US: 4.1%). The diversity of Switzerland, especially regarding its multilingualism, is judged ambiguously by the German respondents (strength: 2%; weakness: 2.7%), whereas Italians, British and Americans view it as a weakness (Italy: 2.4%; UK: 3.5%; US: 2.1%).

With respect to *nature*, people highlight Switzerland's geography and landscape as both a strength (Germany: 9.1%; France: 13.4%; Italy: 12.3%; UK: 22.6%; US: 21.%) and a weakness (Germany: 4.9%; France: 15.6%; Italy: 11.4%; UK: 19.7%; US: 21.1%) by valuing its mountains and lakes but viewing its size and lack of sea access negatively. However, due to its untouched nature (Germany: 4.2%; France: 8.3%; Italy: 6.1%; UK: 6.3%; US: 2.8%) and platform for winter sports (Germany: 1.1%; France: 0.7%; UK: 2.5%; US: 2.5%), the nature aspects of Switzerland are considered positively overall and accompanied by some positive emotional comments (Italy: 1.9%; Germany: 4.5%; France: 3.6%; UK: 10%; US: 11.6%). In general, *emotional* comments are mostly positive, highlighting the friendliness of Swiss citizens and the beautiful landscape.

Although the strengths and weaknesses might address the same categories, they stress different aspects and place different emphasis on different dimensions. For instance, the normative dimension in Germany is second when evaluating Swiss weaknesses (18.3%), while regarding strengths, this dimension is the least important (10.7%), and whereas the nature dimension is quite important in Germany regarding Swiss strengths (14.4%), the same dimension is much less present regarding weaknesses (4.9%). Indeed, we can

say that both data sets complement each other and offer differentiated perspectives on the overall country image.

Indirect outcome: Google searches

Furthermore, to not limit our results regarding indirect outcomes to survey data, we analyzed online trace data in the five countries, and to additionally analyze outcomes, we chose to analyze the Google searches people make about countries². Overall, we can see that people mostly look for *functional* (Germany: 45.3%; France: 44.4%; Italy: 50.2%; UK: 31.9%; US: 33.9%) and *cultural* (Germany: 39.5%; France: 33.7%; Italy: 29.9%; UK: 51.5%; US: 37.7%) information. Interestingly, geographically closer countries tend to explore functional aspects, whereas more distant countries focus on cultural aspects. *Functional* aspects explored relate to politics (Germany: 13.4%; France: 10.4%; Italy: 9%; UK: 6.5%; US: 7.3%) or the economy (Germany: 17.7%; France: 20.5%; Italy: 23.3%; UK: 15.5%; US: 10.3%), including searches about conversion rates, toll roads and taxes, but also Swiss products (UK: 5.3%; US: 10.1%) and work opportunities (Germany: 6.8%; France: 6.3%; Italy: 12.1%) in Switzerland. Indeed, unlike the survey data, practical information is dominant in the Google search analysis. *Cultural* aspects relate mostly to sports results (Germany: 13.4%; France: 15.1%; Italy: 7.3%; UK: 16.1%; US: 11.4%), city or place information (Germany: 11.6%; France: 7.6%; Italy: 7.8%; UK: 16.3%; US: 15.5%), tourism (France: 4%; Italy: 6.1%; UK: 14.4%; US: 5.2%), or general information like phone numbers (Germany: 6.6%). The *nature* (Germany: 9%; France: 14.2%; Italy: 14.3%; UK: 12.1%; 18.2%) and *normative* (Germany: 1%; France: 0.3%; Italy: 2.2%; UK: 0.5%; US: 1.1%) dimensions are much less present in the Google searches. Where they do occur, nature searches relate to features of the Swiss landscape, whereas normative searches deal with ethical issues, environmental protection, human rights, or Switzerland's tolerance.

Indirect outcome: Structural equation modeling

It is also important to know which country image dimensions (cognitive components) have the highest impact on the emotional evaluation of the country and which items best explain these impacts, considering the country image as a latent attitudinal construct measured via standardized items on a five-dimensional Likert scale. What makes us like or dislike a country? What indirect structures or “value drivers” can be discovered when analyzing the different country image dimensions? To measure this, we analyzed the structural relationships between the different dimensions using variance-based partial least squares structural equation modeling (PLS-SEM).

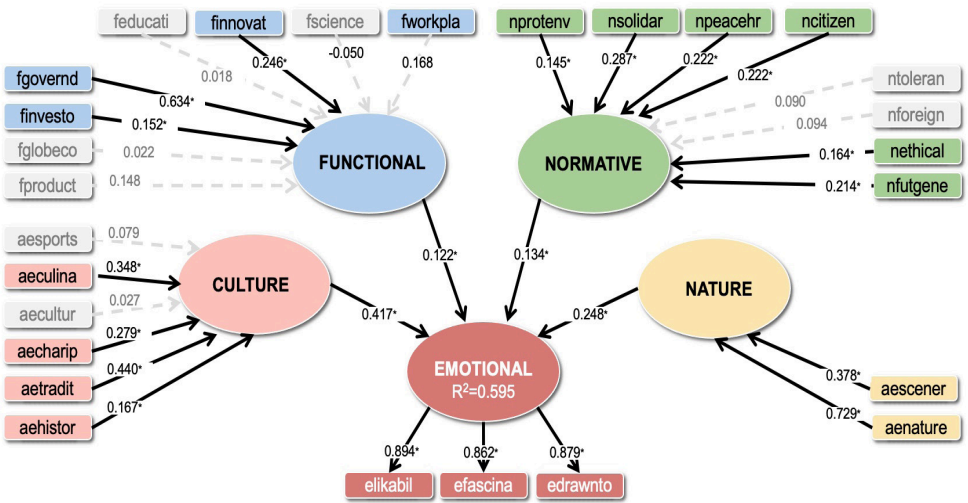


Figure 9. Structural equation modeling for Germany

German Model Fit	
Criteria	
R ²	0.595
Q ²	0.428
SRMR	0.064

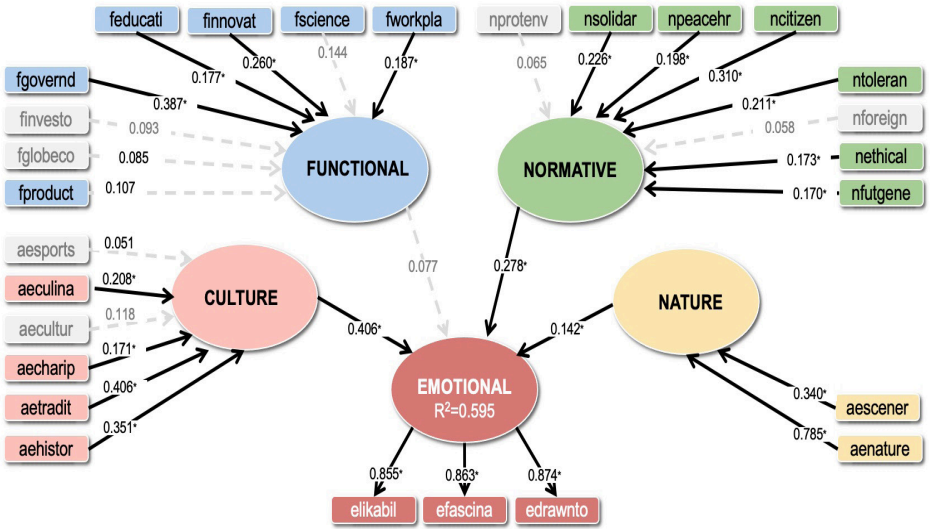


Figure 10. Structural equation model for France

French Model Fit	
Criteria	
R ²	0.595
Q ²	0.415
SRMR	0.057

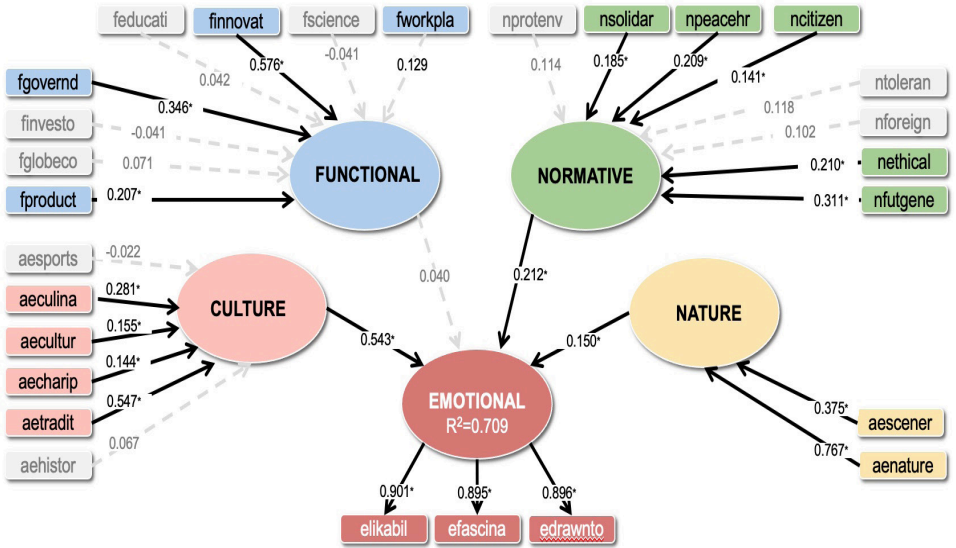


Figure 11. Structural equation model for Italy

Italian Model Fit	
Criteria	
R ²	0.709
Q ²	0.535
SRMR	0.056

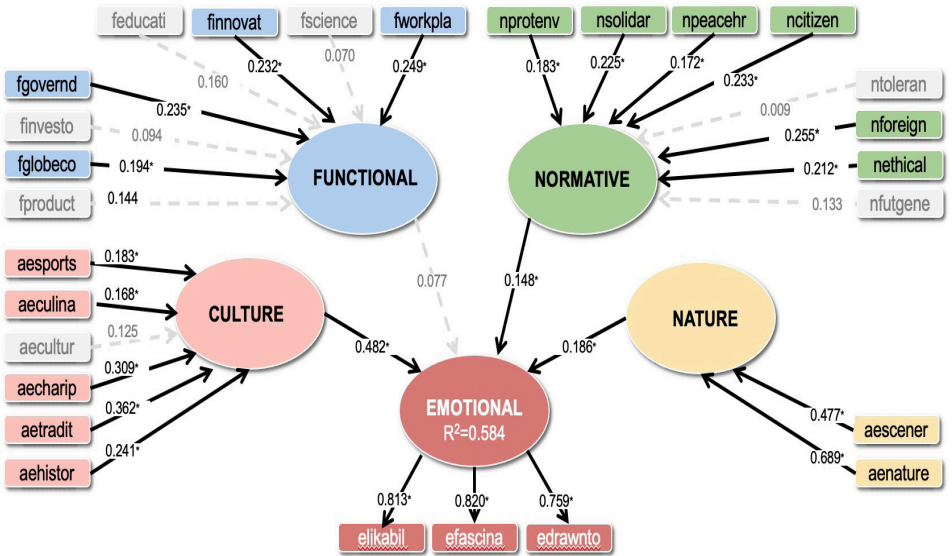


Figure 12. Structural equation model for UK

British Model Fit Criteria	
R ²	0.584
Q ²	0.344
SRMR	0.045

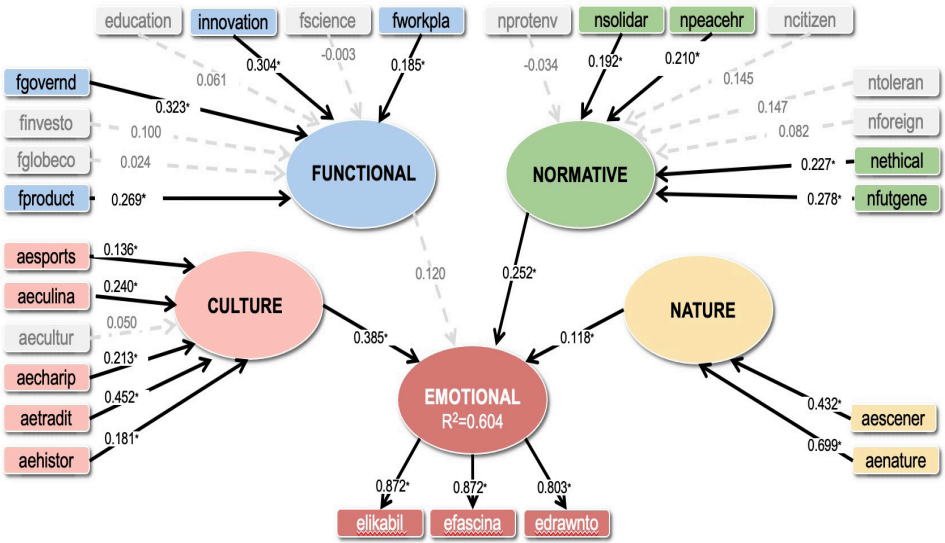


Figure 13. Structural equation model for the United States

US Model Fit	
Criteria	
R ²	0.604
Q ²	0.405
SRMR	0.502

In order to check the quality of the SEM models, we first evaluated the outer measurement model (outer loadings, Cronbach’s α , composite reliability, and average variance extracted [AVE]). The results for both models show that the reflective items all have a value over 0.7 and load significantly on the construct. The quality criteria, i.e., Cronbach’s α , the composite reliability and the average variance, also show satisfying results. Therefore, the reflective outer model can be accepted.

In a next step, the formative outer models are evaluated. To check the external validity of the formative measurement models, the indicators' correlation with a global reflective item is examined. All items significantly correlate with their global item. Thus, the external validity is confirmed in both models. To be able to rule out collinearity issues, the variance inflation factor (VIF) for the outer model is analyzed (Hair Jr et al., 2013). All values are lower than five, which means there are no collinearity issues within the outer models (see Table 9).

	VIF
Culture	2.137
Nature	1.462
Functional	2.144
Normative	2.205

Table 9
Variance inflation factor (VIF) values

Having evaluated the outer models, the inner measurement models are examined. All path coefficients are significant and positive. We can conclude that all exogenous constructs contribute significantly to the endogenous construct.

The accuracy of the models in predicting an outcome will be examined by analyzing the R^2 value, with the coefficient of determination (Hair Jr et al., 2013) showing how much of the models' cognitive constructs explain the variance of the affective construct. The R^2 values for all countries are 0.580 or higher (R^2 adjusted: Germany= 0.595; France= 0.595; Italy= 0.709; UK= 0.584; US= 0.597), implying that at least 58% of the variance of the emotional dimension is explained by the other constructs.

The f^2 -effect size has to be estimated in order to analyze the effects of the predictor constructs on the predicted constructs. The cultural dimension has a medium effect size, while the effect sizes of the other predictor constructs are rather small.

To evaluate the fit of the models in PLS-SEM, the standardized root mean square residuals (SRMR) are analyzed. A value of 0.08 or lower shows that a model has a good fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Thus, with a value of 0.04, the SRMRs confirm a very good model fit. Alternatively, the RMS_{θ} can be evaluated to check the model fit of PLS-SEM. The RMS_{θ} builds on the same logic as the SRMR, with the difference being that it is based on covariances. A threshold value between 0.12 and 0.14 is suggested by Henseler and colleagues (2014) as an indication of a good model fit. Thus, our models can be interpreted as good.

The results show that the emotional dimension of the country image is mostly influenced by the cultural dimension (Germany: 0.417; France: 0.406; Italy: 0.543; UK: 0.482; US: 0.385). In all countries, the important value drivers for this dimension are the Swiss traditions (Germany: 0.440; France: 0.406; Italy: 0.547; UK: 0.362; US: 0.452). Additionally, Swiss cuisine (Germany: 0.348; France: 0.208; Italy: 0.281; US: 0.240), Swiss history (France: 0.351; UK: 0.241) and Swiss personalities (Germany: 0.279; UK: 0.309; US: 0.213) are named. In Germany and the UK, the second most important cognitive dimension is the nature dimension (Germany: 0.248; UK: 0.186), which is mostly defined by features such as wild, untouched nature (Germany: 0.729; UK: 0.689) and the beauty of the landscape (Germany: 0.378; UK: 0.477). The same value drivers are highlighted in the French, Italian and US PLS-SEM models, which displays the nature dimension as the third most important cognitive dimension.

The normative dimension, which is the second most important in France (0.278), Italy (0.212), and the US (0.252), and third in Germany (0.134) and the UK (0.148), has the value drivers “solidarity” (Germany: 0.287; France: 0.226; UK: 0.255) and “civil rights” (Germany: 0.222; France: 0.310). Some countries highlight Switzerland’s tolerance (France: 0.211; UK: 0.255) or its involvement in environmental protection (Italy: 0.311; US: 0.278).

The functional dimension, which was the most important in all other research units, is the least significant (Germany: 0.122; France: 0.077; Italy: 0.040; UK: 0.077; US: 0.120) cognitive dimension and is characterized by the value drivers of politics (Germany: 0.246; France: 0.387; Italy: 0.346; UK: 0.235; US: 0.323) and innovation (Germany: 0.246; France: 0.260; Italy: 0.576; UK: 0.232; US: 0.304). In certain countries, the work and living conditions in Switzerland (France: 0.187; UK: 0.249) and Swiss products (Italy: 0.207; US: 0.269) represent value drivers.

Impact

Finally, to measure the overall impact, we analyze the overall reputation scores through calculating the mean per dimension. In all analyzed countries, the nature dimension is best rated (Germany: 4.4; France: 4.3; Italy: 4.3; UK: 4.3; US: 4.5). In the European countries, it is followed by the functional dimension (Germany: 3.8; France: 3.9; Italy: 3.8; UK: 3.9), whereas in the US, this dimension comes last (3.9). The emotional dimension is highlighted third (Germany: 3.7; France: 3.8; Italy: 3.8; UK: 3.8; US: 3.9), although the cultural (Germany: 3.7; France: 3.7; Italy: 3.4; UK: 3.8; US: 4) and normative (Germany: 3.4; France: 3.5; Italy: 3.6; UK: 3.8; US: 4) dimensions are almost equally evaluated.

In order to link the findings of the indirect outcome (SEM models) and the impact level, we further calculated Importance-Performance Matrixes (IPMA). The IPMA analysis (or priority map) is an analysis method in PLS-SEM that contrasts the constructs' total effects on a target construct (= importance) with their average variable scores (= performance) (see Ringle & Sarstedt, 2016). Thanks to this method, PD officials can identify very easily what areas of the country perception they need to improve and what areas are well managed. IPMA uses a graphical representation to divide a country's dimensions of importance and performance into four areas. The upper-right quarter shows the area where performance and importance are highest, while the lower-left quarter shows the lowest performance and importance. The two remaining quartiles show either a low performance with high importance or a low importance with high performance. In the following, we will discuss in detail the example of Germany, which is very similar to the IPMA results of the other countries, which can be found in the appendix.

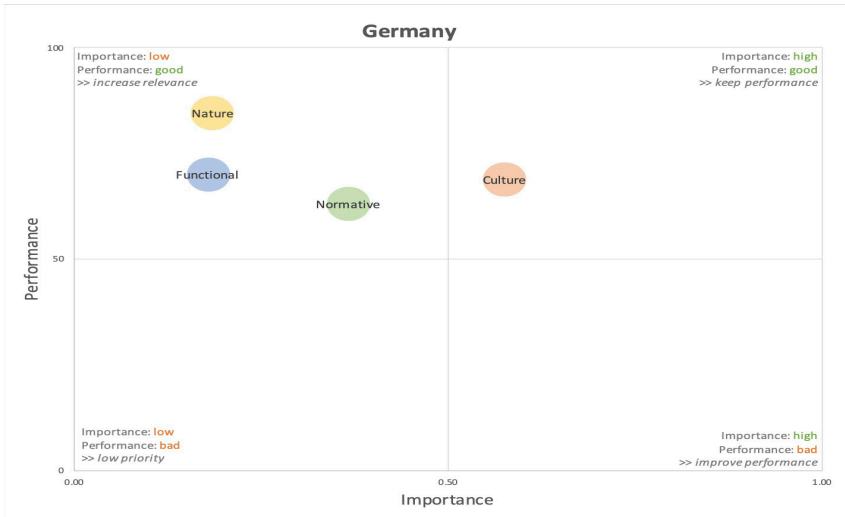


Figure 14. Importance-Performance Matrix for Germany

In all countries, and so also in Germany, the cultural dimension shows the highest importance for the country image formation. This means PD officials must pay special attention to their communication in the cultural sector. The other three cognitive dimensions have a rather low importance, and therefore need less attention from PD officials at the moment.

When looking at the performance indicators, we can see that the two country images with the best performance in the rating scores, namely the functional and the natural dimensions, are the least important. The normative and cultural dimensions, however, which are more important in the country image formation process, show a lower performance. We could therefore advise PD officials to invest in communication efforts in the normative and cultural area. However, we can notice that, in general, Switzerland has a high performance in all country image dimensions and therefore has a very good country image. However, it is important to keep in mind that the importance and performance of the different country facets may vary with time and context.

Discussion

Having listened to the different levels and voices interacting in the country image formation and combined different methodological approaches, we will now try to understand the underlying processes that might explain how public opinion about countries, here Switzerland, is formed. Based upon Habermas (1994, 2006), we understand country image formation as an ongoing discourse, involving different voices who struggle for power. To analyze this discourse, we strive to align the findings from the different facets, namely output, outcome and impact and discuss them within our theoretical framework.

On the *output level*, we analyzed the media coverage about Switzerland. Interestingly, we can notice that in all five countries, the media image of Switzerland is quite similar. Not only do all five countries highlight functional aspects of Switzerland, but they even highlight the same topics, such as the economic and financial system and politics or sports celebrities. However, public diplomacy actors should be aware that these topics are not necessarily unique to the country, but are also strongly influenced by the structure of the media channels itself. In fact, the media show us a distorted picture of a country by highlighting only a few facets of a nation. International news is defined by typical newspaper reports and values or reports on events that might have direct consequences to their own nation (such as economics or politics), especially in times of globalization and digitalization (Segev, 2016). On the topic of globalization, one might argue that our findings support Du's (2013) results regarding an intermedia-agenda setting-effect. However, we also find some specific features for some countries, such as Italy reporting a lot on Swiss infrastructure, which can be explained by the notion of context (here being the opening of the Gotthard tunnel happening at that time) and ethnocentrism.

Further, we analyzed how the *output level* is connected to the *outcome level*. Based upon our understanding of Luhmann (2000), we hypothesized the mass media as a dominant voice in public opinion formation. Indeed, we can support the findings of previous studies showing an agenda-setting effect between the media agenda and people's recalled news, thus their knowledge of countries (Brewer et al., 2003; Wanta et al., 2004, McCombs & Shaw, 1972). It is interesting to note that the respondents remember, above all, information that may concern them in a direct or indirect way. In terms of listening, this is particularly interesting, as it

allows for the identification of the interests and concerns of the target publics.

However, public views about a country are a very complex phenomenon and not limited to news information recall. In line with structuration theory, unexpected environmental factors, like previous experiences and perceptions of people, may interfere with the information process. When looking at the general associations people have with Switzerland, we can observe that, in agreement with Lippmann (1922), country perceptions are strongly defined by stereotypes learned through socialization (e.g., mountains, chocolate, watches). As shown by Ingenhoff, Segev and Chariatte (2020), these findings support the idea that even, or especially, in a global information society, people rely on simplified worldviews. The interplay between newly acquired knowledge (e.g., through the media) and default attitudes towards countries (such as stereotypes) can also be seen in the analysis of strengths and weaknesses. Whereas strengths are dominated by stereotypes (which for Switzerland are mainly positive), weaknesses can be traced back to media events. Further, analyzing the strengths and weaknesses gives us insights into how people evaluate a country.

The analysis shows that public diplomacy actors need to be cautious when using surveys for listening and to not limit themselves to asking people's general perception of a country, as this might give a biased and superficial stereotypical country image. Further, we need to remember that survey data can give us insights into what people think spontaneously about a country, but not give us real insights into their deeper attitudes and behaviors. For this, we analyzed the indirect outcomes.

To measure the *indirect outcomes*, we looked at the Google searches in the five countries. Results show the trace data and survey data mirror each other, as both highlight the same categories and country image dimensions. This goes along with Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance (1957), saying that people are looking for attitude-consistent information, but also illustrates well the statement of Stier and colleagues (2019), highlighting that digital trace data can support survey responses. We go one step further in our interpretation, as we argue that digital trace data can give us more concrete information about people's attitude and behavioral intention (for instance, Google searches give us concrete information about possible migration and travel intentions and what products people are interested in). However, we must highlight that not all searches can be linked to the findings of the output or direct outcome level, but also address new topics. For instance, US searches show that Americans are interested in the topic of environmental protection, even if this does not appear in the survey or media analysis. The same is true for Italians, who search for human rights-related information on the internet, while this information is absent in both survey and media data. Further, Google searches give us more practical insights into people's travel or migration intentions. This supports the idea of Sude and colleagues (2019) that digital media can be a source of new information, which influences the opinion formation process.

To fully investigate the indirect outcomes on opinion formation, we used structural equation modeling. Thanks to SEM models, we can find out which are the value drivers for the different country image dimensions in each country. At this stage, combining different research methods and analyzing together the output, direct and indirect outcome levels shows its relevance. Thanks to our previous results, we

can now understand why certain value drivers are important and where they are coming from.

For instance, when we look at the SEM models, we can see that the cultural dimension has the strongest impact on the Swiss country image in all countries, and two of the most important value drivers are “food and drinks” and “traditions.” This can be explained by the Swiss stereotypes such as chocolate and cheese or yodeling being very prominent in people’s heads, as seen in the survey analysis on the direct outcome level.

However, not only the outcome, but also the output level may explain some of the value drivers. The cultural value driver “Swiss personalities” in the German, British and US PLS-SEM does not appear when asking people directly about general associations, but when looking at the news items and the recalled news data, we often find mentions of Swiss personalities like Roger Federer. The value driver “innovation” is almost completely absent in the open survey data, but might be explained by its prominence in the news analysis. Thus, even if news coverage and recalled news knowledge are not dominant in the general associations with a country, they have an impact on how a country is appreciated.

The analysis of strengths and weaknesses are relevant for explaining the value drivers of the structural equation model by giving us insights as to whether they might be positively or negatively perceived. In the normative dimension, the important German value drivers are Switzerland’s solidarity and its civil and human rights. Swiss solidarity, which was often discussed in the context of migration, is recalled by respondents and judged as a main weakness of Switzerland. The value drivers “human rights” or “civil rights” are perceived as Swiss strengths in all countries, and might refer to Swiss

citizens' codetermination. Further, we can observe that strengths often mirror the general associations people have about a country, such as stereotypes, whereas weaknesses bring up issues from the media coverage. For instance, in the US, people name as a weakness ethical issues like banking scandals, which are present in the news analysis and the recalled news mentions. Switzerland's neutrality in conflicts, which is named as a major stereotypical association in the US, is viewed as a country strength.

For countries like Italy, "human rights" are an important value driver, but are not named in the survey data or in the media analysis. As described before, we can find this information when looking at the topics Italians search for on Google. Similarly, the Italian value driver of "environmental protection" might be explained through the fact that Italians are also searching online for environmental information about Switzerland. Indeed, the Google search analysis allows us to find the associations and topics that are not mentioned in the survey data, but which appear when analyzing behavioral aspects. As mentioned earlier, digital media give another information source about countries and thus also co-create the country image.

The structural equation modeling also reveals new aspects on its own. For instance, SEM showed that "Swiss traditions" are important in the cultural dimension, which did not appear in any of the survey data sets. Public diplomacy practitioners might therefore want to advance the knowledge about Swiss traditions abroad, e.g., at fairs or exhibitions. Again, this highlights that each level, namely output, direct and indirect outcome, has its own features and that aspects, which were not intended by public diplomacy actors, might infer and shape the country image formation process.

The final step is to look at the *impact level*. As argued before, previous public diplomacy measurement activities focused mostly on the impact of their communication campaign. This is, however, not sufficient, as we can see in our own data. Results on the impact level show us on which country dimension Switzerland is best positioned (namely, the nature dimension). This might be explained by the great number of stereotypes related to the beauty of the Swiss landscape (e.g., mountains, lakes, snow). However, the impact evaluation does not give us information on which dimension shapes the country image the most and why they are evaluated differently.

Indeed, we can see big differences between the research units regarding the importance of the country image dimensions. Even if the nature dimension is best rated on the impact level, we can see that both in the media and the survey data, the functional dimension is dominant. This goes along with previous studies (Herz & Diamantopoulos, 2013), indicating that the Swiss country image is mostly functional. However, when we look at the SEM models and especially in the IPMA results, we can see that functional aspects are not so important in the evaluation of a country. But not only the functional dimension is weighted differently. Whereas normative aspects are rare in the general associations with Switzerland in Germany and Italy, they are the second most important in the recalled news or in the weakness data. So even within the same research unit (survey data), the image dimensions may be different.

Further, we can notice that the country image dimensions are not weighted the same according to the different countries. For instance, in the survey data regarding general associations people have about Switzerland, neighboring countries like Italy, France and Germany highlight functional topics, whereas more distant countries like the UK and US

name cultural and natural aspects. Ingenhoff, Segev, and Chariatte (2020) explain this through aspects of proximity and culture. Indeed, our studies support previous findings that cultural differences have an impact on the perception of the various countries (Anagondahalli & Zhu, 2016; Bender et al., 2013). This illustrates well the importance to consider *context* factors when analyzing a country's image.

In general, we can notice that each measurement level and the associated research methods have very specific peculiarities. We therefore would like to introduce the notion of "method listening." It is important not only to listen to different publics but also to look at the potentials and limitations of each research method. Our measurement framework allows not only listening to different levels and publics but also listening to research methods. In line with our definition of public opinion formation and Habermas' (1994, 2006) notion of ongoing discourse, these different research units interact and influence each other, similar to a struggle for power. Only by listening to all of them and trying to understand their interactions can we get a comprehensive picture of people's perception of a country. Of course, a comprehensive evaluation program is both costly and time-consuming, which may be why very few public diplomacy actors are able to carry out a complete listening approach. For this reason, however, it is all the more important to know the specificities and fields of application of the various measurement methods in order to use efficiently, even with limited resources, the appropriate procedures for listening to target actors and achieving diplomatic objectives.

Conclusion

Today's public diplomacy actors are faced with a variety of challenges. They not only have to interact in a globally networked and very complex world, but they are further

confronted with various publics raising their voices. Indeed, in times of misinformation and polarization, dialogue has become one, if not the main goal of today's global society and diplomatic activities. However, as Cull (2019) argues, today's diplomatic communication is mostly unidirectional; public diplomacy actors failing to listen carefully to the public's voices. However, in order to implement efficient communication, they need to know what the public's interests and opinions about a country are.

In this study, we propose a newly developed listening tool, namely the "Listening and Evaluation (Public Diplomacy) Compass (LEC)," which not only allows us to listen to different voices of publics, but also highlights the mechanisms underlying the country image and opinion formation process. Further, the model can not only be used for measuring public diplomacy activities but also the strategic communication of organizations. As Di Martino (2019, 2020) and Cortés and Jamieson (2020) highlight, active listening is not only about knowing about the publics and upcoming issues, but also trying to understand where they are coming from.

In addition, we used a five-dimensional country image model (Ingenhoff, 2017), and combined different methodological and theoretical concepts, which have not been integrated by previous measurement models (Vanc & Fitzpatrick, 2016, Pamment, 2014a).

One main idea of our new listening model is that the country image is not an outcome of a linear communication campaign, but an ongoing discourse and interaction between different actors and units, such as people's opinions or mass and digital media. We applied our model to the example of Switzerland, and the results support our assumptions. Indeed, we could see that each level of country image

formation, but also certain research methods have specific features and how these are interacting with each other:

Whereas news coverage analysis on the output level illustrates what information is accessible and which issues are discussed regarding a country, open survey questions on general associations show, on the direct outcome level, what people think about a country, and what role country stereotypes play. Analyzing the strengths and weaknesses of a country shows possible issues influencing the perception and knowledge regarding that country and reveals what information is relevant for country image evaluation. In addition, it might have an impact on public diplomacy activities; if the resources are limited, country image evaluation may be restricted to the question of strengths and weaknesses, as these reflect the general associations and the media coverage. The structural equation modeling on the indirect outcome level completes the evaluation task by showing the relevant value drivers for each country image dimension, whereas the impact level shows the emotional evaluation of the different country dimensions.

The fact that each research method is highlighting different aspects of the country image is an important finding. Public diplomacy actors need to be aware of the advantages and disadvantages of each research method and unit, and, in consequence, choose carefully which channels they want to investigate if resources are limited. However, in order to really understand the public's opinion formation about countries, it is essential to use mixed method approaches. Although this is a very demanding task, in order to orchestrate, monitor and facilitate public diplomacy communication activities in different channels for different audiences and aimed at different stakeholders, it is crucial to take into consideration the whole picture covering all measurement levels and channels.

As a final point, we would like to discuss the limitations of our study and give some hints for future research. Although we have already conducted a very extensive empirical study to support our theoretical considerations, it is necessary to include other research subjects for a comprehensive measurement of country images. In order to have comprehensive and in-depth listening, it is important to also integrate qualitative research methods to understand big data sets in depth. This might be a critical discourse analysis for the analysis of the media coverage, as Dolea and colleagues (2020) showed in their study, but also for interviews and talks with important stakeholder groups like activists, politicians or experts. Focusing on specific audiences may make particular sense when listening to specific actors in preparation for a communication campaign. The exemplary analysis presented here was rather broad and served as open listening to measure the perception of the public in general.

However, the measurement of the country's image and the listening of the various actors should be conducted over the long term. Only by measuring at different points in time can we evaluate the evolution of the country image and of stakeholder relationships. (Gonzalez, 2015). Public diplomacy actors need to give special attention to the notion of *dynamic context*. Regarding the information context, in the last decades, digitization has brought new ways of communication, such as social media. Future studies should build on this and might also integrate an analysis of social media as proposed by Sevin and Ingenhoff (2018), and can also contribute to building the country image differently and identifying relevant stakeholders.

The study also indicated differences in the country image formation related to the nation's culture. Indeed, future research needs to investigate more deeply how culture, but also the different and changing value systems that co-exist

in our society, impact our perception of the world and thus international communication. For instance, the importance of a holistic logic of communication, with public diplomacy officials having a “360-degree global vision” (Zaharna 2020, p.107), may become more relevant. Fitzpatrick highlights that today’s diplomacy “becomes more and more socially conscious” (2017, p.79) and serves public interests. Indeed, in today’s networked world, national interests are often also global interests, and countries need to collaborate to handle new issues. With the current global challenges such as climate change, COVID-19, migration, and the refugee crisis, it becomes clear that, as predicted by Cowan and Arsenault (2008), collaboration is the next layer of public diplomacy. Nations will be evaluated concerning their behavior with respect to global challenges, as these might change our thinking about what is important concerning our behavior and future.

Appendix

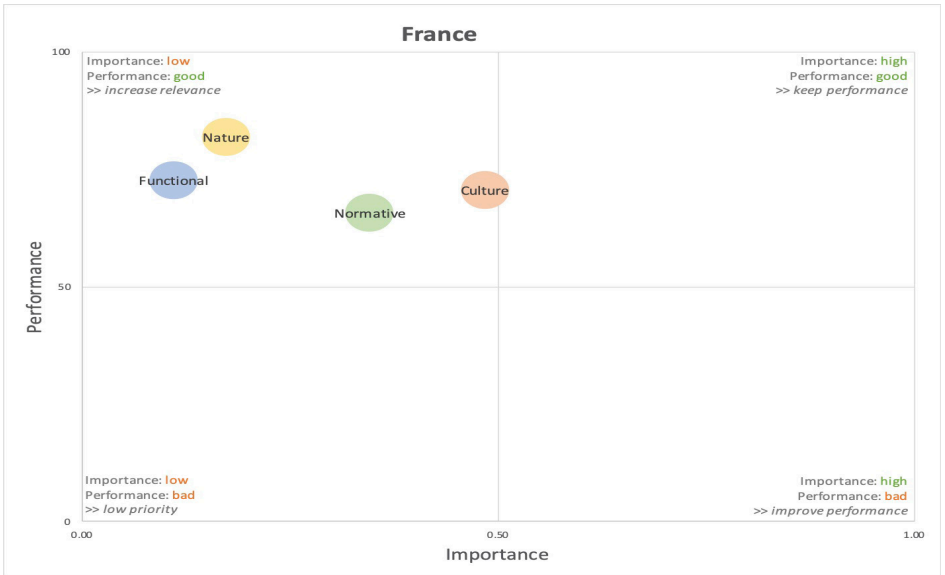


Figure 15. Importance-Performance Matrix for France

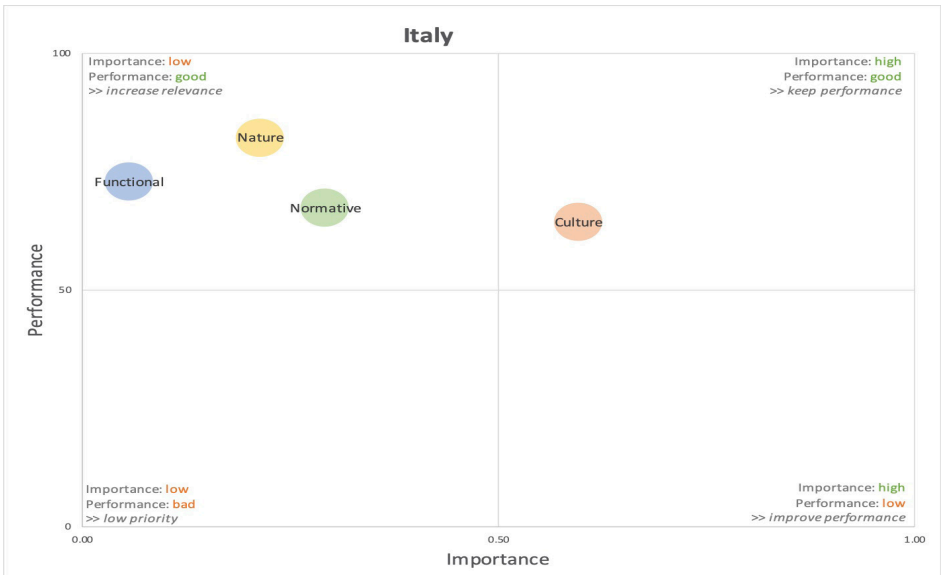


Figure 16. Importance-Performance Matrix for Italy

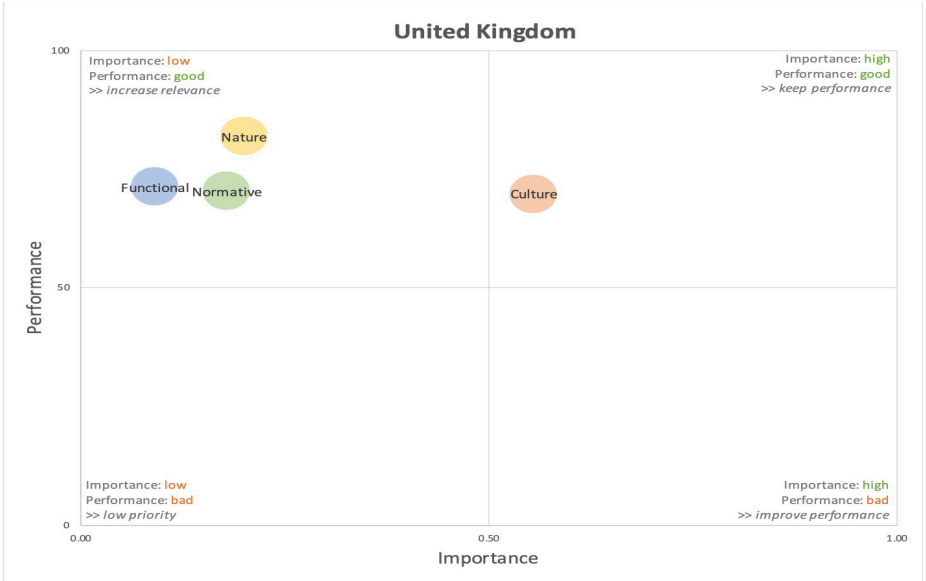


Figure 17. Importance-Performance Matrix for the United Kingdom

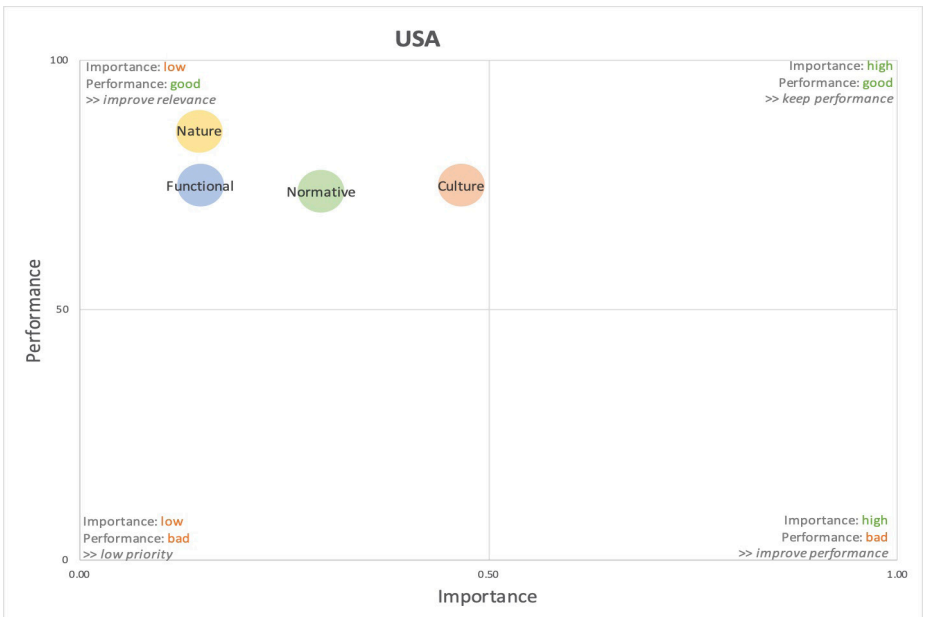


Figure 18. Importance-Performance Matrix for the United States

Items 5D Model survey 2016



Functional Dimension ("FUNCTIONAL")		
feducati	education	Switzerland provides great opportunities for education..
finnovat	innovation	Switzerland stands for creative ideas and innovative solutions..
fscience	science	By international standards, Switzerland is an important location for science and research.
fproduct	product	Switzerland produces very high-quality goods and services.
fglobeco	economy	Switzerland holds a strong position in the global economy.
fworkpla	workplace	Switzerland is a highly attractive country to work in.
finvest	investment	Switzerland is an investor-friendly country.
fgovernd	government	Switzerland is competently governed.



Normative Dimension ("NORMATIVE")		
nethical	ethic	Switzerland companies act ethically and responsibly.
nfutgene	future generations	Switzerland takes responsibility for future generations.
nprotenv	Environmental protection	Switzerland is very active in protecting the environment..
nsolidar	solidarity	Switzerland shows solidarity and responsibility.
npeacehr	peace and human rights	Switzerland contributes to securing peace and human rights more than other countries.
ncitizen	citizen rights	Switzerland strongly supports its citizens.
ntoleran	tolerance	Switzerland is a tolerant and open-minded country.
nforeign	foreigners	Foreigners are welcome in Switzerland.



Cultural Dimension ("CULTURE")		
aecultur	cultural assets	Switzerland has unique and internationally recognized cultural assets (e.g., literature, music, the arts, film, design, architecture, etc.).
aeculina	cuisine	Switzerland is known for its delicious food and cuisine.
aetradit	traditions	Switzerland has appealing traditions.
aesports	sports	Athletes and sports teams from Switzerland are internationally successful.
aehistor	history	Switzerland has a rich history
aecharip	personalities	Switzerland has a charismatic people (e.g. in politics, sports, culture, media etc.)



Natural Dimension ("NATURE")		
aescener	beautiful scenery	Switzerland has very beautiful scenery.
aenature	preserved nature	Switzerland has a lot of preserved nature.



Emotional Dimension ("EMOTIONAL")		
edrawnto	attraction	I am drawn to Switzerland
elikabil	likeability	I like Switzerland.
efascina	fascination	Switzerland is fascinating.

Table 10
Item list

Authors' Biographies

Diana Ingenhoff is a full professor of organizational communication and public diplomacy as well as vice-dean of the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland).

In 2016, she founded the first international Public Diplomacy Interest Group at the International Communication Association (ICA), of which she is past chair, and ICA board member. Also, she is Executive Director of the European Public Relations Education and Research Association (EUPRERA) and president of the Swiss Association of Communication and Media Research (SACMR), for which she is member of the executive board since 2009.

Diana serves on the editorial boards of *Public Relations Review*, *Public Relations Inquiry*, and the *International Journal of Strategic Communication*. Her research and teaching areas include public diplomacy, reputation measurement and international public relations research. She has edited two books on the formation and effects of country image, reputation, brand, and identity (Routledge) and an introduction to public diplomacy (von Halem), both published in 2019. She has published over 80 articles and chapters in international academic journals and academic books. Moreover, she is a senior public diplomacy and strategic communication advisor.

Diana Ingenhoff received both her doctor degree and habilitation from the University of St. Gallen (Switzerland), studied in Germany, Spain and Argentina, holds an MA in communication science, and was a visiting professor at Waikato University in Hamilton (New Zealand), Queensland University of Technology in Brisbane (Australia), the University of Florida and the University of Tennessee (USA).

Dr. Ingenhoff's 2017-2019 CPD Research Fellowship project for the Center is titled "Developing a 360-degree Integrated Public Diplomacy Evaluation Approach: Analyzing Country Images from Stakeholder and Media Perspectives."

Jérôme Chariatte is a Phd Student and research assistant in the Department of Communication and Media Research at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. He holds a Master's degree from the same University in media and communication research with focus on journalism and organizational communication.

He received the «Master Thesis Award for Excellence» of the European Public Relations and Education Research Association (EUPRERA) for its work entitled «The Impact of International News and Stereotypes on the Country Image». Further, he is holder of the «Freiburger Nachrichten» Award, which stands for excellent work in journalism and media studies, and a "Top Faculty Best Paper Award" from the Public Diplomacy Interest Group of the International Communication Association (ICA). From 2018 to 2019, he was representative of the Student and Early Career Committee of the Public Diplomacy Division ICA. His research interests include international public relations, public diplomacy, and strategic communication management as well as its effects. His dissertation project investigates Public Diplomacy and country images, which was also the topic of many of his presentations at international conferences

Endnotes

1. See: Federal Department of Foreign Affairs: <https://www.eda.admin.ch/eda/en/fdfa/fdfa/implementing-foreign-policy/landeskommunikation/monitoring-analyse.html>
2. With great thanks to Elad Segev who collected the data of Google Searches, published also in Ingenhoff, D., Segev, E., Chariatte, J. (2020). The Construction of Country Images and Stereotypes: From Public Views to Google Searches. *International Journal of Communication* 14(2020), 92-113.

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