

Options for Influence

Global campaigns of persuasion in the new worlds of public diplomacy

Ali Fisher and Aurélie Bröckerhoff

From the UK to Australia and China to Denmark, many countries are reviewing their public diplomacy strategies in recognition of the increasing importance of engagement with foreign populations. As NGOs and supranational bodies look to exert influence alongside national governments, the competition for attention is increasing. This trend will continue as access to virtual worlds and Web 2.0 provide individuals as well as organisations with the tools to compete more successfully in the field of public diplomacy. Understanding and successfully applying these tools is crucial in such a competitive environment.

Options for Influence provides an introduction to the tools required to create an effective strategy. It forms the basis for training practitioners and provides a foundation for a common understanding of the many varied approaches to exerting influence. This book identifies three central questions that facilitate the creation of a structured programme:

- What does your product say about you?
- Where are you located on the spectrum of available approaches?
- Where in the world(s) is your product targeted?

The recent desire to emphasise persuasion rather than coercion compels us to consider the potential of public diplomacy, and its related fields, as one of the core means of influencing global events. Public diplomacy, rather than being seen as an adjunct to the business of policy-making, is a profession in its own right. As such, an awareness of the options for influence provides organisations and individuals with a noticeable advantage over their competitors.



Mappa Mundi Consultants

The United Kingdom's international organisation
for cultural relations and educational opportunities.
A registered charity: 209131 (England and Wales)
SC037733 (Scotland).

Counterpoint is the cultural relations think-tank of the
British Council.

Mappa Mundi Consultants provides specialist,
independent research and consultancy in the field of
public diplomacy, international communication and
cultural relations.

ISBN
978-086355-609-8
0-86355-609-4



£11.95

Options for Influence Global campaigns of persuasion in the new worlds of public diplomacy



Options for Influence

Global campaigns of persuasion
in the new worlds of public diplomacy



Ali Fisher and Aurélie Bröckerhoff

Options for Influence

Ali Fisher and Aurélie Bröckerhoff



About the authors

Dr Ali Fisher is a director of Mappa Mundi Consultants and a leading international researcher in the fields of cultural relations, public diplomacy and information operations. He has previously worked as Director of Counterpoint, the cultural relations think-tank of the British Council (2006–7), and as Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Exeter. Publications include *Public Diplomacy in the UK* and *Four Seasons in One Day: the Crowded House of UK Public Diplomacy*. He has also written *Changing the Odds: The Influence of the State-Private Network on the Development of American Studies in Europe* and *Open Source Public Diplomacy* (forthcoming). Ali is a regular conference speaker – including at the ‘Public Diplomacy in NATO Operations’ conference in Copenhagen, on ‘Hegemony and Diversity’ as a World Cultural Forum panellist alongside Gilberto Gil (Rio de Janeiro), and on ‘UK Public Diplomacy’ at Real Instituto Elcano in Madrid. Ali received his PhD from the University of Birmingham, where he wrote his thesis on US cultural operations during the early Cold War.

Aurélië Bröckerhoff is a French-German postgraduate student completing a Master’s in British Studies the Centre for British Studies, Humboldt University Berlin. Her study interests include cultural policy and management, intercultural dialogue and British Cultural Studies. She is now living in London and working for Counterpoint.

First published in Great Britain in 2008 by Counterpoint – the cultural relations think-tank of the British Council, 10 Spring Gardens, London, SW1A 2BN
counterpoint@britishcouncil.org, www.counterpoint-online.org, www.britishcouncil.org

Printed and bound in Great Britain by Qualitech.

The right of Ali Fisher and Aurélië Bröckerhoff to be identified as the authors of this work has been asserted by them in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988.

This work is licenced under the Creative Commons Attribution-Non-Commercial-ShareAlike 3.0: England and Wales licence. To view a copy of this licence visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, 171 Second Street, Suite 300, San Francisco, California 94105, USA.

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.
ISBN 978-086355-609-8, ISBN 0-86355-609-4.

Cover design by Atelier Works
© British Council 2008 Design Department/W173/QLT. Some rights reserved



Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
Executive summary	iii
Foreword	v
Introduction	1
1 What is public diplomacy?	
Whatever you call it, we're in the influence business	3
2 What does your product say about you?	7
2.1 Of communication and selling	7
2.2 Demonstrating the importance of recognising a hierarchy of values	10
2.3 The tension between promoting nations and values	12
2.4 The importance of reception	14
2.5 Negotiation and dialogue	18
3 Where are you located on the spectrum of available approaches?	20
3.1 Alternative approaches	20
3.2 Soft power	21
3.3 Listening	23
3.4 Expressing the way we work: the different approaches on the spectrum	24
3.5 Why consider the spectrum?	31
4 Where in the world(s) is your product targeted?	35
4.1 Global coverage (through physical presence)	35
4.2 Focus outside the region	36
4.3 Local region	38
4.4 Engaging online: the potential of a virtual world	41
4.5 Prioritising countries by issue	45
4.6 Bilateral vs. multilateral	52
5 Conclusion	55

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Nick Cull, Scott Lucas and Jan Melissen, who have provided much of the understanding on which *Options for Influence* has been developed.

Their ideas and insights have been a great asset for us.

From within Counterpoint and the British Council, we are extremely grateful to our colleagues Nick Wadham-Smith, Rachel Stevens and John Worne, without whom this book would never have been completed. We would further like to thank our colleagues at the British Council for their willingness, as ever, to discuss ideas with their think-tank.

And last, but not least, we would like to express gratitude to the public diplomacy practitioners who have been a source of information and inspiration to us.

Executive summary

The concept of public diplomacy was developed in the 1960s. Since then, governments and practitioners alike have debated definitions of public diplomacy and its related fields, such as cultural relations, propaganda and cultural diplomacy. Although definition serves to demarcate territory, technical debates about definition sometimes hinder the understanding of practical implications. In order to allow practitioners to conduct public diplomacy more strategically, it is vital to understand the underlying principles of influence politics. The cultural implications and the choice of building blocks of any strategy significantly influence the success and impact of a programme.

What does your product say about you?

- Consideration needs to be given to the production and reception of the product you are developing. Whether selling or communicating, a product will always reflect more on its origin than anticipated. Organisations and practitioners who are aware of the hierarchies latent in their values and can discriminate between the promotion of a nation and the promotion of values have a relative advantage over their competitors.
- While a contextual understanding is important, international actors should also consider aspects of reception in order to avoid misunderstandings and display willingness to form mutual relationships. ‘Culture’ can be seen as a framework made up of mainly unconscious components, and as such, the study of the target audience’s background becomes important. Building trust through dialogue and negotiation is the key to success for understanding the people an international actor wishes to influence.

Where are you located on the spectrum of available approaches?

- In order for strategies to become more efficient and effective, it is useful to be aware of the different approaches of engaging with foreign publics. These options for influence range from solely listening to purely messaging. On the listening end of the spectrum, facilitation, network-building and cultural exchange feature; moving further down to the telling end, cultural diplomacy and broadcasting lead to direct messaging.

- It is important for practitioners to know where they are located within this spectrum of options, firstly to realise their own preferred approaches and identify alternatives, and secondly to find possible partners positioned in their proximity on the spectrum. Knowing the entire spectrum of approaches also leads international actors to being more creative in the construction of their public diplomacy programmes.

Where in the world is your product targeted?

- Another major aspect when deciding on a strategy is targeting. Targeting offers a convenient way of streamlining public diplomacy engagement without losing impact and reach. Strategic targeting can be along geographical or issue-based lines. It will make a difference whether a public diplomacy programme aims at global engagement or is restricted to the local community. Similarly, a political public diplomacy programme will differ from a programme to increase tourism or trade to a specific area.
- Online engagement opens up new ways of influencing to public diplomacy practitioners. Online platforms can be used in two ways: either to complement existing strategies or to form the basis of new sorts of engagement, such as open source systems. An international actor can also adjust a public diplomacy programme to the needs of bilateral or multilateral engagement.

Options for Influence is not the conclusion of a complex but well-elaborated argument or debate; it represents a practical guide to practitioners in the field of public diplomacy. By considering the different building blocks and their potential presented in this book, practitioners can make more informed decisions about influencing foreign publics and therefore increase the likelihood of success.

Foreword

In a world where ideas, people and cultures mix and move faster than ever before, navigating the complexity of global, international, national and local messages means listening more than ever. Listening, being open to the exchange of ideas and facilitating that exchange are essential to those wanting to exert influence in a complex, interconnected world.

How we manage our relationships with other states, peoples and international institutions – in an environment where virtually anyone has the potential to influence communities almost anywhere in the world – has been an issue of increasing academic and practical importance. A century ago military force and economic power may have shaped the world but persuasion and influence have always played an important role in achieving a nation's goals.

In the 21st century, there are even greater limits to the effectiveness of force. The increasing power of people, the media and the internet to cross borders, change minds and change societies – for better and for worse – mean that engaging people matters more than ever. The barriers are lower too. It no longer takes the resources of a state to change the views and lives of millions in other countries. But the task of engagement is also harder as people can increasingly choose to tune in to debates of their interest and to tune out of what does not speak them.

The British Council has been building trust, influence and engagement for the UK through mutually beneficial relationships with people in other countries for over 70 years. Our work is based on the principle of openness and being prepared to listen as well as speak. The ideas presented in this book have helped shape the way the British Council articulates its work in cultural relations and how it relates and compares to the work of other actors in other countries. The options discussed within it are not intended to set out a British Council position but to help describe, discuss and stimulate thinking about the range of options from which international actors can choose.

We believe effective cultural relations build long-term influence and trust, as well as create shared economic, social and cultural value. The key, however, is not to see cultural relations as simply a more effective way for international actors to

get their own way. It is about influencing others by being open to being influenced yourself and building trust by sharing skills, education, language, creativity, innovation, science, arts and culture and sharing the benefits of a more open, interconnected and engaged world.

John Worne

Director Strategy and External Relations

British Council

January 2008

Introduction

Influencing people has a longstanding tradition, although the concept of public diplomacy was developed only in the 1960s. Since then, many interpretations and definitions have been offered, along with the popularised use of terms such as soft power or cultural diplomacy. These and similar labels share a common desire for influence over the target audience.

Communication with populations around the world and the exertion of influence have received increasing attention from academics and governments alike. National organisations in this field have come under pressure, both within the international environment and from domestic demands for financial efficiency and valorisation. This is leading to a shift in the way public diplomacy is seen, namely as a vital profession in the realisation of interests, rather than peripheral to the core activities of international diplomacy. At the same time, the field also needs to be recognised as a whole, rather than merely a sum of scattered attempts at definitions.

Many countries, from the UK to Australia and China to Denmark, have conducted reviews into public diplomacy in recent years as they recognise the increasing importance of engagement with foreign populations. With both NGOs and supranational bodies attempting to exert influence alongside national governments, the competition for attention is increasing. This trend will continue as access to virtual worlds and Web 2.0 provides individuals as well as organisations with the tools to compete more successfully in the field of public diplomacy. Knowing these tools is crucial in such a competitive environment.

The changing nature of the environment of engagement has caused a consideration of the impact of public diplomacy (and its related fields) as one of the core options when trying to influence events overseas. Rather than seeing public diplomacy as an adjunct to the business of policy-making, the field must now be considered a profession. As such, being aware of one's options for influence can provide an organisation, or individual, with an edge over competitors.

Recognition as a specific profession goes hand in hand with a clear transition from merely selling foreign policy to considering public diplomacy as an integral tool for achieving national priorities through changing behaviours within the target audience. Some may argue that to maintain this position practitioners and academics need only to deliver what they have previously promised.

Options for Influence is an introduction to the field of exerting influence through overt international communication. It is neither an attempt to define which methods should be adopted nor an indication that an end to the development of tools has been reached. This is because each international actor has their own priorities, strengths, weaknesses and resources. As such, the options relevant to one actor will not necessarily be appropriate for another. Clarity over one's own aims and objectives and an awareness of the available range of tools and options allow actors to put together the essential building blocks for a successful strategy.

Options for Influence provides an introduction to answering three key questions for an international communication strategy. The first chapter introduces the controversies around definition. The second chapter focuses on the ambiguous nature of products in the field of public diplomacy. When communicating, an international actor will need to consider the conscious as well as unconscious processes involved and look at both the production and reception side needs. The third chapter discusses the variety of approaches an actor can take to conduct a programme, ranging from listening to telling. Chapter 4 looks at the ways in which targeting, either geographically or by issue, can help increase the efficiency and effectiveness, that is the success, of a strategy. This chapter also looks at both bilateral and multilateral programmes as well as online engagement.

Options for Influence introduces the range of possibilities. Each international actor will adopt and adapt the ideas in different ways, but the central tenet that these programmes are about influence remains unchanged. It is merely the way in which the actor seeks to exert influence that varies. When considering the options for influence, the ultimate goal of the programme must not be lost – whatever name you choose, a programme should ultimately attempt to influence the behaviour of the audience.

1 What is public diplomacy? Whatever you call it, we're in the influence business

Since the concept of public diplomacy was developed in the 1960s, many varying interpretations and definitions have been offered. But what does public diplomacy actually mean? And why does this question matter? Rather than focusing on a technical debate about definition, this chapter forms the basis to explore the practical implications and options of being in the influence business.

Many scholars and practitioners have offered definitions of public diplomacy. And there are likely to be many more. For those who are new to the concept, the myriad of definitions can be overwhelming. German labels for public diplomacy include *internationale Öffentlichkeitsarbeit*, *kulturelle Öffentlichkeitsarbeit* and *öffentliche Diplomatie*, which has led the *Auswärtige Amt* (German Foreign Office) to use the English term in their publications. But in English too, many terms can be used to refer to public diplomacy. Cultural relations and public diplomacy have been used interchangeably as well as in various divergent meanings. The British government, for example, has reiterated the way it understands cultural relations and public diplomacy, and their relationship to each other, in two major reviews over the last six years.

The concept and practice of public diplomacy are constantly evolving at a rapid rate. As a result, both academics and practitioners frequently put forward their own understanding of public diplomacy, seeking to capture a new perspective on the discipline. Jan Melissen, Director of the Clingendael Diplomatic Studies Programme, defines public diplomacy as 'the relationship between diplomats and the foreign publics with which they work' at the opening of his book *The New Public Diplomacy*.¹

Although this is a useful place to start, the concept has evolved. It no longer has to be carried out merely by diplomats. Nicholas Cull, Director of the Master of Public Diplomacy Program at the University of Southern California, therefore sees public diplomacy as ‘an international actor’s attempt to manage the international environment through engagement with a foreign public’.² In this context international actors are not just state based. They may be supranational such as NATO or the EU, a multinational corporation, a non-governmental organisation, a terrorist organisation (whether or not they are based in one state) or any other individual or organisation that seeks to exert influence on an international level.

The Center on Public Diplomacy at the University of South California provides this description which draws on the origins of government-to-government communication and contrasts this standard diplomacy to public diplomacy by expanding out to cover a wider understanding.

‘Unlike standard diplomacy, which might be described as the ways in which government leaders communicate with each other at the highest levels, public diplomacy focuses on the ways in which a country (or multi-lateral organization such as the United Nations), acting deliberately or inadvertently, through both official and private individuals and institutions, communicates with citizens in other societies.

But like standard diplomacy, it starts from the premise that dialogue, rather than a sales pitch, is often central to achieving the goals of foreign policy. To be effective, public diplomacy must be seen as a two-way street. It involves not only shaping the message(s) that a country wishes to present abroad, but also analyzing and understanding the ways that the message is interpreted by diverse societies and developing the tools of listening and conversation as well as the tools of persuasion.’³

USC Center on Public Diplomacy

The different definitions already highlight the difficulty of defining public diplomacy in a way that captures the entirety of contemporary thinking in an easy-to-understand way for those being exposed to the concept for the first time. In addition, practitioners regularly use definition to demarcate their territory. Moving beyond academic thought, these definitions entail practical implications for the use of public diplomacy.

Every practitioner either explicitly or implicitly produces their own understanding. In December 2005, the Carter Review updated the definition of public diplomacy for the UK and described it as:

‘Work aiming to inform and engage individuals and organisations overseas, in order to improve understanding of and influence for the United Kingdom in a manner consistent with governmental medium- and long-term goals.’⁴

This definition reflects the thinking and agenda of the UK government in 2005. It altered the definition provided by the Wilton Review in 2002, which described public diplomacy as:

‘Work which aims at influencing in a positive way the perceptions of individuals and organisations overseas about the UK, and their engagement with the UK’.⁵

If another debate were to be held within the UK the resulting definition would probably be different again. Definitions are likely to be altered and rephrased over time. As such, to debate definitions is to discuss an ever-evolving concept which is interpreted and reinterpreted by government departments and academics both in the UK and overseas. The energy lost when attempting definition could well be used in the realms of strategy development.

Further complications relating to definition arise when taking into account related activities, with sometimes overlapping and blurred distinctions. The American diplomat Richard Holbrooke wrote: ‘Call it public diplomacy, call it public affairs, psychological warfare, if you really want to be blunt, propaganda.’⁶ The complex nature of this type of definition can be demonstrated with the NATO Military Public Affairs Policy.

Public diplomacy

The totality of measures and means to inform, communicate and co-operate with a broad range of target audiences worldwide, with the aim to raise the level of awareness and understanding about NATO, promoting its policies and activities, thereby fostering support for the Alliance and developing trust and confidence in it.

Propaganda

Information, ideas, doctrines, or special appeals disseminated to influence the opinion, emotions, attitudes, or behaviour of any specified group in order to benefit the sponsor either directly or indirectly.

Psychological operations (Psyops)

Planned psychological activities using methods of communication and other means directed to approved audiences in order to influence perceptions, attitudes and behaviour, affecting the achievement of political and military objectives.⁷

NATO Military Public Affairs Policy

These definitions demonstrate that the names for public diplomacy, and related fields, are numerous and have a high degree of overlap. One main aspect in differentiation may be the perception of each term; some are considered positive, while others have a negative bias. Some organisations may choose to label their actions in a certain way depending on how they wish to be understood by their particular constituency. But although the different labels entail specific assumptions or even divergent methodology, the area of engagement is essentially the same.

Trying to define the concept of public diplomacy can thus be compared to trying to nail jelly to a wall. While definitions are useful for bureaucratic demarcation, many practitioners might prefer to adopt the now famous words of Mr Justice Stewart – ‘I know it when I see it’.⁸

Whatever label practitioners wish to put on their work, the aim of their activity is not just changing people’s perceptions, but rather influencing the way people act. Changing perceptions may be a means to changing action, but, at the end of the day it is changed behaviour that matters. So when addressing the question of how public diplomacy may be defined, the most honest and easily accessible answer might be: ‘Call it what you like, we are in the influence business.’⁹

2 What does your product say about you?

Communication with our audiences and partners can entail more than we expect. What we say is not necessarily what we communicate. Being aware of the underlying principles of communication can help increase a strategy’s efficiency, effectiveness and impact. This chapter provides an insight into the implications of communicating with audiences, the problems that may arise when engaging in public diplomacy and how these issues may be avoided or minimised.

You can’t not communicate. This basic principle of interpersonal communication is vital to the work of anybody considering their options for influence. Whenever an actor chooses to act in public (or not), this will say something about the individual, the organisation and any associated products or programmes. Usually the choices range from selling to communicating. Selling, whether product, programme or political position, is a predominantly conscious act. Communicating, conversely, can be more or less conscious. But whichever approach practitioners are taking, their product will usually say much more about them than they anticipated.

2.1 Of communication and selling

Selling or communicating are not two completely detached options an international actor can choose, but they are likely to be intertwined in any programme. This section presents the inferences of emphasising one or the other.

When seeking to exert influence, organisations need to be certain about the action they are engaging in. Specifically, an actor needs to be clear whether to put emphasis on selling or communicating.

Selling is a strategic action that is undertaken for one’s own self-advancement. Consciously communicating aims to reach an understanding that will be beneficial to both sides. This basic distinction has already been made by the pre-eminent social scientist of our time, Jürgen Habermas, who sees strategic action as being in the way of communicative action, that is interaction through honest

dialogue aimed at understanding. At the outset for a public diplomacy programme, whether to choose a selling or a communication approach needs to be carefully considered. This section will discuss communication from the perspective of the producer; the latter part will discuss communication from the perspective of the audience and the importance of reception.

According to Habermas' theory of communicative action, different types of action exist. Strategic actions aim at furthering one's own self-interest, either by self-representation, influencing others or promoting one's own cultural values. These do not require any form of mutuality and do not involve the other. To Habermas, they are limited in their scope and therefore impact. Communicative actions on the other hand aim at reaching a true understanding of the other. While understanding can be the sole purpose of communicative actions, in public diplomacy they can then be the basis for further mutually beneficial actions.¹⁰

Habermas Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns

In attempts to actively sell, products or ideas are usually inscribed with a certain image to increase their attractiveness to a potential audience. For example, budget and luxury airlines both essentially try to sell a product – a journey from one point to another. The budget airline adopts a selling approach in highlighting the movement of people at a low price. A luxury airline, on the other hand, will try to give its product an identity that attracts a different customer base and helps justify the higher price.

The aim of these campaigns is to increase sales by persuading potential customers to buy the advertised product, influencing their behaviour to make them buy the product. Success is then measured in the number of sales that result from advertising, as they are an indication of changed behaviours. The same applies to public diplomacy strategies and programmes. Success can only be effectively measured according to whether or not the programme succeeded in influencing the behaviour of the target audience.

The Qantas experience

Australian national carrier Qantas, for example, emphasises in its advertising campaign its links to Australia as well as to the experience of flying. In the past years, Qantas commercials have used Peter Allen's song 'I still call Australia home' as a backdrop for images of iconic Australian landmarks interspersed with famous skylines and tourist attractions of potential destinations. A Qantas plane, representing the actual product, features for only a few seconds in the two- to three-minute clips. Many national carriers give their airline a similar identity that communicates particular national characteristics combined with the experience of flying.¹¹

Whichever way of engaging an international actor chooses, programmes will be located within this span of communicating and selling. When introducing the spectrum of available approaches in Section 3.4, it will be obvious that approaches vary in the amount of either selling or communicating involved.

The closer to 'telling' on the spectrum, the more the international actor emphasises selling. Conversely, closer to the 'listening' end, the international actor places greater emphasis on developing influence by understanding the priorities of other actors. The shift of focus to communicating rather than selling results from the desire to achieve a genuinely balanced relationship emphasising mutuality and mutual understanding.

Mutual relationships are those that are equally shared by each member of the relationship. In public diplomacy, mutuality provides a way of eschewing one-way communication. In their book *Mutuality, trust and cultural relations*, Nick Wadham-Smith and Martin Rose argue that mutuality is an interconnected set of values that includes respect, trust, openness and a willingness to change one's own mind where appropriate and necessary.

To the authors this relies on open and honest communication which rests on the premise that both sides are aware of their own values.¹² In order for a public diplomacy organisation to be able to communicate and establish mutual relationships, it needs not only to understand its own set of values, but also to recognise a hierarchy of values within.

2.2 Demonstrating the importance of recognising a hierarchy of values

As values are negotiated and renegotiated within different groups of people, international actors will often encounter values diverging from their own. Therefore, when engaging with an audience, it is important to be aware of one's own values and their hierarchy in order to know with which partners and audiences one is willing to engage and also to determine a basis of engagement.

Values are not static, but are negotiated and renegotiated in order to keep validity. Most values evolve as a result of social interaction and are as a result in perpetual flux. Nowadays, with an ever-faster pace of life and change in the world, values need to be renegotiated more regularly. Many areas of the world are facing increased migration and pressure on resources. Consequently, the focus for a number of international actors will be to promote relationships that emphasise often intertwined and overlapping sets of values, such as tolerance, trust, mutuality. Tolerance, for example, whether bound up in the language of freedom, liberty or religious observance, provides space for dissent from a particular belief or practice. It also provides a useful basis for the discussion of the hierarchy of values.

One understanding of tolerance

Tolerance of other perspectives or actions guarantees the freedom to act as one may wish. As a result, diversity in society is maintained, as numerous 'others' are permitted to exist. Tolerance demonstrates respect for the other and recognises the mutual right to the freedom to act in a manner consistent with the particular cultural, political or religious norms and beliefs of the individual.

Others argue that tolerance is not enough, there must be a movement toward active appreciation and understanding of difference rather than merely putting up with other perspectives.¹³

The discussion surrounding tolerance owes much to the Putney Debates and British philosopher John Locke's work, both of which highlight the tension between different values in society.¹⁴ Rights and values do not exist in splendid isolation; they are maintained in tension with other values recognised by both the individual and society as a whole, and modified through negotiation, in order to reflect the shifting ideals and demands of the present. It is not enough simply to state a value: it must also be acknowledged within a hierarchy of values.

Encouraging a tolerance of difference recognises that there is no single, predetermined way of thinking. Instead, it promotes the freedom of expression. This conceptually not only ensures the existence of difference, but also provides the scope for cultural innovation through open and fearless interaction protected by this freedom of expression.

While an international actor may call for tolerance, this will also require an ongoing discussion about its limits within that particular society. Clearly there are acts which even the most broad-minded would not wish to merely tolerate. Everyone has their limit and it varies from one individual to the next and from one situation to another. However, in establishing a meaning of tolerance beyond concepts of shared values, international actors need to recognise that groups and individuals will construct their own hierarchy of values.

A hierarchy of values

To demonstrate this, identify three values and then consider a situation which could cause them to conflict. In those incidences when the environment could cause conflict, a choice would be made, creating a hierarchy of values.

In a famous story from the Bible, God commanded Abraham to sacrifice his only son, Isaac. Abraham and Isaac embarked on the journey to Mount Moriah, the chosen place for the offering. On the trip, Isaac asked his father where the sacrificial lamb was, and Abraham replied that God would provide one. Just before killing his son, Abraham was stopped by an angel and God sent a ram which was brought to sacrifice instead of Isaac.¹⁵

The hierarchy of values represented by Abraham's choice created a situation whereby he placed greater importance on serving his God than on the life of his son.

Many Western audiences identify values such as human rights, democratic elections or the right to worship. However, some Western governments would also argue that an encroachment on human rights is necessary to defend democratic elections or the security of citizens. This creates the hierarchy which has to be negotiated within society, rather than stated as a static list of shared values.

The debate about tolerance dovetails with the need for reciprocity. In effect, many people view tolerance as a reciprocal behaviour of which they need to be a recipient before they will tolerate the behaviour of another. Reciprocity may galvanise the movement toward greater tolerance and create an ongoing feedback

loop through which commitment to tolerance can be reinforced. Conversely, tolerance can be undermined in certain situations when there is a perception that it is not reciprocal. In considering their options practitioners must recognise that dialogue about tolerance and values will not just be about what values or ideas people adhere to, but also the limitations and priorities.

'I do not want my doors to be walled and my windows stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to blow freely about my house. But I do not want to be blown off my feet by any.'¹⁶

Mahatma Gandhi

2.3 The tension between promoting nations and values

While many countries and other international actors have protracted internal debates about their identity, many still attempt to project a single external image. But how to represent a nation that consists of so many different values and ideas? This issue is not often acknowledged among practitioners, but a choice between promoting certain values or promoting the international actor may have to be made, as these may require incompatible approaches.

The promotion of a nation can be seen as a means to promoting certain values. However, given the competing hierarchies of values within a society and shifting priorities identified in different situations, promoting nations and promoting values should be considered as two options, rather than two sides of the same coin. While nation promotion and value advocacy may in some instances complement each other, this should be considered and confirmed rather than assumed. A target audience may have had a different experience with a nation in the past which contradicts the ideas and values the nation is now trying to promote.

In demonstrating this potential division between the actions of the nation, or other actors, and the ideas or values which they seek to espouse, the truism that actions speak louder than words springs to mind. To put it another way, the performance of values, rather than the discussion of them, can be important in the transmission of certain ideas.

Values and nations

In the early Cold War, the desire to promote democracy in Europe competed with the desire to promote a positive image of America. The operations intended to promote democracy in Europe included the development of free scholarship, juxtaposed in American eyes to the proscriptive education system in the East. Free scholarship, however, contained certain elements which created tensions for the promotion of a positive image of America. For example at the opening of the Amerika-Institut in Munich, the Director H.F. Peters announced his intention to demonstrate certain 'American realities'.¹⁷

In the pre-1954 environment, and even after 1954, there were numerous realities, particularly relating to segregation and flagrant racism, which the US Government officials felt were inappropriate for discussion in Europe.¹⁸

This created tension which placed the promotion of freedom to study into direct conflict with the attempts to promote a positive image of America. The US Government sought to promote the positive image of the nation, through exerting pressure on the Institut, which included for a short time confiscating H.F. Peters's passport.¹⁹

Contrary to the US Government approach, representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation, which had provided financial support to the Institut, viewed the discussion of 'American realities' a positive demonstration of the values, particularly freedom and democracy, that they sought to encourage in Germany.

In the nearly 60 years since these events, little has changed. The actions of a country, or individuals seen as representative of that country, will at times undermine the values which public diplomacy is intended to promote. In light of the American example, the danger of tension becomes clear. Actions and deeds must be seen to be coherently aligned, but also values and the nation must be seen to be working in harmony. This may be difficult in countries with considerable cultural diversity, whether the result of large minority groups or an influx of immigrants, which alters the realities within a country.

For smaller non-state international actors this may be less of a problem given that they are less exposed to potential target audiences. However, until the nation-state ceases to be part of public diplomacy, the conflict between promoting values and nations will persist. While a negative perception of the international actor may in itself hinder the realisation of other objectives, conducting operations as a model

of the values the actor seeks to promote may provide the best means of demonstrating commitment to the ideas or values.²⁰ A positive perception, on the other hand, may help future public diplomacy activities.

2.4 The importance of reception

Although options for influence are essentially gathered on the producing side, it is important to understand the principles of reception. Often, what is said can be different from what is understood. Cultural frameworks and unconscious ways of creating meaning can lead to an initiative being understood in a completely different way from what was intended. When constructing a programme, international actors should always keep their audience in mind.

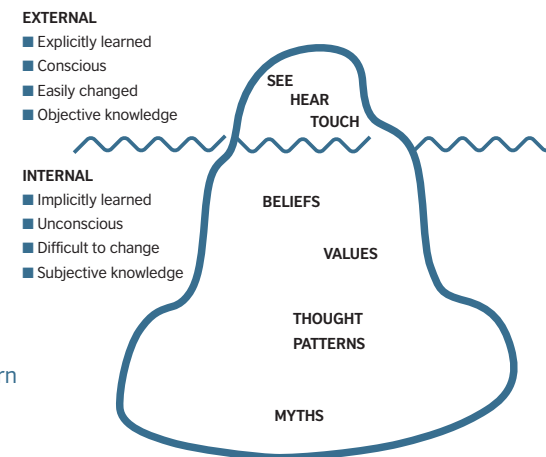
The way an actor's actions are received is equally important to the success of a public diplomacy programme as its creation. It is therefore important to understand the mechanism involved when perceiving the world around us. Neither individuals nor the messages they send out exist in a vacuum. They are always part of a wider sociocultural framework.

In human interaction, usually, what you see is not what you get. Every time an individual receives a stimulus from the outside world, their own cultural and personal background, consisting of a complex set of values, beliefs, ideas, etc., helps them make sense of it. The important issues here are the relationship between the physical and those values, assumptions and other contributing myths, habits and beliefs which sit beneath the physical; and a shift from what a person wants to say to how an audience understands what is being said.

The relationship between physical goods and the values or assumptions of a specific culture has on numerous occasions been described as an iceberg. The tip of the iceberg, i.e. the external physical components of culture, represents those things that have been learned explicitly and that can be applied consciously; the things that have been physically created and that can be changed more easily.

They are cultural goods such as music, art or literary works. However, these make up only a tiny fragment of culture. The major part is submerged and can't easily be seen, heard or touched. It consists of values, beliefs, thought patterns and myths. These are usually implicitly learned and operate at the unconscious level. Often, an individual cannot fully explain why situations evoke certain reactions,

For example:



This image can be found on the website of Southern Nazarene University.²¹

because they cannot necessarily see beyond the water surface.

Numerous studies have been conducted to understand and explain what happens underneath the surface. The insights of those studies have been used extensively for marketing purposes. This is why advertisers, in an attempt to increase sales, link their product to certain psychological associations, as with the example of Qantas in Section 2.1.

But while commercial sales are an important area for this type of engagement, changing political and social circumstances can also lead to the desire to change the way an item is referred to, due to the thought patterns associated with the words. Labels for items, as we have already touched upon in Chapter 1, often carry a heavy load of assumptions. In semiotics, the study of sign processes, this is referred to as denotation and connotation. Denotation describes what a word actually refers to, while connotation is the meaning that this word has for a person. Analysing the difference can help in the understanding of how meaning is constructed and understood.

The word 'forest' denotes an accumulation of trees. To a German, this term evokes feelings of serenity, privacy, peace, etc. Thus, for a German, the term has a positive connotation. A French person, on the contrary, usually associates terms like dark, gloomy, or threatening with this word, and therefore the term has negative connotations. These are generalised of course, but recognising this nuance in connotation is an important part of creating strategy. Such connotations can

influence the impact of a particular message or programme if the target audience interprets it in a different way from what the producer expected. For example, while to some Uncle Scrooge or Mickey Mouse are merely cartoon characters, to others they may be the embodiment of capitalism.²²

Understanding the messages that the practitioner is sending by communicating or selling is therefore a precondition for a successful public diplomacy programme. This applies to an awareness of both the message an actor is consciously sending and those underlying unconscious assumptions on which that message is built. Often, changing political, economic or social circumstances results in a change in the connotations of certain words and may cause a society to consider changing the names of the items they refer to.

Changing circumstances, changing names

- French fries became freedom fries in the US at the time of the invasion of Iraq.
- The Frankfurter became the hot dog during the Great War, itself later referred to as the First World War.
- Also during the First World War the British Royal Family changed its name from Saxe-Coburg to Windsor.

The changing of these names within a society demonstrates how changing circumstances causes the connotation of that name to be understood in different ways. In identifying the options for influence, the likelihood of the target audience using their own, different, unconscious cultural assumptions and understandings will influence the way in which they interpret an initiative.

Particular attention has to be paid to the potentially different interpretations when considering broadcasting, cultural diplomacy and messaging. While it is important for all options, those approaches that place greater emphasis on telling than on listening are more likely to run the danger of being misunderstood by the target audience.

Managing alternative interpretations begins with understanding not only what the international actor is attempting to represent to the target audience, by, for example, crafting a message or putting on an exhibition, but also the conscious and unconscious assumptions upon which programmes are based.²³ The international actor will select a particular message or material for that exhibition which is intended to demonstrate certain issues that will represent certain ideas, such as characteristics or values.

An awareness of how messages are encoded with meaning and how these are then read, or decoded, by the audience, has implications for whether a practitioner opts for a communicative or a selling approach. The important part of considering whether an international actor develops a programme either to sell or to communicate is that the nature of either engagement will be dependent on the way the intervention interacts with the pre-existing beliefs, assumptions and understandings of the target audience.

Encoding/decoding

Stuart Hall's essay 'Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse', although mainly concerned with broadcasting productions, offers an insight into the way meaning is produced and received. Hall argues that both production *and* reception are part of the process of production of meaning. From a semiotic starting point, Hall deduces that every signifying element in itself can take on many different meanings. This leads to the fact that nothing has an absolute meaning, but meaning is negotiated on the basis of and within our institutional, cultural, political and social background, which is then arranged in a hierarchical way from dominant to subordinate. Located on the higher end of the scale are the preferred meanings, i.e. the ways in which certain items tend to be understood.

Awareness and knowledge of those can help a producer of a message in bringing across a specific point to his intended audience. In order for a message to influence, instruct or persuade, the recipient must read the message in the same way as the producer has constructed it. No law can ensure that a reader will understand the way the producer intended, he can just make an understanding more likely by relying on the preferred meanings. However, receivers will eventually refer to their own maps of meaning, determined by the codes of personal and sociocultural frames of reference, to make sense of what they see, hear or read.

To minimise misunderstanding, producers must speak through the codes of the receiver. This requires a high degree of symmetry between the position of the producer/encoder and the receiver/decoder.²⁴

Understanding is influenced by context. It is group-specific, usually negotiated within certain groupings. Encoding/decoding also argues that individuals, rather than being caught in a static expression of an amalgamated set of beliefs, understandings, myths and assumptions, find themselves in an ongoing process of engagement and negotiation of the world around them.

Homi K. Bhabha, an eminent writer on culture, wrote

‘culture is less about expressing a pre-given identity (whether the source is national culture or ethnic culture) and more about the activity of negotiating, regulating and authorising competing, often conflicting, demands for collective self-representation’.²⁵

The demands for collective representation, their articulation and interplay are subject to change. Migration and globalisation make exposure to people of different backgrounds increasingly likely. Together with the rising population concentration in urban areas, this ‘hybrid cosmopolitanism of contemporary metropolitan life’ (Homi K. Bhabha)²⁶ increases the need of negotiation, regulation and authorisation. With the fast pace at which the world changes and as new concepts of culture and identity (e.g. Britishness) are debated, many individuals, and whole societies, feel a constant need to reposition and rearticulate demands for self-representation.

Attempts to construct influence programmes designed to project a specific identity are particularly subject to the rapid changes both of encoding and decoding. However, they are not limited to direct expressions of national identity. The construction of programmes intended to counter terrorism and climate change also have to consider the impact of encoding/decoding. This is because these programmes cannot exist in splendid isolation from culture and identity.

Although each of the options for influence from the spectrum can be important for an international actor, Homi Bhabha’s conception is more about communication than selling, or at least selling alone. Recognising the importance of negotiation and dialogue can be the key to a successful public diplomacy programme.

2.5 Negotiation and dialogue

Dialogue and negotiation are important tools in overcoming the difficulties in international relations. Both help in understanding the people we engage with. Through negotiation and dialogue, international actors open up their viewpoint to others, but are at the same time receptive to other ways of perception.

Negotiation through placing the emphasis on communication rather than selling is an option for persuasion. Negotiation is a vital part of any intercultural work; it can

be political but may also be cultural. In political negotiation, treaties and memoranda are negotiated; in cultural negotiation understanding is developed between individuals and communities representing different perspectives.

While in the past most strategies were devised behind closed doors, practitioners are now realising the importance of negotiating strategies openly in order to make the audience part of a process rather than recipient of a finished product. As David Miliband recognised in his recent speech at Chatham House, ‘The old diplomacy was defined by a world of limited information. It was a veritable secret garden of negotiations. And secret negotiation still matters.’ However, ‘the new diplomacy is public as well as private, mass as well as elite, real-time as well as deliberative’.²⁷

Engaging in negotiation does not necessarily require giving up on firmly held beliefs, but as Margaret Mead wrote: ‘There is no hierarchy of values by which one culture has the right to insist on all its own values and deny those of another.’²⁸ This statement opens many possible discussions. Some may consider it akin to cultural relativism, believing that there is a superior set of values. Others may read it to suggest that there is neither a recognised system of authority which can demand the total repudiation of all values, nor indeed that there is an agreed hierarchy of values, as discussed in Section 2.2. Still, another alternative may focus on the implication that there is not one ultimate set of shared values, but a number of different understandings which are in a constant state of development and reinterpretation.

Negotiation can be an important part of any public diplomacy work. Negotiation is an obvious element for public diplomacy programmes that focus on listening or facilitation. However, negotiation can inform the full range of options for influence. This will be discussed in further detail in the following chapter.

3 Where are you located on the spectrum of available approaches?

This chapter introduces the spectrum of options which are available to those seeking to exert influence. When viewed as a spectrum that ranges from purely listening to exclusively telling, it has the advantage of demonstrating how different approaches relate to each other and where the emphasis is placed. Using the spectrum, an international actor can assess the range of their options and ensure that their assumptions about the way they will conduct the programme are aligned with the type of programme they have chosen to undertake.

While the previous issues need to be considered by all those seeking to exert influence, each actor will also need to be clear about which specific option from the available approaches they choose to apply. The spectrum of options presents possible ways in which an organisation can influence the way its target audience acts, by providing an overview of the range of approaches available to practitioners. This allows making a more reflected and informed decision when choosing a particular programme, which can, in return, help increase the efficiency of delivery and the subsequent impact of a programme.

3.1 Alternative approaches

Soft power and listening are two approaches to public diplomacy which are located at opposite ends of the spectrum. They are introduced in this section to show the effect of assumptions behind labels.

Soft power is a well-known option for those seeking to exert influence and has become a buzzword in the field of public diplomacy.

By contrast, listening receives much less attention. The two options achieve influence in very different ways and require the international actor to operate along different sets of assumptions.

3.2 Soft power

The term 'soft power' is very popular in current public diplomacy debate. This section investigates the hidden assumptions and implications behind this concept.

Soft power, much used, but less understood, and public diplomacy are not interchangeable terms. Soft power is not an umbrella term for all cultural activities; it is one of the specific tools that can be used to exert influence. However, although commonly applied, it is inaccurate and potentially damaging to say if something is neither military nor economic activity, then it is soft power. Rather, soft power is an activity that specifically aims at influencing the way people act. Joseph Nye wrote:

'Soft power is the ability to get what you want by attracting and persuading others to adopt your goals. It differs from hard power – the ability to use the carrots and sticks of economic and military might to make others follow your will.'²⁹

The assumptions of this approach characterise it as neither mutual nor based on a reciprocal relationship. It excludes the development of common goals through dialogue, and does not allow for helping others realise their goals. It is neither compromise nor negotiation. It is a belief in one's own perspective over another. The key to this concept is that people must adopt your position. If enough soft power is exerted, the audience will follow your will because they are led to believe they are actually attracted to your goals more than their own. The logic of soft power lies in using your influence to shape the preferences of others. This facilitates the realisation of your aims and objectives without being overtly authoritarian. 'Soft power rests on the ability to set the political agenda in a way that shapes the preferences of others. [...] If I can get you to *want* to do what I want, then I do not have to force you to do what you do *not* want to do.'³⁰

Soft power as one option for exerting influence comes with this specific set of assumptions. While it is tempting to use it interchangeably with other labels or as a catch-all term, it is worth remembering Nye's warning about soft power: it '*is an analytical term, not a political slogan*'.³¹

A common pitfall of using the term 'soft power' can be seen by looking at popular culture. While it is true that a specific cultural entity can be used to support

and achieve a public diplomacy goal, this cannot be generalised. Attraction to or consumption of any part of the culture does not necessarily contribute to soft power. Therefore soft power cannot be used in every public diplomacy context.

This partly stems from the fact that a cultural item can be interpreted in different ways by the audience. As Nye put it:

‘popular culture can be repulsive as well as attractive. It is only soft power where it has a positive effect. The mullahs who run Iran are no doubt horrified at Hollywood movies in which divorced women wear bikinis and go to work every day. But, Iranian teenagers want nothing more than a Hollywood video to watch in the privacy of their home.’³²

This quote shows that not everyone will react to the consumption of culture in the same way. Public diplomacy organisations need to keep in mind that it is almost impossible to accurately predict how a cultural good will be received and interpreted in other parts of the world.³³ For Nye, ‘soft power [...] is the ability to entice and attract. And attraction often leads to acquiescence or imitation.’ Nye falls into the trap of assuming that attraction to and consumption of any cultural item contributes to soft power. He believes that because Iranian teenagers are attracted to Hollywood movies, they are subjected to American soft power. However, this is inaccurate. Although they are consuming an American cultural good, they will still apply their own frames of reference when interpreting its meaning and as such may not be attracted to the same messages as the soft power advocate believes represented by that cultural item.

This can be exemplified when looking at an example from popular music. American rock band Green Day released the very popular, award-winning single called ‘American Idiot’, which left little to the imagination. One of the other songs on the album, ‘Holiday’, includes the lines ‘Sieg Heil to the President Gasman/Bombs away is your punishment/Pulverize the Eiffel Towers [sic] that criticized your government’.³⁴ They later released CD/DVD *Bullet in a Bible* with a live version of their song ‘Holiday’. At the time of release, the song was so controversial that, before performing it live, Green Day front man Billy Joe Armstrong shouts that the song ‘is not anti-American, it is anti-war’.³⁵ He draws a distinction between being anti-American and opposing policy goals.

If the Iranians from Nye’s example were watching the Green Day DVD, they might be attracted to consume this part of American culture because it opposes

American policy goals and criticises the American Government. Therefore, Green Day are a part of American culture, but not one which contributes to soft power. Attraction to American culture in this case may result in imitation which opposes rather than supports the soft power aspirations of the US.

The power of music

Just as recent foreign policy has drawn criticism from within American culture, the Vietnam War also provided the context for music which may have attracted people to oppose rather than support American goals. Examples include the music of bands such as Creedence Clearwater Revival (‘Fortunate Son’), Buffalo Springfield (‘For What It’s Worth’) or Jefferson Airplane (‘Volunteers’). Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young also produced a number of songs including ‘Ohio’, which is about the shooting of four students during an anti-Vietnam War protest at Kent State University, Ohio.

Inflated claims about the phrase ‘soft power’ may overstate its potential. The consumption of any part of the culture will not automatically contribute to soft power. All that soft power can accurately claim is that certain cultural entities have the potential to help in the realisation of a public diplomacy goal.

3.3 Listening

Listening is diametrically opposed to soft power in terms of activity. Listening reflects a genuine interest in the other’s perspective and has been increasingly recognised by practitioners and organisations alike. This section shows the opportunities that listening could open up when engaging with foreign audiences.

Consciously and publicly listening to the perspective of others can help in changing the way people act. Listening to another country can therefore be a public diplomacy act in itself. It is more than just polling or using echo chambers, because it demonstrates that different viewpoints are taken seriously and that other perspectives are given consideration. This in itself can already solve an issue, or, alternatively, provide a basis for further negotiation.

Clearly, there is a danger that listening exercises will not be credible if they are perceived as a show act, and a pre-ordained action will be taken regardless of what is said.³⁶ Crucial for public diplomacy organisations engaged in listening is a

willingness to put in the appropriate time, effort, and, most importantly, an openness to the comments they may hear.

Listening can sometimes achieve more in changing people's behaviour than talking to them. This may seem unappealing in a world where getting the message out has become a dominant mentality; a world in which listening does not appear to have a role. However, the message can be transmitted in more ways than the sound bite. Showing a willingness to listen can open up new territory for mutuality. Listening to others shows genuine interest and respect in their matters. This allows relationships to be built on mutual respect and trust. The way an international actor behaves is just as important as the message he sends out.

If a government has a reputation for being arrogant, dogmatic and unwilling to consider other viewpoints, this can create tension. If such a government then merely informs the target audience that they have the wrong perception of this government, the approach is unlikely to be successful. This is because the message mimics and reinforces the very impression it is trying to counter. However, a sustained attempt to listen and understand the reasons behind the bad perception of the government may demonstrate a commitment beyond messaging. A listening approach can do more than just gather information if there is existing tension related to an unbalanced power relationship. A more symmetrical understanding of relationships is entrenched in the listening programme, and could potentially cause the audience to act differently in response.

Listening, however, does have the limitation that it can only demonstrate a commitment to shifting an existing power relationship. It can demonstrate openness and the willingness to engage. However, if there is a particular position which requires advocating, for example, action on climate change, the listening programme can only create a more open platform, but it cannot provide that message.

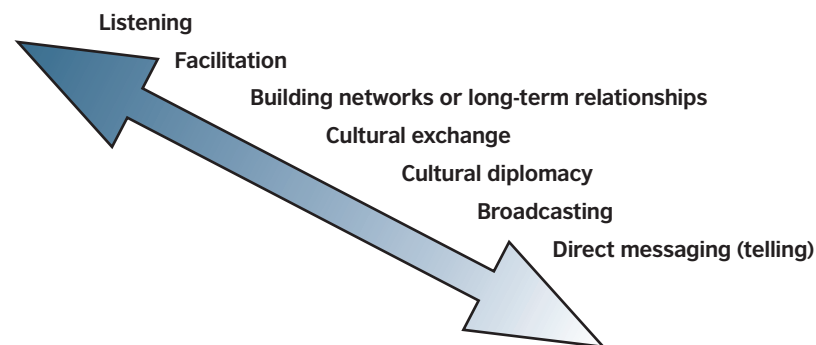
3.4 Expressing the way we work: the different approaches on the spectrum

This section introduces the spectrum of available approaches to exerting influence. Being aware of the range of options, from listening to telling, can help in the construction of a successful public diplomacy product.

While different definitions and priorities are a reality, it is important to go beyond the arguments about names, to categorise the different forms of activity that may be undertaken. The spectrum of options can be viewed on a scale which ranges from 'listening' to 'telling'. The benefit of recognising this spectrum is that it allows a programme to make the most efficient use of the resources and range of possibilities available. In essence, the spectrum highlights many different approaches which could prevent international actors from turning to the same approaches over and over again.

Nation branding and tourism or trade promotion, which are essentially government-sponsored international advertising campaigns, appear at the 'telling' end of the spectrum and can be generally considered alongside policy advocacy or information correction. Public diplomacy largely based on the facilitation of the aims of the audience, for example programmes associated with development work, resides closer to the 'listening' end of the spectrum.³⁷

A full range of these activities can be represented as:



Listening exercise

As has already been described, consciously and publicly listening to the perspective of others can be a public diplomacy act in itself. In the international arena it is often the way you act, rather than what you say, that changes the behaviour of others.

Intercultural Dialogue in Africa

Intercultural Dialogue in Africa (ICDA) is a major project launched by British Council Africa in co-ordination with Counterpoint. It is aiming to develop intercultural dialogue with Muslim communities across sub-Saharan Africa. The project is expected to run for two to three years in 12 selected countries. Research is conducted using reference groups that are set up in every country, consisting of 30 members representing a broad cross-section of each society. Within these groups, established by British Council offices in sub-Saharan Africa, political and social issues relevant to their own communities are discussed. The agenda of these discussions is developed by each community, in partnership with the British Council. Moreover, an advisory group established by Counterpoint in London complements the project with desk research. Counterpoint will then produce three publications annually that reflect African Muslims' views and improve understanding in the United Kingdom. Listening to the views of African Muslims in sub-Saharan Africa in such a manner will help understanding between societies and cultures, which stems from the belief that this will lead to mutual benefit both for the societies themselves as well as for the British Council.

Facilitation

Providing others with the means of achieving their goals can allow an organisation to change the way the target audience acts. Effective facilitation cannot be conducted without genuine listening and entails the provision of projects which are tailored to the needs of the recipient audience. These are determined through negotiation or dialogue. Plans are drawn up in co-operation with the recipient audience to not only meet their requirements, but also to give them a sense of ownership over these plans. This ties the audience to the realisation of goals because they are viewed as being developed in an endogenous rather than exogenous manner. Although, at first glance, this may not seem to be influence in the sense of changing someone's mind, it still provides a platform for influence. Because facilitation can lead to greater mutuality and reciprocity, it makes it more likely that an audience will act in a desired way in the future. Furthermore, it provides the opportunity for the international actor to be seen as central to the process and its resolution, and as such, the actor may also benefit by association.

Niche diplomacy

The power of niche diplomacy – a common way of engaging in a facilitative approach – for Canada and Norway comes from being seen by others as acting as a good citizen. They are providing the utilities which further the well-being of the global community. Preventing injuries to civilians through the banning of landmines or the obvious benefits gained from the reduction in war clearly contribute to the positive image of the facilitating countries. While a positive image in itself is reassuring it does not necessarily translate directly into influence. The positioning of Norway in relation to peace negotiations not only provides it with the opportunity to influence a likely outcome but also the prestige associated with being the host for such negotiations. This shows that the importance of facilitation is not limited to being perceived as a good citizen, it provides an opportunity to shape negotiations from which the actor might otherwise be excluded.³⁸

Building networks or long-term relationships

R.S. Zaharna, from the School of Communication at the American University in Washington DC, argues that 'networking has replaced information dominance as the new model of persuasion in the global communication era'.³⁹ Long-term networks must engage people on the basis of their priorities, because this creates networks of advocates working in the same direction as the public diplomacy organisation. As such, both traditional physical and virtual networks have become increasingly recognised as an important part of public diplomacy. Networking is predominantly based on identifying individuals or groups who will be influential in the future and on taking a long-term view of the relationship with them. Clearly, one tension of acting for the long-term is the increasing pressure to show short-term results. Without clear evidence of what long-term success might look like in the short term, this type of work may become distorted and increasingly myopic.

The effects of networking

The Network Effect, initiated by the British Council in partnership with local organisations, is a series of discussion forums for young people, with the aim of nurturing networks between each other in the future. The forums provide a platform to discuss a diverse range of issues, but every forum tries to answer the question: 'What sort of Europe do we want to live in?' Each forum is attended by around 35 young participants coming from 37 countries in Europe and beyond – from Portugal

to Russia; Finland to Azerbaijan. The first forum took place in Stockholm in October 2005. Further events include Budapest (March 2008), St Petersburg (June 2008), Tbilisi (October 2008), Barcelona (March 2009) and the final forum in Belfast (June 2009). In the final Network Effect forum in Belfast in June 2009, young people who participated in previous forums will submit proposals of projects the British Council could engage in with the aim of bringing about a positive change to a particular debated issue. The British Council will award funding to the best project proposal.⁴⁰

Cultural exchange

Midway between listening and telling, cultural exchange aims to be a genuine exchange of people, cultural goods or ideas, based on reciprocity and a symmetrical relationship.

This exchange may be physical, but with the increasing use of virtual worlds, online communication and collaboration, traditional travel-based programmes are no longer the sole preserve of cultural exchange. 'Success requires listening to others, recognising the "value of other cultures," showing a desire to learn from them, and conducting programmes as a "two-way street".'⁴¹ Applying the term 'cultural exchange' to one's own operations therefore raises expectations of reciprocity.⁴²

Leonardo grants

The Leonardo da Vinci Programme is part of the European Commission's Lifelong Learning Programme and helps to develop vocational skills and training. Leonardo sends trainees and students on European work placements and aims at building a skilled workforce through European partnerships. Leonardo funds these overseas work placements and promotes the development and exchange of training materials across borders in order to improve training standards.⁴³

Cultural diplomacy

As the emphasis shifts away from listening and increasingly towards the promotion of a particular perspective, cultural diplomacy is the act of presenting cultural goods to an audience in an attempt to engage them in the ideas the producer perceives to be represented by them. Some, such as Milton Cummings, attempt to combine cultural diplomacy with the language of cultural exchange by using phrases such as 'mutual understanding'. However, as Milton Cummings notes,

cultural diplomacy 'can also be more of a one-way street than a two-way exchange, as when one nation concentrates its efforts on promoting the national language, explaining its policies and point of view, or "telling its story" to the rest of the world'.⁴⁴ Whatever the language used, the main difference between exchange and diplomacy is their respective power dynamics; reciprocity and a symmetrical relationship characterise exchange, presentation and one-way communication play a more significant role in cultural diplomacy.

Confucius Institute

Confucius Institutes are non-profit organisations aiming at promoting Chinese language and culture, supporting local Chinese teaching, and can enhance cross-cultural and economic exchange on an international level. The headquarters is in Beijing and is under the China National Office of Chinese Language Council International.

Following the establishment of a pilot institute in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, in June 2004, the first Confucius Institute opened in November in 2004 in Seoul and many more have been established in other countries, including the United States, and in Europe and Asia. The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China estimates that, by the year 2010, there will be approximately 100 million people worldwide learning Chinese as a foreign language, and it plans to set up 100 Confucius Institutes.⁴⁵

In an alternative approach the Chinese Gardens of Serenity in Malta create an alternative format for the representation of certain aspects of China.

Broadcasting

Distinctions between cultural diplomacy and broadcasting may be small. Media production, mainly news, for mass consumption is also, like cultural diplomacy, essentially one-way communication. It presents a particular perspective of a broadcaster, for example that of Al Jazeera, the *Guardian* or Fox News. In this, it is not limited to cultural phenomena and activities, but can extend to a wider sphere, including social, political and economic topics.

A broadcaster has to balance perspective and content in order to ensure credibility with the target audience. This may be done through classic state-based broadcasting (public service broadcasting), although it may also take a particular regional, political or religious perspective, such as Channel Four Wales.

The movement away from the classic broadcasting techniques has led to an increased emphasis on web-based content.

While clear divisions between 'world' and 'home' services used to be possible, the advent of online 'listen on demand' services have opened up domestic content to audiences overseas.

BBC World Service

The BBC World Service, launched in 1932, is funded through the Foreign and Commonwealth Office by the British Government. It transmits in 33 languages to many parts of the world, with the English language service running 24 hours a day. The World Service average weekly audience reached 183 million in May 2007. It has been used to broadcast messages and convey ideas to its audience and can be a useful tool for influence because of its widespread reach.⁴⁶

Direct messaging

Direct messaging is constructed to achieve a particular public diplomacy aim and represents the 'telling' end of the spectrum. Direct messaging is not a negotiation, it is not symmetrical. In order to leave as little space as possible for alternative interpretations, this approach usually emphasises the 'need to be simple' as 'the people you're talking to are usually far less interested in you than you are'.⁴⁷ It is purely one-way and designed to change the way an audience acts, without a desire for reciprocity.

Should producers become too fixed on purely telling, they run the danger of not bringing across their intended message; either because the audience does not understand what is being said, or because the audience interprets the received information in a totally different way from the original meaning.⁴⁸ Approaches associated with soft power focus on a one-way transfer, but they are not the only examples of direct messaging. Nation branding, which has gained influence in recent years, is as much an exercise focused predominantly on a direct messaging approach as it is about transmitting a certain country brand.⁴⁹ Concepts of propaganda and psychological operations also exist within telling, although most organisations prefer to keep them at a distance from other methods of engagement, owing to negative connotations which some audiences may attach to these labels.

Spain's brand

Spain is an excellent example of nation branding. Under the anachronistic fascist rule of Franco, it was an impoverished European backwater. After the death of Franco in 1975, Spain stirred. Armed with an attractive, modernistic sun symbol designed by Joan Miro, it mounted an aggressive marketing campaign to reshape its image, offering 'Everything Under the Sun' to visitors. The 1992 Barcelona Olympics and Seville World's Fair helped propel it into the international spotlight, and today Spain is a major modern European player.

*Savas Kyriacou and Thomas Cromwell, East West Communications.*⁵⁰

3.5 Why consider the spectrum?

The spectrum of available approaches is an important part of exerting influence because it helps in the positioning of a particular organisation as well as identifying potential partners. This section also shows the application of the spectrum to the area of intercultural dialogue.

The spectrum highlights a number of important elements in an approach to exerting influence. It shows the full set of options for influence, from listening to telling. This helps a public diplomacy organisation to position itself within that spectrum and to recognise its preferred approaches. This not only helps the organisation as such, but also makes it easier to recognise potential partners for certain projects. Awareness of the spectrum helps the practitioner opt for an approach most suited to the specific needs of a particular programme. This increases efficiency and effectiveness and leads to high-impact projects. At the same time, it helps to locate potential partners' tendencies in the choice of public diplomacy programmes and can therefore lead to more productive and successful partnerships.

The options on the activity spectrum also relate closely to selling or communicating. The closer to 'telling' on the spectrum, the more the international actor emphasises selling. Direct messaging, broadcasting, and cultural diplomacy rely on projecting a particular image rather than engaging in dialogue and developing a two-way communication. The closer to the 'listening' end, the more the international actor places emphasis on developing influence by understanding

the priorities of other actors. In this second option, mutual understanding through communication is more important than selling an image to an audience. The shift of focus to communicating rather than selling happens around cultural exchange, which provides a genuinely balanced relationship emphasising mutuality and mutual understanding.

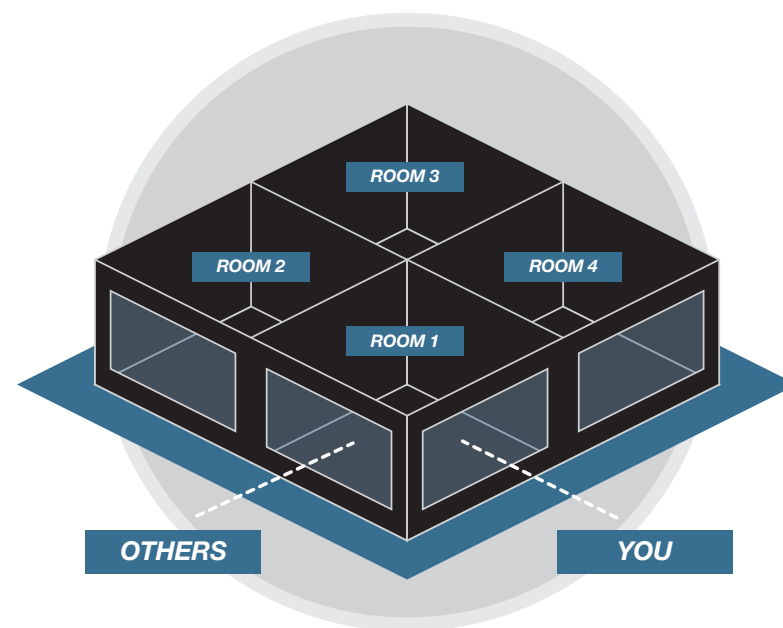
Categorical and blinkered approaches to public diplomacy often stand in the way of success. Viewing public diplomacy programmes as a spectrum whose emphasis continually shifts between listening and telling, acknowledges that the boundaries between the methods are blurred. Rather than being seen as a hindrance, these overlaps should be taken as an opportunity to create flexible programmes that can be adapted and rearranged as required. No international actors can afford to have a restricted view of the available possibilities. As a Jordanian diplomat commented recently, public diplomacy is 'creative diplomacy'; being aware of all their options helps an organisation to be creative.

Clarity over the approach provides an organisation with the ability to make the appropriate selection from the spectrum of options. However, in selecting these options, international actors must not forget about the issues identified in Chapter 2; they must not lose sight of how their product will be understood by the audience.

One tool useful in examining how the issues in Chapter 2 relate to the spectrum of options is the Johari Window created by Luft and Ingham. As a starting point, it identifies the different areas of common understanding; those known to only one side, those shared by both sides and those which are known to neither side.

Robert Gibson, intercultural business trainer, explains:

'Room 1 is where people see eye to eye and share values, attitudes, meanings and behaviour. Room 2 is what they can see but you can't. Room 4 is where you can see and they can't. Room 3 is a mystery for everyone.'⁵¹



The window can be used to express the various options for engagement. Programmes that emphasise telling, for example direct messaging, broadcasting and, to a lesser extent, cultural diplomacy, attempt to move the perspectives of the international actor, Room 4, into the consciousness of the audience. In effect there is an attempt to sell the understanding of the ideas held in Room 4 to the target audience in the hope that they will become shared in Room 1. International actors do not attempt to take on the values of the audience, but try to convince them to take on theirs.

Listening programmes take the alternative approach. They seek to draw the perspectives of 'the others' from Room 2 into Room 1. This does have benefits for the international actor in altering the way the audience acts, although the emphasis is placed on increasing the understanding of the ideas in Room 2.

Cultural exchange, with the symmetrical relationship and emphasis on sharing, provides two potential options. First, it seeks to extend Room 1 into Rooms 2 and 4. The goal in this iteration is to achieve a situation where all people 'see eye to eye

and share values, attitudes, meanings and behaviour'. In effect, the shared understanding must be negotiated, as neither group can insist on all the values being imposed on the other. An alternative goal for such negotiation is for each group to make Rooms 2 and 4 visible to their respective 'others'. However, rather than attempting to expand Room 1, the room of shared values and perspectives, the goal is to understand the reasons behind the alternative perspective. In effect, each group seeks to see the parts of the iceberg which are below the surface, to understand the rationale or encoded assumptions behind certain visible products and actions. This provides the 'mutual understanding' for which many argue, without an emphasis on homogenisation.

A further option which can be identified through the Johari Window is the international actor acting as cultural broker between two groups. In this case the organisation may not only provide the ability to create understanding, as previously identified, but also help the development of new understandings on the basis of the synthesis between different perspectives. This reinforces the importance of two-way communication as more than merely a means of sharing information, values or perspectives.⁵² It is a way for international actors to engage in an ongoing development of their own constituency, rather than merely influencing the target audience.

The Johari Window provides one way of demonstrating what is intended to be achieved through the options in this chapter. However, along with a choice of options from the spectrum of activity, there needs to be clarity over how this is to be applied when constructing a strategy. An international actor has to be clear on the difference between an emphasis on selling as a strategic action and being engaged in conscious communication. Furthermore, the actor has to consider the conscious and unconscious parts of the iceberg, along with the impact which encoding and decoding will have on understanding within the target audience. With all these issues in mind, the international actor also has to consider where the programme is to be targeted.

4 Where in the world(s) is your product targeted?

A wide array of options can lead to a specific goal. With unlimited resources, international actors could construct, take up, change and dismiss public diplomacy programmes as they please. But since this is rarely the case, most actors could not bear the costs of trial by error and therefore need to make choices. Targeting, both geographically and strategically, allows a programme to be more focused, which in return leads to success. The right targeting can enhance the effectiveness as well as the reach and impact of any public diplomacy action.

This chapter deals with the question of targeting. As with the first two chapters there is a wide variety of options. Organisational priorities will influence how these options are combined. In addition to geographical targeting in the physical world or online, an organisation must also decide whether projects will be conducted according to certain issues and moreover, whether engagement is bi- or multilateral.

4.1 Global coverage (through physical presence)

It is highly unlikely that an organisation will seek global coverage in the sense of being physically present absolutely everywhere. Instead global can be thought of as presence in a large number of countries, covering all regions of the world. Merely having a website which could be accessed from anywhere does not qualify as global coverage.

Genuine global coverage requires active engagement with the population in the various countries.

The United Kingdom engages with foreign publics through the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) and the British Council. The FCO operates 260 diplomatic missions, embassies, consulates and high commissions, and employs 6,000 UK civil servants and 10,000 locally appointed staff. The British Council has 7,900 staff in 110 countries and territories.⁵³

FCO and UK Government

The US State Department has 260 diplomatic and consular posts in 163 countries.⁵⁴

The Department of State and Agency for International Development (USAID)

The global coverage strategy stems from the decision that a country cannot manage without representation in all regions of the world and that benefits can be gained from having a footprint in most countries and organising initiatives or programmes at the global level. These include economies of scale and an increased interaction between diffuse populations. Any of the various aspects, from the active pursuit of markets, support for foreign policy actions or ideology, can be the reasoning behind a global coverage strategy. It may also be defensive, such as trying to combat an ideology which is seen to threaten certain national interests, such as security and health.

However, despite the possibility to develop projects on a global scale, regional priorities and local nuance will continue to be an important part of any strategy.

Also, this approach includes a high financial cost that might not provide an equally strong return for the practitioner as for the receiving countries. This is why other international actors (and parts of organisations which have adopted a global approach) may prefer to focus specifically on a limited number of countries identified either by geography or other priority.

4.2 Focus outside the region

A focus outside the region can help actors with limited resources by allowing them to carry through programmes with a wider scope in regions where they think it matters, without carrying the associated costs of global engagement.

Usually a limitation of resources will lead international actors to place focus within their own areas. However, to approach the alternative, to focus resources outside one's own region, is also logical. An international actor may consider that they do not have the resources to exert sufficient influence within the region to achieve particular goals. As a result, they may seek to focus a programme outside the region to draw attention to a particular issue which is occurring in the region.

In security terms this may be to ensure that a local dispute will be viewed as having broader importance, or to guarantee that the nations outside the region are sympathetic to a particular side in the dispute. It can be demonstrated through the discussion of military security, though it has many other applications. Singapore, for example, has constructed a part of its strategy based on the need to balance their geopolitical location to ensure Singapore has political and economic space between itself and its neighbours, Malaysia and Indonesia, rather than being perceived as part of their public diplomacy strategies, considering that 'the alternatives are too grim to contemplate'.⁵⁵ A central part of this strategy is to look beyond the regional context and 'involve world powers in its well-being'.⁵⁶ Singapore runs a relatively small network of embassies, with strong centralised control through its foreign ministry and has economised on its scarce resources through extensive use of 'non-resident ambassadors'. Early examples of developing links and support outside the region include hosting, in 1971, the first Commonwealth Summit held outside London, and extensive engagement with the UN following Vietnam's incursion into Cambodia in 1978.

More recently an initiative by Singaporean Prime Minister Goh with French President Chirac resulted in the ASEAN-EU biennial summit-level dialogue in March 1996.⁵⁷

There is nothing new in this approach. *Selling War*, written by Nicholas Cull, demonstrates the lengths to which the UK went to influence the population of the United States of America to make them more likely to join the Second World War, a war that was, at that time, considered largely limited to other areas of the world.⁵⁸ With this, America moved from isolationism to involvement in other regions of the world.

'From the eve of the German invasion of Poland to the moment of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, the British government mounted a concerted effort to draw the United States into the War.

On February 15, 1942, Winston Churchill broadcast an address to the world. Still flushed with the news of Pearl Harbor and fresh from a visit to Washington, he gloried in the United States' entry into World War II as an event that he had "dreamed of, aimed at and worked for".

*Nicholas J. Cull Selling War*⁵⁹

This approach is common for other international actors seeking to promote a specific issue. While regional influence may be useful, being able to engage the countries who have the political, economic, military or other markers of power can be even more beneficial.

Another type of campaign also demonstrates the importance of the focus outside the specific region in question. Live Aid, for example, drew attention to the drought and famine in Sudan and Ethiopia. A local approach focused on action within the region started by these two countries would have achieved little on a global scale. As such, the campaign had to come from outside the region to influence the way populations, particularly in the US and UK, acted towards the region. Equally, the subsequent Live 8 pursued a similar strategy, expanding the target audiences predominantly to the members of the G8.

An emphasis outside the region acknowledges the weak position of the actor in relation to the influence which is required within the region. As such, actors seek support from outside to provide them with the ability to exert influence within.

4.3 Local region

For various reasons, international actors may choose to stay restricted to their geographical region. Prioritising one's locality can help when prioritising local security and trade as public diplomacy goals.

International actors with limited resources may seek to prioritise within the geographic region in which they are based. In the case of a country, this may be part of a strategy to secure borders or resources. Alternatively, there may also be a recognition that the actor's interests are best served by emphasising the regional importance of an issue to provide the message with greater weight within a highly competitive information environment. Two examples are issues of local security and the creation of a regional hub.

The first possibility particularly focuses on regional security, which may face risks in terms of resources, crime, health, etc. Limited resources may be deployed to engage local actors to reduce insecurity. This may be attempted through an operation designed to create understanding, rather than trying to threaten. These programmes may take on any of the options described through the Johari Window in Section 3.5.

Alternatively, there may be an attempt to undermine the ability of an opposing force to create a metaphysical tableau of Good vs. Evil. This can be done through the development of cultural contact between the two populations. Such a move would limit the ability for opposing actors to stereotype and frame the issue as 'with us or against us'.

Security may be considered in military terms but also matters in terms of resources. The options for influence include attempts to change the way a debate about resources might be conducted. For example, is increasing the price of certain resources to a neighbour a reasonable action in a competitive world, shameless exploitation, or evidence of the willingness to renege on previous agreements? The success of a strategy could well have an impact on the cost of certain resources in the future. A successful campaign which reduces the cost of resources can have a benefit which vastly outweighs the cost of running the operation. This narrative may not be as easily recognisable as one which averts or reduces a military threat, yet both options have recognisable security or economic benefits.

In each case the international actor has to target the section of the regional population which appears most likely to be willing and able to influence policy within the target country.

Statistics on resources

Risks for local regions are manifold. The following statistics exemplify the importance of resources for international relations:

- Singapore, which imports around 50 per cent of its water from Malaysia through an agreement which will expire in 60 years.⁶⁰
- European imports of gas from the former Soviet Union, for example Ukraine, where supplies were suspended in a dispute over price. Other countries which could be directly affected include Germany, Hungary and Italy.
- The Japanese steel industry depends entirely on imports of iron ore and coal. The largest supplier in 2005 was Australia, who supplied 61.4 per cent of iron ore and 68.8 per cent of coal imports.⁶¹

A focus in the region may be for defensive or security purposes, but equally can be used to increase recognition of an actor as a regional influence hub. In nation-state terms this may take the form of a focal point for political leadership, trade, education, technological development or international financial markets. In non-state terms the focus of international actors may be on developing their reputation as a centre of authority on a certain issue.

Dynamic Korea: Hub of Asia

Following the 1997 financial crisis South Korea has used the tag line 'Dynamic Korea: Hub of Asia'. The attempt to create a hub draws on infrastructural development including the opening of Incheon airport, the promotion of e-commerce and availability of high speed internet access. These were designed to create an environment attractive to inward investment, promoted through the hosting of the 2002 World Cup.⁶²

An approach to a regional rather than global hub has the potential to balance return on resource commitment with the provision of international influence. The hub approach has commonly been taken to education. The Thai government created a programme to increase the number of international students in the country by making Thailand a regional education hub. This attempt was aided by encouraging universities from China, Egypt and the US to open branch campuses. A similar strategy has been pursued by regions of India, including Punjab, benefiting from the comparatively less expensive education to American, Australian or European competitors.⁶³

Other alternatives may include countries, such as Malta, who have the opportunity to become a hub for dialogue through which current international tensions can be mediated. All these options target audiences inside the region that are likely to be able to take advantage of the particular hub.

4.4 Engaging online: the potential of a virtual world

The internet has without doubt heralded a new era of engaging with audiences. The geographical reach, participation and empowerment of the audience have transformed an international actor's work and opened up new opportunities.

The growth of access to the internet provides great potential for communication with audiences around the world. However, the nature of the new technology and the way in which audiences engage with it presents two fundamental questions.

The options available to an international actor require a decision about what the engagement online is for. One option is to allow each part of the organisation (e.g. each country office) to engage online with its physical world audience. An alternative would be to identify a specific part of the organisation responsible for the online engagement. When engaging online, the options for the international actor include using the internet to showcase what an organisation is doing or to consider the internet as another platform, equivalent to the physical world, through which to run programmes.

Most organisations currently take the first option, but there are moves to conceive the internet as another, virtual, area of engagement. Given the length of time which people spend online and the altered power dynamics within these environments, it may become more effective to try to engage an online audience separately from specific physical region programmes.

The argument for the second option rests on the recognition that the markers of power which are used to identify traditional target audiences do not necessarily work online. The website Technorati is 'currently tracking 93.9 million blogs and over 250 million pieces of tagged social media'.⁶⁴ It claims to be:

'... the recognized authority on what's happening on the World Live Web, right now. The Live Web is the dynamic and always-updating portion of the Web. We search, surface, and organize blogs and the other forms of independent,

user-generated content (photos, videos, voting, etc.) increasingly referred to as “citizen media”.⁶⁵

To think of the influence of the most popular of these bloggers in relation to who they are in the physical world would be to miss the point. The blogger might, for example, work in the local supermarket of a country town. But seeing the blogger just as a part-time shop assistant in a rural community would completely underestimate their potential influence as a writer with a possible online readership of thousands.

The question of how an organisation will decide to use the internet will most likely depend on whether the online environment is viewed as a means to showcase projects, communicate messages and provide information, or whether it is a key area for engaging with a target audience. In the near future, it is likely that most organisations will adopt a mixed approach of physical world engagement for information and showcasing activity, while at the same time developing an online engagement programme as an alternative or supplementary means of delivery.

The decision to engage with the target audience online requires the international actor to understand the cultural and social barriers to entry. Most organisations recognise the technological barriers to entry, but in order to be successful at exerting influence online, an international actor must understand how the cultural and social expectations of their audiences online differ from those they engage with in the physical world.

Another aspect of online engagement is the recent spread of open source systems in other areas, such as social networking. Open source engagement is seen as a vital consideration for the future of influence. Its development has enjoyed an increasing influence in the online environment. The original open source system was the Linux core code. Open source means that the creator of a programme releases their source code so that any user can contribute to the development of this programme. Examples include Mozilla Firefox and websites such as Facebook.

Public diplomacy organisations must not simply view the web as a mere tool for dissemination; public diplomacy is also about learning from the online environment. The potential of the open source concept comes from understanding how a community works and how to harness that power to develop different functions, just like the software developers who worked with the Linux core code.

Using open source engagement focuses the mind on the power of a community united around an idea. However, rather than an international actor seeking to own the idea and then make the audience join with it, the ideas are thrown out to see who has similar ideas. This allows people to join, or modify and improve the concepts and the ways of communicating them. This has the power of engaging potential target audiences and partners right at the beginning of and throughout the developmental process. It allows the audience to feel ownership over the ideas and programmes with which they are being confronted, in ways which even the best listening exercises and most advanced echo chambers cannot achieve.

The open source engagement recognises that each community, particularly online, has its own cultural and social expectations. To be able to engage successfully, the international actor has to navigate not just the practical barriers, for example learning how to upload videos, but also these cultural and social barriers. Online communities form around certain ideas and perspectives. Some form around sports, some around celebrity, and others around political issues. Particularly important to understanding open source engagement are those that form around the rejection of corporate messages and emphasising that ‘markets are conversations’ instead.⁶⁶ These communities such as the authors of *The cluetrain manifesto* draw on similar influences to the open source software development.⁶⁷

On the cluetrain

‘Most corporations, ...only know how to talk in the soothing, humorless monotone of the mission statement, marketing brochure, and your-call-is-important-to-us busy signal. *Same old tone, same old lies*. No wonder networked markets have no respect for companies unable or unwilling to speak as they do.’

Christopher Locke et al. The cluetrain manifesto

‘The cluetrain is to marketing and communications what the open-source movement is to software development — anarchic, messy, rude, and vastly more powerful than the doomed bullshit that conventionally passes for wisdom.’

*Eric S. Raymond The Cathedral and the Bazaar*⁶⁸

Whether the international actor agrees to these perspectives or not, they are a reality, and the communities which follow them have certain cultural and social expectations about the groups they engage with. Perhaps two of the most instructive suggestions from *The cluetrain manifesto* are:

‘34. To speak with a human voice, companies must share the concerns of their communities.

35. But first, they must belong to a community.’⁶⁹

This sets out the expectations and to an extent the terms of engagement. The emphasis on human voices highlights the cultural expectations of the community and being part of such a community highlights social expectations. When combined, these perspectives emphasise the need for the international actor to be seen as a peer within the community rather than an ‘authority’ figure communicating with a subservient network.

To take software development as a metaphor, programmes are either written by companies in a clear hierarchy of managers, employees and customers, or produced by an open source community where each individual is a peer, able to use the code and develop a product as they see fit. To act in this manner, international actors must be able to identify clearly what goal they are pursuing, so that others can also easily recognise whether they can either share or use these goals to achieve their desired outcomes.

Public diplomacy organisations should identify participants on a symmetrical basis, rather than creating a project and then inviting others to become a part of it. Also, they should make the goal of the project an achievable goal for all rather than just aiming for self-promotion. If an organisation acknowledges the fact that a project won’t totally conform to pre-determined ideas and that different elements may be run by disparate (and even normally competing groups), this can contribute to achieving the goal.

In an open source approach, practitioners use the platforms already frequented by the target audience, rather than building new ones and trying to persuade people to use them.

This means that the international actor needs to understand the sociocultural expectations of the users. This may appear to be a daunting task, and is one not to be taken lightly. When seeking to engage with online environments and platforms,

organisations find each platform to have its own social barriers and expectations. Employing people who can navigate these expectations will be the key to successful engagement through online platforms

Some organisations may debate banning YouTube, Facebook, Friendster, Netvibes, Operator11 or Studiverzeichnis from being accessed at work, considering them a waste of work time. However, the employees using these sites as part of their social life understand the cultural and social expectations of these platforms. As such, they are best placed to engage with these communities in their work life. While these sites should not be used to avoid work, the knowledge of their terms of use can be applied to the development of programmes, allowing an international actor to engage with a human voice and be recognised as a peer. Without this understanding the programme will be seen as intruding on space ‘owned’ by the community.

4.5 Prioritising countries by issue

Prioritising by issue can be a way of increasing effectiveness and reach while at the same time reducing input of resources and costs. Usually prioritising by issue will still present a certain focus on geographical regions.

Identifying the national interests by issue provides a particular interpretation of priority countries. While each international actor will inevitably identify a different hierarchy of priorities, in many instances these can be broken down into economic, political, environmental, and ideological factors.

Issue targeting may not initially appear to be part of geographic targeting. However, the structure of most organisations will tend toward the identification of ‘priority countries’ which give issues a geographic representation. This process is likely to continue, as the world is largely still conceived within national units. Even if international actors move beyond the notion of nation into engaging transnational communities, such as Europe or Oceania, these populations will still be geographically concentrated.

The purpose for which a particular strategy is being adopted will dictate the priority countries. This is a truism of any strategy but one which occasionally escapes some public diplomacy planning. The issue-based approach can be illustrated through various factors, particularly economic ones. These include tourism, trade, aid, politics and peace.

Tourism

Tourism is integral in targeting by issue. The attempt to attract the economic benefit which can accrue from tourism is one example of an issue-based strategy. In many instances, this entails a branding approach. Although a programme may also be based on the provision of information, it still, in most cases, falls into a direct messaging approach. Necessarily, this approach will target audiences with sufficient financial resources which are potentially attracted to a specific area. The aim of the programme is the creation of an image of a holiday experience.

Such branding exercises have been carried out in numerous countries seeking to support tourism. However, one should not confuse branding a tourist destination with branding a country. They should be considered distinctly separate activities. Branding a holiday destination, or resort, can hold up a brand which is characterised by its potential to convey the feeling of an experience, especially linked to this particular place. This is because in a resort and many well-organised tourist destinations, the visitors' experience can be influenced or guided through the provision of information and services. Tourist information usually directs visitors along certain routes, landmarks or other points of interest and activities which showcase the country's potential. Information and services can allow tourists to leave the resort to explore without straying away from areas conforming to the image. Consequently, routes to the 'must dos' and 'must sees' are clearly identified, and constructed in a way that tourists do not wander off into areas where the constructed image may be challenged.

If tourists are promised white sand and blue sea, and the services allow them to get from airport to resort without that image being significantly challenged, and the resort is as it was pictured in the catalogues, the branding will be successful. However, if image and reality differ significantly or services are unable to guide tourists away from experiences which challenge that image, branding will fail.

Tourism and World Cup 2006

The 2006 World Cup held in Germany provides a prime example of this approach. With the use of public viewing areas ('Fanparks') and 'The World Cup on the market place' (a programme that was aimed at providing local identification with the World Cup), not only the host cities could realise two areas of interest: firstly, these activities could partly contribute to financing their activities through revenue raised by sponsorship and catering. Furthermore, the cities could transmit a

specific regional image by branding themselves through the choice of activities and the location of their 'Fan-Fest'. This was designed to ensure a long-term impact on tourists.⁷⁰

The branding of particular experiences, which can be received from resorts, or clearly identified areas ('place branding') must be considered different from nation branding. The 'Fanpark' was successful at channelling fans into certain areas to have certain experiences which allowed each region to present a different emphasis within the confines of the event. However, the reality of an entire nation is a diversity of opportunity and experience, which is problematic when reduced to a slogan or a few key messages.

Trade

Trade features as another important option for targeting. The issue of trade can be approached in various different ways, such as projecting a certain image to attract investment, identifying common trade objectives or the creation of a hub of trade activity.

A projection of a certain image, similar to tourism, can help the pursuit of economic benefit through trade and inward investment. The product image may be efficiency, infrastructure, or skilled labour among others. The narrative of a competitive global environment and the need for a certain country to be recognised has some merit but must be considered within the context of the actual reality within the country, specifically the identification of any unique or specialist traits. The image must reflect this reality, so a specific niche skill may provide a competitive advantage. However, a generic model of good service and welcoming people may struggle to differentiate, for example, Sweden from Malta.

A well-planned, executed and differentiated branding exercise (which accurately reflects the offer) may provide some competitive advantage, but, unlike with tourism, it is significantly harder to control the experience of the potential investor who will usually conduct their own rigorous analysis business. It may therefore merely provide the opportunity to open negotiation.

An alternative approach is to identify common trade objectives and encourage the conceptualisation of shared objectives. The pursuit of a common goal may provide for the creation of a closer identification between the interests of the countries. In this view common endeavour would both transcend and serve national interests.

Such an approach requires a high level of engagement and negotiation to ensure the goals are shared beyond rhetoric. In either sense, the programme will target those countries that have the resources required for trade. This may be the financial resources for inward investment or securing markets, whether major world, regional or local markets for goods.

Yet another alternative is to emphasise the creation of a hub or gateway through which trade in its various forms can flow. In this sense the operation is focused on the population most likely or able to engage in that particular activity. This approach can be exemplified by London as a hub for finance, Malta as an entry point for physical goods into the EU and Ireland or India as providers of outsourced services. These approaches have the following practical implications. London is targeting areas which contain high concentrations of financial institutions, for example the US or countries with large amounts of wealth generated by oil. Malta can target those countries seeking to import a vast amount of European goods, such as China. India or Ireland on the other hand aim to attract those service societies with a high production costs and elevated living expenses. Given the various options the need for clarity is paramount. The programme must have a specific objective. This will determine the target audience.

Aid

A third area of targeting by issues revolves around aid. Influence operations around aid can be divided into two perspectives, namely those by countries seeking to attract aid and those where the donors desire more visibility for their work.

International actors seeking to attract aid or development support can run programmes designed to influence where donors will allocate funds. Aid or development organisations have finite budgets. As a result, an increase in support for one recipient requires cuts elsewhere. However, those same organisations are also subject to political pressures, which create the opportunity to run an influence operation. A successful programme mounted by a prospective aid recipient may be able to leverage political pressure within the constituency of the donor organisation that results in a more favourable settlement for the recipient.

This type of approach will suffer some of the same limitations as tourism and trade; additionally, there will be a twofold limitation of resources. First, an international actor seeking aid or development support is likely to have limited resources to allocate to an influence programme. Second, an expensive campaign

designed to attract aid will be undermined if potential donors perceive that the recipient has used its limited resources to mount the campaign.

Targeting is therefore vital to success as resources committed must be low, but impact must be high. While one option would be a direct, well-executed approach to the donor organisation, it is also possible to make an indirect appeal targeted at influential individuals within the constituency of large donor organisations. This focuses attention and pressure on the decision-making process. While not mounted by a country, the Live 8 movement is an example of a programme designed to apply public pressure on politicians in relation to their aid and debt commitments.

'Live 8 was and remains a brilliant moment but what is more important is the brilliant movement of which it was a part. This gives the poorest of the poor real political muscle for the first time. [...] It is this movement of church people and trade unionists, soccer moms and student activists, that will carry the spirit of Live 8 on. It is this movement, not rock stars, that will make it untenable in the future to break promises to the most vulnerable people on this planet.'⁷¹

Bono

When providing aid, evaluation often asks for valorisation of a project. Just as potential donors are susceptible to political pressure to provide or control aid to certain programmes or in certain ways, they must also demonstrate the impact of their work. This means mounting programmes to highlight the success of operations. The target will be either within the recipient community, if aid is designed to foster an ongoing relationship with the donor, or within the donor's constituency if the programme is purely for valorisation.

The Foreign Policy Centre's *European Infopolitik* is a publication dedicated to the development of a European public diplomacy strategy. It outlines various recommendations, among others one that asks for more aid visibility: 'Be more aggressive in promoting EU aid visibility in third world countries:

... the EU has much to gain from more effective projection and promotion of its activities. This should include the enforcement of visibility clauses of contracts with aid recipients.'⁷²

Philip Fiske de Gouveia *European Infopolitik*

Programmes that seek to exert political or ideological influence have a long history which stretches back long before the field of public diplomacy was conceptualised in its current form. However, at the heart of this type of issue-based operation is the exertion of power; success must be measured by action not thought – it is the difference between an opinion poll and an election. Targeting of such campaigns focuses on countries or populations central to the realisation of a particular objective, such as:

- a country about to hold an election, directly attempting to influence the result
- to gain support for policy within priority countries (for example defined by seats on the UN Security Council)
- coalition-building prior to military action
- signing of a particular treaty, e.g. Kyoto.

Clear audience segmentation would be required for these operations so that they have resonance with the group most influential in any given situation. The examples above show that, in effect, the options come down to either trying to change a policy, or trying to change a government.

In the past, there have been many attempts at using influence to change a government. In Hungary in 1956, for example, the National Committee for a Free Europe encouraged Hungarians, through programmes including Radio Free Europe, to rise against Soviet control. These efforts were initially successful in influencing the Hungarian people. The first phases of the revolution were successful, and the Hungarians appealed to the UN for help. The population were hoping for US help when Soviet tanks were deployed in Hungary. But Western societies failed to respond and the Soviet Union invaded Hungary and stopped the revolution. The programme could be considered a success purely in terms of short-term influence but not as part of a co-ordinated strategy, since it led to expectations it could not keep.

When Soviet tanks re-entered Hungary, the influence campaign backfired. One desperate appeal for help read:

'In the name of all that is dear to you ... we ask you to help ... Those who have died for liberty ... accuse you who are able to help and have not helped.'⁷³

Quoted in Wise and Ross The Invisible Government

Similarly, in Iraq in 1991, the encouragement of communities inside Iraq to rise against Saddam Hussein provides an example of a programme which was successful at influencing people. However, it was not part of a fully committed and co-ordinated campaign. The American programmes exposed the communities to the repercussions of challenging Saddam Hussein, but they were lacking military support.

Both Hungary 1956 and Iraq 1991 demonstrate the potential for political programmes and the massive dangers which they pose should an international actor not be willing to fully support the actions they seek to encourage.

Another major aspect of political targeting can be aimed at influencing certain policies or the policy decision-making process. The Stern Review 2006, conducted by Sir Nicholas Stern, Head of the UK Government Economic Service, outlines the economics of climate change. Its aim is to outline the economic challenges caused by changing environmental conditions. The Stern Review also provides the means to promote certain actions in response to climate change.⁷⁴ More precisely, these range from environmental taxes to emissions trading or regulation in order for people to face the full social costs of their actions. It also argues for a technology policy that drives the development and deployment of a range of low-carbon and high-efficiency products. Overall, Stern tries to influence the readership, i.e. policy makers, into action to remove barriers to energy efficiency.

'There is still time to avoid the worst impacts of climate change, if we act now and act internationally. Governments, businesses and individuals all need to work together to respond to the challenge. Strong, deliberate policy choices by governments are essential to motivate change. But the task is urgent.

Delaying action, even by a decade or two, will take us into dangerous territory. We must not let this window of opportunity close.'

Sir Nicholas Stern, at the publication of the Stern Review

The launches of the report, briefings and the subsequent media interest provided a vehicle for the UK Government to influence the debates on the response to climate change. While prioritising the large polluters of the present and future, the report advocated a common global carbon price, thereby expanding the attempt to expand influence to all nations.

As seen, prioritising countries according to certain issues can be an efficient way to exert influence. Programmes developed around a certain issue are more than just representation. They are actively trying to influence the target audience. Thought is followed by action. The success of an issue-based strategy is measured in the way it influenced the behaviour of its recipients.

4.6 Bilateral vs. multilateral

Engaging on either a bilateral or multilateral basis can effectively enhance the objectives of an international actor's strategy. Depending on the stipulated goals, one or the other may present themselves as more useful.

Part of the consideration of how a programme will be targeted is whether it is intended to be bilateral or multilateral. Traditionally, most programmes have been bilateral with the benefit intended to accrue to the instigating international actor. However, multilateral operations will be increasingly common owing to the growth of supranational organisations and the demands on international actors to realise greater impact with fewer resources.

The multilateral operation is clearly ill-suited to a nation brand approach but can conceivably work for other forms of direct messaging from a supranational organisation. Alternatively, if a number of international actors identify a common goal, working in a multilateral manner can create a more efficient use of resources and a higher impact programme.

As an organisation made up of 26 independent member countries, any NATO public diplomacy or information operations must be considered multilateral.

NATO and organisations like it must align the multilateral approach of the organisation with the messages of the individual national governments. The priorities of the individual nations may vary depending on whether messages are intended for international, regional, local or internal audiences. The attempt to align many national concerns, some of which may be contradictory with the priorities of other nations, can lead to slow and labour-intensive communication.

The impact of these multilateral messages can also be undermined by messages from national spokespeople who demur from the NATO line because of their focus on specific bilateral relationships. However, while the multilateral approach has the potential to be hugely difficult to organise, it also has the

potential to be more powerful, due to having numerous nations aligned to a single message.⁷⁵

While NATO is a specific entity made up of many nations, EUNIC (European Union National Institutes for Culture) attempts to provide a framework for multilateral co-ordination of the activities of its member organisations.

EUNIC

The purpose of EUNIC is to create effective partnerships and networks between the participating organisations, to improve and promote cultural diversity and understanding between European societies, and to strengthen international dialogue and co-operation with countries outside Europe.

EUNIC operates at two complementary levels:

- Heads or Directors General of the national institutions.
- clusters of national institutions for culture, based in cities across Europe, co-operating together in common projects. EUNIC Brussels represents both the Heads level and the clusters at the EU institutions.⁷⁶

EUNIC is a partnership of national institutions for culture that engage beyond national borders and usually operate with autonomy from their governments. EUNIC currently counts members from 19 EU countries and its total operating budget is at 2.2 billion euros per annum.⁷⁷

The loose basis of EUNIC membership provides this type of multilateral organisation with both strength and weakness. Unlike NATO it is much easier for EUNIC members to conduct bilateral operations without undermining the multilateral approach. However, this can create a weakness for EUNIC as some organisations will think of themselves as bilateral first and multilateral second. As such, while the EUNIC membership may have a large operational budget, some member organisations may be using much of their share in bilateral rather than multilateral EUNIC operations.

The Hague Project seeks to promote the development of a European strategy for culture. This is multilateral both in its European focus but also through the co-ordination of good practice.

The Hague Recommendations were formulated at the conference 'Diversity Makes the Difference – European Foreign Policy and Culture', which took place at The Hague on 9 March 2007.

'Recent research [...] has shown and gatherings of European and national politicians, representatives of cultural institutes (EUNIC), the foundation sector, artists and media representatives have concluded that there is a need to introduce a more coherent cultural component into the emerging EU external relations., [sic] complementing and not substituting the foreign cultural efforts of all the actors concerned. Such an enhanced cultural component would benefit the internal integration of the EU on one side and strengthen its role in the world on the other.'⁷⁸

Kathinka Dittrich van Weringh

The Hague Recommendations have practical consequences. On 10 May 2007, the European Commission's Communication on a European agenda for culture in a globalising world outlines the first-ever European strategy for culture. With Sean Doyle as contact partner, it provides for the collection of best practice throughout the EU, which is, at present, still hindered by the inertia of the cultural institutes.

In 2008, EUNIC will organise several events, among others a 'summer camp' and a conference in Slovenia to mark the Year of Intercultural Dialogue. The ability to share good practice, along with co-ordinated resources, provides The Hague Project with potential not only to produce a strong multilateral approach for the EU, but also more effective bilateral operations for the individual members.

These are the available options for targeting. Organisational priorities will influence how these options are combined. However, each international actor will have to make a clear decision about how the programme is to be carried out. In terms of targeting this will require a decision to be made about where the emphasis of the project will be placed: geographically; in the physical world or online; by issue; or bi- or multilateral.

5 Conclusion

Public diplomacy, the politics of influence, has played an important role throughout human history. Yet, new markers of modernity have increasingly affected, changed and transformed this field of work. Shifting power-dynamics, economic advancement and institutional or political changes all strongly influence the nature of public diplomacy.

Trying to find a single approach to sum up the essence of public diplomacy can be a challenge considering the constantly evolving nature of the field. Thus, the three questions from the previous chapters – What does your product say about you? Where are you located on the spectrum of available approaches? Where in the world(s) is your product targeted? – can serve as guidelines with which to navigate the task of creating strategies in these new worlds of public diplomacy.

The questions do not guarantee the creation of a successful programme, as this will also depend on execution, but they offer support along the way. Knowledge is power. Therefore, if international actors have knowledge of the field they work in and are aware of their tools, they can more effectively construct their public diplomacy strategy.

Not every actor will engage in all activities and approaches that were presented in the previous chapters. They will instead use the ones appropriate to their specific purpose. Through understanding the various approaches, the assumptions behind them and the different types of success which they seek to achieve, an actor will be able to construct impact measurement frameworks. These frameworks will conform to the expectations of their constituency. However, whichever combination of options the actor selects from the three chapters, using them as building blocks for their strategy, they will all be about influencing the way the audience acts.

Public diplomacy, the politics of influence, is essential in international relations. It always has been, but, after 9/11, the Madrid and London bombings, the identification of a war on terror and other facets of modern life, it will increasingly play a role in securing a peaceful influence through the international arena. The developments in technology have led to new hierarchies in the dissemination of information. Knowledge and power are not just in the hands of political elites, but rather shared by societies as a whole, or groups within, and distributed via new

channels of communication. It is therefore crucial to recognise that it is not just states engaged in exerting influence. Organisations from supranational bodies to small, single-issue NGOs are all engaged and competing for attention in the same field.

This guide is not a conclusion. Continued innovation and the evolution of tools will ensure the future of this important field of work. The guide highlights key aspects which an international actor has to consider and offers guidance along the way. The field of public diplomacy is in continuous transition. No single approach or definition can achieve universal application and stand the test of time. However, knowledge of the field in which they work and sensitivity to the environment can help practitioners in achieving their aims. This is why it is important for an actor to identify the full range of their options for influence.

Endnotes

- ¹ Melissen, Jan. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005
 - ² Cull, Nicholas. *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*, LA, 2007, p.6
 - ³ What is Public Diplomacy?, USC Center on Public Diplomacy
http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/index.php/about/whatis_pd
 - ⁴ In 2004, Lord Carter of Coles was asked by the government to conduct a review of the current practice of public diplomacy in the UK and analyse its effectiveness and the latest progress and developments.
www.fco.gov.uk/publicdiplomacyreview
 - ⁵ In 2002, the Wilton Review considered the public diplomacy work of the FCO, the British Council and the BBC World Service in the light of the events of 11 September and the growing role of public diplomacy in communicating the policies, values and achievements of a nation. An Executive Summary of the Wilton Review forms Annex A of the Carter Review.
www.fco.gov.uk/publicdiplomacyreview
 - ⁶ Holbrooke, Richard, 'Get The Message Out', *Washington Post*, 28 October 2001, quoted in Jan Melissen, 'Wielding Soft Power: The new public diplomacy'. *Clingendael Diplomacy Paper 2*, The Hague, Clingendael Institute, May 2005
www.clingendael.nl/cdsp/publications/diplomacy%2Dpapers/archive.html
 - ⁷ NATO Military Public Affairs Policy MC 0457/1, September 2007, pp. 28–9
 - ⁸ US Supreme Court, *Jacobellis v. Ohio*, 378 U.S. 184 (1964)
<http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/getcase.pl?court=US&vol=378&invol=184>
 - ⁹ Unattributable answer to the author, Public Diplomacy Conference, March 2007. *The Future of Public Diplomacy*, Wilton Park, 1–3 March 2007
 - ¹⁰ Habermas, Jürgen, *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* (Bd.1: Handlungsrationalität und gesellschaftliche Rationalisierung, Bd. 2: Zur Kritik der funktionalistischen Vernunft), Frankfurt a.M, 1981, Suhrkamp
 - ¹¹ See Qantas website for more information.
www.qantas.com.au
 - ¹² Rose, Martin and Wadham-Smith, Nick. *Mutuality, trust and cultural relations*. Counterpoint, British Council, 2004
 - ¹³ Kinni, Theodore, 'Exploit What You Do Best,' *Harvard Management Update*, Vol. 8, No. 8, August 2003
<http://hbswk.hbs.edu/archive/3684.html>
- Proponents of this perspective draw on concepts such as *Appreciative Inquiry*. Cooperrider, David and Whitney, Diana. *Appreciative inquiry: A positive revolution in change*, San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2005

¹⁴ The Putney Debates were a series of discussions between factions of the New Model Army and the Levellers in 1647 which discussed the governance of England following the Civil War. Among other issues the debates considered the relationship between the individual and society demonstrated in part by the extent to which the right to vote should be granted. See: Robertson, Geoffrey, *The Putney Debates*, Verso, 2007

John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government and A Letter Concerning Toleration*, Courier Dover Publications, 2002

¹⁵ Genesis 22; 11–21, The Bible

¹⁶ Gandhi, quoted in: Bechler, Rosemary (ed.), *Cultural Diversity*, British Council, 2004

¹⁷ Translation of Peters, H. F., *Aims and Methods of American Studies*, speech, 7 November 1949, National Archives and Records Administration, US, decimal file, 862.4212/11-1549

¹⁸ In 1954 the Supreme Court ruled on the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. The court ruled that State-sanctioned segregation of public schools was a violation of the 14th Amendment and was therefore unconstitutional. This marked the end of the 'separate but equal' precedent set by the Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, although implementation of this decision was not a straightforward process. See: www.archives.gov/education/lessons/brown-v-board/

¹⁹ Record of interview, Charles B. Fahs with Oliver Caldwell and Bruce Buttles, 15 March 1950, Rockefeller Foundation Archive, 1.2, series 717R, Box 13, Folder 133

²⁰ For more on this see Lucas, Scott, *Freedom's War: The US Crusade Against the Soviet Union, 1945–56*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999

²¹ Southern Nazarene University website: <http://home.snu.edu/~hculbert/iceberg.htm> Modified from Weaver, Gary R., 'Understanding and Coping with Cross-cultural Adjustment Stress' in Gary R. Weaver (ed.), *Culture, Communication and Conflict: Readings in Intercultural Relations*, second edition, Simon & Schuster Publishing, 1998

²² Lambert, Emma, *Don't fight it. You can't whip Mickey Mouse: Disneyland's Cold War*, M.Phil dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1997

²³ See, for example: Stewart-Allen, Allyson and Denslow, Lanie, *Working with Americans*, Financial Times/Prentice Hall, 2002

Anholt, Simon, *Another One Bites the Grass: Making Sense of International Advertising: Creating International Ad Campaigns That Make Sense*, Adweek Book, 2000

²⁴ Hall, Stuart, 'Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse', Stencilled Paper No 7. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1973

²⁵ Bhabha, Homi, 'Re-inventing Britain: A Manifesto', *British Studies Now*, April 1997, pp. 9–10 www.britishcouncil.org/studies/bsn_pdfs/bsn09.pdf

²⁶ Bhabha, Homi, 'Re-inventing Britain: A Manifesto', *British Studies Now*, April 1997, pp. 9–10 www.britishcouncil.org/studies/bsn_pdfs/bsn09.pdf

²⁷ Miliband speaks at Chatham House, 19 July 2007 www.chathamhouse.org.uk/news/view/-/id/392/

²⁸ Mead, Margaret, *And Keep Your Powder Dry: An Anthropologist Looks at America*, Berghahn Books, 2000

²⁹ Nye, Joseph, *The International Herald Tribune*: 'Propaganda Isn't the Way: Soft Power', 10 January, 2003 www.ksg.harvard.edu/news/opeds/2003/nye_soft_power_iht_011003.htm

³⁰ Nye, Joseph, *The paradox of American power. Why the world's only superpower can't go it alone*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1992, p.9

³¹ Nye, Joseph, 'Our impoverished discourse' *The Huffington Post*, 1 Nov 2006 www.huffingtonpost.com/joseph-nye/our-impoverished-discours_b_33069.html

³² *New Perspectives Quarterly* Special Issue on Public Diplomacy, Summer 2004, Reverse Public Diplomacy: *From Quagmire to Debacle in Iraq*, 'When Hard Power Undermines Soft Power' interview with Joseph Nye <http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers/vp01.cfm?outfit=pmt&folder=7&paper=1703>

³³ The reception and interpretation of a message will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

³⁴ www.youtube.com/watch?v=yRc_9wxniAY, 2:32

³⁵ www.youtube.com/watch?v=neHcGwCfpzo, 0:15

³⁶ See for example, Ozernoy, Ilana, 'Ears Wide Shut', *The Atlantic Monthly*, November 2006

³⁷ The spectrum of options presented here owes much to Nicholas J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*, Report commissioned by the Public Diplomacy Board, April 2007.

³⁸ Henrikson, Alan, 'Niche Diplomacy in the World Public Arena: the Global 'Corners' of Canada and Norway', in *The New Public Diplomacy*, ed. Jan Melissen, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2005

Rana, Kishan S., 'Singapore's Diplomacy: Vulnerability into Strength' *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 1 (2006) pp. 81–106

Also see: Tommy Koh's essay in Arun Mahizhnan and Lee Tsao Yuan (eds.), *Singapore: Re-engineering Success*, Singapore: Singapore Institute of Policy Studies, 1999

Pardo, Arvid, 'The Origins of the 1967 Malta Initiative', *International Insights*, 9(2) (1993) pp. 65–9

³⁹ Zaharna, R.S. 'The Network Paradigm of Strategic Public Diplomacy', *Foreign Policy in Focus*, Policy Brief, Vol. 10, No. 1, April 2005 www.fpif.org/briefs/vol10/v10n01pubdip.html

Also see: Jamie Metz, 'Network Diplomacy', *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Winter/Spring 2001 www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=681&prog=zgp

⁴⁰ www.britishcouncil.org/denmark-projects-network-effect.htm

⁴¹ Gregory, Bruce, 'Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication: Cultures, Firewalls, and Imported Norms'. Presentation at the American Political Science Association Conference on International Communication and Conflict, 31 August 2005 (p.11). Quoting *Cultural Diplomacy: Recommendations and Research*, Report of the Center for Arts and Culture, Washington DC, July 2004, pp. 8–9. While the report is titled *Cultural Diplomacy* this section fits more closely the concept of exchange.

- ⁴² For further discussions of a two-way, non-hierarchical approach see: Melissen, Jan, 'The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practise' in *The New Public Diplomacy*, ed. Jan Melissen, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2005, p.18
- Fisher, Ali, 'Public Diplomacy in the United Kingdom: The Future of Public Diplomacy, A European Perspective', Working Paper from the 2006 Madrid Conference on Public Diplomacy (Real Instituto Elcano, Madrid), November 2006
www.realinstitutoelcano.org/documentos/276.asp
- Arquilla, John and Ronfeldt, David, *The Emergence of Noopolitik: Toward an American Information Strategy* Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1999
- Zaharna, R.S. 'The Network Paradigm of Strategic Public Diplomacy,' Foreign Policy in Focus, Policy Brief, Vol. 10, No. 1, April 2005
www.fpif.org
- Metzl, Jamie, 'Network Diplomacy', *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Winter/Spring 2001
www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=681
- Riordan, Shaun, *The New Diplomacy*, Policy Press, Cambridge, 2003, p.130
- Hocking, Brian, 'Rethinking the "New" Public Diplomacy', in *The New Public Diplomacy*, ed. Jan Melissen, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2005, p.36
- ⁴³ www.leonardo.org.uk
- ⁴⁴ Cummings, Milton, *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey*, Washington D.C., Center for Arts and Culture, 2003
www.culturalpolicy.org/pdf/MCCpaper.pdf
- ⁴⁵ China National Office of Chinese Language Council International, Community College of Denver and University of Colorado Denver Health Sciences Center
- Opening Ceremony, 8 September 2007, Kenneth King Academic and Performing Arts Center at Auraria Campus, Denver, Colorado
www.greatwallchineseacademy.org/CIDProgram.pdf
- ⁴⁶ www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice
- ⁴⁷ Anholt, Simon and Hildreth, Jeremy, *Brand America*, Cyan, London, 2004, p. 29
- ⁴⁸ See Anholt, Simon, *Another One Bites The Grass: making sense of international advertising*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 2000
- ⁴⁹ Anholt, Simon and Hildreth, Jeremy, *Brand America*, Cyan, London, 2004
- Melissen, Jan, 'How Has Place Branding Developed? Opinion Piece', *Place Branding*, Vol 2, No. 1, 2006
- Melissen, Jan, 'Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy', *Clingendael Diplomacy Papers No.2* May 2005, pp. 22–24
- ⁵⁰ Spain's branding and public diplomacy was considered at Diplomacia Pública, 10 October 2006, Escuela Diplomática, Avda Juan XXIII, Madrid.
www.realinstitutoelcano.org/materiales/docs/ProgramaDiplomaciaPublicavs3octubre_Esp.pdf

This resulted in the working paper: *The Present and Future of Public Diplomacy: a European Perspective. The 2006 Madrid Conference on Public Diplomacy* (ed.) Javier Noya, Real Instituto Elcano, 2006
www.realinstitutoelcano.org/documentos/276.asp

Also see: www.brandsofspain.com/noticia.cfm?idnoticia=11

- ⁵¹ Gibson, Robert, 'Culture and Business; The Butterfly meets the Wolpertinger', *British Studies Now*, January 1994, pp. 6–7
www.britishcouncil.org/studies/bsn_pdfs/bsn03.pdf
- ⁵² Melissen, Jan, 'The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practise', *The New Public Diplomacy* ed. Jan Melissen, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2005, p. 18
- ⁵³ www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1161588728518 (FCO website)
- www.direct.gov.uk/en/TravelAndTransport/TravellingAbroad/IfThingsGoWrong/DG_40000_27 (government website)
- For information on Foreign and Commonwealth Office see:
www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1007029394770
- For information on British Council see: www.britishcouncil.org/home-contact-worldwide.htm?mtklink=corporate-homepage-contact-us-worldwide and
www.britishcouncil.org/annual-report/pdfs/BC-Intoduction.pdf
- ⁵⁴ The Department of State and Agency for International Development (USAID) *Strategic Plan for Fiscal Years 2007 to 2012*, May 2007, p. 4
- www.state.gov/documents/organization/86291.pdf
 For US embassies see: www.state.gov/documents/organization/86291.pdf;
<http://usembassy.state.gov/>
- ⁵⁵ Koh, Tommy and Chang Li Lin (eds.), *The Little Red Dot: Reflections by Singapore's Diplomats*, Singapore: World Scientific, 2005, p. 105
- ⁵⁶ Leifer, Michael, *Singapore's Foreign Policy: Coping with Vulnerability*, London: Routledge, 2000, p. 35. Also see Rana, Kishan S., 'Singapore's Diplomacy: Vulnerability into Strength', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 1, 2006, pp. 81–106
- ⁵⁷ Rana, Kishan S., 'Singapore's Diplomacy: Vulnerability into Strength', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 1, 2006, pp. 85, 97
- ⁵⁸ Cull, Nicholas, *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign against American "Neutrality" in World War II*, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 3
- ⁵⁹ Cull, Nicholas, *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign against American "Neutrality" in World War II*, Oxford University Press, 1996
- ⁶⁰ Rana, Kishan S., 'Singapore's Diplomacy: Vulnerability into Strength', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 1, 2006, pp. 81–106
- ⁶¹ Parfitt, Tom, 'Russia turns off supplies to Ukraine in payment row, and EU feels the chill', *Guardian Unlimited* 2 January 2006
www.guardian.co.uk/russia/article/0,2763,1676556,00.html

Figures on Japan see: The Japan Iron and Steel Federation.
www.jisf.or.jp/en/statistics/sij/rawmaterials.html

⁶² Scofield, David, 'Dynamic Korea: Hub of Asia' – or is it?' *Asia Times Online*, 6 March 2004
www.atimes.com/atimes/Korea/FC06Dg05.html

Jones, Jeffery, 'Dynamic Korea, Hub of Asia', Korea.net
www.korea.net/News/issues/issueDetailView.asp?board_no=336&menu_code=B#top;
Recently this approach has been rebranded as 'Korea, Sparking' which symbolises the lively energy of the Korean people and culture, which you will no doubt experience while travelling in Korea. See Tour2Korea, 'Korea Sparkling! What is it?'
http://english.tour2korea.com/07T2KZone/koreasparkling/sparkling.asp?konum=1&kosm=m7_6#;
Michael Breen, 'Does Korea Sparkle?', The Korea Times, 29 April 2007
www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2007/11/170_1967.html

⁶³ See for example, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education
www.obhe.ac.uk/cgi-bin/news/article.pl?id=275&mode=month

⁶⁴ www.technorati.com/about/

⁶⁵ www.technorati.com/about/

⁶⁶ Cluetrain website: www.cluetrain.com/book/95-theses.html

⁶⁷ *95 theses, The Cluetrain Manifesto*, www.cluetrain.com/book/95-theses.html (Emphasis added)

Locke, Christopher, Levine, Rick, Doc Searls and David Weinberger, *The Cluetrain Manifesto: The End of Business as Usual*, Perseus Books Group, 2001

⁶⁸ Raymond, Eric Steven, *The Cathedral and the Bazaar*. Comments by Eric Steven Raymond, see www.cluetrain.com/book.html, O'Reilly, October 1999

⁶⁹ *95 theses, The Cluetrain Manifesto*, www.cluetrain.com/book/95-theses.html

⁷⁰ Schulke, Hans-Jürgen, 'Public Viewing bei der WM 2006', Universität Bremen
<http://mlecture.uni-bremen.de/intern/ss2006/fb09/vak-09-655/20060522b/folien.pdf>

⁷¹ www.live8.com

⁷² Fiske de Gouveia, Philip, *European Infopolitik. Developing EU Public Diplomacy Strategy*, The Foreign Policy Centre, November 2005, Recommendation 12

⁷³ Quoted in Wise, David and Ross, Thomas, *The Invisible Government*, New York, 1964, p. 349 and Lucas, Scott, *Freedom's War: The American crusade against the Soviet Union*, New York University Press, New York, 1999, p. 258

⁷⁴ Publication of the Stern Review on the Economics of Climate change, 30 October 2006
www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/newsroom_and_speeches/press/2006/press_stern_06.cfm

⁷⁵ Further information can be found in: NATO Military Public Affairs Policy MC 0457/1, September 2007

⁷⁶ EUNIC website (Source: www.eunic-europe.eu/EUNIC%20website/index.html)

⁷⁷ Further information can be found on the EUNIC website: www.eunic-europe.eu

⁷⁸ E-mail received from Kathinka Dittrich van Weringh, October 2007