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TARTALOM

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- Agneš Slavić, Maja Strugar Jelača, Nemanja Berber, Dimitrije Gašić: The importance of students' soft skills based on pilot research results from Serbia
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THE EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY – DEFINITIONS AND GOALS

György Szondi

Abstract

The aim of this article is to systematically analyse public diplomacy definitions and goals in a chronological order in order to understand the premises and underlining assumptions that have shaped the field's conceptualisations. Special attention is devoted to American public diplomacy approaches given that public diplomacy's birthplace is the USA which can boast the longest history of institutionalised public diplomacy. American scholars and practitioners have paved the ways for public diplomacy theory and practice. Several definitions of public diplomacy articulate general goals or outcomes of public diplomacy activities. These goals can be grouped into three categories: (1) self-presentational, (2) instrumental and (3) relations goals. There seems to be a clear shift from self-presentational goals toward relationship building goals particularly in the scholarly literature.

Keywords: public diplomacy, public diplomacy goals, Cold War, 'new' public diplomacy

Introduction

Public diplomacy as a concept emerged in the Cold War when capitalist and communist ideologies were competing with each other on a global scale. With the fall of the Berlin Wall, however, the United States and some Western European countries started to de-invest in public diplomacy while Eastern European countries had begun to increasingly deploy public diplomacy tools. Before their accession to the European Union (EU), several Central and Eastern European countries waged public diplomacy campaigns in EU member states to induce more support for their membership and to counteract the

negative stereotypes and prejudices that the Eastern European countries were associated with in the minds of Western European citizens. It was not until the 11 September 2001 terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre that both the theory and practice of public diplomacy witnessed a resurgence of interest in the West, particularly in the USA. Not only the American but also other governments realised the importance of engaging with foreign publics with the aim of influencing their ‘hearts and minds’. As Melissen noted, public diplomacy became “the hottest topic under discussion in the world’s diplomatic services” [1]. Mark Leonard, a former Director of the British Foreign Policy Centre argued that public diplomacy can “no longer be seen as an add-on to the rest of diplomacy - it has to be seen as a central activity which is played out across many dimensions and with many partners” [2].

No recently published books or encyclopaedias on diplomacy are complete without devoting at least a few paragraphs to public diplomacy but more and more books include an entire chapter on public diplomacy. Geoffrey Berridge, for example, in the third edition of his popular textbook *Diplomacy Theory and Practice* described public diplomacy as “very fashionable” [3] devoting only a few paragraphs to the topic. However, in later editions of his book (published in 2010, 2015 and 2022), he devotes an entire chapter to public diplomacy noting that it is “not merely a fashionable phrase; it is also a fashionable practice – and a fashionable one over which to agonize” [4]. In these later editions he concluded that public diplomacy had become the most important duty of ambassadors.

The aim of this article is to systematically analyse public diplomacy definitions and goals in order to understand the premises and underlining assumptions that have shaped the field’s conceptualisations. Special attention is devoted to American public diplomacy given that public diplomacy’s birthplace is the USA which can boast the longest history of institutionalised public diplomacy with an experience of more than half a century. American scholars and practitioners have paved the ways for public diplomacy theory and practice, which was described as a “peculiarly American aberration” [5].

The evolution and practice of public diplomacy were significantly shaped and contextualised by the Cold War and the political environment in which Western public diplomacy traditionally target-

ted regions of conflicts, closed systems with significant information deficiencies behind enemy lines. Communist countries, including the Central and Eastern European region, were on the receiving end of Western public diplomacy for decades [6].

Public diplomacy definitions

The concept and conceptualisation of public diplomacy cannot be explored without precisely defining its meaning. A definition is “a statement of intention to use a concept a particular way” [7]. As Karl Popper asserted definitions are arbitrary in content as they represent an agreement to focus attention on some problems, issues, phenomena to the exclusion of others [8].

In 1982 Leonard Marks, a former director of the US Information Agency (USIA) observed during a round table discussion on public diplomacy that there were as many definitions of public diplomacy as there are people who had written and talked about it. Three years later Gifford Malone, a senior US Foreign Service officer lamented that “the definition of public diplomacy had always been somewhat imprecise and has lately become distorted” [9], a view which was shared by Hans Tuch, another public diplomat. Tuch, who practised as well as taught public diplomacy, lamented in 1990 that public diplomacy could not be an effective tool unless there was a general agreement on its meaning, which is often confusing and even contradictory [10].

Three decades later public diplomacy still lacks a universally accepted definition, and despite its widespread usage, the term remains elusive. Although public diplomacy definitions abound, they vary from country to country, from scholars to public diplomacy practitioners as well as across disciplines opening the concept to a wider range of interpretations.

American definitions of and approaches to public diplomacy

Public diplomacy can boast an almost six-decade of history, although the very term ‘public diplomacy’ has a prehistory which dates back to the middle of the 19th century [11]. In the mid-1960s the term acqui-

red a new meaning when Edmund Gullion coined public diplomacy to describe the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. Gullion was the dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University as well as a retired Foreign Service officer, who established the Edward R. Murrow Centre of Public Diplomacy¹. Gullion's concept was summarised by a Murrow Center brochure in 1965, according to which [12]: “[Public diplomacy] encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the *cultivation* by governments of public opinion in other countries; the *interaction* of private groups and interests in one country with another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; *communication* between those whose job is communication, as diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of intercultural communications. Central to public diplomacy is the transnational flow of information and ideas” [emphases added].

This definition remains the most comprehensive of all past and current definitions of public diplomacy which clearly positions the concept in the terrain of international relations and intercultural communication. Two categories of definitions can be identified by the etymological review of public diplomacy definitions. During the Cold War, most definitions of public diplomacy were developed by American Foreign Service diplomats or institutions while international relations scholars have provided most definitions since the end of the Cold War. Between 1965 and 1989 there was a clear emphasise on changing public opinions of the citizens of other nations. Several early definitions of public diplomacy evolved around strategies of promotion and persuasion and were closely related to American self-interest which is not surprising in the context of the Cold War. Gifford Malone, a senior US Foreign Service officer, defined public diplomacy as “direct *communication* with foreign peoples, with the aim of affecting their thinking, and ultimately, that of their governments” [emphasis added] [13].

As for the content of public diplomacy, it describes activities, directed abroad in the fields of information, education, and culture,

1 The Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy was established at Tufts University in Edward Murrow's honor, after his death in 1965. He was a journalist and director of the US Information Agency (USIA) and considered the most respected and distinguished journalist of the 1940s and 1950s.

whose objective is to influence a foreign government, by influencing its citizens.

Traditionally, public diplomacy was closely linked to conflicts and tensions between countries. Frederick positioned public diplomacy as one of the means of low intensity conflict resolution, developing a spectrum of communication to visualise the role of communication in global affairs [14]. According to this approach, public diplomacy is not practised in peaceful relations but in a certain degree of conflict in order to “convey positive American values to foreigners, to create a climate of opinion in which American policies can be successfully formulated, executed and accepted” [15].

According to Malone, successful public diplomacy depends on the ability to communicate effectively in a variety of ways with foreign opinion makers and publics who should be persuaded of the merits of American case [16]. Affecting another country’s government is also identified as a public diplomacy goal in Delaney’s definition whereby public diplomacy is “the ways in which both governments and private individuals and groups influence directly or indirectly those public attitudes and opinions which bear directly on another government’s foreign policy decisions” [17].

Following the fall of communism, public diplomacy definitions centred around communicating with other citizens to achieve understanding and build relationships. For example, one of the most frequently cited definitions is provided by Hans Tuch, a US diplomat who defined the concept in 1990 as a “government’s process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation’s ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as national goals and current policies” [18]. This definition is neutral insofar it avoids any reference to self-interests, ideology or propaganda and is one of the few definitions which is not US centred. Both Tuch’s as well as the Edward Murrow Centre’s definitions highlight that public diplomacy is a communication activity and process, which should be managed and organised by the government.

Table 1. provides further definitions of public diplomacy in a chronological order.

Table 1.: Definitions of public diplomacy in a chronological order

Date	Author	Public Diplomacy definitions
1965	Edward R. Murrow, Center for Public Diplomacy	Public diplomacy . . . deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as between diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the processes of inter-cultural communications.
1966	Edmund A. Gullion, Dean of the Fletcher School	By public diplomacy we understand the means by which governments, private groups and individuals influence the attitudes and opinions of other peoples and governments in such a way as to exercise influence on their foreign policy decisions
1968	Dante Fascell	The cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction, outside the framework of government channels, of groups and interests in one country with those in others; communication between those whose job is communication; and the results of these processes for the formulation of foreign policy and the conduct of foreign affairs
1968	Rober Delaney, Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy	The ways in which both governments and private individuals and groups influence directly or indirectly those public attitudes and opinions which bear directly on another government's foreign policy decisions.
1982	John Shirley, foreign service officer at the US International Communication Agency	The art of civilized persuasion of others of the merits of one's own point of view.

1984	National Security Council	A key strategic instrument for shaping fundamental political and ideological trends around the globe on a long-term basis and ultimately affecting the behaviour of governments.
1985	Gifford Malone	“direct communication with foreign peoples, with the aim of affecting their thinking, and ultimately, that of their governments”
1986	Philip Habib	the representation of the national interest abroad
1986	Mark Blitz	Public Diplomacy is primarily the active shaping of public opinion by telling or displaying the truth – not merely the injection of undigested material into an opinion that has already been formed.
1987	U.S. Department of State, Dictionary of International Relations Terms	Public diplomacy refers to government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries; its chief instruments are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television.”
1989	Paul Smith	Public diplomacy is a form of international political advocacy directed openly by civilians to broad spectrum of audiences, but usually in support of negotiations through diplomatic channels... It seeks to elicit popular support for solutions of mutual benefit that avoid threats, compulsion, or intimidation.
1990	Hans Tuch	government’s process of communicating with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation’s ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as national goals and current policies
1991	US Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy 1991 Report	Public Diplomacy - the open exchange of ideas and information - is an inherent characteristic of democratic societies. Its global mission is central to foreign policy. And it remains indispensable to [national] interests, ideals and leadership role in the world

1993	Report of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy	Public diplomacy describes activities that foster dialogue and open communication between the United States and the people of other countries. It complements and strengthens traditional diplomacy, conducted between governments. Through public diplomacy, the U.S. government communicates its views to people around the world, together with information about the United States that puts them in perspective.
1997	Joseph Duffey	Public diplomacy is the studied attempt to understand foreign cultures and institutions so as to enhance the communication and advocacy of the national goals and interests of the United States. And public diplomacy is the active engagement in such communication based upon study and analysis and thought.... It involves exchanges, programmed visits, speakers, conferences, intellectual encounters, broadcasting, and, most of all, strategic planning and not broadside public relations.
2001	Department of Defence Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms	Those overt international public information activities of the United States Government designed to promote United States foreign policy objectives by seeking to understand, inform, and influence foreign audiences and opinion makers, and by broadening the dialogue between American citizens and institutions and their counterparts abroad
2002	Leonard et al. (British Foreign Policy think-tank)	Public diplomacy is about building relationships: understanding the needs of other countries, cultures and peoples; communicating our points of view; correcting misperceptions; looking for areas where we can find common cause.
2003	US Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for Arab and Muslim World	The promotion of national interest by informing, engaging, and influencing people around the world.

2003	Shaun Riordan	The use of a broad range of networks and skills to participate in and influence the local political and societal debate.
2004	Michael McClellan US Foreign Service officer	“the strategic planning and execution of informational, cultural and educational programming by an advocate country to create a public opinion environment in a target country or countries that will enable target country political leaders to make decisions that are supportive of advocate country’s foreign policy objectives”
2005	Paul Sharp, Professor of Political Science	the process by which direct relations with the people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented
2005	Jan Melissen, Professor of Diplomacy	...first of all, about promoting and maintaining smooth international relationships...reinforce[ing] the overall diplomatic effort in the sense that it strengthens relationships with non-official target groups abroad
2005	Alan K. Henrikson Professor of Diplomatic History	The conduct of international relations by governments through public communications media and through dealings with a wide range of nongovernmental entities (political parties, corporations, trade associations, labor unions, educational institutions, religious organizations, ethnic groups, and so on including influential individuals) for the purpose of influencing the politics and actions of other governments.
2006	Mohan Dutta-Bergman	Public diplomacy involves the communication of a government to the people of another nation with the goal of influencing their image of the sender nation.
2006	Cynthia Schneider Professor of Diplomacy, former ambassador	All a nation does to explain itself to the world.

2011	Bruce Gregory	“an instrument used by states, associations of states, and some sub-state and non-state actors to understand cultures, attitudes and behaviour; to build and manage relationships; and to influence thoughts and mobilize actions to advance their interests and values,”
2013	Teresa La Porte	“the act of communication that expands an organization with international or global political interests, to further the understanding of external audiences about the values and principles which inspire and influence the direction of its objectives”

Source: Author's own

Following the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre on 11 September 2001, public diplomacy was reinvigorated which is also reflected in the abundance of definitions during the 2000s. Several of these definitions emphasise public diplomacy's strategic nature, such as McClellan who defined public diplomacy as “the strategic planning and execution of informational, cultural and educational programming by an advocate country to create a public opinion environment in a target country or countries that will enable target country political leaders to make decisions that are supportive of advocate country's foreign policy objectives” [19]. A decade earlier Manheim also adopted a strategic approach to public diplomacy by asserting that it is “practised less as an art than as an applied transnational science of human behaviour” [20]. He conceptualised public diplomacy as international strategic communication with the objective of advancing policy interests of a governmental client.

Manheim was among the first to advocate a strategic communication approach to public diplomacy at the end of 1980s and early 1990s. This approach received more attention only after 9/11 when several reports and analysis were produced by US think-tanks and different government committees, calling for more emphasis on a strategic approach. Although it is often unclear what exactly ‘strategic’ means - as it is used in a variety of contexts - public diplomacy

and strategic communication, nevertheless, are either used interchangeably or one is part of the other. Manheim's analysis was based on the public relations activities of foreign governments in the US in efforts to influence the American media, elite and public opinions. He analysed heads-of-states visits, mega-events and lobbying by focusing on public relations agencies' and practitioners' efforts to generate positive media coverage for their clients.

Public diplomacy goals and objectives

Several definitions of public diplomacy articulate general goals or outcomes of public diplomacy activities as Table 1. demonstrates. Clearly operational definitions dominate the landscape rather than theoretical ones. The two most common verbs in these definitions are to communicate and to influence. Influencing (mostly foreign) policies of other governments via affecting the attitudes of foreign societies is identified as the most common and general aim of public diplomacy where communication is an instrument of exerting influence. The effects of public diplomacy efforts are linked to changes in foreign – sometimes domestic – policies, particularly during the Cold War.

Public diplomacy goals are grouped in three main categories: self-presentational, instrumental and relations goals. In the case of self-presentational goals, the government projects or promotes a particular identity or how the government - or the country it represents - wants to be perceived or seen. This approach often entails a predetermined and envisioned message, image, or picture. Dutta-Bergman asserts that public diplomacy “attempts to influence the perceptions and opinions of the members of the target state with respect to the image of the source (nation)” [21]. A major goal of American public diplomacy was identified as the presentation of a fair and balanced picture of American society, culture and institutions [22]. Another aim was “to articulate U.S. policy clearly in as many media and languages as are necessary to ensure that the message is received” [23].

Negative or declining images of a country, its government or policies can trigger public diplomacy responses. Several countries poll foreign public opinion about the perceptions of the country. Poor results

can mobilise public diplomacy resources. Increased Anti-Americanism - reflecting unfavourable opinion towards the US not only in the Middle East but in Europe as well as in Asia - called more attention to public diplomacy. Before joining the EU, many Central and Eastern European countries engaged in public diplomacy to generate more support for their accession among member states' citizens who held outdated stereotypes and vague images of the region.

Instrumental goals can be further divided into preparative and situational types of goals. Situational objectives help convey a position on a particular issue; in this case an issue or problem drives public diplomacy, which tends to be an ad hoc and sporadic activity. Communicating the legitimacy of an action may be part of this approach. Preparative goals help create a receptive environment for (usually foreign) policy goals in which people will be more willing to listen to an idea, message or argument. As Adelman asserted, public diplomacy help "create a climate of opinion in which American policies can be successfully formulated, executed and accepted" [24]. This is similar to what Brown, an international communication scholar referred to as the 'milieu approach', which emphasises the creation of an international environment where particular values of a country could flourish [25]. This approach might be more utilised when there is increased tensions or disagreements between countries. Another example is provided by Sir Michael Butler, a former British permanent representative to the EU. As he noted "the purpose of public diplomacy is to influence the opinion in target countries to make it easier for the British government, British companies, or other British organisations to achieve their aims" [26]. Another use of the preparative goal when public diplomacy "paves the way for traditional diplomacy: it lays the groundwork, like a sapper", as Fiske de Gouveia [27].

Finally, relational goals, where public diplomacy is an instrument of developing, maintaining or sometimes terminating relationships, may or may not be beneficial to both countries. Communication's role is to create a shared views and mutual understanding with the target audiences about a particular issues or policy, which could be global in nature. Sharp defined public diplomacy as "the process by which direct relations with the people in a country are pursued to advance the interests and extend the values of those being represented" [28]. According to the Foreign Policy Centre, a British think-tank or-

ganisation, public diplomacy is “about building relationships: Understanding the needs of other countries, cultures, and peoples; communicating our points of view; correcting misperceptions; looking for areas where we can find common cause” [29]. Melissen asserts that “public diplomacy [...] is first of all about promoting and maintaining smooth international relationships.” [30]

A vital change in the conceptualisation of public diplomacy has been a shift from communication to relationship building as the central concept. Creating mutual understanding is a prerequisite of developing relationships. Recent approaches to public diplomacy - particularly those which incorporate cultural diplomacy as well - identify relationship building and mutual understanding as ultimate goals. Mutuality and mutually beneficial relations are vital in this dimension particularly in the light of globalisation and the advancement of communication and information technologies, which can facilitate relationship building.

The objectives of earlier definitions of public diplomacy were twofold: influence the general public of the target nation, and by doing so, get these publics to pressure their own government to change foreign or domestic policy. Those definitions well represent the international environment – the Cold War – in which public diplomacy activities were to take place and make the assumptions that public opinion can actually influence foreign policy. Recent definitions of and approaches to public diplomacy hardly make any reference to target nations’ governments. Influencing publics to create a receptive environment for foreign policy goals has instead become the preferred outcome. In some cases the government is not identified as the source or sender of communication either.

Around the turn of the millennium the concept of ‘new’ public diplomacy emerged. Melissen identified several distinctions between traditional and the ‘new’ public diplomacy. Traditionally, both diplomacy and public diplomacy were seen in a “hierarchical state-centric model” of international relations, new public diplomacy operates in a “network environment” in which the public is actively participating in the give and take of messages. As Melissen argued “the new public diplomacy is no longer confined to messaging, promotion campaigns, or even direct governmental contacts with foreign publics serving foreign policy purposes. It is also about building relationships with

civil society actors in other countries and about facilitating networks between non-governmental parties at home and abroad.” [31]. Social media and digitalisation have made diplomacy in general, and public diplomacy in particular, more open and dialogic as diplomats are increasingly using social media to engage with foreign citizens. ‘New’ public diplomacy is also characterised as a blurring of traditional distinctions between international and domestic activities, between public and traditional diplomacy and between cultural diplomacy, marketing and news management [32].

Non-American definitions and approaches to public diplomacy

The way public diplomacy is defined by governments - or other actors engaged in it - may influence its practice, the tools employed and the outcomes it strives to achieve therefore it is worthwhile to review some non-American approaches as well. Several countries have developed their own approaches to public diplomacy depending on their unique diplomatic and communication cultures. Since 1932, when Sir Stephan Tallents first coined the term “the projection of England” in a pamphlet [33], the United Kingdom has placed great emphasis on communicating with overseas publics, particularly after the breakup of the British Empire. The BBC started its ‘Empire Service’ in 1932 and two years later the British Council was established “to make the life and thought of the British peoples more widely known abroad” [34]. A more systematic approach to public diplomacy emerged only after the turn of the new millennium, which also marks the institutionalisation of British public diplomacy. The Public Diplomacy Strategy Board was launched in 2002 charged with the task of communicating and building relations with publics around the world as well as coordinating the activities of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the British Council, the British Tourist Authority and UK Trade and Investment. The same year the British Wilton Review defined public diplomacy as “that work which aims at influencing in a positive way the perceptions of individuals and organisations overseas about the UK and their engagement with the UK” [35].

In 2005, the Lord Carter Review argued that the Wilton Review’s definition was inadequate because it did not explain what public dip-

lomacy seeks to achieve, or why. The document defined public diplomacy as “work aiming to inform and engage individuals and organisations overseas, in order to improve understanding of and influence for the United Kingdom in a manner consistent with governmental medium and long term goals” [36]. This definition guides the work of the UK Public Diplomacy Board to oversee public diplomacy activities. The Board defined the purpose of British public diplomacy effort as delivering the Government’s goals rather than promoting the UK for its own sake.

In Germany public diplomacy is a rather new term and concept, which is strongly influenced by the concept of Foreign Cultural Policy (Auswärtige Kulturpolitik). In the Federal Foreign Office public and cultural diplomacy are coordinated by the Directorate-General for Culture and Society. The Directorate is responsible for cultural and media relations abroad, promotion of German as a foreign language, running the Goethe Institutes and the regional information centres [37]. In the German approach, cultural diplomacy tends to dominate public diplomacy. The German foreign cultural and educational political efforts focus on four core areas: 1) fostering German foreign cultural and educational political interests abroad; 2) establishing and maintaining a positive, modern image of Germany abroad; 3) furthering the European integration; 4) preventing conflicts by setting up a dialogue on values. [38]

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs first defined public diplomacy in 2000 and up to 2008 the Department for Promotion was in charge of public diplomacy activities in Poland. Since 2008 the Department of Public and Cultural Diplomacy coordinates public diplomacy which “covers strategic, coordination and enforcement activities that seek to make the case and elicit support for Poland’s *s raison d’état* and foreign policy by shaping public attitudes and public opinion abroad.” [39]

Traditionally, public diplomacy is theorised in a country specific context with the central government in its focus but the concept has been extrapolated to sub- and supranational levels too. Initially, it was a foreign policy tool of great and middle power countries’ governments, recently however, smaller countries, regional governments, minority groups, unrecognised nation-states, nongovernmental organisations, as well as global intergovernmental organisations engage

in public diplomacy. The Roma community in Europe has been utilising public diplomacy to achieve a set of objectives: increasing familiarity with the Roma community; creating positive opinions about Romas; engaging people with the Roma community; and encouraging public support for the Roma community's concerns [40].

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) uses the following definition of public diplomacy: "The totality of measures and means to inform, communicate and cooperate with a broad range of target audiences world-wide, with the aim to raise the level of awareness and understanding about NATO, promoting its policies and activities, thereby fostering support for the Alliance and developing trust and confidence in it" [41]. NATO adopted a more strategic and proactive approach public diplomacy during the early 2000s. The Committee on Information and Cultural Relations, changed its name to the Committee on Public Diplomacy in 2004 when the Office of Information and Press became the Public Diplomacy Division to better reflect its aims and objectives. NATO Public Diplomacy Division works actively "to strengthen the Alliance's public image, promoting understanding, trust in and support for the Alliance" as well as gives "advice on the methods and means used to communicate NATO policies and activities to a broad range of audiences with the goal of increasing the level of understanding and awareness of the Alliance" [42].

Summary and conclusions

This article has provided an overview of the evolution of public diplomacy definitions and basic conceptualisations. The review has revealed the lack of a coherent and consistent definition, making the concept open to a wide range of interpretations on the one hand and demonstrating public diplomacy's multifaceted nature on the other. Hans Tuch's comment remains relevant after three decades later as well when "an absence of a permanent consensus as to what public diplomacy consists of and what direction it should take" [43] still prevails. This comment is relevant not only in the American context but also for other countries as well as organisations. Although an all-compassing definition would provide some clear guidelines,

it could, on the other hand, limit and exclude certain activities and concepts.

The way public diplomacy is viewed and conceptualised by governments or governmental organisations can depend a great extent on the way it is defined. Some countries' governments attempt to define and conceptualise public diplomacy while other countries may simply adapt American definitions and approaches. Several countries' ministries of foreign affairs have struggled to find an adequate version of the term 'public diplomacy' in the local language. In some cases simply the English term is used or the concept is translated as 'cultural diplomacy' or 'promotion'. Contextualisation of public diplomacy can be influenced by the history and culture of the particular country as well as its geopolitical position.

As far as the goals of public diplomacy are concerned there is a clear shift from self-presentational goals toward relationship building goals particularly in the scholarly literature. In several countries' public diplomacy practices self-presentational goals dominate as these goals are less resource intensive and sender orientated rather than receiver. Preparative goals are also vital in public diplomacy and help to create a receptive environment for policy goals in which citizens, organisations or governments of other countries are more willing to listen to an idea, message or argument.

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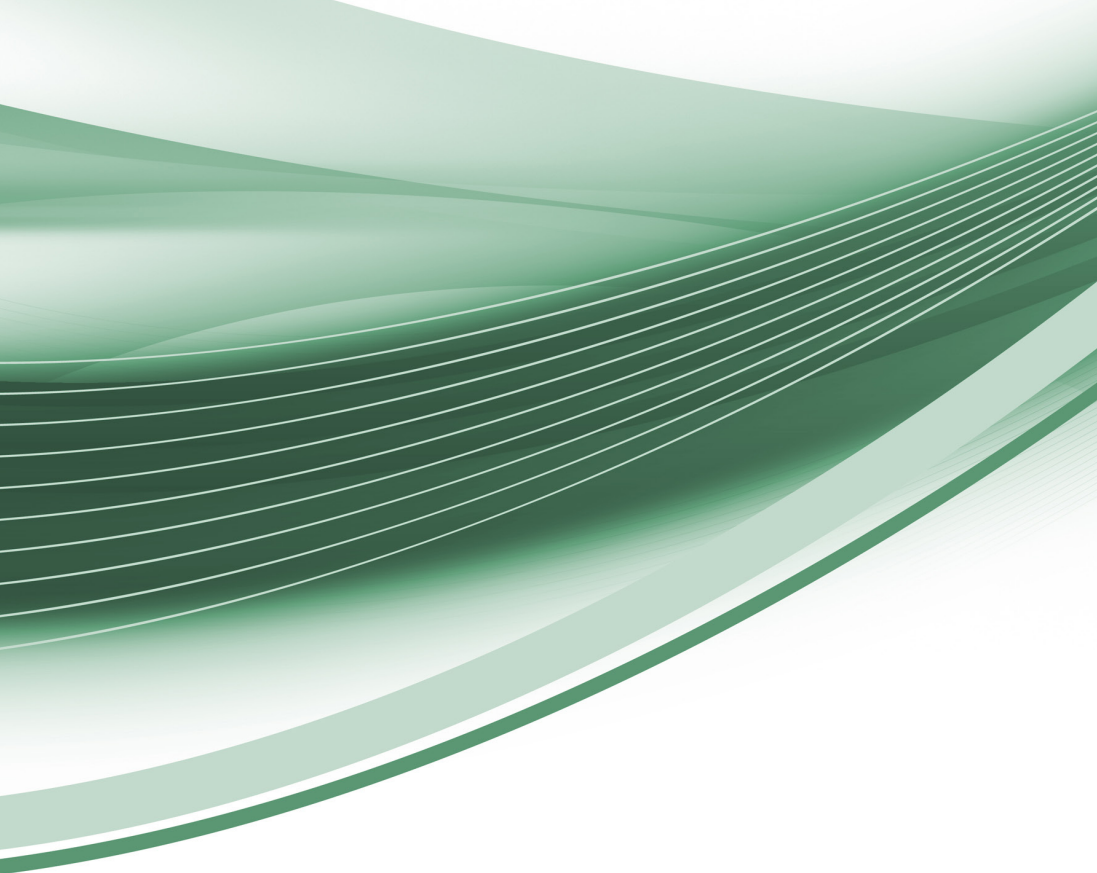
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