Public diplomacy practitioners operate today in an information environment transformed by

a. the rapid availability of information to publics everywhere, where governments are too often behind the game, certainly behind the 24/7 news media;

b. the availability and nature of visual information, now that technology allows for instant uploading of photos/videos from mobile devices;

c. the virtually infinite quantity of information available with the expansion of the World Wide Web (WWW);

d. the transformation of the Web from a one-to-one source of information into a multi-directional forum for interactive debate.

Access to ICT

The development of new or improved ICTs in the past fifteen years has forever changed the relationship between information providers and their audiences, between governments and citizens, between one country and another. Since 2000, the Internet has expanded three hundred-fold; the number of users is estimated now at well over 3 billion. Internet usage in developing countries is still low, especially in Africa. Nevertheless, the number of users in the developing world has risen significantly since 2000, especially in China, India and Pakistan. Africa and the Middle East show the greatest growth in Internet penetration (over 7000% and 4000% respectively) among the population – Nigeria alone accounted for 97.2 million users in 2016 compared to 200,000 in 2000, while usage in Iran in the same period jumped from

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250,000 to 56.7 million, over half the population. Other Middle Eastern countries show significant growth in Internet usage, for example, Saudi Arabia with 20.8 million, two-thirds of the population. Not surprisingly, English is the most used language on the World Wide Web, but Chinese is fast catching up and Arabic shows the largest growth (Internet World Stats, 2016).

This upward trend in usage will only increase as rates of connectivity rise rapidly with more widespread use in particular of mobile devices and wireless Internet access (WiFi) (ITU, 2016). Even in regions on the wrong side of the digital divide, usage is forecast to rise as hardware becomes more affordable and governments implement the concrete steps outlined in the series of internationally-agreed documents on global telecommunications. The spread of WiFi and advances in cellular phone technology are making the Web accessible even in regions where fixed telephony lines or broadband connections are limited.

Clamping down on Internet connections remains an instrument of control for regimes who wish to restrict the flow of information to and between their own populations yet there is little evidence that this course of action is successful. Turkey has made several attempts to ban Twitter, and more recently other social media platforms, to stifle information, but the very act of shutting down sites is now an indication of problems, according to the monitoring site @TurkeyBlocks: ‘When things go wrong in #Turkey internet shutdowns are becoming the way people find out. It doesn't need to be this way #KeepItOn.’

Applications of ICT

Governments have been supplanted from their position of control over both the content and speed of information provided to their publics by the proliferation of 24-hour news broadcasts, the development of online media outlets and the intensive use by media and private individuals of new ICTs.

Most major broadcasters, from the BBC and CNN to Al Jazeera and Radio China International, have introduced webcasting to enable live access via the Internet to TV and radio news programmes and documentaries, often in several languages. Without going near a computer, it is possible nowadays to receive alerts or RSS feeds straight to one’s mobile phone, to follow breaking stories, and to download news and pictures from the Web, not to mention the reverse: uploading one’s own photos and reports to the Web, sometimes directly to an international news site like CNN or Al-Jazeera. New technologies allow reports, photos or videos to be transmitted instantly, from any source, before officials are even aware of their existence. David Pearce commented in 1995 that ‘Policies can no longer be presented to the public in abstract. They are constantly measured against images on television – images that are instantly available, around the clock and around the globe’ (cited by Stephen Livingston (2002) in his essay on the New Media and Transparency). 20 years and multiple advances in technology later, the challenges for diplomats are ever more complex.

Regardless of whether or not you believe social media fosters social change or revolution, comments, photos and video footage from people of protests and violent conflicts around the world have been diffused instantly through mobile phone texts,
Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, sometimes with the help of third parties in other countries. In Tunisia, according to Facebook, the number of users had increased by several hundred thousand by 8 January 2011. ‘Scaled up to the size to the US, the burst of activity was like adding 10 million users in a week. And the average time spent on the site more than doubled what it had been before’ (Madrigal, 2011). Huge anti-government protests in Romania for 20 consecutive days in February 2017 were mobilised and live-streamed on Facebook and other social media platforms, by individuals and by international media across the world. The government in this case has been unable to harness the power of the Internet in terms of gaining control of the narrative.

Twitter in particular has become significant as both a source and a channel for news and political opinion which governments are struggling to manage. One example includes New York Times reporter Nick Kristof’s live tweeting (Sreenivasan, 2012) following the Bahraini government’s decision to ban his entry in December 2012 which reached his own 1 million + followers and many more besides through retweeting, many more than the government could reach through its own channels. Another was the widespread anti-rape outrage and criticism of the Indian authorities on social networks within and outside the country in mid-2014 which caught the government and the police on the back foot and has had a negative impact on India’s tourist industry. A more recent example of viral stories has been the succession of #LastnightinSweden posts after President Trump’s speech in Florida on 18 February 2017.

Infinite Information and Interaction

‘Connectivity facilitates individual expression and empowerment but also encourages herd behaviour and amplifies swings in confidence and demand. The burgeoning availability of information has the capacity to bring insight and transparency but data overload is equally likely to generate confusion and obscurity.’ New Lens Scenarios, Royal Dutch Shell, 2013

With the number of pages on the Web already running into the billions, it seems that sources of information are infinite. As Web browsers and search engines become more refined, Web users can define exactly what kind of information they are looking for and can block out what does not interest them. The Internet is an affordable and instant means of communication with mass audiences. New ICT has spurred the creation of thousands of virtual networks which share and discuss views on everything from climate change to world trade. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), lobby groups and protest groups are harnessing the Internet successfully to promote their own interests, to exchange opinions and information, to offer alternative interpretations to official positions and to conduct lobbying campaigns. Governments, often constrained by security considerations and out-of-date technology, can be overtaken by civil society organisations with the result that official messages are seen often as reactive and defensive. And people tend to follow websites or social media accounts of those whose views are broadly similar to their own. So how can governments plug into these virtual communities to get their own messages across?

Leading political figures have begun to see and use the advantages of new media tools. One of the best-known examples in recent years was the 2008 Obama election
campaign, which determined that using new media was the most effective way to reach voters, in particular the young and tech-literate; YouTube videos, SMS and Facebook were used to contact and update potential supporters and voters, mobilise online communities and raise funds.

While President Obama was seen as an innovator in this field, his example was quickly followed by other political leaders who now have their own Facebook pages and Twitter accounts (Burson Marsteller, 2016). Most are institutional accounts but a few Heads of State do tweet personally, such as President Ilves of Estonia who is known for engaging with other Twitter users, and European Council President Donald Tusk (@eucopresident), while Indian Prime Minister @NarendraModi is well-known for his selfies with other political leaders. Many governments and several world leaders have discovered the benefits of live-streaming on Periscope for broadcasting speeches and press conferences but have not extended its use to live Q and A sessions. In the past year or so, governments in the Middle East and North Africa too have begun to broadcast and engage on social media, recognising the outreach opportunities through such networks, even while access to social media may be restricted for their own publics. President Rouhani of Iran is a notable example who is active in English and Farsi.

Even religious organisations are harnessing the power of the Internet. Pope Francis, with nearly 29 million followers, is a firm believer in the use of new media for communication while warning against the dangers of polarisation: ‘Social networks can facilitate relationships and promote the good of society, but they can also lead to further polarization and division between individuals and groups. The digital world is a public square, a meeting-place where we can either encourage or demean one another, engage in a meaningful discussion or unfair attacks.’ He was the second most followed Head of State in 2016 after President Obama, joining religious leaders already in cyberspace such as the Dalai Lama, and several popular preachers, Christian and Muslim. Roman Catholic bishops in the USA have been encouraged ‘to blog, tweet and preach on the “new digital continent” of social media’ in order to reach young people (AFP, 2010) while there are numerous Islamic apps to guide believers on the correct way to recite the Qu’ran and to provide reminders about prayer times and Ramadan dates.

Whereas Web 1.0 was used primarily as a source of information, Web 2.0 has transformed the use of cyberspace into a forum for interaction and engagement. The balance has shifted from a one-to-one or one-to-many relationship between information provider and consumer to a many-to-many interactive experience (Potter, 2008). The growth of the ‘Blogosphere’ is a sign of the public’s craving to engage in Internet interaction. And such interaction is instantaneous. We have become accustomed to immediate comment online, in blogs or on social network sites, on the latest news whether it’s fashion at the Oscars or the desolation in Syria or the latest episode of the Trump Presidency.

The raised level of citizen interest and activism creates specific challenges for governments in getting their own information and messages into the public domain. Perhaps it is the anonymity of the Internet that encourages people to express their views more directly. Whatever the reason, governments need to recognise this development and react. The days of providing information without responding to
comment are gone. As Smith and Sutherland point out, governments need not only to respond, but can make active use of these new opportunities: ‘Far from rendering diplomats obsolete, these networks or avenues of access offer diplomats new ways to gain information, coordinate national positions, make connections, and exert influence’ (2002, p. 155).

More recently, we are faced with the emergence of fake news. Propaganda is not a new phenomenon, but its authors were by and large identifiable and the targets were generally other states. This practice continues, with deliberate distortions of facts by certain organisations, as well as more insidious trolling by anonymous individuals, whether sponsored by states or not. But now we are witnessing the proliferation of realistic-looking websites which disseminate deliberately fabricated news, either for financial gain or to discredit individuals/organisations as well as states. How can governments and their diplomats respond to this?

The Challenge for MFAs

‘The closed world of démarches, summits, and diplomatic dinners is no longer sufficient to project our values and interests’ (John Baird, Canadian Foreign Minister, 2014).

The challenge for foreign ministries is to catch up with modern systems of operating in a globalised and digital world in order to engage with foreign and domestic publics in a way that informs and influences them effectively. Smythe and Smith (2002, p. 52) correctly observe: ‘Vertically organized bureaucratic structures, especially hierarchical organizations such as foreign ministries, are at a disadvantage in a networked informational society.’ Government offices are risk-averse especially when it comes to communicating with the general public and most bureaucracies are reluctant to give individual officials, other than the most senior, the flexibility to decide what and how to communicate without prior approval.

Public diplomacy in many foreign ministries has traditionally relied on official communications, press releases, press conferences and printed material, backed up in the case of wealthier nations by subsidised broadcasting, cultural and educational exchanges and scholarship programmes. Professional diplomats are often not equipped with the sophisticated hardware and software common in the media and private sector; they also lack the necessary training and creative skills (Smythe and Smith, 2002). Limitations in implementing an electronic public diplomacy strategy throughout a foreign ministry can include cost of hardware and software, but also of trained ICT-literate staff; security concerns; reliable connections to the Internet; and political sensitivities about public criticism.

Foreign ministries have been slow to make use of new ICTs, handicapped by nervousness about IT security, by a conservative interpretation of public diplomacy and the role of the diplomat therein, and by a lack of technical knowledge. Several government offices block access to social media sites or restrict mobile phone use inside their buildings. Yet diplomats nowadays must keep up with the news, both visual and graphic, and be ready with a reaction from one’s own government, to
correct misinformation where necessary or to put one’s own side of the story. It is all too easy to be caught unprepared by rapidly breaking stories.

Regardless of resources, all foreign ministries face the same basic problem. How can they reach and influence people who have access to multiple sources of information? How can they ensure that their messages are not perceived as official propaganda but as persuasive and credible communication? The challenge is to identify ways to overcome the obstacles and exploit the advantages that new technology offers. ‘There is no doubt that any credible public diplomacy strategy or campaign needs an e-diplomacy dimension and this will only become more the case, as the online world increases its dominance’ (Hanson, 2010).

The cost and security implications of installing and maintaining sophisticated ICT networks within a foreign ministry can make it difficult to develop an internal electronic communication and archive system that links ministry departments and overseas diplomatic and consular missions. However, when it comes to electronic public diplomacy, we are looking at public information and debate, where accessibility, availability, transparency and engagement are the keywords.

Much can be done by a ministry or embassy with a simple e-system which allows diplomats electronic access to the Web and enables them to create electronic networks of influence and to move into interactive mode. Staff can be trained in basic public relations skills and writing for the Web in order to design interesting and user-friendly messages about policies and positions. Training can be offered in effective use of new technologies – many of them available for free online – from designing and maintaining a website to creating a blog or a Facebook page and setting up RSS feeds.

WEBSITES

Where ICTs are applied for public diplomacy, they are often limited to the development of a basic ministry or embassy website which dryly lists official information, often bureaucratic and unappealing both in style and structure. Many sites are not translated into foreign languages other than English or the foreign language version lags behind the original language version in terms of up-to-date information.

Smith and Sutherland (2002, p. 163) point out that ‘To be relevant, a website must be an ongoing creative activity.’ Given the quantity of competing sites offering information about foreign affairs, it is important that a foreign ministry website should be creatively designed, easy to navigate, accurate and updated continuously, and should appeal sufficiently to the user to encourage return visits. Options for sharing interesting material via social network sites, or for subscribing to RSS feeds will give the site a modern look. Ultimately, relevant, topical content and interesting content is the key. This is not dependent on size of the ministry or resources available.

NEW MEDIA

‘Traditional diplomatic qualities of caution, reserve and tact are not well suited to the lively, irreverent and casual nature of social media’ (Hanson, 2011).
Nearly all UN member states now use some form of social media which indicates they acknowledge its value in communicating not only with governments but with the media and the public (see Figure 1).

![Figure 1. Government use of social media](source)

Source: Burson-Marsteller, 2016

Most developed country foreign ministries make extensive use of new media tools, using RSS feeds, Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, Instagram, YouTube and even Snapchat. Several developing country ministries are developing strong networks through new media. More than 5000 embassies and ambassadors have Twitter accounts, generally handled in accordance with official guidelines though there are occasional blips. Several regularly post video podcasts on their own YouTube channels: Russia was among the latest to upgrade its digital presence in July 2012 and now has numerous Twitter and Facebook accounts. Russia’s mission to NATO (@NATOmission_RU) is the most followed diplomatic mission with over 645,000 followers. The Indian MFA’s Public Diplomacy Department is among those with its own YouTube channel broadcasting documentaries on different facets of India life. Several MFAs have set up comment pages on their websites or on blog pages in order to engage in a dialogue with members of the public. Use of Storify by foreign embassies is gaining traction as a user-friendly means to communicate news visually to the general public (see Germany in USA for examples), while Periscope has become an instrument preferred by Latin American states.

Some 60 foreign ministers have their own Twitter accounts. Those with the largest followings belong to the UAE and Turkish Foreign Ministers, though it is unlikely
that they tweet personally. As for ambassadors, the number with Twitter accounts is growing daily, many, such as the previous US Ambassador in Russia, tweeting in languages other than their own. The former Canadian Public Diplomacy Counsellor in Beijing chose to join Weibo (the Chinese version of Twitter) which is heavily subscribed (his 2012 interview with DiploFoundation offers some valuable guidance).

Look up the MFA website for your own country. Which digital tools does it use and for what purpose? How would you assess their effectiveness?

Governments do not control the Internet. We are all aware of social media users offering alternative ideological messages. The Taliban and organisations such as Hizbollah and Hamas, Al-Qaeda, Al-Shabaab, ISIS and Boko Haram are making use of new media developments for propaganda purposes. Reactions by governments to provocations of this kind may vary and take us away from public diplomacy into the world of psyops. Some governments react to opposition on the Internet by shutting down sites or accounts, while others are more alert to the dangers of cyber censorship and are exploring other methods of counterpropaganda. For example, the launch of thousands of officially-sponsored religious blogs in Iran was intended to counter Shia and secular blogs. How successful these efforts are is debatable. But governments should acknowledge the need for their own message to be both accessible to the public and credible and to ensure that their staff are well-prepared to make use of new technology.

A 2011 report by State Department’s Office of Inspections on the use of social media drew a number of conclusions, including the following: social media was useful but labour-intensive; those who assigned time to social media succeeded in building up a large and interactive audience, primarily young people, who were the target group; officers needed more training in use of social media; all sections of the missions should be more involved; there should be more content in local languages. They recommended provision of further guidance for staff, an essential element of any foreign ministry’s social media strategy.

To be even more effective, governments must learn to trust their diplomats to judge how to use new media effectively in their own missions. The days of a 12-level clearance process should be over yet still persist in many ministries. Canada’s Foreign Minister said in February 2014 that he was willing for his diplomats to take risks and make mistakes to order to move quickly through social media (Paris, 2014). There is scepticism in some quarters that this is possible or advisable. Yet there are examples which prove that diplomats can be trusted to make clever use of such flexibility: such as replacing the Q and A session of a presentation with a screen showing the live twitter feed from speaker and audience. Examples of best diplomatic Twitter practice can be found in Andreas Sandre’s Twitter for Diplomats (2013).

Former public diplomacy practitioners fear that the new enthusiasm for new media tools diverts attention and resources from more traditional public diplomacy activities. James Thomas Snyder (2013) argues that personal contact with members of the public (Murrow’s ‘last 3 feet’) can be more effective in influencing people than impersonal social media activity while others point out that social media activity only reaches those with uninhibited access to the Internet, an elite minority in many developing countries. The US Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) was criticised in 2011 for
transferring the Voice of America (VOA) Chinese language service from short-wave (SW) to digital (Gertz, 2011) on the grounds that China’s growing control of the Internet would prevent access to independent news services broadcasts, though the expensive SW broadcasts require the cooperation of local stations for relay broadcasting. In the meantime, it’s worth noting that China is expanding its own broadcasting services in foreign languages.

**BLOGGING**

Blogging has become the new fashionable means of communication and information, even for civil servants. A number of diplomatic officials have joined the Blogosphere, principally from the US State Department and the British Foreign Office, some blogging in languages such as Farsi or Arabic. In the US case, bloggers remain anonymous, while in FCO they are named. Videoblogs by ministers or ambassadors have become common practice, though one might question the time spent recording them if viewing figures are less than a few thousand. What must be certain is that they are likely to receive more attention than the old-fashioned press release.

Scepticism about the merits of diplomatic blogging is based on the premise that serving diplomats do not dare to be provocative for fear of giving offence, their blogs are bland and make no serious contribution to the policy debate. One former British Ambassador, Oliver Miles said in 2010 that ambassadorial responsibilities require serious and careful consideration while blogs generally cover trivial issues. Others have embraced the blog as a channel for communication not only with the citizens of one’s host country but a wider audience, with former UK Ambassador Tom Fletcher leading the way with his blog valedictory to Lebanon in 2015.

One might question whether the traditional view both of ambassadorial duties and of blogs remains valid in today’s interconnected world. It could be argued that while the message must remain consistent and personal opinions must be restrained, a well-written blog can be a more appealing medium for a younger Internet generation who are less interested in traditional diplomacy and will not read pages written in wooden diplomatic prose.

**UNDERSTANDING THE AUDIENCE**

Market researchers and public relations consultants agree that the best way to sell a product is to understand the customer and his/her needs, and to identify the most appropriate medium for the sales pitch. Successful interactive e-public diplomacy is no different. Smythe and Smith (2002, p. 79) write that governments ‘must make more of an effort to understand the characteristics of the on-line communities with which they will have to deal on a more frequent basis.’ This means understanding the composition of the potential e-audience, in terms of age, nationality and professional background. This will affect the style and presentation chosen.

At the same time, content will vary according to the knowledge of the audience. For the expert reader, material offered might need to be more detailed. The general public will want clarity and simplicity. Ultimately, the public is not looking for propaganda; they are looking for accurate, up-to-date, easy-to-access information; for explanations and arguments that are credible and persuasive; and for an opportunity to have their
say. Modern visuals and clear writing will attract and hold interest. Foreign ministries which insist on the stuffy uninformative press releases of 20 years ago will find no audience other than other stuffy foreign ministries.

It is essential that diplomats involved in e-public diplomacy spend the time necessary to keep their sites and pages up-to-date and to respond promptly to members of the public who interact with them on Facebook, Twitter, YouTube or ministry website chat rooms. Inviting members of the public to comment on foreign policy issues or consular services, or your website design for that matter, is worthless without a timely response, not only online but also in the decision-making process. Nothing loses an electronic audience as quickly as inactivity or staleness.

OTHER INSTRUMENTS

As a postscript to the topic of new media tools, it is worth mentioning the virtual world. Second Life is allegedly the Internet’s ‘largest user-created 3D virtual community.’ As part of its Virtual Diplomacy Project some years ago, DiploFoundation established ‘Diplomacy Island,’ where visitors could talk face-to-face with a computer-generated ambassador about visas, trade and other issues. Several countries opened virtual embassies on Diplomacy Island, mainly those with limited financial resources who were therefore not in a position to conduct large-scale public campaigns. The initiative has since lost its appeal since the launch of Facebook and Twitter, although there are suggestions that its ‘adult content’ site is popular, so it is probably not an advisable channel for public diplomacy. Interestingly, documents leaked by Snowden indicate that some US intelligence agencies believed Second Life, along with certain gaming sites, was being used as a forum for terrorist networks to operate (Ball, 2013).

More innovative yet is the establishment of virtual embassies. The US State Department set up in 2011 a virtual Embassy in Tehran, an attempt to maintain communication with the people of Iran in the absence of official diplomatic relations between the two governments. It is difficult to judge its effectiveness since the Iranian authorities shut down both the English and Farsi websites for Internet users in Iran within 24 hours of its launch so questions were raised as to whether this was a worthwhile venture. Nevertheless the State Department reported some 2 million page hits in its first year of operation, the majority to the Farsi version, but with IP addresses in countries without sizeable Iranian populations (Slavin, 2013) from which one infers that Iranians were managing to access the site. The site now looks derelict and out-of-date which suggests the State Department has given up on this concept. But the concept of a virtual embassy as a public diplomacy instrument has been presented as a development which may appeal to other ministries (Howard, 2012) where political factors or resources may compromise their presence: Israel set up a virtual embassy for the Gulf states in 2013 but its effectiveness cannot be assessed, while its Twitter account has less than 2500 followers.
Conclusion

The opportunities offered by new media that have been harnessed successfully by the private sector, civil society, the media and ordinary members of the public are still largely unfamiliar to many foreign ministries and diplomats who continue to regard them with suspicion. In an interview with the Council on Foreign Relations in May 2009, Facebook Vice-President Elliot Schrage commented: ‘You’re going to see the same tools and techniques that transformed the political process in the United States over the past year, transform diplomatic relationships in the way our country and other countries speak with citizens around the world.’ Many foreign ministries have started out on this road but others have still to expend some effort to identify how they can benefit from new technology. If they fail to embrace the new technologies, particularly given the computer-literacy of the younger generation, they will lose the public diplomacy battle for public attention regardless of the merits or appeal of the message.
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