



Report on Wilton Park Conference WP842
THE FUTURE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY
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Public Diplomacy: The UK Context

1 Lord Carter's Review in 2005 prompted a redefinition of UK public diplomacy and prescribed a shift in emphasis for practitioners. Traditionally, public diplomacy (PD) has been seen as a branding exercise. The revised approach, prompted by the review, attempts to change the perceptions of the UK held in foreign environments and to engender a shared view of the world. To this end, PD should not be considered as an end in itself, but as a powerful tool to support the overall aims of foreign ministries in the 21st century.

2 Historically, governments have competed with each other in their PD efforts, however, there is now scope for a more collaborative response to global issues that affect all countries. The ultimate aim of PD should be to bring about changes in people's thinking in order to help governments achieve their international goals. To this end PD channels across governments could be used to forge a more effective approach in the furtherance of shared strategic priorities such as climate security, fighting terrorism and combating poverty. It is true to say that the Carter recommendations are not applicable to every nation's PD efforts. However, the need to recognise universal goals, to distinguish between long-term PD aims and more immediate public relation (PR) requirements, and to identify the most effective PD strategies, remain relevant to all countries.

3 Post-Carter structural reforms of Britain's PD goals emphasised the need for more effective decision-making. The new Public Diplomacy Board has led this work and injected fresh thinking on the key areas of strategy, collaboration and accountability. The BBC World Service and the British Council, with their worldwide

reputation for integrity, authority and relationship building, continue to be key partners. It is also an opportunity to explore relationships with new partners such as diaspora communities.

4 The traditional instruments of successful PD, such as cultural, scientific and educational exchanges, are still important. However, there is a need to push the boundaries with new tools, incorporating approaches that recognise the power and influence of new media. This calls for fresh ideas from experts from the communications sector, marketing and advertising. There is a fast growing need to understand how to communicate with a public who exchange ideas and derive information from podcasts and social worlds. To keep pace with these changes, governments need to take greater risks and be willing to explore more creative and radical channels.

5 Finally, it is important to ensure that these approaches are effective. The evaluative structure of Britain's PD agencies also needs updating so that results can be quantified, agencies made more accountable to Parliament and the Treasury, and successful strategies identified with greater speed.

Rules of Engagement: The US Perspective

6. The revitalisation of US public diplomacy (PD) formed part of President George W. Bush's re-election pledge in 2004. It was recognised that communication between elites is not enough to advance government policy. Leaders need to communicate to both domestic and foreign publics, especially in the proliferation of new democracies across the globe. In addition, there is a pressing need to respond to negative perceptions of the US and Americans held across the world.

7. The restructuring of the policy-making apparatus at the departmental level, ensured that PD considerations were included at the start of the process. Policy formulation has benefited from the explanation of those policies, at all stages, to key audiences at the local level.

8. This restructuring has led to a number of changes. Firstly, PD officers are given either geographic portfolios or specific themes to promote. Secondly, Rapid Response Units have been established to analyse web, TV and press content in

order to monitor global perspectives on US policy and, where necessary, promote the US position, or counteract fallacies with greater speed than before. For the first time, this information is shared with all levels of government so coherent messages can be sent by all Departments of State. Thirdly, a Digital Outreach Team has been established with the specific brief of providing the Arab media with overt and attributable corrections to falsehoods generated in the area of interest. Finally, a regional media hub has been established in Brussels to maintain contact with diplomats, politicians and journalists of all EU nations, counteracting the absence of a Europe wide regional media system.

9. Alongside these innovations, more traditional tools of PD are being reinvigorated, incorporating cultural, sporting and medical exchanges. These initiatives range from the involvement of high-school age children in the Ben Franklin Programme to Iranian doctors learning new techniques in US hospitals.

10. There is considerable emphasis on the engagement of Muslim populations, both overseas and in diaspora communities in the US. Every US embassy will seek to form a dialogue with foreign Muslims by inviting Muslim Americans to engage in discussion on a citizen-to-citizen level.

11. Despite these advances, there are still obstacles to overcome before the desired changes in US PD can be fully implemented. Firstly, it is still proving difficult to talk positively of US policy achievements without appearing self-serving. Secondly, it is problematic to produce a meaningful change in the negative perceptions of the US on key global themes such as climate change. Thirdly, the inter-agency co-operation which is needed to make the most of new PD strategy, is difficult to implement, either because of long standing 'turf wars', or in the case of the Department of Defence, where policies are necessarily classified at the planning stage. There is a need to provide a credible alternative to the media image of the US created by Hollywood, which in the main has served only to reinforce the existing negative perceptions of the US and Americans. Finally, there needs to be an improvement in the measurement and evaluation of US PD efforts. The question of how to quantify success remains; a necessity when budget increases are based on positive results.

Business: The New Brand of Public Diplomacy?

12. Business for Democratic Action (BDA) was formed shortly after 9/11 with the belief that multi-national corporations (MNCs) can use their global reach to augment traditional avenues of government-led PD.

13. Multi-lateral dialogue, rather than a unilateral sales pitch, is the cornerstone of successful PD. American business can build on the fact that it is perceived to be more trustworthy than the US government. There are frequent contacts with, and employment of, foreign nationals and there is also considerable expertise in generating brand based trust and loyalty to improve the reputation of the US across the world. All of this is founded on the notion that people who trade with each other usually opt to avoid conflict situations which would put those relationships at risk.

14. Americans living and working abroad are ambassadors for their countries: they are in part responsible for foreign perceptions of the US and are certainly affected by them. BDA has established the 'S.T.A.R.S.' approach for US corporations in support of effective public diplomacy. The five pronged strategy involves the following elements.

15. **Sensitising** key American constituencies to the perception of the US and Americans using a range of media formats.

16. **Transforming** American attitudes and behaviours that antagonise foreigners. Two strategies exist in this area. The first of these is to make visa application processes and US ports of entry easier and more user-friendly to tourists and business travellers. While the former presents obvious security concerns, the US issued 591,000 visas in the last year, with students and tourists being a priority. Business coalitions are restructuring air and seaports, both in terms of physical appearance and personnel training, in order to present a friendlier first impression of the US to foreigners. The second 'transformation' strategy is to increase the cultural awareness of US citizens travelling abroad. The BDA has produced behavioural guides, sponsored by MNCs, which are tailored for students or business visitors and based upon interviews with nationals from over 100 countries who listed their top-ten 'bad' behaviours of Americans.

17. Next is a process of **accentuating** corporate and individual acts of goodwill and philanthropy, with BDA acting as a third party 'story-teller' of good corporate practice. In addition, the 'Discover America' partnership promotes tourism to the US. This is seen as an important strand of the strategy: the American tourist industry was badly affected by 9/11 and it is widely recognised that visitors to the US have a more positive perception of the US than those who have never visited.

18. The fourth 'S.T.A.R.S.' strategy is to **reach** out to foreign constituencies through business-led initiatives, for example forging partnerships with groups such as Young Arab Leaders and promoting business internships for members of this key audience.

19. Finally, BDA **serves** to connect the US government and private business on matters of PD. The non-partisan nature of BDA means that they interact with both of the main political parties, and it is hoped that through this interface, the challenges of US world citizenship will become a key issue in future US presidential campaigns.

20. It is clear that business can aid governmental PD efforts. The question remains as to how, and in what role, business can work to best effect. Critically, before business can be of use to government as an additional agency for PD, there has to be an assurance of sensitivity to local cultural norms. In this regard, American business has a mixed track record, encompassing the 'good', the 'bad' and the 'ugly' in terms of cultural awareness and social responsibility.

21. Examples of good corporate behaviour could include: Capital One's 'Community Reading Programme', whereby company employees educate inner-city children; Proctor and Gamble's 'Safe Drinking Water' programme following the 2005 Pakistan earthquake; or the role played by several large US companies in pressing the US government to lower the acceptable thresholds for carbon-dioxide emissions.

22. Less sensitive behaviour is illustrated by the Bank of America's (B of A) promotion of Individual Retirement Accounts (IRA) in the UK with the slogan, "When you think IRA, think B of A", which raises an immediate association with the Irish Republican Army. Other template procedures have proven problematic, such as McDonalds' Super-Size food portions. Behaviours that could be construed as

culturally imperialist would include the promotion of 'Round' breast implants in Europe by Inamed, a leading US manufacturer in the field of 'medical aesthetics'. This was perceived by European women as an attempt to 'Americanise' them.

23. At the negative end of the scale of corporate behaviour are the assumptions that US domestic practices will automatically translate abroad. Following the case of contaminated Coca-Cola in Belgium, which caused illness amongst children, the company offered coupons for free Coke. This was badly received by the Belgian public who saw it as an attempt to buy back their custom.

24. According to the 2006 Edelman Trust Barometer, Europeans are far less trusting of US brands than are Americans. To counter this, and demonstrate to government the usefulness of business as an agency of PD, the BDA offers a number of potential solutions to tackle the perception of American cultural insensitivity. The US government should make world geography a required subject in schools where at present it is an elective subject. Another approach is to make the study of a foreign language obligatory at all levels of US schooling. Finally, it is essential that US employees overseas recognise the value of local knowledge and are thus equipped to act as responsible ambassadors for both business and government.

The Impact of Sport

25. Sport can be an important tool of PD because, arguably, it is an area of culture that has a broad appeal to target audiences. Most countries have organised sporting competitions at some level. Grand scale sporting events can, in an attentive media environment, generate a huge interest in host countries.

26. In Germany the football World Cup (WC) of 2006 proved to be a great success, not only in terms of quashing old stereotypes of Germany's image and promoting less known aspects of German culture from a 'soft' power perspective, but also, unexpectedly, spilled over into increased sympathy for Germany's 'hard' political objectives.

27. The multi-agency 'Image Abroad Team' used the opportunity to introduce a number of activities promoting a friendlier side to Germany and its people. The

'Street Football World' exchange initiative gave African children the chance to train and play football at German clubs; service workers, such as taxi drivers were encouraged to learn key phrases in foreign languages, while 'fan parks' with big screens were established to encourage tourism to Germany even for those who didn't have match tickets for the stadia, based on the belief that greater visitor numbers would multiply the positive impact of the wider event.

28. Internally, WC 2006 provided a boost to German national identity, both amongst natural Germans and the diasporas of other ethnic backgrounds. Germans were able to normalise their relationship with their cultural symbols, which generated a 'bottom-up' flood of national pride which fed into the positive atmosphere of the event.

29. In assessing the impact of WC 2006, two polls were conducted in November 2005 and 2006 to gauge perceptions of Germany amongst foreigners. The data shows a huge rise in sympathetic perceptions of Germany as a nation and as a people, especially in terms of a nation that combats racism, welcomes immigrants and provides a safe haven for the persecuted. This positive perspicacity spilled over into harder issues, with Germany's importance in the United Nations (UN) and international politics more generally showing significant rises in positive foreign opinion.

30. While the event was successful, the problem after events of this kind relate to attribution and sustainability; determining whether it was actually the event that caused the rise in sympathy, or other factors, and whether the positive perceptions will persist long-term. The future challenge for German PD will be how to best utilise embassies and other PD agencies to build on the short-term successes of the sporting event.

The Tall Building as a Global City Brand

31. Architecture has been a longstanding tool of PD used to express national power and identity, and remains an important contemporary signifier of development and prosperity. 'Tall Buildings' present a 'video-bite' which, in a global media environment, portray an important public face for large cities and their countries.

32. Modern architecture can change perceptions of cities, both from foreign and domestic populations. The Sydney Opera House, allegedly built to alleviate jealousies of the development of Melbourne, later became an iconic image of the city, and helped promote tourism. Similarly, the Guggenheim in Bilbao changed the image and boosted the economy of the area, promoting the perception of Bilbao as a city of culture.

33. Developing countries use tall buildings as symbols of their contemporary power and global worth. The Petronas Towers in Kuala Lumpur combined local architectural norms with modern technology to produce a development symbolising a powerful regional economic player and an emerging global power. Similarly, the Jin Mao development in Shanghai defines its status as a leading global financial centre.

34. New developments also assist in breaking links with the past. The proposed 'Russia Tower' in Moscow's new business district aims to overcome the symbolism of the architectural icons of the Soviet era, and present a new post-Communist Russia to the world.

35. However, architects need to consider more than the symbolism of tall buildings during their development, as this can be relative to the perspective of the beholder. The key contemporary considerations are sustainability and flexibility of use. China and London are currently proceeding with zero-carbon footprint developments, while London's Olympic bid rested on its future use post-2012.

Evaluating the Effectiveness of Public Diplomacy

36. Proper evaluation of PD organisation and strategy prompts two fundamental questions. Firstly, are there concrete results that justify the level of investment? Secondly, are the established organisations able to deliver the desired results as efficiently as possible? In order to meaningfully evaluate PD efforts, where goals are necessarily ambitious, strategies complex and tactics varied, it is vital to have a holistic understanding of how PD organisations work. This can only be achieved by utilising a 'systems approach' to evaluation.

37. This approach comprises four key components. Firstly, the **foresight** to anticipate potential problems and set broad priorities, Secondly, the **strategies** to

promote high level inter-agency co-operation which will translate into coherent PD campaigns on the ground. Thirdly, the **implementation** of both the PD and change management programmes needed to ensure organisations are fulfilling their remits. Finally, there is the internal end external **review** component where successes and failures of strategy and organisation are analysed and fed back into the foresight and strategy components.

38. There is a need to invest in analytical capacity in order to provide the necessary evidence to make this approach work. A further requirement is for clear rules of engagement between agencies and a common operational language in order to make partnerships work. Finally, strategies need to be structured so performance can be effectively measured.

39. The latter is of key importance: in the UK the PD Board uses logical frameworks to structure strategy in an appropriate way. This framework takes the desired PD impact as a starting point, and works backwards through desired long-term and intermediate outcomes, quantifiable outputs of PD activity, and resource inputs in order to produce an experimental framework where actual PD impact can be directly measured against desired outcome. These results form the review process and provide a common platform to approach the strategy.

40. A common operational language is provided by breaking down intermediate outcomes into clear and simple 'types'; in the case of PD outcomes, *changing perceptions, agenda setting, developing capacity and changing institutions*.

41. The review process demands distinction between internal and external reviews. The latter needs to be driven by senior decision makers and interrogates three areas. Firstly, impact; investments in evidence gathering capacity should mean that multiple 'weak signals' gathered from a number of sources can be collated into a strong estimate of the impact of PD strategy. Secondly, the external review must be able to provide a complete account of resource expenditure on each PD activity. Finally, the analysis of impact and activity needs to establish the degree to which perception change has been influenced directly by PD as opposed to other factors.

This latter issue is of less importance than the other two, however; it provides a yardstick to measure whether world perception is shifting in the desired way and to ensure accountability for the expenditure of resources.

42. The instruments of evidence gathering, while important at all levels of the PD framework, should focus on intermediate outcomes, as these will provide the greatest frequency of 'weak signals' for analysis. The choice of instrumentation depends heavily on the intermediate outcome which strategists place most importance on. Returning to the typologies outlined earlier, if changing perceptions is the priority, then instruments that can measure broad changes in public opinion should be chosen. Alternatively, if agenda-setting is the priority, instrumentation that tracks elite opinion change should be utilised, and so on.

43. While some instruments, like opinion polling, are familiar, there are three less familiar tools that have the potential to provide valuable information on new PD efforts. Firstly, is the **concrete outcome tracker**. Recognising and measuring concrete outcomes is the 'gold standard' of PD evaluation. At its simplest, this tracker collects the data of the various measurable changes in foreign perception, and lists the change, when it happened, the importance of the change and the role of PD in the change.

44. Next is media analysis. Influencing the debate around issues is the 'silver standard' in terms of importance. Currently, the UK analyses media content and the number of references to the UK and her policies in order to evaluate impact. However, it is more important to measure and analyse how messages are received by target groups, as well as establishing who the key influencers on a particular issue. Many of the available tools require the digitisation of media, and can analyse key words and social networks in formal and non-formal media formats across a variety of languages. While none of these tools are perfect, they are worth investment.

45. Finally, key influencers must be further tracked by ranking their importance, monitoring their opinions and behaviours over time and analysing their relationships with other influencers. This utilisation of clear frameworks, strategies and instrumentation means that PD strategists can obtain a clearer view of the outcomes

of strategy and the operation of their institutions, leading to more effective PD activity.

Mozambique's Public Diplomacy

46. Mozambique's foreign policy is based on establishing friendly relations with other states on the basis of respect of national sovereignty, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and adherence to the values and principles outlined in the UN and African Union charters. The main goal of this foreign policy is to openly promote a positive image of Mozambique in order to attract investment and tourism to the country. In support of this, the Mozambique Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation has a network of 38 missions abroad, employing over 400 civil servants.

47. Despite Mozambique's portrayal as a contemporary African 'success story', its PD efforts still have to overcome image problems associated with past conflicts and instability, as well as counter the tendency to portray all African countries as lawless or corrupt. These unfavourable perceptions mean that the advances made by Mozambique in the past decade are often met with scepticism, which hinders development as investors tend to expect unreasonable premiums or avoid the country altogether.

48. Mozambique's PD effort is focused on reassuring target audiences that the recent political transformation is genuine and stable. It does this not by differentiation from their neighbours, but merely promoting the new political stability of the country. The government's limited resources devoted to PD has led to more creative strategies. State delegations include business people in order to speak to investors on their level and in their language. The President's first state visit was designed to provide an introductory platform for key audiences, and involved City breakfasts with investors, meetings with NGOs to mobilise development assistance, and open access to the President for journalists.

49. While the business approach was successful, the open media access was less so. Stories tended to appear on websites rather than in press or on television, and more widely it is proving difficult to rehabilitate Mozambique's image. The government is still searching for the right PD formula, but it is hoped that finding joint PD goals with other governments will offset the resource differentials between Mozambique and bigger countries.

One Size Fits All? Applying National Perspectives

50. The future of UK PD is shaped by three key elements. Firstly, the recognition that PD is no longer about 'selling' Britain, but more about winning and wielding influence amongst specific audiences in order to achieve specific goals. Secondly, recognising the paradox that the more a government is explicit about its aims, the less effective PD will be, and finally, the recognition that influence is negotiated through multiple layers of government and society.

51. On the first point, influence must carry over to acts as well as thoughts. Global issues like climate change are unlikely to be resolved by force; it is these issues where the importance of effective PD becomes paramount in terms of achieving a measurable modification in the behaviour of populations, both by focusing on policy aims *and* the needs of the audience when formulating strategy.

52. On the second point, UK PD will focus on the mutuality of inter-state relations. Modern audiences are generally better educated than in the past, and any attempt to force an explicit agenda unilaterally will be seen as propaganda. Future PD efforts will be more consultative at the local level in order that choices of message and partners are properly informed.

53. The need to emphasise mutuality of goals carries over into the final point. Proper networking with key influencers can give governments greater access to target audiences. Research has shown that linking with *madrassas* in Muslim countries, which are seen as being independent from government control, and thus are more trusted by local populations, proves more effective than linking with governmental organisations.

54. These considerations, allied to advances in media technology dictate that a 'one size fits all' approach to PD cannot possibly work. New technology means that information can be marshalled by individuals and groups beyond the traditional definers. While it is unclear as to the long term impact of new media on PD strategy, it is clear that PD agencies must be fast and flexible in their responses to, and participation in, these multi-faceted discussions. PD agencies cannot control these exchanges, but must work to maximise their influence over them.

55. India's foreign policy since independence has been one of non-alignment to the major powers while expanding her sphere of influence within the global order. The country's current economic boom and its huge population means India has assumed increasing global importance, and as such aims to improve relations with all existing major powers concurrently. India also seeks to break the inertia towards change in international institutions so that they acknowledge the new power relations that exist globally.

56. PD represents a relatively new dimension in Indian politics, but it is clear that a 'one size fits all' approach will not work. For India, PD not only seeks to explain foreign policy to foreigners, but also to address the issues particular to the eighteen parties that form the domestic coalition government. The Indian approach is to reach target audiences both internally and externally through the university system and through think tanks, as well as through traditional means such as cultural exhibitions, seminars and conferences and marshalling the 'Bollywood' film industry.

57. At heart, Indian PD is about the sharing of knowledge, which is why the mandate of the foreign ministry's PD division also interfaces with its own public. Indians are well aware of their country's increasing global prominence and importance. The PD Division tours Indian states to explain the government's foreign policy decisions to the country's multi-cultural, multi-ethnic populace. This approach hopes to mitigate any ill-feeling towards governmental policy imperatives.

58. It is hoped that India's move towards a PD effort separate from, and independent of, traditional diplomatic efforts can allow PD strategists the flexibility to build on the actions of the latter in order to promote peace in an increasingly multi-polar world.

59. Public diplomacy efforts in Israel are difficult. The Knesset's constant need to manage internal crises impacts on PD efforts in two ways. Firstly, long-term policy-making is not feasible, which in turn means PD is easily relegated in importance. As such, it is unclear what Israel's PD approach should be; whether to engage in a multi-lateral dialogue, or to promote the country to foreign publics.

60. The Israeli Foreign Ministry is gaining more influence within the government, and the need for a PD strategy targeting the 15-25% of foreign populations that influence decision making is gaining recognition. Israel needs to overcome its image as a single-issue nation, and the formulation of policy beyond relations with the Palestinians is a necessity.

61. The primary targets for Israeli PD are neighbouring states traditionally hostile to the country. In spite of some perceived advances, there are no easy answers to Israel's image problem, both with its neighbours and other foreign publics.

Virtual Public Diplomacy: The Potential of New Technology

62 Videogames, and the virtual worlds they create for gamers, have been largely ignored by PD agencies and public services, and as an information and communicative medium have developed independently of the mainstream media. The notions of gaming and games have different connotations for different people. However, recent studies have shown that the interest of ordinary people in virtual worlds, beyond the stereotypical 'computer geeks', is increasing rapidly. If PD agencies do not address the importance of virtual worlds, they will miss out on the opportunity to interface with key audiences who are interested in, and experiment with, notions of democracy and governance online.

63. In 2005, the BBC commissioned a study of 3,800 British people to find out who plays videogames. The study found that 59% of 6-65 year olds play games at some point, with only the 51-60+ age group showing less than 50% playing games. There was a general parity in terms of the gender split of gamers. Playing games were the most valuable activity to the 6-10 and 11-15 age groups, and remained significantly high in the rankings of the 25-35 age group.

64. Relative newcomers to gaming and virtual worlds are the massive multiplayer online role playing games (MMORPGs, or MMOs) and social networking websites. The former create persistent worlds where players log in and out as they please with the 'world' continuing in their absence, and access to localised servers mean that gamers can play alongside anyone, anywhere in the world. The latter provides a means of networking globally with people based on shared experiences and interests. The scale and speed of the development and uptake of these platforms is

important to note. The MMO 'World of Warcraft' was launched in 2004. By 2006 it had over 3.5 million registered users. Similarly, the social networking site 'MySpace' had 4.9m users in 2004; by 2006 that number had topped 150 million.

65. Studies have also shown that gamers spend more time online playing games than interacting with traditional media formats. The BBC study shows that average television consumption in US households is 28 hours per week; in a US 'MMO' household that figure drops to 7.7 hours per week, with 21 hours per week devoted to gaming. In the UK the figures show similar trends.

66. In another study, Synovates Research (a UK based company) conducted a Europe wide study of internet usage by 18-24 year olds. They discovered that a quarter of this age group use social networking sites, rising to over 50% in the under 18s, 19% play MMOs and 15% keep 'blogs'. It is important to note that events on blogs and social network sites make the mainstream media on a regular basis.

67. PD gaming is a small but active area. The USC Centre on Public Diplomacy owns an 'island' (i.e. paid for server content) in the 'Second Life' virtual world in order to explore the PD potentials of virtual worlds. Reuters have a dedicated 'Second Life' correspondent, and the Swedish government have opened a virtual embassy. Ordinary users generate their own virtual towns with fully- fledged constitutions and notions of governance.

68. Many of the 'real world' rituals of communication and trust building have translated into the virtual, despite the limitations brought about by the lack of non-verbal communication. Trust reputations and hierarchies do exist in these worlds as players' 'avatars' can be traced back to real people. PD agencies need to understand these online interactions for any move into this area to work, and more broadly, understand the media being used by the public.

The Role of the Military in Public Diplomacy

69. The US Department of Defence has reached a new conceptualisation of the role of the military in major strategic communications practice. The establishment of the Defence Support to Public Diplomacy area is an attempt to synchronise military communications activities with other Departments of State as well as NGOs and host

nation governments. Internally, this new practice will include PD considerations at the start of the policy making process so that words and actions will match, and that communications efforts are not confined to trying to 'sell' bad policies.

70. At Joint Forces Command (JFC), communications training for senior military officers is included in all major training activities. This training comprises three elements; firstly, recognising the central importance of communications to effective military operations; secondly, improving internal processes to allow communications elements to develop, as many military HQs are stuck in operating along Napoleonic lines, thus stifling creativity. It is expected that these organisational problems will be resolved by re-training and the introduction of new processes that spread PD activities throughout the command structure while maintaining hierarchical responsibility, and recognising, thirdly, the need to partner with other departments and groups. For the first time, an Ambassadorial level member of the State Department will be based in the Pentagon to assist communications activities.

71. The JFC also places great importance on continual experimentation and analysis of new communications concepts, so that only the most successful PD strategies are included in US military training and doctrine. Considerable man-power is being devoted to improving multinational and multi-agency consultation in communications strategy, with over 70 officers from 43 nations now represented at the JFC.

72. In sum, these efforts will try to ensure that opportunities to communicate with locals in theatres of operation are not missed by producing a cadre of multi-lingual communicators and ensuring that the importance of effective communications with local populations is recognised at all levels of the command structure.

73. The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) has developed since the end of the Cold War from a 16 member organisation geared towards war-fighting, to a 26 member multi-role agency, that operates with a further 68 partners from across the world. Military forces are called upon to fill vacuums created by fallen governments and infrastructures. The Afghanistan conflict has shown that NATO requires a new PD strategy to match its new humanitarian and security roles. This is necessary not only to communicate with Afghan audiences, but also to rationalise its varied

membership whose disparate governmental objectives can be problematic in producing coherent ground-level communications.

74. NATO member states have differing conceptions of success and failure; some governments count dead enemy bodies, others count newly built schools. Thus, the audience for NATO's communications is widely varied in terms of extracting the information they consider important. In addition, 37 national voices need to be coordinated, and NATO policy needs to be ratified by 27 of those countries. Message discipline is key, while recognising that support for the Afghanistan campaign varies amongst the member states.

75. Communications with in-country audiences are equally difficult, due to low levels of literacy and little access to the Western media. NATO requires a single recognised spokesperson to put the NATO case across, as well as backing words with images of the good work underway. However, there is a need to balance the reporting of good news; while such reports are useful from a PD perspective, they run the risk of these successes being targeted by insurgents.

76. The Taliban and, especially, Al-Qaeda have recognised the value of coherent media strategies, and the slow progress of institutional change within NATO to reflect current operational realities means that it needs to catch up with insurgents in terms getting their message out to the local population. This is made more difficult when domestic media in member states focus primarily on the negative consequences of the conflict due to an absence of positive images. PD is a vital tool for the military, and its usefulness has been acknowledged. However, with both foreign and domestic considerations to take into account across a wide ranging membership, the enormity of the task of finding and implementing a coherent strategy should not be under-estimated.

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