Public Diplomacy: Conceptual Framework, Real Functions

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Three Ways to Influence Others

- Coercion (sticks)
- Payments (carrots)
- Persuasion (soft power)
- What matters is to effectively combine these elements of power = "smart power."

Defining "Soft Power"

• the ability to get "others to want the outcome that you want" and "it rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others."

Soft Power is "attractive power," the power to encourage others to do what you want them to do without forcing them to do so.

Three Sources of A Nation's Soft Power

- Its culture when it is seen as attractive by others;
- Its political values when it behaves consistently with those values at home and abroad;
- Its foreign policies when others see it as legitimate and moral.
- HARD POWER?

Relations between Hard and Soft Power

- Can a nation exercise soft power without hard power?
- Does hard power support soft power?
- Does an increase in hard power necessarily translate to an increase in soft power?
- Conversely, does a decline in the first cause a drop in the second type of power?
- There is no consensus on these questions.

Two Opposing Views

- Joseph Nye, Jr.: "Sometimes countries enjoy political influence that is greater than their military and economic weight would suggest because they define their national interest to include attractive causes such as economic aid or peacekeeping." A country with enormous hard economic and military power may undercut its soft power by adopting coercive policies toward others.
- Samuel P. Huntington: soft power requires a foundation of hard power. Culture and ideology become attractive "when they are seen as rooted in material success and influence."

HARD POWER VERSUS SOFT POWER

Туре	Hard Power		
	Military	Economic	Soft Power
Behaviors	Coercion; deterrence	Inducement; coercion	Attraction; agenda- setting; co-optation
Resources	Force; threats	Sanctions; payments	Values; culture; policies; institutions
Government policies	Coercive diplomacy; war; alliance	Aid; bribes	Public diplomacy; bilateral and multilateral diplomacy

Limits of Soft Power

- Power as an attribute or relations;
- Power is in the eyes of the beholder, soft power more so than hard power.
- Non-accessibility of soft power

Many elements of soft power are beyond the control of political leaders or policymakers and not readily available as instruments of policy.

- Non- fungiblity of power
 - Soft power may not be able to substitute for hard power.
- Non-transferability of soft power: It is time/space-bound.
 - Yesterday's soft power may not be effective or appropriate today or tomorrow. What passes as soft power in one place may not in another.
- Long-term investment required for building soft power

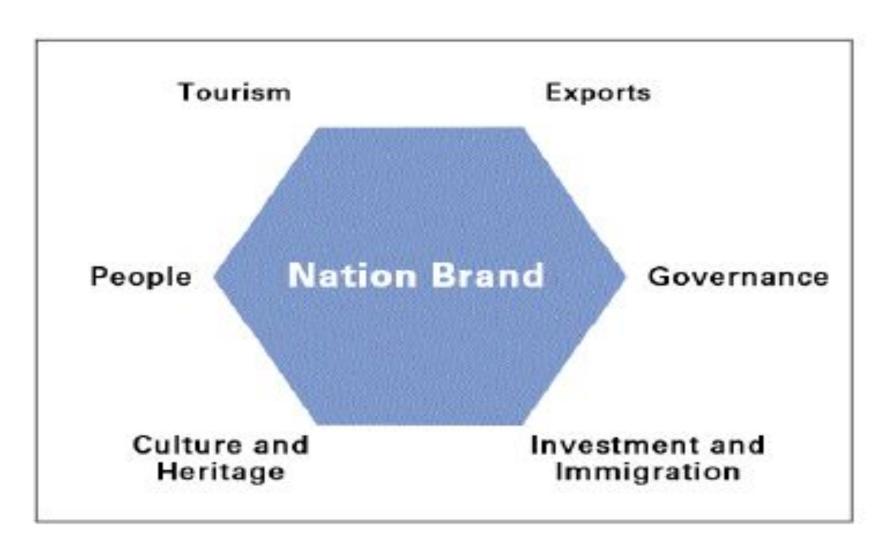
SMART POWER

• Smart power is defined as the capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing.

SOFT POWER SOURCES, REFEREES, AND RECEIVERS

Sources of Soft Power	Referees for Credibility or Legitimacy	Receivers of Soft Power
Foreign policies	Governments, media, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), intergovernmental organizations (IGOs)	Foreign governments and publics
Domestic values and policies	Media, NGOs, IGOs	Foreign governments and publics
High culture	Governments, NGOs, IGOs	Foreign governments and publics
Pop culture	Media, markets	Foreign publics

The Nation Brand Hexagon © Simon Anholt



Tourism

- Tourism is often the most visibly promoted aspect of the nation brand, since most tourist boards spend lots of money on 'selling' the country around the world.
- Blue skies and golden sands or snow-capped mountains are only a tiny part of the reality of a country, but because these images are often so aggressively promoted, they have a disproportionate effect on people's perceptions of the country as a whole.

Exports

- In this point of the hexagon, we ask consumers about their level of satisfaction with products and services produced in each country,
- and also about their perceptions of each country's contribution to progress in science and technology.
- Whether we like it or not, commercial brands are increasingly performing the role of transmitting national culture,
- they have become one of the primary vectors of national image, and are more and more often the means by which people form their views about national identity.

Governance

- Here, we ask respondents to rank countries according to how competently and fairly they are governed,
- How much they respect the human rights of their own citizens,
- How far they trust them to make responsible decisions which uphold international peace and security, and
- What their international contribution is to the environment and poverty reduction.
- We also ask for an adjective which best described the government in each country.

Investment and immigration

- This point of the hexagon looks at the 'human capital' aspect of the nation brand,
- Asking respondents about their personal willingness to live and work in each country for a substantial period, and
- Their views on which country would be the most suitable for obtaining a higher educational qualification.
- We also ask for an adjective which best describes the country's current economic and social condition.

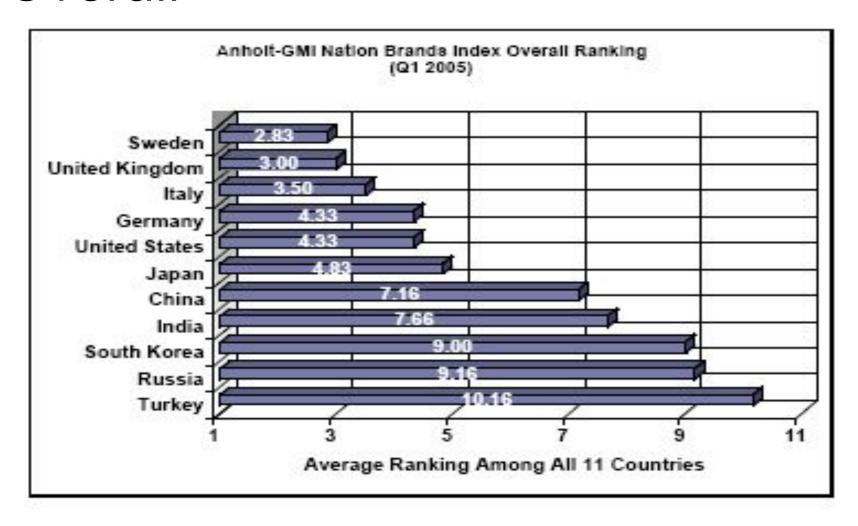
Culture and heritage

- In this point of the hexagon, we ask questions which are designed to measure perceptions of the country's cultural heritage;
- Their appreciation of or intention to consume its popular, more commercial cultural products and activities; and
- Their perceptions of its sporting prowess.
- In addition, we ask respondents to name what kind of cultural activity they most expect to find in each country, in order to understand how they perceive the country's main cultural strengths.

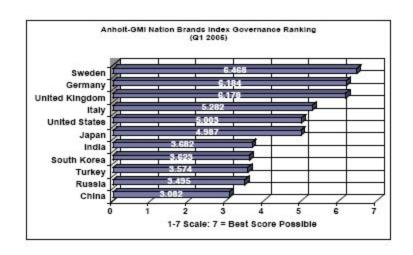
People

- To understand how the 'human capital' of each country is viewed, we ask a 'business-to-business' question ("Imagine you are a manager and need to make an important hiring. Please rank the following countries in order of your preference for the nationality of your candidate") and
- Some 'non-business' questions to probe how welcoming the people of the country are perceived to be, and whether they are the kind of people that respondents would choose to have as a close personal friend.
- Respondents are also asked to select the

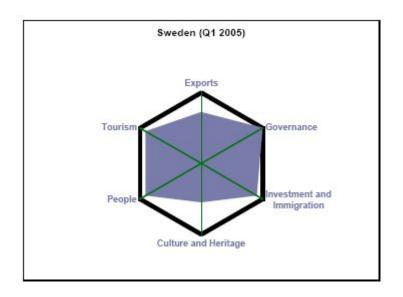
Overall



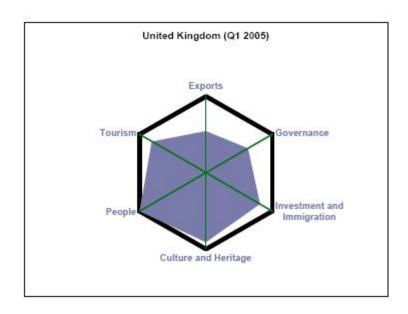
Governance Rankings



Sweden Hexagons



UK Hexagons



Your Country's Hard and Soft Power

- Evidence?
 - How is it expressed? What is the balance between hard and soft power?
- Sources?
 - Are they strengthening or weakening? Is your country making proper investment in its future hard and soft power?
- Effectiveness?
 - How do others see it? Is your country balancing the hard with soft power effectively and appropriately?
- Limitations?
 - Is your country aware of the limitations of its power?

Public Diplomacy

- Public Diplomacy is
- an instrument
- governments use
- to communicate with and
- attract public of
- other governments
- rather than merely their governments

Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy is a term that describes ways and means by which states, diplomacy associations of states, and non-state actors understand cultures, attitudes, and defined behavior; build and manage relationships; and influence opinions and actions to advance their interests and values.

Public Diplomacy Branches

- Cultural Diplomacy
- Media Diplomacy
- Exchange Diplomacy
- Psychological Operations/ War
- Other branches like sport diplomacy, art diplomacy, etc.

- After its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, the French government sought to repair the nation's shattered prestige by promoting its language and literature through the Alliance Francaise created in 1883.
- "The projection of French culture abroad thus became a significant component of French diplomacy".
- Italy, Germany, and others soon followed suit.

- World War I saw a rapid acceleration of efforts to deploy soft power, as most of those governments established offices to propagandize their cause.
- The United States not only established its own office but was a central target of other countries
- During the early years before American entry into the war, Britain and Germany competed to create favorable images in American public opinion.

- The United States was a relative latecomer to the idea of using information and culture for the purposes of diplomacy.
- In 1917, President Woodrow Wilson established a Committee on Public Information directed by his friend, the newspaperman George Creel.
- In Creel's words, his task was "a vast enterprise in salesmanship, the world's greatest adventure in advertising" (Rosenberg 1982, 79).
- Creel insisted that his office's activities did not constitute propaganda and were merely educational and informative.
- But the facts belied his denials.
- Among other things, Creel
- 1- organized tours,
- 2- churned out pamphlets on "the Gospel of Americanism,"
- 3- established a government-run news service,
- 4- made sure that motion picture producers received wartime allotments of scarce materials, and saw to it that the films portrayed America in a positive light.
- 5- The office aroused suspicions sufficient enough that it was

- The advent of radio in the 1920s led many governments into the arena of foreign-language broadcasting,
- and in the 1930s, communists and fascists competed to promote favorable images to foreign publics.
- In addition to its foreign language radio broadcasts, Nazi Germany perfected the propaganda film.
- As Britain's Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden realized about the new communications in 1937, "It is perfectly true, of course, that good cultural propaganda cannot remedy the damage done by a bad foreign policy, but it is

- By the late 1930s, the Roosevelt administration was convinced that "America's security depended on its ability to speak to and to win the support of people in other countries".
- President Roosevelt was particularly concerned about German propaganda in Latin America.
- In 1938, the State Department established a Division of Cultural Relations, and supplemented it two years later with an Office of Inter-American Affairs that, under Nelson Rockefeller, actively promoted information about America and its culture to Latin America.

- In 1939, Germany beamed seven hours of programming a week to Latin America, and the United States about twelve.
- By 1941, the United States broadcast around the clock.
- After America's entry into the war, the government's cultural offensive became global in scope.
- In 1942, Roosevelt created an Office of Wartime Information (OWI) to deal in presumably accurate information, while an intelligence organization, the Office of Strategic Service, included among its functions the dissemination of disinformation.
- The OWI even worked to shape Hollywood into an effective propaganda tool, suggesting additions and deletions to many films and denying licenses to others.
- And Hollywood executives were happy to
 cooperate out of a mixture of patriotism and

- Well before the cold war, "American corporate and advertising executives, as well as the heads of Hollywood studios, were selling not only their products but also America's culture and values, the secrets of its success, to the rest of the world"
- Wartime soft power resources were created partly by the government and in part independently.
- What became known as the Voice of America grew rapidly during World War II.
- Modeled after the BBC, by 1943 it had twenty-three transmitters delivering news

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- With the growth of the Soviet threat in the cold war, public diplomacy continued to expand, but so did a debate about the extent to which it should be a captive purveyor of government information or an independent representative of American culture.
- Special radios were added such as Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, which used exiles to broadcast to the Eastern bloc.
- More generally, as the cold war developed, there was a division between those who favored the slow media of cultural diplomacy—art, books, exchanges—which had a "trickle down effect," and those who favored the fast information media of radio, movies, and newsreels, which promised more immediate and visible "bang for the buck."
- Although the tension has never fully been resolved to this day, public diplomacy of both sorts helped to erode faith in communism behind the Iron Curtain.
- When the Berlin Wall finally went down in 1989, it collapsed under the assault of hammers and bulldozers, not an artillery barrage

- With the end of the cold war, Americans were more interested in budget savings than in investments in soft power.
- From 1963 to 1993, the federal budget grew fifteen-fold, but the United States Information Agency (USIA) budget grew only six and a half times larger.
- The USIA had more than 12,000 employees at its peak in the mid-1960s but only 9,000 in 1994 and 6,715 on the eve of its takeover by the U.S. State Department
- Soft power seemed expendable.
- Between 1989 and 1999, the budget of the USIA, adjusted for inflation, decreased 10 percent. While government-funded radio broadcasts reached half the Soviet population every week and between 70 and 80 percent of the populace of Eastern Europe during the cold war, at the beginning of the new century, a mere 2 percent of Arabs heard the VOA.
- Resources for the USIA mission in Indonesia, the world's

- From 1995 to 2001, academic and cultural exchanges dropped from forty-five thousand to twenty-nine thousand annually, while many accessible downtown cultural centers and libraries were closed
- In comparison, the BBC World Service had half again as many weekly listeners around the globe as did the VOA.
- Public diplomacy had become so identified with fighting the cold war that few Americans noticed that with an information revolution occurring, soft power was becoming more rather than less important.
- Government policies reflected popular attitudes.
 For example, the percentage of foreign affairs articles on the front page of U.S. Newspapers dropped by nearly half.

Public Diplomacy in an Information Age

- Promoting positive images of one's country is not new, but the conditions for projecting soft power have transformed dramatically in recent years.
- For one thing, nearly half the countries in the world are now democracies. The competitive cold war model has become less relevant as a guide for public diplomacy.
- While there is still a need to provide accurate information to populations in countries like Burma or Syria, where the government controls information, there is a new need to garner favorable public opinion in countries like Mexico and Turkey, where parliaments can now affect decision making.
- For example, when the United States sought support for the Iraq war, such as Mexico's vote in the UN or Turkey's permission for American troops to cross its territory, the decline of American soft power created a disabling rather

- Shaping public opinion becomes even more important where authoritarian governments have been replaced.
- Public support was not so important when the United States successfully sought the use of bases in authoritarian countries, but it turned out to be crucial under the new democratic conditions in Mexico and Turkey.
- Even when foreign leaders are friendly, their leeway may be limited if their publics and parliaments have a negative image of the United States.
- In such circumstances, diplomacy aimed at public opinion can become as important to outcomes as the traditional classified

- Information is power, and today a much larger part of the world's population has access to that power.
- Long gone are the days when "small teams of American foreign service officers drove Jeeps to the hinterlands of Latin America and other remote regions of the world to show reel-to-reel movies to isolated audiences
- Technological advances have led to a dramatic reduction in the cost of processing and transmitting information.
- The result is an explosion of information, and that has produced a "paradox of plenty".
- Plenty of information leads to scarcity of attention. When people are overwhelmed with the volume of information confronting them, it is hard to know what to focus on.
- Attention rather than information becomes the scarce resource, and those who can distinguish valuable information from background clutter gain power.

- Among editors and cue-givers, credibility is the crucial resource and an important
- source of soft power.
- Reputation becomes even more important than in the past, and political struggles occur over the creation and destruction of credibility.
- Governments compete for credibility not only with other governments but with a broad range of alternatives including news media, corporations, nongovernmental
- organizations (NGOs), intergovernmental organizations, and networks of scientific communities.
- Politics has become a contest of competitive credibility.
- The world of traditional power politics is typically about whose military or economy wins. Politics in an information age "may ultimately be about whose story wins".
- Governments compete with each other and with other organizations to enhance their own credibility and

- Reputation has always mattered in world politics, but the role of credibility becomes an even more important power resource because of the "paradox of plenty."
- Information that appears to be propaganda may not only be scorned, but it may also turn out to be counterproductive if it undermines a country's reputation for credibility.
- Exaggerated claims about Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction and ties to Al Qaeda may have helped mobilize domestic support for the Iraq war, but the subsequent disclosure of the exaggeration dealt a costly blow to American credibility. Similarly, the treatment of prisoners at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo in a manner inconsistent with American values led to perceptions of hypocrisy that could not be reversed by broadcasting pictures of Muslims living well in America.
- In fact, the slick production values of the new American satellite television station Alhurra did not make it competitive in the Middle East, where it was widely regarded as an instrument of government propaganda.
- Under the new conditions of the information age, more than ever, the soft sell may prove more effective than the hard sell.
- Without underlying national credibility, the instruments of

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- Under the new conditions of the information age, more than ever, the soft sell may prove more effective than the hard sell.
- Without underlying national credibility, the instruments of public diplomacy cannot translate cultural resources into the soft power of attraction.
- The effectiveness of public diplomacy is measured by minds changed (as shown in interviews or polls), not dollars spent or slick

Main Theoretical Debates

- Propaganda vs. Public Diplomacy: are they the same?
- Identity Crisis: official/ governmental vs. non-official/ non governmental;
- Political advocacy vs. Cultural Communication
- Integration with Foreign Policy?
- Efficiency

Three conceptual models of public diplomacy

- In the first model, states used public diplomacy in aggressive relationships to achieve long-term results in foreign societies. In this model, a government uses its own means of communication, such as radio stations, to conduct public diplomacy,
- The non-state transnational model is a theoretical concept designed to investigate public diplomacy activities of groups, NGOs, and individuals using public diplomacy across national boundaries.
- In the domestic PR model, it hires PR firms

Dimensions of P.D.

- The mix of direct government information with long-term cultural Public relationships varies with three dimensions of public diplomacy, and all three Diplomacies are important.
- The first and most immediate is daily communications, which involves explaining the context of domestic and foreign policy decisions.
- The second dimension is strategic communication, which develops a set of simple themes much as a political or advertising campaign does.
- The third dimension of public diplomacy is the development of lasting relationships with key individuals over many years through scholarships, exchanges, training, seminars, conferences, and access to media channels.

Three layers of Public Diplomacy

- Monologue: When a nation wants the people of the world to understand where it stands, there may be no better vehicle than a governmental address or a document.
- Dialogue: A number of public diplomacy scholars and practitioners have called for increased cross-national dialogue, the creation of an "international public sphere," and a "conversation of cultures."
- © Collaboration Those concerned with articulating and formulating public diplomacy policies and theories have, to date, largely a critical and often more effective means of engaging foreign

Five Taxonomies of Public Diplomacy

- Listening: Through listening, an actor attempts to manage the international environment by collecting and collating data on the opinions of overseas publics and using that data to redirect policy or a wider public diplomacy approach accordingly.
- Advocacy: Advocacy in public diplomacy is an actor's attempt to manage the international environment by undertaking an international communication activity to actively promote a particular policy, an idea, or an actor's general interests in the

Five Taxonomies of Public Diplomacy

- Cultural Diplomacy: Cultural diplomacy is an actor's attempt to manage the international Diplomacy environment by making its cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad.
- Exchange Diplomacy: Exchange diplomacy is an actor's attempt to manage the international Diplomacy environment by sending its citizens overseas and reciprocally accepting citizens from overseas for a period of study and/or acculturation.

Five Taxonomies of Public Diplomacy

- International Broadcasting: International broadcasting is an actor's attempt to manage the international News Broadcast environment by using the technologies of radio, television, and the Internet to engage with foreign publics.
- International broadcasting work, as practiced by states, can overlap with all the other public diplomacy functions.
- Historically, the most potent element of international broadcasting has been its use of news, especially when that news is objective.

Basic Taxonomies of P.D.

Type of Public Diplomacy	Sample Activities	State in Which This Form of Public Diplomacy Has Been Salient
1. Listening	Targeted polling	Switzerland
2. Advocacy	Embassy press relations	United States
3. Cultural diplomacy	State-funded international art tour	France
4. Exchange diplomacy	Two-way academic exchange	Japan
5. International broadcasting	Foreign-language short-wave radio broadcasting	Britain

Taxonomy of Time/Flow of Information/Infrastructure in P.D.

Type of Public Diplomacy	Time Frame	Flow of Information	Typical Infrastructure
1. Listening	Short and long term	Inward to analysts and policy process	Monitoring technology and language-trained staff
2. Advocacy	Short term	Outward	Embassy press office, foreign ministry strategy office
3. Cultural diplomacy	Long term	Outward	Cultural center and/or library
4. Exchange diplomacy	Very long term	Inward and outward	Exchange administrator, educational office
5. International broadcasting	Medium term	Outward but from a news bureaucracy	News bureaus, production studios, editorial offices, and transmitter facilities

TAXONOMY OF CREDIBILITY IN STATE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Type of Public Diplomacy	Source of Credibility	Helped by Perceived Connection to Government?	Helped by Perceived Distance from Government?
1. Listening	Validity of methods used	Yes, if it implies the actor is listening to world opinion	No, if it implies the actor is not listening to world opinion
2. Advocacy	Proximity to government	Yes	No
3. Cultural diplomacy	Proximity to cultural authorities	No	Yes
4. Exchange diplomacy	Perception of mutuality	Yes, if it implies the actor is listening to the world	Yes, if it implies the exchange is not self-interested
5. International broadcasting	Evidence of good journalistic practice	Usually no	Yes