

Four seasons in one day: The crowded house of Public Diplomacy in the UK

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Public Diplomacy in the United Kingdom can be viewed both in terms of the core structure and those organisations which fall outside this structure but fall within the spectrum of PD activity. While numerous definitions of Public Diplomacy have been offered by both practitioners and theorists, the definition offered by the last public diplomacy review stated it was;

“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.”¹
Carter Report definition of Public Diplomacy, December 2005

More recently the Foreign and Commonwealth Office have begun using; 'Public diplomacy' is what we use to achieve our Strategic International Priorities (SPs) through our work with the public overseas.²
FCO Annual Report 2006/2007

These and further politically motivated iterations will continue to be produced with the focus on a specific institutional use. Definition is useful when part of conceptual clarification, but when it is used as part of territorial demarcation in increasingly introspective struggles it has less practical purpose.³ Neither the UK definition nor the official public diplomacy structure covers the full range of activities which could be considered public diplomacy by the vast majority of definitions.

While some countries might be characterised as having a particular approach to PD this article demonstrates the very British tendency to develop a wide range of

approaches. In the British System the official and unofficial worlds of public diplomacy interact across the spectrum of activity in the UK.⁴

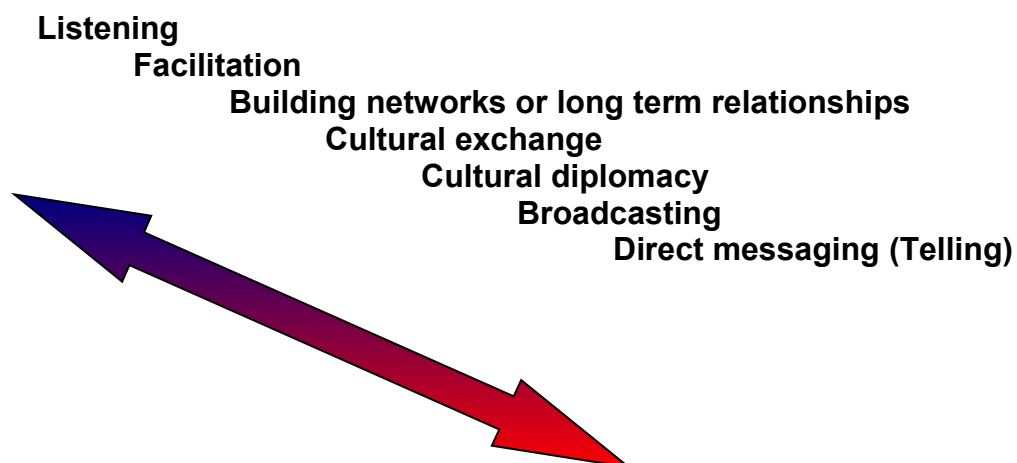
The Spectrum of activity in the UK

In response to *The 9/11 Commission Report* Bruce Gregory argued that

A 'reinvigorated interagency process' must deal with stovepipes:
tribal cultures, firewalls, multiple agencies, numerous
Congressional committees, and a decentralized budget process.⁵

Dealing with the internecine bureaucratic conflict and the difficulties of a silo or stovepipe approach is one part of dealing with an interagency process. However, it is equally important to ensure a clear link between the practical considerations and the different approaches available to a country or PD organisation. The creation of a spectrum of activity, organisational roles can be aligned against would provide a means to; divide roles into different areas, reduce duplication and conflict, or identify areas in which cooperation could be particularly fruitful due to shared approach. Clearly tensions will always exist, but a common understanding of the range of activity provides a means to identify both potential areas of cooperation and points of difference in approach.

The spectrum of public diplomacy activity can be viewed on a scale which ranges from primarily 'listening' to predominantly 'telling'. While a degree of listening is required in all public diplomacy to ensure that activity is tailored to the audience, it is the degree to which listening is part of the activity rather than merely part of crafting the message which defines the spectrum.⁶ Nation Branding and tourism or trade promotion, which are in effect Government sponsored international advertising, appear at the 'telling' end of the spectrum and can be generally considered along side policy advocacy or information correction. Public diplomacy largely based on the facilitation of the aims of the audience, for example programs associated with development work, reside closer to the listening end of the spectrum. A full range of these activities can be represented as:



Listening

Consciously and publicly listening to the perspective of others can be a public diplomacy act in itself; in PD it may be the way you act rather than what you say that changes the behaviour of others. Listening is more than just polling, it is demonstrating that views of those overseas are taken seriously and consideration is given to those perspectives. Clearly there is a danger that such listening exercises will not be perceived to be credible if it is believed listening is merely for show, and a pre-ordained action will be taken regardless of what is said.⁷

Facilitation

Providing others with the means of achieving their goals can allow a PD 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 through negotiation or dialogue. The construction of plans with representatives of the recipient audience provides for the realisation of specific objectives in a manner the audience both welcomes and over which they feel ownership. This ties the audience to the realisation of PD goals because they are viewed as being developed in an endogenous rather than exogenous manner. This type of activity has also been evident in the niche diplomacy adopted by countries such as Norway and Canada in recent years.⁸

Building Networks or long-term relationships

R.S. Zaharna argued, “networking has replaced information dominance as the new model of persuasion in the global communication era”.⁹ Creating networks for the long term must engage people on the basis of their priorities. However, it can also create a network 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. This type of activity is based on identifying individuals or groups who will be influential in the future and 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 results in the short term. 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.

Cultural Exchange

The midway point 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, exchange is no longer the sole preserve of the traditional travel based programs. “Success requires listening to others, recognizing the ‘value of other cultures,’ showing a desire to learn from them, and conducting programs as a ‘two-way street’.”¹⁰ If it is one way it is merely advocacy under another name, which poses the danger of raising expectations of reciprocity which will not be fulfilled, and should be considered cultural diplomacy.¹¹

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 a cultural good to an audience in an attempt to engage them in the ideas which the producer perceives to be represented by it. 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”.¹² Whatever the language used, the key difference between exchange and diplomacy is power dynamic; reciprocity and a symmetrical relationship characterise exchange, presentation and one way communication are a greater part of cultural diplomacy.

Broadcasting

Media production, mainly news, for mass consumption is one way communication, but rather than total messaging it presents a particular perspective e.g. Al Jazeera, The Guardian, Fox News. It has to balance perspective and content to maintain the credibility of the broadcaster with the target audience. This may be classic state based broadcasting, though may also take a particular regional, political or religious perspective. Equally, the movement away from the classic broadcasting includes increasing 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 domestic content up to audiences overseas. Distinctions between cultural diplomacy and broadcasting may be small as it provides a cultural perspective through a form of one way communication.

Direct Messaging

Direct messaging is constructed to achieve a particular public diplomacy aim and is pursued without reciprocity. It is the ‘telling’ end of the spectrum and attempts to leave as little space for alternative interpretations as possible. There are a range of methods within this area including Nation Branding, Strategic Communication, or Marketing including promotion of Universities, Tourism or Trade in general.¹³ 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”.¹⁴ While lack of interest applies more to Nation Branding than information correction, direct messaging it is not a negotiation, it is not symmetrical. It is one way communication designed to change the way the audience acts, without the need for reciprocity. It does however, come with the danger that, should the producer become too fixed on purely telling the message they produce could well be understood by the audience in a totally different way from the original meaning.¹⁵

Relating the Spectrum to UK Public Diplomacy

The spectrum of activity, from listening to telling, allows the relative roles of the different organisations conducting public diplomacy in the UK to be recognised. Just as countries have become known for an emphasis on a

particular approach so UK organisations in general terms have a *tendency* toward certain areas of the spectrum. This provides a framework through which to identify the areas of overlap and tension that exist within the system. In doing so the role of those organisations who exist outside the official definition, but which fall within most conceptual definitions also becomes clear.

The core of the UK Public Diplomacy structure is recognised through membership of the Public Diplomacy Board.¹⁶ The organisations represented on the board are; “Foreign and Commonwealth Office, British Council and BBC World Service (with observer status in view of the BBCWS’ editorial independence)”.¹⁷ The board was created following the Carter Review to “improve public diplomacy effectiveness” through “setting the strategic direction of UK public diplomacy”.¹⁸ This initially creates a hierarchical approach, as the objectives are set and then passed down to organisations. However, as Lord Triesman, noted recently this created a tension.¹⁹ Could the various public diplomacy organisations “create shared objectives without interfering, for example, with the BBC World Service’s complete editorial independence or the British Council’s operational decision-making?”²⁰ This question accurately highlights the way the priorities are applied in different ways by the different members of the UK public diplomacy structure, demonstrated by the different positions they occupy on the spectrum of PD activity.

British Council

Placing the core members of British public diplomacy on the spectrum of activity, the organisation which occupies the area closest to ‘listening’ is the British Council. However, it should be recognised that the British Council operates across a broader range of the spectrum than its public diplomacy partners. The emphasis in institutional nomenclature on ‘mutual benefit’ reflects Jan Melissen’s argument; “(m)odern public diplomacy is a ‘two-way street’, even though the diplomat practising it will of course always have his own country’s interests and foreign policy goals in mind”.²¹ In conceiving of its work as ‘Cultural Relations’ the British Council places emphasis on the use of culture to develop a “multi-layered network of relations” to use Shaun Riordan’s phrase.²²

The British Council adopts a facilitative approach through programs such as HE Links. HE Links, funded by DFID and delivered in partnership with the British Council, supports “capacity building in higher education in developing countries”.²³ Facilitative programs, along with listening exercises have the inherent difficulty that they rarely seek to promote the nation that is paying for the operation. In an environment of increased pressure for measurable results, efficiency and valorisation, the impact or value for money of these programs are harder to demonstrate in terms of nation promotion.

The criticisms of this type of approach, however, misunderstand a fundamental dichotomy of public diplomacy development. Public diplomacy is not merely about selling policy, it is about achieving specific objectives; it is about changing behaviour rather than just perceptions.²⁴ This facilitative

approach is increasingly being recognised as part of UK Public Diplomacy strategy, as Lord Triesman argued:

I do not believe it is necessary for the UK to get credit for its role in raising consciousness or nudging a foreign government towards a new policy. I want to see the change take place. I don't mind if there are no bouquets.²⁵

Moving further along the spectrum, the British Council engages in the development of long term relationships or networks, through programs such as *The Network Effect*, which focuses on the high degree of “interconnectedness” between civil societies and functions in an environment of greater “openness and transnational cooperation”.²⁶ The network based approach, in which participants seek mutual benefit through dialogue, ensures that a program maintains relevance to the various local groups engaged within a transnational project. In this type of work the emphasis is on the promotion of free exchange of ideas, rather than advocacy of a specific perspective. However, networks must also need a purpose or issue around which to unite. Laurie Wilson’s leaking boat analogy is important here: “It is like being trapped in a leaky boat: If you spend all your time bailing and none of it rowing, you will never get to shore”.²⁷ To provide a dynamic for discussion *The Network Effect* has focused on issues such as ‘Social diversity and Cities’ or ‘Media and Legitimacy in European Democracy’.

Cultural exchange sits at the centre of the spectrum, if based on a symmetrical relationship, in which both sides are engaged in ‘listening’ and ‘telling’. This type of work is fulfilled by *Connecting Classrooms* and *Global Xchange* projects providing different digital or physical approaches to the concept of cultural exchange.²⁸ However, should an exchange program be based on a one way engagement, it would be better considered cultural diplomacy, alongside the production of exhibitions such as *Turning Points* held in Tehran in 2004.²⁹

The wide range of British Council activity reaches direct messaging or advocacy, in a limited number of cases. In Uganda “(a) cross-section of people, including the government’s Ministry of Gender, were invited to contribute research” on “diversity issues facing people and organisations”.³⁰ Within three months the Equal Opportunities Act was adopted in Uganda. Other examples include work on Climate Change³¹ The approach may be based on building a network and developing relationships, but these relationships also have the purpose of promoting a specific position. Equally, the education reform work conducted by the British Council has a specific purpose. The advocacy work creates a potential for tension as the British Council states its mission in the Annual Report; “to build beneficial relationships between people in the United Kingdom and other countries”.³² Mutual benefit defined by one actor, as in the case of policy advocacy or direct messaging, creates a tension with the concept of mutuality, particularly if linked to the focus on dialogue. Some audiences may feel that dialogue with a predetermined purpose is not genuine dialogue, but persuasion by another name.

In addition to the challenges specific to certain types of operations, the British Council also faces the challenge of clearly articulating its approach to public diplomacy given the vast range of activity in which it engages. The spectrum of activity in which the British Council is engaged, from facilitation, through cultural diplomacy and cultural exchange to direct messaging, makes any single articulation difficult. This has the potential to have an impact on the practical level; programs with different emphasis on ‘listening’ or ‘telling’ can exist within British Council engagement with a single target audience. Furthermore, without clear articulation there is the danger of programs containing assumptions which are inappropriate to the type of approach. Such a situation could limit the impact of the program and the efficiency of the organisation. However, this challenge is not limited to the British Council; any public diplomacy organisation which adopts a mixed approach across the spectrum of activity must negotiate this challenge either through clear articulation of assumptions or the construction of internal firewalls between the different approaches.

BBC World Service

While the British Council occupies a wide range of public diplomacy activity, the focus of the BBC World Service (BBCWS) is much narrower. The nature of broadcasting, particularly by radio, causes it to be largely one way communication, and as such places the emphasis on ‘telling’. However, broadcasting is about presenting a credible perspective rather than the production of direct messaging. As such, BBCWS seeks “to provide the most trusted, relevant and high quality international news in the world, and an indispensable service of *independent* analysis, with an *international* perspective, which promotes greater understanding of complex issues”.³³ The appearance of editorial independence is a vital part of the credibility of BBCWS. Despite the emphasis on independence, the decision to broadcast in a particular language is based, in part, on the region in which a language is spoken and “the strategic importance of that region for Britain”. This is of such importance that the “Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the British government, which funds BBC World Service...takes part in the decision-making process”.³⁴

Changes in international priorities and the growth of satellite TV, including Al Jazeera, have caused an increased emphasis on products such as the BBC Pashtu service broadcast in Afghanistan.³⁵ Lord Triesman has argued that it “is a vital tool ...and crucially reaches Helmand, where our armed forces face Taliban fighters. Through public diplomacy, we hope to make their job easier by making it harder for the Taliban to find safe haven.”³⁶ Other services have experienced a return to prominence, such as BBC Arabic Service, originally launched in 1938, it features programs such as *Al alam hatha al sabah* (The World This Morning).³⁷

However, there is a potential tension between seeking recognition as a broadcaster with “*independent* analysis, with an *international* perspective” and achieving specific public diplomacy objectives. In this sense, BBCWS has a Janus-faced identity caught between the hierarchical approach of top down, one way, communication and the production of a multilateral understanding of

news broadcasting through the emphasis on producing an international perspective. With one face it feeds into a conception of PD which thrives in highly interdependent regions and between countries that are linked by multiple transnational relationships and a substantial degree of ‘interconnectedness’ between their civil societies.³⁸ However, this network approach is limited by the other face, represented by the one way nature of international broadcasting, despite the inclusion of local perspectives and interactivity. The crux of the tension between the two faces of BBCWS is the tension between the independence and international reputation on the one hand and the realisation of certain PD goals on the other. In organisational terms this had been recognised by the “observer status” BBCWS holds on the UK public diplomacy board.³⁹

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

As a government department, the Foreign Office approach to public diplomacy is dominated by direct messaging, particularly policy advocacy, at the ‘telling’ end of the spectrum. Brian Hocking has described the hierarchical approach as one in which “the foreign ministry and the national diplomatic system over which it presides act as gatekeepers, monitoring interactions between domestic and international policy environments and funnelling information between them.”⁴⁰ It is focused on the one way streaming of selected information to an audience. There may be interaction with members of a target audience but the output of that interaction is largely limited to the content ‘approved’ by the gatekeeper.

This direct messaging approach can be seen in a competition to be run by one of the diplomatic posts. The competition, to be run on YouTube, was “for a short film on climate change from the perspective of youth. They will then produce a DVD of the winning entries and circulate this to business leaders for whom the youth market is vitally important.”⁴¹ While the material produced is likely to be generated from within the target audience, the insertion of a competitive element provides a means for discrimination. Furthermore, the retreat from the technological frontier caused by the change in media platform from the unmediated *mêlée* of Web 2.0 to the polished DVD allows the gatekeeper function to operate by separating out the preferred or ‘approved’ content and funnelling it to targeted recipients. Despite the flirtation with the user-generated media this still maintains the commitment to direct messaging.

The ‘telling’ approach has explicit policy objectives, and the Foreign Office also supports projects through other means such as the Global Opportunities Fund which “aims to promote action on global issues in areas of strategic importance to the UK”.⁴² While this program is explicitly linked to strategic priorities, it funds “NGO projects, technical assistance to foreign governments, funding for UN activity”.⁴³ This provides the means to vary the method of delivery of the particular activity which has included counter narcotics in Afghanistan, along with work on human rights and counter terrorism.⁴⁴

Outside the PD Board

Public Diplomacy Board, includes “the three *main* public diplomacy partners”.⁴⁵ There are, as the terms of reference indicate, more organisations

involved in UK Public Diplomacy than those which comprise the Public Diplomacy Board. These organisations while they do not make up the core of British PD policy make an important contribution and the spectrum allows their activity to be represented alongside Public Diplomacy Board members. These organisations are recognised through the Public Diplomacy Partners Group. This group provides a forum for sharing information about activities. In addition, group members also provide advice and “delivery outcomes on specific public diplomacy initiatives”.⁴⁶

The Public Diplomacy Partners Group includes the members of the Public Diplomacy Board, in addition to include: VisitBritain, UKTI, DfID, DCMS, Scottish Executive, Welsh Assembly, MoD, DfES, Northern Ireland and UK Sport. The predominant Public Diplomacy contribution of many of these organisations can be characterised as direct messaging either for specific policies, or sectoral and regional interests. Many approach their contribution to public diplomacy from an image, marketing or branding approach, though there has also been a move toward understanding the contribution of strategic communication.⁴⁷

While generically perceived as promotion of ‘Britain’, many of the regions, far from developing a unified image of Britain, are engaged in active competition. University promotion is a clear example; attendance at a Welsh University will in the vast majority of cases eliminate the chance of also being registered on a course at a Scottish University in the same academic year. Tourism is less clear cut, as visitors could travel to both, yet there is still benefit to one region in drawing tourists away from an alternative, leading to competition.⁴⁸

The Department for Culture Media and Sport entered into a funding agreement starting in 2001 with The British Tourist Authority (BTA) in response to “the areas of market failure which result from its fragmentation”.⁴⁹ However, this is not merely an issue of fragmentation in the Tourism industry. The stated aim of DCMS is “to improve the quality of life for all through cultural and sporting activities, support the pursuit of excellence, and champion the tourism, creative and leisure industries”.⁵⁰ The potential for overlap between the development of domestic culture and projection abroad, through Cultural Diplomacy, creates a complex relationship between the official public diplomacy structure and PD activities under most broad definitions.⁵¹ The possibility of duplication and inefficiency is evident, if conducted without the appropriate coordination or firewalls.⁵²

The Department for International Development (DFID) presents an important case. Its role in “leading the British Government’s fight against world poverty”, requires a combination of approaches. Much of the work is facilitative with changes in behaviour the result of support provided to the target audience. However, at the other end of the spectrum, DFID also places some emphasis on strategic communication to support its facilitative function. As such, while it occupies the relatively sparsely populated facilitative end of the spectrum it also joins many other organisations in producing messages originating from Britain which are intended to be consumed overseas.

Conclusion

The dissemination of multiple messages from numerous organisations presents many problems and possibilities. The existence of multiple identities and a lack of homogeneity within a target audience create the need to recognise the development of a “multi-layered network of relations”.⁵³ As a result, there is logic to the use of a range of approaches or multiple messages. However, this conceptually argues for a coordinated structure in which all areas of overlap are developed in cooperation between public diplomacy organisations. Conversely, practitioners may consider it preferable to construct firewalls between different areas of activity, thereby acknowledging divergent organisational priorities. Whichever approach a public diplomacy structure chooses to adopt, negotiation will occur either over the location of the firewalls or over the priorities of any coordinated approach. This is in part due to the influence of financial considerations. As Lord Triesman, in his capacity as Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, recognised;

“in the lead-up to every Comprehensive Spending Review, a large number of people compete for funds, and I am not afraid or ashamed to say that I compete along with them. That is the nature of the work that we do, and I am doing it”.⁵⁴

Whether a system is constructed on the basis of cooperation or clearly defined and firewalled activity, the recognition of a spectrum of activity and the position of different actors on it, is central to ensuring a clear articulation of organisational priorities.

¹ Lord Carter of Coles, Public Diplomacy Review, December 2005, <http://www.britishcouncil.org/home-about-us-governance-funding.htm> (Carter Report here after)

Also quoted in Public Diplomacy Board: Terms of Reference; <http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1035898725758>

For alternatives, see for example, Karen Hughes; Nominee for Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Testimony at confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Washington, DC - The mission of public diplomacy is to engage, inform, and help others understand our policies, actions and values – but I am mindful that before we seek to be understood, we must first work to understand. <http://www.state.gov/r/us/2005/49967.htm> (accessed 23rd October 2006)

Paul Sharper; (T)he process by which direct relations with people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented. Paul Sharp, 'Revolutionary States, Outlaw Regimes and the Techniques of Public Diplomacy', in *The New Public Diplomacy* ed. Jan Melissen, (Palgrave Macmillan, New York) 2005 p. 106

² Foreign and Commonwealth Office Annual Report 2006/2007, 9th May 2007

<http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1176454609076>

This definition has not been agreed with by other UK public diplomacy organisations.

³ I am indebted to Nick Wadham-Smith for clarifying this difference.

⁴ The construction of the spectrum owes much to the taxonomy produced by Nick Cull in *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*, Report Commissioned by the Public Diplomacy Board, April 2007. This taxonomy, however, compartmentalised the activities rather than conceiving them on a continuous spectrum of shifting emphasis and omitted concepts such as facilitation.

⁵ Bruce Gregory, 'Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication: Cultures, Firewalls, and Imported Norms' Presentation at the American Political Science Association Conference on International Communication and Conflict, August 31, 2005 p. 30

⁶ For listening as a part of message creation see: Simon Anholt, *Another One Bites the Grass: Making Sense of International Advertising*, John Wiley & Sons (2000)

⁷ See for example, Ilana Ozernoy, 'Ears Wide Shut', *The Atlantic Monthly*, November 2006

⁸ Alan Henrikson, 'Niche Diplomacy in the Public Arena: Canada and Norway', in *The New Public Diplomacy* ed. Jan Melissen, (Palgrave Macmillan, New York) 2005

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

⁹ R.S. Zaharna, "The Network Paradigm of Strategic Public Diplomacy," *Foreign Policy in Focus*, Policy Brief, Vol. 10, No. 1, April 2005

<http://www.fpif.org/briefs/vol10/v10n01pubdip.html> Also see:

Jamie Metzl, "Network Diplomacy," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Winter/Spring 2001

<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=681&prog=zgp>

¹⁰ Bruce Gregory, 'Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication: Cultures, Firewalls, and Imported Norms' Presentation at the American Political Science Association Conference on International Communication and Conflict, August 31, 2005. p. 11 Quoting *Cultural Diplomacy: Recommendations and Research*, Report of the Center for Arts and Culture, Washington DC, July 2004, 8-9 While the report is titled Cultural Diplomacy this section fits more closely the concept of exchange.

¹¹ For further discussions of a two way, non-hierarchical approach see:

Jan Melissen, 'The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practise' in *The New Public Diplomacy* ed. Jan Melissen, (Palgrave Macmillan, New York) 2005 18

Ali Fisher '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

<http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/documentos/276.asp>

John Arquilla and David Ronfeldt, *The Emergence of Noopolitik: Toward an American Information Strategy* Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1999

R.S. Zaharna, "The Network Paradigm of Strategic Public Diplomacy," *Foreign Policy in Focus*,

Policy Brief, Vol. 10, No. 1, April 2005, www.fpif.org

Jamie Metzl, "Network Diplomacy," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, Winter/Spring 2001,

<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=681>

Shaun Riordan, *The New Diplomacy*, (Policy Press, Cambridge) 2003 130

Brian Hocking, 'Rethinking the 'New' Public Diplomacy', in *The New Public Diplomacy* ed. Jan Melissen, (Palgrave Macmillan, New York) 2005 36

¹² Milton Cummings, *Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Arts and Culture. 2003

<http://www.culturalpolicy.org/pdf/MCCpaper.pdf>

- ¹³ Simon Anholt and Jeremy Hildreth, *Brand America*, (Cyan, London) 2004
- Jan Melissen, 'How Has Place Branding Developed? Opinion Piece', *Place Branding*, Vol 2, No. 1 (2006)
- Jan Melissen, 'Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy', *Clingendael Diplomacy Papers* No.2 May 2005 22-24
- ¹⁴ Simon Anholt and Jeremy Hildreth, *Brand America*, (Cyan, London) 2004 29
- ¹⁵ See Simon Anholt, *Another One Bites The Grass: making sense of international advertising*, (John Wiley & Sons, New York) 2000
- ¹⁶ The Public Diplomacy Board also has two independent advisors, currently Simon Anholt and Chris Powell.
- ¹⁷ Public Diplomacy Board: Terms of Reference; <http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1035898725758>
- ¹⁸ Lord Carter of Coles, Public Diplomacy Review, December 2005, <http://www.britishcouncil.org/home-about-us-governance-funding.htm> (Carter Report here after)
- Public Diplomacy Board Terms of Reference. FCO Website; <http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1035898725758>
- ¹⁹ Lord Triesman - Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State with responsibility for Public Diplomacy (as of 27th June 2007)
- ²⁰ Lord Triesman, 'Public Diplomacy: Steps to the future', speech at *The Future of Public Diplomacy*, Conference held at Wilton Park, Thursday 1 March 2007 (accessed via Wilton Park Website, 27th April 2007)
- ²¹ Jan Melissen, 'The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practise' in *The New Public Diplomacy* ed. Jan Melissen, (Palgrave Macmillan, New York) 2005 18
- ²² Shaun Riordan, *The New Diplomacy*, (Policy Press, Cambridge) 2003 130
- ²³ Terry Allsop, Paul Bennell and David Forrester, *DFID's Higher Education Links Scheme: Review and Possible Future Options for Higher Education Partnerships, Report*, commissioned by the Department for International Development (DFID), March 2003, www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/higheredlinksfull.pdf
- ²⁴ For examples of this type of work, particularly niche diplomacy see: Alan Henrikson, 'Niche Diplomacy in the Public Arena: Canada and Norway', in *The New Public Diplomacy* ed. Jan Melissen, (Palgrave Macmillan, New York) 2005 p. 67 and
- Mark Leonard, *Public Diplomacy*, (Foreign Policy Centre) 2002 p. 170
- Kishan S. Rana, 'Singapore's Diplomacy: Vulnerability into Strength', *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 1 (2006) 81-106
- ²⁵ Lord Triesman, "'Public Diplomacy: steps to the future'", London School of Economics, 23 April 2007 <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/LSEPublicLecturesAndEvents/events/2007/20070328t1042z001.htm>
- ²⁶ Jan Melissen, 'The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practise' in *The New Public Diplomacy* ed. Jan Melissen, (Palgrave Macmillan, New York) 2005 10
- Robert Cooper, *The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Atlantic Books, 2003) 76
- "The Network Effect is a venture set up by the British Council to create and nurture networks between the next generation of European leaders" through providing a forum for engagement between governmental and civil society representatives of various nationalities.
- British Council Slovakia, <http://www.britishcouncil.org/slovakia-society-bratislava-network-effect.htm> (accessed 30th October 2006)
- ²⁷ Laurie J Wilson, 'Strategic Cooperative Communities: A synthesis of Strategic, Issue-Management, and Relationship-Building Approaches in Public Relations', in Hugh M Culbertson and Ni Chen (eds), *International Public Relations: A Comparative Analysis* (Mahwah NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1996) 78
- ²⁸ Global Xchange is run in partnership with VSO and CSV and is a six-month exchange programme which gives young people from different countries a unique opportunity to work together, to develop and share valuable skills and to make a practical contribution where it is needed in local communities.
- <http://www.vso.org.uk/globalxchange/>
- Connecting Classrooms provides cluster groups of 3 schools with the chance to partner with schools from two different countries in sub-Saharan Africa and the UK. The schools will link for intercultural dialogue and to increase knowledge and understanding of each other's societies.
- <http://www.britishcouncil.org/learning-connecting-classrooms.htm>
- ²⁹ Contemporary art from British collections brought to Iran for the first time to mark the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Islamic Republic of Iran, The Museums, Libraries and Archives Council website; [http://www.mla.gov.uk/webdav/harmonise?Page/@id=73&Document/@id=24086&Section\[@stateId_eq_left_hand_root\]/@id=4302](http://www.mla.gov.uk/webdav/harmonise?Page/@id=73&Document/@id=24086&Section[@stateId_eq_left_hand_root]/@id=4302)
- ³⁰ Lord Triesman, "'Public Diplomacy: steps to the future'", London School of Economics, 23 April 2007 <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/LSEPublicLecturesAndEvents/events/2007/20070328t1042z001.htm>
- ³¹ ZeroCarbonCity Website <http://www.britishcouncil.org/zerocarboncity> Also see <http://www.scenta.co.uk/Search/518600/zerocarboncity.htm>
- ³² British Council Annual Report 2005-2006, www.britishcouncil.org

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- ³⁹ Public Diplomacy Board: Terms of Reference; <http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1035898725758>
- ⁴⁰ Brian Hocking, ‘Rethinking the ‘New’ Public Diplomacy’, in *The New Public Diplomacy* ed. Jan Melissen, (Palgrave Macmillan, New York) 2005 35-36
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- ⁴² Global Opportunities Fund, Foreign Office Website, (accessed 25th June 2007) <http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1059131211423>
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- ⁴⁵ Public Diplomacy Board: Terms of Reference; <http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1035898725758> (emphasis added)
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