Dupont Summit 2014

::::::::: *Science, Technology, and Environmental Policy Issues*

December 5, 2014 ❖ Historic Whittemore House, Washington, DC

The Policy Studies Organization

Science, Technology, and Art in International Relations (STAIR) Section of the International Studies Association Panel

PANEL 1
"Soft Power And Technologies"

"Exploring the Soft Power Potential of Science Diplomacy"
M. Karen Walker – *ISA-STAIR*

This paper presents ongoing research at the intersection of science diplomacy and soft power. An underlying premise of soft power, as conceived and propagated by Joseph S. Nye., Jr., is that a nation's influence depends, in part, on its ability to establish favorable rules and institutions to govern international action. Achieving and wielding influence becomes easier to the extent that a country's culture and values are universally accepted.

Extending my dissertation research in the rhetorical work of soft power diplomacy, I assert that values inherent to the process of scientific research and discovery—including but not limited to merit-based decision-making, transparency and openness, peer review, and evidence-based argument—make science diplomacy a potent force to generate or accrue soft power influence. When animated in discourse, these values serve as a rhetorical resource to reconstitute the reasons or justifications for action, and also possess the potential to reconstitute relations among nation-states and other entities bound in that discourse.

Nye identified technology, education, and economic growth as sources of power, and named networks of scientific communities among the new and non-traditional actors who may exercise soft power. My review of the soft power literature, however, suggests that scholarly attention is more often fixed on nation-state influence. Accordingly, my paper is an initial attempt to fill in this knowledge gap, with regard to non-traditional actors' soft power resources and strategies in the pursuit of democratic and economic reforms and international development goals and objectives.

Furthermore, this research buttresses scholarly work in new public diplomacy. New public diplomacy, attributed to Brian Hocking, is an ideas-based strategy that makes optimal use of new media to allow participants in discourse (i.e., audiences) to amplify and reconstruct the ideas espoused. In my critique, I explore whether and to what extent scientific communities engage in conversation about ideas, and identify the rhetorical processes through which ideas become communal and motivate action. Additionally, this research extends scholarly inquiry in soft power as a relational strategy of engagement, with an emphasis on science diplomacy as a means through which the United States engages with the Muslim world. Values ascribed to scientific inquiry may be a rhetorical resource to consubstantiate relations between the United States and Muslim-majority countries, as envisioned under President Obama's Cairo Agenda.

"Exploring the Soft Power Potential of Science Diplomacy" (continued)

To explore the themes discussed above, I conduct a rhetorical critique of narratives that emerge in the planning and practice of science diplomacy initiatives. My initial effort alights on three sources or sites of ongoing discourse. One set of discourses is comprised of public statements of the U.S. science envoys charged with deepening engagement with the Muslim World. Since the President's announcement of the Science Envoy Program, under the auspices of his Cairo Agenda, nine individuals have served or are currently serving in this capacity. Supplementing the envoys' public statements, I include in my discursive archive public statements of U.S. State Department and USAID officials likewise engaged in science diplomacy initiatives.

Non-governmental/civil society initiatives provide a second locus for narrative analysis; in this paper, I draw especially on discourses generated through SciDev.Net, Muslim Science, and the AAAS Center for Science & Diplomacy. Public-private partnerships, in which governmental and non-governmental actors coalesce in a unified effort, provide a third source of discourse, with an initial emphasis on USAID's LAUNCH and PEER programs. These sources and sites allow comparison of the nuances that accompany governmental, non-governmental, and partnering initiatives in science diplomacy, and the soft power potential inferred.

This paper presents preliminary findings of my rhetorical critique for discussion and elaboration with policy makers and practitioners of science diplomacy. A specific question addressed through my critique is how discourse generated through science diplomacy initiatives constitutes grounds for decision-making and consubstantiates communities in shared values and concerted action. I also attend to the orientation of discourses with regard to pragmatism and idealism, how participants in discourse exercise their voice and social agency, how values are animated in discourse, and how issues and ideas are framed. With further analysis and refinement of answers to these questions, and other questions suggested by conference participants, this research furthers my disciplinary aim to expand the literature in the rhetoric of diplomacy and deepen our understanding of soft power processes.

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PANEL 1
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"Measuring Soft Power"
Irene S. Wu – *Federal Communication Commission*

The concept of soft power, in the mainstream of foreign policy discussions since Keohane and Nye's 1998 *Foreign Affairs* article, "Power and Interdependence in the Information Age," has been widely discussed, but rarely measured. Soft power can be measured, but so far there are not commonly accepted norms. This paper will explore a few potential metrics.

In contrast to military and economic power, soft power is interactive. People can choose who influences them. This means those who are subject to soft power have leverage as well. Military power, for example, can be a one way street. If I expand my country's army and purchase more equipment, my military power has increased. Soft power is not a one way street; it is definitely at least a two-way street, and often it is a roundabout.

I doubt a single indicator captures soft power. I plan to explore historical indicators that could establish standards for how soft power is measured in the future. The categories will be pairs or groups of indicators that reflect the interaction of producer, consumer, and, sometimes, observer in the use of soft power. Several candidates include:

- Movies: If the number of movies a country produced is one indicator of soft power; it should be paired with the how many people in the world bought tickets to those movies. Also, in a given country, movies from which foreign country are most popular?
- Tourism: How many foreigners visited a country and where did they come from? Also, for a given country, which other countries do its citizens like to visit? A visit is a larger commitment than buying a movie ticket.
- Foreign language: In a given country, which second language do people choose to learn? Also, in the world, which languages are the most popular second languages to learn? This is a commitment not only of money, but of substantial time.

To date I have the basic data to examine these three indicators and possibly more. Compared over time and over a wide cross-section of countries, the data may not only show U.S. dominance, but also shed empirical light on why some states like Qatar, Singapore, and the Nordic countries appear to be more influential in international affairs than their military and economic power would lead one to expect.

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"Counter-Narratives and "Platform" Agnosticism: The Lessons of Technological Affordance within US Soft Power Discourse"
Craig Hayden – *American University*

US public diplomacy practices involve efforts to shape public opinion and create relationships that facilitate understanding across cultural divides and within political conflict. US public diplomacy is often justified from the standpoint that exposure to US cultural resources and accurate depictions of its foreign policy yield "soft power" benefits that translate into tangible policy objectives. The presence of communication technology within public diplomacy practice, from the rise of multi-platform journalism in US international broadcasting to the heavy emphasis on social media in US counter-narrative strategies against Russia, suggest a particular strategic significance attached to the perceived capacity of technology to achieve foreign policy goals. The rhetoric of technology in the service of public diplomacy, however, also reveals how policy objectives are distinctly shaped around the recognized capacity of communication, as much as they are they tied to broader strategic perceptions of necessity. Drawing on insights from Media Studies and Science and Technology Studies, this paper assesses the consequences of such perceptions on the formulation of communication strategy and the development of public diplomacy practice.

PANEL 1 Biographies
"Soft Power And Technologies"

M. Karen Walker, Ph.D., is an independent scholar of rhetoric. She received her Ph.D. in communication from the University of Maryland in 2014. Dr. Walker brings to her scholarship experience as a foreign affairs officer and Franklin Fellow with the U.S. Department of State, including policy planning and management of environmental, commercial and public diplomacy initiatives as well as democracy and governance programs.

Irene S. Wu is Senior Analyst in Policy Division, International Bureau of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). The FCC's International Bureau regulates communications services between the US and other countries. From 2011-2012 she was research director of the White House Task Force on Smart Disclosure which made recommendations on how US government data can be made more useful for consumers shopping for the best deal in areas such as healthcare, broadband, and environmentally-friendly products. In the FCC's International Bureau, Dr. Wu has also served as acting chief data officer and research director. She has guided studies on international trends in regulatory policy on telecommunications, Internet, and media, and worked with international groups like the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation). In 2007-2008, she was the first Yahoo! Fellow in Residence at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, where her research focused on change in global values and information technology in Brazil, Russia, India and China. Dr. Wu has taught in CCT since 2007. She is author of the book From Iron First to Invisible Hand: the Uneven Path of Telecommunications Policy Reform in China published by Stanford University Press and several articles. Dr. Wu's current research examines the effect of new communications technology on the distribution of power among countries and draws on lessons from technology history. Also, she is studying the use of applications such as blogs and wikis for international collective action. Dr. Wu received her B.A. from Harvard University and Ph.D. in International Relations from Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), with additional studies undertaken at the National Taiwan Normal University, University of Puerto Rico, and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing, China.

Dr. Craig Hayden is an assistant professor in the International Communication Program at American University's School of International Service. His current research focuses on the discourse of public diplomacy, the rhetoric of foreign policy related to media technologies, as well as the impact of global media and media convergence on international relations. He is particularly interested in the comparative study of public diplomacy and media culture as a pivotal resource for international relations, as well as the impact of communication technology on international influence. His current book project, "Diplomatic Convergence: Information Technologies and US Public Diplomacy" explores the transformative potential of digital media technology on the practices and discourses of public diplomacy. The study draws on both media and diplomatic theory to address technology-driven challenges to public diplomacy as an institution of diplomatic practice. Dr. Hayden received his Ph.D. from the Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Southern California. He is also the author of "The Rhetoric of Soft Power: Public Diplomacy in Global Contexts" (Lexington Books, 2012).